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China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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18 October 1984

CHINA REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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BRIEFS

FINNISH LEADER LAUDS SUCCESSES--Helsinki, September 28 (XINHUA)--Secretary General of the Finland-China Society Karrina Andersson today spoke highly of the great successes that China has achieved in various fields in its socialist construction. In an interview with XINHUA here on the eve of the national day of the People's Republic of China, Andersson said during the past 35 years China reached outstanding and undisputable achievements despite some setbacks and reverses. She said the standard of the people's material life has been greatly raised because of China's ceaseless efforts to pursue policies that are mostly suited to its conditions, which, she said, is praised and admired by many countries in the world. She said China's increased economic, scientific and cultural contacts with the industrialized countries in recent years have greatly enhanced the potentiality for further advance. Andersson expressed the belief that China will become a country where its people enjoy a more abundant material and cultural life when it celebrates its 50th founding anniversary. [Text] [Beijing XINHUA in English 1200 GMT 29 Sep 84]

DINNER FOR FINNISH GUESTS--Beijing, September 25 (XINHUA)--Wang Bingnan, president of the Chinese People's Association for Friendship With Foreign Countries, met a delegation from Finland led by Pekka Silvola, chairman of the board of directors of the FINNISH NEWS AGENCY and programme manager of the Finnish Broadcasting Company here this evening. Later, Wang gave a dinner for the guests. The delegation arrived here yesterday at the invitation of the Chinese People's Association for Friendship With Foreign Countries. [Text] [Beijing XINHUA in English 1845 GMT 25 Sep 84]

MEETINGS WITH NETHERLANDS DELEGATION--Beijing, September 28 (XINHUA)--Yan Jici, vice-chairman of the National People's Congress Standing Committee, met here this afternoon with a delegation from the Netherland-China Friendship Association led by its President Piet Peykhoff. Yan praised the association for the work it had done to promote friendship between the two peoples and the relations between the two countries. The delegation came to China on September 16 at the invitation of the Chinese People's Association for Friendship With Foreign Countries. It visited Guangzhou, Xiamen, Shanghai and Xian besides Beijing. Wang Bingnan, president of the Chinese Friendship Association, held a luncheon for the delegation today. [Text] [Beijing XINHUA in English 1448 GMT 28 Sep 84]

FRENCH SPORTS DELEGATION VISITS--Beijing, September 30 (XINHUA)--Chinese Vice-Premier Wan Li today met Alain Calma, French minister-delegate for youth and sports, and his party at the Great Hall of the People. The vice-premier praised the development of relations between China and France, particularly the role of athletics to such development. Calma made note of China's development in sports in recent years. He singled out the success of China's olympic team at the Los Angeles games, and offered his congratulations to China for being chosen as the site of the 11th Asian Games in 1990. Present at the meeting was Li Menghua, minister of the Chinese Physical Culture and Sports Commission. Charles Malo, French ambassador to China, was also present. This morning, a sports exchange program for 1985 between China and France was signed by Calma and Li, on behalf. The visitors arrived here Friday at the minister's invitation. The guests visited two sporting goods factories in Tianjin yesterday, and will attend the national day celebration activities tomorrow morning. They are scheduled to leave for home in the evening. [Text] [Beijing XINHUA in English 1129 GMT 30 Sep 84]

ZHANG JINGFU MEETS FRG DELEGATION--Beijing, September 24 (XINHUA)--State Councillor Zhang Jingfu this afternoon had a friendly talk with a metrological delegation from the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany. The delegation is led by Professor D. Kind, president of the Physic-Technical Research Institution of Federal Germany. [Text] [Beijing XINHUA in English 1033 GMT 24 Sep 84]

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RECENT APPEARANCE OF 'HUMANISM' TREND IN LITERATURE EXAMINED

Urumqi XINJIANG WENXUE [XINJIANG LITERATURE] in Chinese Jun 84 pp 74-79

[Article by Liu Bin /0491 6333/: "The So-called 'Humanism' Trend As Seen in Literature in Recent Years"/

I

[Text] Since its publication, comrade Hu Qiaomu's article, "On the Question of Humanism and Alienation" has received a lot of attention in literary circles. The question of human nature and humanism is the question that has touched upon theoretical inquiry and the creative experience the most in literary circles in recent years. Since the smashing of the "gang of four," the ideological liberation movement initiated by the party Central Committee has played an enormously active motivating role in enlivening scholarly discussion and in enriching literary creativity. Literary creativity in the new socialist period has brought forth a flourishing scene that cannot even be mentioned in the same breath with that of the past, and the forbidden area of human nature and humanism that was set up by people in the ultra-"Left" period has been broken through by the surging torrent of people bringing order out of chaos. A new range of subject matter, new characters and figures and new, rich and varied inner worlds revealed through them have continuously sprung forth in literary creations, greatly enriching the content of socialist literature and strengthening the influence and the educational role of literary works. One group of works boldly expresses the good human nature and the humane spirit of socialism in workers, peasants, intellectuals and military men in typical environments of specific historical periods and praises the lofty ideological character and the moral values of the working masses. It is precisely this kind of work that forms the positive, healthy, fresh and vital main current that is proof of the flourishing power of persuasion possessed by socialist literature in this new period.

And yet we should also point out that in recent years certain theories and works have appeared that do not bear much resemblance to the character of socialist art and literature. One major aspect of them is that they raise the banner of an abstract theory of human nature and preach bourgeois humanism. The theoretical propaganda and creative experience promoted by this quarter have been the object of scholarly contention in literature theory circles in recent years.

Actually, divergences in fundamental points began to appear as early as 1979. Various initial reflections and inquiries into human nature and humanism began in that 1 year and followed along in two different directions, each going its own way. One group of comrades upheld the materialist viewpoint of Marxism and criticized the absurd idealist and metaphysical non-Marxist viewpoint of human nature and humanism that was disseminated by the "gang of four." They maintained the viewpoint that human nature is an expression of the social essence of man and that it is a dialectical union of man's social nature and his class nature. And at the same time that they affirmed the historical role of humanitarianism, they maintained a clear distinction between Marxism and humanitariansim. Yet another group of comrades, from calling "human nature, come back!" to advocating the separation of human nature and man's class nature, from advocating that human nature in a union of the abstract and the concrete to preaching the existence of a supraclass, suprasociety human nature, gradually left the track of Marxism and fell into the mire of a confused historical viewpoint and social viewpoint. In the past 2 years, these comrades have already developed to the extent of openly declaring "the literary current of the new period is a renewed discovery of man," "human nature and humanism determine the fate of literature," "human nature and humanism are the essential elements in the beauty of socialist literature and art," and are "the core of spiritual construction," and "the main current of literature in the new era" and various other absurd points of view. In actuality, they have already departed a considerable distance from Marxism.

This error in theory inevitably leads the creative experience into losing its way. Exactly what kind of works have the so-called "humanist current in contemporary literature," which some people have called "the liberation of man," "the return of human nature," and "the victory of humanism," brought to our literary world? We might as well make a brief analysis.

II

Some comrades proclaim: "So-called human nature is simply the needs of man as determined by his physical form." In this way man's physical properties (sometimes called natural properties) then become the "human nature" that some works take pains to express or even to praise. Sensuality, sexual liberation and "a return to the honest and true," etc. become the primary or secondary themes expressed in some works. The short stories "Provocation," "At the Newly Opened Outdoor Bath" and "Drunken in the Flowering Shrubs" are those kinds of works. Because these works take pains to mirror the nature of man's biological properties, most contain petty emotional problems and trivial style problems and play a considerable corrupting role. Yet at the same time that these works were naturally criticized, some authors still attempted lengthy explanations, saying that what they were describing was "the body's subconscious behavior. Not to allow them to embrace or to be articulated would be to violate the common sense of everyday life and physiology."

To call animal functions "human nature" is too absurd in theory to need any further explanation. Early on Marx said that "eating, drinking and sexual behavior, etc., admittedly are true human functions. However, if you were to say that these functions were divorced from man's other activities, and make

them the final and sole ultimate aim, then in this abstraction, they are simply animal functions." To take man's natural properties and abstract them out from man's "other activities" is fundamentally not a Marxist viewpoint. But if you unite them with man's social experience and view them as "a product of all past world history," this, then, becomes a dialectical materialist world view.

Since from of the view of literary development, using the biological viewpoint to describe man certainly is not a new thing. The "naturalist school" in contemporary Western literature and all the varieties and shades of "Freudian psychological theory" works in the current Western modernist school of literature all view an animal nature as human nature and imitate animals in describing man. The former preach that biological laws determine man's psychology, character, desires and behavior, with the author "pursuing the profession of biologist or physician"; while the latter categorically assert, and so describe all man's behavior, as springing from "lust" and, moreover, being controlled by it.

The theory of human nature of the bourgeois class not only makes man's natural properties abstract and eternal and says they are above class and above time, but at the same time it often also says that the class character of the bourgeois class and the unique features of capitalist society (such as greed, material desires, selfishness, mutual contention and competition) are universal "human nature" which is above class and above society. This situation is also found in certain of our own works. Some works have departed from class analysis and describe man irrespective of his inherit social nature or class nature, but making them domineering and with strong desires, and all wanting to be the "strong one." They say "heaven destroys men who won't look out for themselves." They proclaim that ideals, integrity, morals and such are only illusions and that only "profit" is real. Moreover, in their works they portray the victory of extreme individualism which is established on a bourgeois hedonist viewpoint. But what is even harder for people to understand is that some critics, while explaining this sort of material desire of the exploiting classes, have the impudence to suggest that "This is precisely 'where all historical currents come from.'" This surprising understanding of historical currents could probably also be used to understand yet another novel, "The Crazy Clivia Nobilis." This work borrows the reality of life in the Junzilan frantic manner as it occurs in a mid-sized Chinese city to describe the craze for money that has engulfed all of society: "Those able to make money have all made money," everywhere man's desires flow unrestrained, the elderly count on this to set aside an inheritance, the ill rely on it to get things done through "pull," and youth waiting for work use it to make a living, military men away on official business also become involved in the gentlemen orchid market and use an expression as "stern as when marching in drills" to haggle price. In the social environment described by the author there is no distinction in man's belief, class, age or sex. All are controlled by the same common "desire" and become slaves to the god of money. The midlength novel "On the Same Horizon" goes even further. The author transports the "struggle for existence" of capitalist society to the soil of socialist China and uses the West's social Darwinism to explain our social life. The novel describes the hero "the first thing he thinks about upon opening his eyes is what he should hustle after!" He said, "I unabashedly feel that man has limitless desires and that the entire world advances through

competition." The author describes competition as being "all pervasive" in our society, that "this plot of earth is very small and no one can allow another to exist," and that only by becoming a savage and cruel "Bengal tiger" can someone "crawl up from the bottom." It is no wonder that some critics want to point out "This cannot help but create uncertainty among readers. Isn't this using the "tiger's nature" as a metaphor for "human nature?" And isn't this using the world of the tiger to set in relief the world of man?"* And isn't this just another hackneyed cliché for "the evilness of human nature?"

A dualistic human nature proclaiming that human nature is separate from class nature or is in opposition to it results in the appearance of works that describe an abstract human nature which is above class. In these works, man is deprived of a social nature and has even less class nature and so what remains is only an "eternal" abstract body possessing "love" and "beauty."

Some works are bent on seeking out "the beauty of human nature" in a hideous figure or hideous behavior. For example, more than one work has taken pains to depict the latent "beauty of human nature" in images of the Japanese Army invading China, head KMT spies and Chinese traitors, and openly prettify the invader and the enemy. The novel "The Last Portrait" and the screenplay of the same name based on it are just such example. And another short novel "Miss Xiaosan" depicts a young Chinese girl who marries an officer of the Japanese Army invading China, bears him a child and dedicates all of her love, with no holding back, to this invader. On the eve of the Japanese army officer's departure for the invasion of India, the girl bites her little finger, thus expressing her loyalty and steadfast love. It is only later that the girl learns that her own mother has been raped by her husband, and out of shame then takes her own life. Works like this that describe so-called "human nature" have absolutely nothing to do with socialist literature, but when compared with foreign bourgeois literature, even in the very superficial depiction of aggression and antiaggression, justice and injustice, national dignity and national disgrace are shamefully far inferior. With the 19th century French bourgeois writer Maupassant even portraying a sly prostitute who was loathe to give herself to the invading enemy and possessed a national integrity, how can readers with national dignity accept the kind of figure portrayed by "Miss Xiaosan," in the historical background of the 20th century Chinese War of Resistance Against Japan which was so full of daring?

Love, as an expression of man's social relations, has changed and become richer in content with the development of history and social progress. "No matter what kind of relationships an individual has detached himself from, in the social sense, he is always a product of these relationships." Since this is so, an individual in any love relationship has no way to detach himself from class relationships and social relationships, and love as sexually expressed, naturally also has no way to detach itself from the restrictions of these relationships. And yet, some of our works take pleasure in expressing certain types of love that are able to place themselves above class relationships and other kinds of political relationships, use a sentimental tone to express the

*Zhang Ren /1728 7282/ and Yang Zhijie /2799 1807 2638/, "Cong 'A, ren....' dao 'Ren, a ren!' /From "Ah, Man...." to "Man, ah man"/. See "Wenxue Pinglun" /Literary Criticism/, No 2, 1984.

sadness of this kind of "love of human nature," and eulogize the sincerity, loyalty and endurance of this kind of love that is above class, even to the point that when the two sides are involved in sharply antagonistic and conflicting activities, love still can free itself from the hostile conflict and become a supreme "holy object."

Some works in this so-called "humanist current" especially draw people's attention. They use a humanist historical viewpoint set on a foundation of an abstract theory of human nature to describe and reflect revolutionary history, and link it to a social evaluation of actual life. The midlength novel "Boundless Grass Over the Plain" and the long novel "Man Ah, Man!" are two rather representative works of this type.

"Boundless Grass Over the Plain" fabricates the image of a Chinese "goddess of life" and common farm woman, Du Yufeng. The author endowed her with a wonderful "holy water of man's inherent qualities," and spent all of her life force on melting the irreconcilable "iron lump" of more than 30 years standing between Lt. Gen and Army Cdr Shen Gongqiu, representing the KMT, and the female secretary of the local party Su Yan, representing the Communist Party of China. And by being receptive to the inspiration of the "love goddess," the work's plot construction has deep meaning: it allows the KMT lieutenant general and army commander to regain his "human nature" first, and also allows this war criminal to put forth "love" and "a good heart," rescue Su Yan's son, and through the inspiration of Du Yufeng's "power of love and human nature," melt the callous heart of the impenetrably thick-headed female local party secretary. This is no different than saying that for the KMT person, it is all right to speak of human nature, but for the Communist Party of China person, it is hard to form human ties. At the end of the novel, Shen Gongqiu and Su Yan both come to Fenghuang village for a memorial ceremony to mourn Du Yufeng, who sacrificed her life for "love." The lieutenant general and army commander brought with him the bullet from the time more than 30 years before that he and the local female party secretary had shot at each other, but had mistakenly shot Du Yufeng at the same time; and the female local party secretary wept with bitter regret and collapsed before the gravestone of Du Yufeng. The work says: "Confronting this bullet, they each realized that they were truly guilty of harming the good and honest." The moral is not hard to understand. What the work is probably trying to say is there is no right or wrong in history. Both the KMT and the CPC are guilty of strangling "love." "The countless rich achievements and great accomplishments built up through three revolutionary civil wars and the War of Resistance Against Japan that were both laudable and moved people to tears were dismissed and gone without a trace by this love farce. In an "Afterward" the work goes on to say: "A song that has been cast aside and forgotten assaults my throat: Human nature, human nature, humanism!" Actually, it ought to say: the author is using an old tone that he has picked up to dismiss away the entire history of the revolutionary struggle of the Chinese people!

The long novel "Man Ah, Man!," taking the angle of revising historical development, expressed a sort of unreal social ideal that used bourgeois humanism to transform the socialist system. The upper level school intellectual, He Jingfu, portrayed in the work is a so-called "reformer" of the period, who attempts to

reconcile Marxism with bourgeois humanism and who writes a treatise "Marxism and Humanism" which stirs up a great disturbance both inside and outside the school. In He Jingfu's view, Chinese history between the mid-1950's and the end of the 1970's was simply a test of strength between humanity and inhumanity, between human nature and nonhuman nature--and often it was inhumanity and non-human nature that held the upper hand. Consequently, the hero feels that the sole panacea for reforming our present society is to bring humanism into Marxism, reconciling them and allowing "love between all people" so that there will be no more conflict.

Engels criticized Feuerbach's "On the Excessive Adoration of Love": "He uses the expressions of beautiful literature to substitute for scientific knowledge and advocates relying on "love" to realize the liberation of mankind...." He also criticized it saying: "...Really, in Feuerbach, love is a god that works miracles at any place and at any time, and can help him to overcome all difficulties of the real world.... Moreover, this is in a society that is divided into classes that have directly opposing interests. In this way, in the final analysis, his philosophy loses the least little bit of revolutionary nature and the only thing remaining is an old tune: mutual love! Everyone embracing each other without regard to sex or class! Everyone amiably drinking their fill!"

If we are not sticklers about the concrete meaning of certain specific terms in these discussions, and just take their spirit and essential spirit, are not these principled criticisms fully applicable to the kind of "beautiful literature" such as "Far from the Grass of the Plains" and "Man, Ah Man!"

III

Representative of the "humanist trend" in recent art and literature are precisely those works analyzed above. The ideological basis and theme of these works and subject matter are all commonly found in foreign literature. They are not accurate and true reflections of our history and actual experience, and so they are not the tide of socialist literature in the new period nor are they a manifestation of the essential elements of socialist art and literature. They cannot determine the fate of socialist literature nor can they change the developmental direction of the main current of socialist literature. This "humanist current" is actually a muddy stream offensive to the eye from the old and new social thought currents of the West that has intruded into China's art and literary theory and works in the past few years as China has implemented the correct policies of opening to the outside and cultural exchange, and under conditions in which some people have completely lost the ideological weapons of Marxism and Leninism.

If you must take humanism as a "current" in the development of literature, then definitely say that this is a phenomenon that appeared by blindly following the development of Western literature. When we need to objectively use Marxist-Leninist methods of class analysis to evaluate the historical function of humanism, of course the most elemental requirement is not to obscure time and place and mistakenly bring them into China from abroad; at the same time, clearly pointing out their limitations, falseness and reactionary nature in a specific historical environment--this is also a basic requirement of the Marxist view of art and literature.

As everyone knows, the humanist trend of thought was produced in Europe in the Renaissance period between the 14th and 16th centuries for art and literature. Starting from its emergence, it played different historical functions as it follows along with every important period in the development of European literature.

The humanism of Renaissance period art and literature was an ideological weapon of the bourgeois class when under feudal rule to use the doctrine of man to oppose the doctrine of god, human nature to oppose the nature of god and the authority of man to oppose the authority of god. The "man" and "human nature" spoken of here both draw out the concrete class and social content and are made abstract as the form of all of mankind. Yet in reality, "man" indicates the bourgeois class; "human nature" represents the class nature of the bourgeoisie. Famous writers like Dante, Shakespeare, Boccaccio and Rabelais were all fervent eulogizers of humanism in this period. The European Enlightenment movement of the 17th and 18th centuries was the ideological and public opinion preparation for the bourgeois revolution for the overthrow of feudalism. There was another new development in humanism. A group of outstanding writers all energetically spread humanism in their own works. After the bourgeoisie grasped political power and mounted the stage of history, the situation was different. With the bourgeoisie's constant strengthening of its own control, humanism, as a past historical ideological weapon of the revolutionary class, gradually manifest its limitations, falseness and a certain reactionary nature. This can be seen clearly from 19th century Europe's criticism of realistic literary works. Of course, these works proceeded from a humanistic spirit and authentically exposed the soul-stirring, cannibalistic prospect of capitalist society, the essence of exploitation and oppression that had never before been exposed and the true source of social conflict and contradiction. A considerable number of writers embraced the social ideals of "the view of good and evil" and "universal love" and urged the controllers of the bourgeoisie to bring about the reform that they advocated. This no doubt had a very false and fraudulent nature for the proletariat class that was just then awakening and for the workers movement which was just then coming forward. More than once Lenin criticized the humanism of the famous Russian writer Tolstoy who was himself critical of realism, saying that Tolstoy's advocacy of "the religion of love," of "not resisting evil with violence" and forgiving all people was a "new refined poison."

In this we can see that humanism was the ideology of the bourgeoisie and that it had already achieved it's most progressive historical role. No matter the progressive the role of certain humanist works in contemporary Western literature, none can achieve a degree of progressiveness comparable to that of past history, and their negative, false and reactionary aspects still frequently play a role. This, then, requires that when handling the humanism in classical works of Western literature, we adopt a scientific attitude of "one divides into two," and that we adopt a prudent attitude of concretely analyzing and separately treating different authors and their works when handling the humanism in modern Western literature. We can neither totally and uncritically accept the abstract meaning without further analysis, nor can we slavishly imitate the concrete meaning. Socialist humanism has meaning only within the realm of morals and ethics for the continuation, enrichment and development of man's superior thought and cultural heritage.

Some comrades who promote the "humanist current" in literature often even borrow certain set phrases from Gor'ky, making them their own theoretical banner. Gor'ky did say "literature is a study of human being" and so literature has been explained by some comrades as needing to express abstract "human nature," "man's self" and humanism. And as a result theoretical articles have appeared such as "Return Completely to the 'Humanist' Path." Gor'ky said "Man written with a capital M," and so when the movie "Sun and Man" opened, the Chinese character of "man" in the shape of a hovering wild goose appeared across the silver screen; some commentators interpreted or described "man written with a capital M" as "embodying the value of the self" and "the realization of the return of human nature" for man. There is the sentence in Gor'ky's work "all depends on man and all is for man," and so some comrades openly proclaimed the slogan "man is the purpose and man is the core." In Gor'ky's prose poem "Man" there is the verse: "Man! It seems as if there is a red sun rising in my breast; tragically perfect man slowly advances onward and upward in this brilliant sunshine!" And so an article has been published entitled "Man's Sun Must Rise" advocating humanism....

All of these are misunderstandings of the proletarian revolutionary author Gor'ky.

First, just as some comrades who advocated the "socialist alienation" viewpoint use certain early viewpoints of Marx to take the place of integrated Marxist theory, some comrades who promote the "humanist current" in literature also attempt to use traces of early Gor'ky to hide the mature Gor'ky.

There is no need to deny that early Gor'ky held the abstract humanist viewpoint. However, once he had accepted the Marxist world view, and with Bolshevik help lead by Lenin, Gor'ky overcame the influence of abstract human nature theory and humanism, and energetically advocated and spread of proletarian humanism. In 1932, in the article "Drama" there are many instances of self-criticism by Gor'ky, such as about the sentence in the drama "The Bottom Layer," "All depends on man and all is for man has continued to be performed for all of 30 years. This is a kind of misreading"; he also said "In today's world, "The Bottom Layer" is an out-of-date and maybe even a harmful play." And this was not Gor'ky's first self-criticism of this kind, for he had also done so before the October Revolution. This shows that Gor'ky had split with harmful abstract human nature theory and humanism early on. In a letter of 1925 he clearly asserted: "I do not think that the people in the second quarter of the 20th century have the right to make such judgment: our animal instinct is forever existing in our blood and flesh. And if this were truly so, then revolution is perhaps not possible and perhaps not necessary."

Please note: the comrades who spread "man is the purpose, man is the core" accept the slogan in the works of Gor'ky that he himself had long early on went through self-criticism, and toss it into socialist China as the "bright treasure" of literature after the second quarter century that Gor'ky had placed such hopes upon. This is utterly absurd!

Secondly, comrades who borrow from Gor'ky's words and style of expression have not accurately reflected the exact meaning contained in them, but on the contrary, they have interpreted them as they please.

For example, Gor'ky pointed out in more than one essay that "man written with a capital M" that he talked about meant the Bolsheviks headed by Lenin. It meant Lenin. However, under the pen of the writers in question, this "man writ large" was transformed from the concrete to the abstract man, from a particular person with a militant materialist world view to a person in the general sense who only stresses natural attributes.

And further, Gor'ky's prose poem "Man," published in 1904, was originally a salute to "man written with a capital M." Gor'ky felt that more than any other work, this prose was able to reflect his world view and convictions. In 1924, 1928 and again in 1932, he made commentaries for "man written with a capital M." Gor'ky said: In 1903, the year that I wrote this long prose, "I understood that man written with a capital M embodies the Bolsheviks lead by Lenin." But under the pen of the author of the article "Man's Sun Must Rise," "man's sun" is unexpectedly and magically changed into the symbol for "humanism!" This is truly astounding.

The question of human nature and humanism in art and literary theory and creation is an extremely complex one. And it was made even more complex through the ultra-"Leftist" influence of the past period. Of course, socialist literature should not be "heartless literature," and not all "heartfelt literature" belongs to socialist literature. We could say that under the leadership of Marxism, the basic boundaries between the bourgeois humanist world view and historical view and the socialist humanism of ethical principles and moral scope have been clearly drawn. And yet there are still a whole series of problems awaiting our study and solution both in theory and in actual creative experience, such as how to express in our art and literary works the beauty of human nature in a socialist era, how to depict the new typical man who has a high degree of unity between his individual nature, social nature and class nature and how to express the socialist humanist spirit. Let us print the words "socialist humanism" in large characters on our art and literature banner, continue to bravely explore and courageously move forward!

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

CHEN YUN'S THEORETICAL CONTRIBUTIONS TO REVOLUTION EMPHASIZED

Beijing JIAOXUE YU YANJIU [TEACHING AND RESEARCH] in Chinese No 2, 28 Mar 84 pp 8-12

[Article by Liu Wusheng [0491 2976 3932]: "Comrade Chen Yun's Theoretical Contributions to Party Building"]

[Text] The problem concerning party building is a theoretical and practical problem of great significance to the proletarian revolution. In a country like China where the proletarians with a strong fighting power are numerically very small and peasants and other petty bourgeois elements dominate the population, it is extremely difficult to build a broadly based, ideologically, politically, and organizationally solidified proletarian political party. After surviving a prolonged test of revolutionary struggles, the proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation headed by Comrade Mao Zedong had successfully built a great, glorious, and correct Communist Party of China according to the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary theory and styles, and developed a theory and Mao Zedong thesis on party building in line with the laws governing the development of the party. During a discussion on the comprehensive and correct understanding of Mao Zedong Thought, Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out: "It was Comrade Mao Zedong who had developed Lenin's theory on party building in the most comprehensive way."¹

Comrade Chen Yun has made an outstanding contribution to the formation and development of Mao Zedong thesis on the building of the party. During the War of Resistance Against Japan, he devoted 7 years as director of the Organization Department of the CPC Central Committee to providing leadership for the work of building up the strength of the party, which subsequently enriched his experience in practical work. In the course of carrying out work, he used the proletarian world outlook and methodology as an instrument to survey and sum up his experiences and pool the collective wisdom so that he could write many works on the building of the party, spelling out details on the ideological and organizational building of the party and the development of its work styles. In these important historical documents, the basic Marxist theory was applied to sum up experiences in building up the strength of the party in scientific ways, thus enriching and developing the fruits of Mao Zedong thesis on

the building of the party. Comrade Chen Yun's works on the building of the party are documents of historical significance and everlasting value which are bound to play an important role in guiding the current reorganization and future development of the party. These theoretical and historical documents are also valuable to the students of the theory on building of the party.

(I)

Building the party along a sound ideological line is the key link in the system of building up the strength of the party. Comrade Chen Yun has been firmly grasping this link, giving first place to the ideological building of the party, and concentrating efforts on solving problems that stand in the way of those who want to join the party ideologically.

The state of mind that affect the party members will have a bearing not only on the fighting power of the party and the outcome of the revolutionary cause but also on the nature of the proletarian political party as a vanguard. Concentrating our efforts on building up the strength of the party along a sound ideological line is a proposal based on the state of mind within the party. This is a remarkable feature highlighting the building of the party, and an important principle in the Mao Zedong thesis on the same subject. Since the composition of our party is decided by social and historical conditions in our country, it consists of only a small number of workers. The great majority of its members are elements born of petty bourgeois families and revolutionaries born of families of the exploiting class who deserted their own class. When they joined the party, they more or less brought with them non-proletarian ideas. For this reason, there have existed in our party contradictions between "proletarian and non-proletarian ideas (including petty-bourgeois, bourgeois, and landlord class ideas with petty-bourgeois ideas leading the way) or contradictions between Marxist and non-Marxist ideas."² Persisting in using proletarian or Marxist ideas to transform the non-proletarian or non-Marxist ideas is a primary task for our party to build up its strength ideologically.

The early stage of the War of Resistance against Japan was one in which our party membership grew rapidly. It gained strength particularly fast in March 1933 following the adoption by the CPC Central Committee of the "Resolution on the Recruiting of Large Numbers of Party Members." This was a step deemed absolutely necessary to build up the strength of the party. However, the quality of party members and the reorganization of the party were adversely affected by some local party organizations' failure to pay adequate attention to their qualities in the course of recruiting them. After analyzing this situation of which he was keenly aware, Comrade Chen Yun came up with a proposal to strengthen the proletarian ideological education and training of new party members. In his May 1939 article entitled "Why Should Liu Ligong Be Expelled from the Party?", he pointed out: "Our party has admitted a large number of new party members, who are mostly carefree bourgeois elements. Since they are willing to

struggle for communism in quest for the truth, we welcome them to join the Communist Party. What commands our great attention is the fact that many of them are still deeply imbued with non-proletarian ideas and habit. This is why the ideological education of new party members must be strengthened."³

In the course of building an ideologically, politically, and organizationally solidified proletarian political party, an important problem that needs to first be solved is to make clear criteria for Communist Party membership, and guide the membership development and the work of educating party members in the correct direction. It was precisely under this historical condition that Comrade Chen Yun came up with a more comprehensive, correct code of conduct for Communist Party members for the first time in the history of our party. In May 1939, he wrote and published an article entitled "How To Be a Communist Party Member" in the "Inner-party education" column of the LIBERATION weekly, an organ of the CPC Central Committee. Based on the nature and task of the proletarian political party, he summarized this code of conduct for Communist Party members into the following six points: First, they must dedicate the rest of their lives to the struggle for communism; second, they must put the revolutionary interests above all else; third, they must abide by party discipline, and keep party secrets strictly confidential; fourth, they must display the indomitable spirit in enforcing resolutions; fifth, they must set an example for the masses to follow; sixth, they must study. This code for Communist Party membership set forth by Comrade Chen Yun calls on party members to arm their minds with the proletarian ideology, uphold the communist philosophy of life, and carry forward the revolutionary spirit of serving the people wholeheartedly. These are requirements of profound significance to the transformation of our party into a proletarian vanguard organization armed with Marxism-Leninism.

While calling on party members to consciously change their subjective world in a way patterned after the proletarian world outlook in the course of changing the objective world, Comrade Chen Yun has used "his own revolutionary philosophy of life devoted to the struggle for the realization of Communism"⁴ as a qualification indispensable to every Communist Party member. The philosophy of life is the embodiment of the world outlook. Communist Party members dedicated to the Communist cause must view the purpose and meaning of life in perspective of the proletarian world outlook. At the heart of the Communist philosophy of life is a lofty objective of life dedicated to the realization of the Communist ideals, which will inspire people to sacrifice everything, and "devote the rest of their lives to carrying the struggle for the realization of their conviction through to the end."⁵ In analyzing the Chinese revolution as a two-step process, Comrade Mao Zedong once said: "If we lost sight of the goal, we cease to be Communists."⁶ [How can Communist Party members firmly establish and uphold their revolutionary philosophy of life? Comrade Chen Yun pointed out: First, we must understand the laws governing the development of human society, and believe that the ultimate objective of a Communist society can be realized. Meanwhile, we must deeply understand that the

revolution is a long process of hard struggle, which requires revolutionaries to display determination to carry it through to the end without fear of sacrifices and difficulties. Only by studying Marxism-Leninism by means of integrating theory with practice, and by taking an active part in the revolutionary struggle can the revolutionaries gradually shape and uphold a Communist philosophy of life of their own.

Communist Party members must give first place to the interests of the revolution and the party, if they want to fulfill their pledges to dedicate the rest of their lives to the struggle for Communism. "The revolutionary interests stand above all else." This was proposed by Comrade Chen Yun as a fundamental principle to be observed by Communist Party members, and an important benchmark that clears the way for party members to join the party ideologically. Except for the interests of the working class and the broad masses of people, our party has no special interests of its own. It was established for the purpose of liberating the nation and society. Serving the people wholeheartedly is also the purpose of our party. This is also the starting point and objective of the revolutionary cause to which Communist Party members are dedicated. "The Communist Party is the vanguard of the proletariat, and its members are conscious fighters who risk all sacrifices to struggle for the Communist cause."⁷ In view of this, the principle that the party's interests stand above all else, a principle that must be followed by party members in dealing with all their personal problems, is not just a slogan but a principle for action, which must be observed by all concerned at all times. Comrade Chen Yun particularly emphasized the need for the party to call on its members to understand this principle, and "firmly and unswervingly carry it out in the course of action and in dealing with every specific problem of everyday life."⁸

(II)

To build up the strength of the cadre contingent is an important aspect of the program to strengthen the organization of the party. Our party has consistently attached great importance to the work concerning cadres. It has trained and brought up large numbers of cadres in order to meet the needs of the revolutionary task and carry on the revolutionary cause. Tremendous efforts have also been made by Comrade Chen Yun to build up the strength of the cadre contingent. Details on our party's "principle of employment" or policy towards party cadres can be found in many of his works on this subject.

Party cadres will have a very significant role to play in promoting the cause of the party. The importance of the program to build up the strength of the cadre contingent was also repeatedly emphasized by Comrade Mao Zedong, who pointed out: "A great revolution requires a great party and many first-rate cadres to guide it."⁹ "Cadres are a decisive factor, once the political line is determined."¹⁰ He also summarized the party's policy toward cadres in the following way: "We must know how to judge, employ, and take good care of cadres."

Later, these basic views expressed by Comrade Mao Zedong were further elaborated by Comrade Chen Yun, thus making the party's policy towards cadres more systematic and specified. In his December 1939 speech entitled "Some Problems Concerning the Buildup of the Cadre Contingent," he pointed out: "To build up the strength of the cadre contingent is an important aspect of the effort to build up the strength of the party."¹¹ This importance of cadres was repeated by him in the summary of a speech he wrote in Yanan in November 1940, which points out: "Cadres occupy an important position in the organization of the party. Valuing the role played by the cadres, the party believes that without a strong cadre contingent, our party would find it impossible to carry on its cause and lead the revolution to victory."¹² To prove the important role played by cadres, the summary also quotes Stalin by saying: "No capital in the world is more precious and meaningful than cadres. We must understand that under the current circumstances, 'cadres decide everything.'"¹³ Comrade Chen Yun has also set the following standards for evaluating and promoting cadres: first, they must be loyal to the proletarian cause and the party; second, they can keep in touch with the masses; third, they can make decisions on work independently, and assume responsibility; fourth, they can observe discipline. "In short, the standards for employing cadres can be summarized into the following points: politics and ability. The two are indispensable to each other with politics taking precedence over the other."¹⁴ He also proposed the following principle for promoting cadres: "Equal emphasis must be given to moral quality and professional competence with the former taking precedence over the latter." He opposes those who emphasize only professional competence and neglect moral quality or vice versa, stating: as far as the cadres are concerned, their professional competence and moral quality must be evaluated under an overall plan. Both professional competence and moral quality must be proved to be true. In evaluating their professional competence and moral quality, major efforts must be made to keep track of the process in which tasks are carried out by cadres. These important principles set forth by Comrade Chen Yun represent a step forward in specifying the party's line and policy on cadres calling for "appointing people on their merit" and "giving equal emphasis to their moral quality and professional competence." While commenting on the principle of employing cadres, he pointed out: "The principle of evaluating talent calls for giving play to his strengths instead of weaknesses. The best way to overcome his weaknesses is by bringing his strengths into play."¹⁵ He also emphasized: "Fairness is needed in the process of recruiting people. We must be good at employing people. Anyone proficient in one particular line must be employed."¹⁶ These philosophically meaningful ideological lines from Comrade Chen Yun must be followed by us at all times.

In the course of building up the strength of the party, a strategic task is to educate and train cadres. The essence of Comrade Chen Yun's thesis on this subject is a call that party cadres must study the Marxist theory and culture and science, and subject themselves to tests in the course of carrying out practical work until they can gradually acquire and come to grips with the basic Marxist method of integrating theory

with practice. The basic revolutionary theoretical course must be taught in coordination with practical work. By staying in touch with reality alone, we will not become farsighted. Likewise, practical problems cannot be resolved by confining ourselves to studying lofty theories alone. Theory and practice are indispensable to each other."¹⁷

One of the aims of the party's policy toward cadres is to take good care of them. By repeatedly emphasizing the need to take good care of cadres as a matter of importance, Comrade Chen Yun has inspired cadres to bring their initiatives and creative spirit into full play. He has called on party organizations to love party members and cadres in much the same way as parents love their children. Taking good care of cadres means showing constant concern for whatever political and ideological progress they have achieved, helping them perform their regular duties in a sense of security, and solve real difficulties they encounter in daily life. Taking good care of cadres also means drawing a distinction between those who merit commendation and those who deserve punishment, commending those who performed meritorious services and criticizing those who made mistakes. Proper disciplinary action must be taken by the party against those who committed serious mistakes. He particularly pointed out: "Extreme caution and care must be exercised in dealing with cases which may affect the political life of a cadre."¹⁸ This reflects a high sense of responsibility for cadres on part of our party.

(III)

The rectification of the party's work style is an important aspect of the effort to build up the strength of the party. A prominent and striking feature of the endeavor by our party to build up its strength calls for evaluating the problem concerning the work style in perspective of the world outlook, and in light of the party's political line. During the prolonged revolutionary practice, a complete set of excellent work styles characteristic of the Chinese heritage and tradition was developed step by step by our party. "These are mainly work styles of integrating theory with practice, keeping in close touch with the masses of people, and self-criticism."¹⁹ These three great work styles of our party's vividly reflect the proletarian world outlook and methodology in the workings of the party, the relationship of the party to the masses, and the inner-party life.

The rectification of the party's work styles was mentioned in many of the "Selected Works of Chen Yun" whose sharp views on education are highly inspirational to the people.

Our party's consistent ideological principle stands for integration of the Marxist-Leninist theories with the Chinese revolutionary practice. Through the Yanan rectification campaign, our party came up with the Marxist ideological line calling for seeking truth from facts, proceeding from reality, and integrating theory with practice. Seeking truth from facts is the essence that pervade the "Selected Works of Chen Yun" as a whole.

All viewpoints, proposals, and methods therein are based on practical experiences and consistent with the basic Marxist principles. In his December 1939 article entitled "Study Is the Responsibility of Communist Party Members", Comrade Chen Yun profoundly explained the relationship of theory to practice, and said: "Theory must be studied in connection with practice. By the time we come to grips with the Marxist-Leninist principles and way of thinking, we will naturally tend to connect them with our practical experiences, and turn such specific experiences into a general theory which can be used to guide the practical work."²⁰

He added: "Ours is a Communist Party which does everything realistically and wants to tell people the truth."²¹ "We believe only in fact rather than higher authorities and books." This famous and truthful dictum will lend substance to and is a development of our party's excellent work style of integrating theory with practice.

The work style calling for our party to keep in close touch with the masses is decided by the proletarian nature of our party, and based on the basic historical-materialist principles. In his works on the relationship of the party to the masses, the party's mass line and mass work, Comrade Chen Yun set forth some basic Viewpoints and methods aimed at carrying forward the party's excellent work style of keeping in close touch with the masses. He pointed out: In doing mass work, we Communists must first be concerned with the plight of the masses, and show them tangible things of their interest during the struggle; meanwhile, we must teach them to heighten their political vigilance, and lead them to struggle for their basic interests. The party cannot successfully carry out its tasks until they can be translated into conscious action by the masses. We must follow these principles in carrying forward the party's excellent work style of keeping in close touch with the masses. Those correct, undistorted, conscientious, and non-perfunctory forms of criticism and self-criticism are sharp weapons and effective methods for Communist Party members to conscientiously change their subjective world and carry out active ideological struggles within the party. To uphold the truth and correct mistakes in the people's interest is a basic attitude that must be adopted by party members. Comrade Chen Yun has consistently attached importance to criticism and self-criticism, especially self-criticism. "Self-criticism is a valuable weapon for Communist Party members to carry out study, and accepting criticism from the party with a humble mind is essential for a party member to make progress."²² He emphasized: "Self-criticism is more important to a leading party in power which has brought the army under its control, because the party which wields the political power will cause more direct and serious damage to the interests of the masses, if it commits mistakes."²³ On the question of how to correctly carry out criticism and self-criticism, he has put forward the following basic requirements: the leadership must take the initiative to carry out criticism and self-criticism from the standpoint of preserving the party's interests; in doing so, it must uphold the principle, seek truth from facts, adopt an objective attitude, and pay attention to the true nature of each case.

The three great work styles of our party's are a concentrated expression of the Communist Party members' scientific attitude toward the Marxist theory, the people, and themselves. Only by coming to grips with the dialectical-materialist methodology can we bring the work style of integrating theory with practice into play. Only by coming grips with the basic materialist principle regarding the people as masters of their own country, can we carry forward the work style of keeping in close touch with the masses. Only by coming to grips with the basic dialectical notion of "dividing one into two," can we carry on the work style of self-criticism. In view of this, we must make vigorous and direct efforts to promote the party's three great styles of work as Comrade Chen Yun has done. We must learn not only from reality but also books. We must conscientiously and persistently read works by Marx, Lenin and Comrade Mao Zedong, particularly their philosophical works. Only in this way can we continue to improve our ability to know the objective as well as subjective world.

[1] "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," p 41.

[2] [6] [9] [10] [19] Four-volume edition of "Selected Works of Mao Zedong," pp 1056, 254, 255, 492, 995.

[3] [4] [5] [7] [8] [11] [12] [14] [15] [16] [17] [18] [20] [21] [22] [23] "Selected Works of Chen Yun," pp 59, 72, 72-73, 84, 73, 111, 144, 146, 148, 47-48, 149, 55, 123, 202, 78, 117.

[13] "Selected Works of Stalin," Vol 2, p 373.

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

NEW PROSPECT FOR HANDLING CIVIL LAWSUITS DISCUSSED

Beijing ZHONGGUO FAZHI BAO in Chinese 6 Jul 84 p 3

[Article by Wang Zhanping [3769 2069 1627]: "Let Us Bestir Ourselves and Strive to Open Up a New Overall Situation in Civil Law Judicial Work" (Excerpts from the report given by Wang Zhanping, vice president of the People's Supreme Court, at the Fourth National Conference on Civil Law Judicial Work)]

[Text] The main topic of deliberation at the present National Civil Law Judicial Work Conference was the study of the new conditions in civil law judicial work under the new situation, studying new problems and summing up and exchanging experiences in the implementation of civil law policies and legal provisions and of the civil procedure law, in order to strive, in the spirit of reform, to open up a new overall situation in civil law judicial work.

The general practice of the responsibility system in rural production, the rapid development of a semi-selfsufficient economy toward commodity orientation and socialization, and the acceleration in the reform of the urban economic organization, all these developments have also brought about new developments in civil relationships. Civil law cases have not only increased in numbers and expanded in scope, but the substance of the great variety of cases and their structure has undergone great changes. In the wake of changes in the system of economic relations between city and countryside, there has been a breakthrough in the forms of ownership, changing, or about to change, the corrupt practice of "eating from the big pot." Through such legal forms as contracting, leasing, etc., millions of people have acquired use rights and management rights of publicly owned property. There are new provisions in law and in policy regarding the rights of the property owner to hold, use and dispose of his property. There is a continuous emergence of various forms of economic entities set up by the accumulated resources of one individual or by jointly raised funds. Changes and increases are occurring in the structure and quantity of individually-owned means of production and means of livelihood. The use of certain properties also shows new changes. All this is leading to an expansion of civil rights and interests. For instance, after instituting the policy of enlivening the domestic economy and opening up the country, houses are no more only means of livelihood to provide homes, but have become places of production and of conducting business. Due to the fact that houses assumed the nature of commodities, there is a gradual increase in cases involving buying and selling of houses, leasing and renting of houses and other such cases which have houses as their object. Due to the fact

that mountain forests and water areas are under long-term continuous contracts and their operation and the earning of profits from such operations may be passed on as inheritance, thousands of people gain the right to inherit new property. Furthermore, due to the implementation of various policies, cases of inheritance, especially involving persons living abroad, or in Hong Kong and Macao are markedly increasing. Following the speedy development of city building, cases of moving house or moving to other places are also on the increase. There is an increasing trend in disputes over pulling down or removing houses, unauthorized seizure of commonly owned building foundations and passages and about obstructing natural light, ventilation, dripping water, etc. There are also new changes in cases involving civil claims for compensation, disputes over water and electricity, agricultural tools, fertilizer, over field borders, land corners and cases of compensation for violation of human rights created by various disputes between neighbors, destruction of agricultural crops because of improper handling of plough animals or bad control over domestic fowl, all such cases in which compensation is being asked are continuously increasing. Because of the high earnings and profits of specialized households and individual operators, whenever they cause any damage, the party suffering the damage claims large sums and measures his damage according to high criteria, and the difficulty of settling such cases also increases. In questions of dividing the property of specialized households or priority households too, new situations arise. Due to the development of commodity production and the emergence of individual or joint operations, there is an increase in loan relationships between individual citizens and also between specialized households and priority households, producing new cases of disputes over debts. With the appearance of various contract responsibility systems, linked with production that has a household as principal party, has brought it about that the household is no more merely a unit of consumption of the means of livelihood, but has become a unit of production with its own means of production. With this changed function of the household, the household acquires new property and is of greater complexity than before, and there is a new aspect to the property disputes among the members of the same household. Among the marital cases, there is an increase in divorce cases because one partner is a bad worker, shows too little skill in production, cannot manage his business or because the baby born to the couple is a girl.

In the past, the collective bore a part of the living expenses or cared for the old people who could only perform little or only light work, but after the institution of the production responsibility system, due to the changed forms of production, management and distribution, new types of dispute have arisen over the question of providing support.

We must adopt a positive attitude in studying and coping with the new above-stated changes and the new conditions and with the new problems that have arisen in civil law cases. The main principle in solving these problems must be: where there are laws, the solution must follow the laws; where there are no laws, the solution must follow our policies; where there are no legal or policy provisions to go by, we must engage in a conscientious investigation and study, listen to the opinion of the masses, negotiated with departments concerned, report to the party committee and ask for instructions, and while supporting, promoting and safeguarding the spirit of reform, provide a solution according to the principles

of socialist law and ethics, in a realistic and sensible way. In order to provide solutions in such questions, the Supreme People's Court, pursuant to the policies of the party and the laws of the state and basing on a summing up of the practical experiences in adjudicating, has put forward two documents, namely the "Opinions on Certain Questions Regarding the Implementation of Civil Law Policies and Laws" and the "Opinions on Certain Questions Regarding the Implementation of the Civil Procedure Law." All comrades attending the meeting were invited to discuss these documents and to offer amendments. After a decision on them by the Judicial Committee of the People's Supreme Court, the documents will be issued to the people's courts at all levels to apply them in practice.

Practical experience has proven that civil law judicial work not only served to solve certain disputes that directly impeded production, but played a positive role in establishing relations of solidarity, mutual assistance and friendly affection between people, in stirring up and activating the work enthusiasm of hundreds of millions of people and in promoting the development of productive forces. According to incomplete statistics, the number of civil disputes that arise every year throughout the country is over 10 million, each case often involves several and up to scores of people, some also involving several families and even several generations. Prompt resolution of disputes allows people to live and work in peace and contentment and is beneficial for the accomplishment of our four modernizations.

Civil law judicial work is also an important organic part of the comprehensive administration of public order. In our struggle to achieve a fundamental turn for the better in the situation of our public order, the people's courts through their adjudicating criminal cases according to law with severity and speed have administered a severe blow to the major criminal elements; this was extremely necessary. However, the effective judicial work in civil law cases, the effective disposal of conflicts among the people, and the effective resolution of disputes over various civil rights and interests are equally indispensable for the achievement of a turn for the better in the situation of our public order. Practical experience has proven that a large number of civil law disputes that are not promptly dealt with or not properly dealt with are bound to have an adverse effect on public order, even to touch off criminality, where quite a number of vicious cases have been brought about by the sharpening of civil law disputes. If civil law judicial work is performed well and civil disputes are promptly resolved, it is of great benefit for the improvement of public order.

In the spirit of reform, let us persist in our efforts to institute a new overall situation in civil law judicial work. At present, we must start out with attempting to solve actually existing problems and earnestly and firmly take the following work in hand:

(1) Energetically work for an improvement of work at the basic levels and of fundamental work, and apply our major energy to strengthening our guidance of the work at the basic level people's courts. The people's tribunals must strengthen their guidance of the work of the people's mediation committees.

(2) Let us firmly uphold the principle of dealing with all cases according to law, let us endeavor to raise the quality of our handling cases and expand the social effectiveness of handling cases. We must uphold the principle of working for the benefit of safeguarding the socialist system, of supporting advance and resisting backwardness, of protecting legal rights and interests and of ensuring the rights to proper legal procedure for all parties. In concluding their cases, the people's courts at all levels must have performed in a way that the circumstances and facts of the cases are clear, that evidence has been ample and reliable, that responsibilities for right and wrong have been clearly distinguished, that the policies and laws have been accurately applied, that the procedural system was according to law, that careful ideological work has been done, that the dispositions in the cases has been proper and fitting, and that all documents and files are completely preserved. The presidents of the people's courts at all levels and of the people's tribunals must personally handle certain civil law cases.

(3) We must conscientiously handle cases involving foreigners, thereby serving our policy of opening up our country. In dealing with civil law cases involving foreigners, we must uphold the principle of sovereignty, uphold our country's power of jurisdiction, firmly uphold the principle of reciprocity and apply the principle of equality and mutual benefit. We must firmly uphold the principle of equality of the parties' procedural rights and obligations and we must proceed in accordance with international customs and practices.

(4) Adapting to the new situation, we must launch thorough investigation and research and unceasingly sum up experiences. The main topics that we must presently investigate and research are: 1. The question of reforms and of instituting a new overall situation in our civil law judicial work. 2. The question of improving the quality of our handling cases. 3. The question of strengthening supervision of civil law adjudications. 4. Strengthening the work at the basic levels. 5. The new problems that have arisen in various categories of cases, such as third party involvement in divorce cases, cases involving property rights and interests of specialized households, priority households and jointly operated business entities, cases involving compensation for damage or houses, and civil cases involving foreigners.

(5) Building up a civil law judicial work force, consistent with the standard of the "four modernizations" and with the demands of the situation.

(6) Reliance on the guidance of the party committees and close relationship with the departments concerned.

Under the new situation, the tasks of civil law judicial work are complex and arduous, but also honorable and rewarding. Under the guidance of the party Central Committee and the party committees at all levels, let us bestir ourselves, unite in an energetic effort, actively explore and courageously reform. In this way we shall certainly be able to institute a new overall situation in civil law judicial work, and certainly be able to make new contributions to the building of a socialist material and spiritual civilization.

9808

CSO: 4005/792

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

REFORM OF LEGAL, NOTARIES PUBLIC WORK URGED

Beijing ZHONGGUO FAZHI BAO in Chinese 4 Jul 84 p 1

[Article: "The Work of Lawyers and Notaries Public Should Be Comprehensively Reformed"]

[Text] The national conference on reforming the work of lawyers and notaries public convened by the Ministry of Justice was held from 25 to 28 June in the Wuhu Municipality. The conference exchanged experiences of reform in the work of lawyers and notaries public in selected areas and looked into the substance, methods and measures of all future reform in the work of lawyers and notaries public.

The representatives of 18 provinces, cities and autonomous regions who participated in the conference put forward quite a number of proposals for work reform.

The vice minister of the Ministry of Justice, Zhu Jianming [2612 0494 2494], gave a speech at the conference. He said that initial successes have already been obtained in reforming the work of lawyers and notaries public in several units, which is a very good start. However, if work reform is to spread out and open up and gain marked successes, tremendous effort must still be exerted.

He pointed out that the work of lawyers and notaries public should be reformed comprehensively in areas such as ideology, organization, institutions and administration, the better to serve the economic construction that lies at the heart of the task of socialist modernization and construction.

12534

CSO: 4005/788

ELIMINATION OF PREJUDICE AGAINST INTELLECTUALS URGED

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 13 Jul 84 p 1

[Article by staff commentator: "Resistance From 'Rulers of Small Kingdoms' Must Be Eliminated"]

[Text] An examination of the present conditions of implementing our policy toward the intellectuals shows that one of the reasons that makes it difficult for intellectuals in certain units to join the party comes from the "rulers of small kingdoms" in those units, i.e. from the responsible men in the grassroots party organizations of those places.

These "rulers of small kingdoms" have the following three distinct characteristics: first, they still regard the intellectuals with "Left"-oriented eyes. Consciously or unconsciously they still regard the intellectuals as "outsiders." Whenever the acceptance of intellectuals into the party comes up, they believe that the intellectuals, because of their complex family background, can only be fellow travellers of Marxism, but never vanguard fighters of the proletariat. They have not yet overcome their bias against the intellectuals, so that whenever intellectuals are mentioned, they always connect them with such concepts as "aloofness from politics," "proud and arrogant behavior," "paying no attention to politics" and "pursuing fame and fortune," and sometimes they will insist on making generalizations from one small aspect, only looking at the shortcomings and not taking note of the points of superiority, even going so far as to regard the superior points as shortcomings and flaws and finding fault with them. Some cannot make a clear distinction between diligent studies, assiduous study of a special field and going one's own separate way. Some cannot differentiate between an inability to sheepishly follow other people's views, having a mind of one's own, courage to criticize harmful trends and "arrogance" or being "stuck up." Some even decry the willingness to take on a heavy load and the courage to reform things as "seeking the limelight" and "showing themselves off," hence conclude that applications from intellectuals to join the party "require a much longer period for consideration and testing and that demands on such must be raised much higher." These "much longer" and "much higher" requirements are the major reasons why many intellectuals find it impossible to join the party. A second characteristic is the feelings of jealousy. A "Leftist" bias is often mixed with selfish ideas and personal considerations. Some of these "rulers of small kingdoms" personally lack an education, make no effort to advance themselves, and are furthermore afraid that someone will overtake them if allowed to

join the party. Some declare even quite openly: "You have education, I have the party membership card; you have knowledge, but I have qualifications and record of service; you may be better professionally, but I will prevail over you politically." These selfish ideas and personal considerations of "you can only be lower than I am and never higher than I am," will of course lead to nit-picking, hypercritical judging, and in some cases even actions taken outside the party organization, in order to keep excellent intellectuals outside the doors of the party. A third characteristic is their acting as local despots, "only what I say counts." This kind of people frequently follow their own likes and dislikes instead of following the political line, principles and policies of the central authorities. They can personally in a one-man decision reject the entry into the party of an intellectual whom a vast number of party members consider qualified. This is also one of the effects of the pernicious influences of the "cultural revolution" that have not yet been eliminated.

These are the attitudes of obstructing, delaying and shirking that such "rulers of small kingdoms" employ against the fine intellectuals who demand admission to the party. Some rely on the power in their hands to obstruct entry into the party by fine intellectuals. Especially in the case of intellectuals who are not mere yes-men and have presented ideas of their own, they find "reasons" for their obstruction. Some delay action on requests from intellectuals for admission to the party for reasons of being "too busy," therefore unable to find time for a study of the application, or for reasons of "uncertainty" about minor problems that have no relevance to the admission to the party, or for the reason of "inability to gain an accurate impression" or for "having received reports." Some of these delays last for years without anybody attending to the cases, so that some cases are delayed past the applicant's death, to be "posthumously approved." There are also cases where the person clearly states that he mentally does not go along with the idea of admitting fine intellectuals into the party, therefore does not propagate the party's policy on intellectuals, does not do a party member's work, but evades the issue by claiming that "the general membership meeting of the party branch did not approve, which left me with no alternative." If this is the way of treating the question of admitting fine intellectuals into the party, how can there still be talk of maintaining political unanimity with the party Central Committee?

It is evident from many facts that in units where a "ruler of a small kingdom" holds power, the fine intellectuals will definitely find it "impossible to reach supreme happiness." In order to smash the obstructions hindering the admission of fine intellectuals into the party, the higher ranking party organization must discipline those "rulers of small kingdoms." How to discipline them? At least two measures must be adopted: one is to help them eliminate the "Leftist" influences. The "Leftist" trend in political thinking is the main obstacle against the implementation of the policy on intellectuals, an obstacle that must be smashed with all our might. However, be it as "Leftist" as it may be, a solution of the problem cannot be achieved without helping them to overcome ideologically their bias and ignorance and without conscientiously exposing and criticizing certain comrades for their wrong start from an individualistic standpoint in their mistaken practices of overtly agreeing but covertly opposing the party's policy or of openly resisting it. The second measure is that in case such "rulers of small kingdoms" do not reform after repeated efforts of reeducating them, to remove them from the leadership posts without the least hesitation and without undue leniency!

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

EMPLOYMENT, FAIR TREATMENT OF INTELLECTUALS URGED

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 10 Aug 84 p 1

[Article by staff commentator: "Boldly Employ Intellectuals Who Made Mistakes in the Past"]

[Text] Today, this newspaper published the news that the party branch secretary of the Guangzhou Baiyunshan pharmaceutical factory, Bei Zhaohan [6296 0340 3352], has engaged personnel with special skills who have made mistakes in the past, causing great changes in the look of the enterprise, which is exciting news. Bei Zhaohan's practice is an inspiration to people in correctly handling intellectuals who have committed mistakes that have already been corrected. This is a problem in implementing the party's policies on intellectuals.

The ancient Chinese philosopher Mo Zhai said, "If a state has numerous able and virtuous officers, the government of the state will be generous; if able and virtuous officers are scarce, the government of the state will be niggardly." This means that the key to whether a country is prosperous and flourishing or not lies in qualified personnel. The more qualified people there are, the more the state will prosper and flourish. A cadre's main task is to employ all kinds of qualified personnel.

Qualified personnel ought to include people who really have special skills but made this or that mistake in the past, which have now been genuinely corrected. We should see that among the ranks of intellectuals, there are some people who made certain mistakes in the past, and some who are still receiving legal punishment. However, as long as they have corrected them, we ought not to discriminate against and abandon them, but treat them without discrimination and boldly employ their skills. Bei Zhaohan was praised because he did not cold-shoulder "people with mistakes" or demand perfection. He treated them as equals, with a fervent communist mind, encouraging them to exert themselves upward, as a good master should. The rapid development of the Baiyunshan pharmaceutical factory has proven Bei Zhaohan's success in boldly employing these "people with mistakes," demonstrating the incomparable correctness of the party policy on intellectuals.

At present, in several locales and units, intellectuals have been suppressed and attacked for a long time. Those people who have made mistakes in the past

have been so suppressed that they cannot raise their heads and have always been familiar with difficulties. They have been unable to exercise their special skills and have even wandered destitute in society for a long period, yet they still want to dedicate themselves to the service of the country! Why can we not open the gate to the four modernizations drive and vitalizing China for them? In vigorously promoting the implementing of the party policy on intellectuals today, we should not permit discrimination against or suppression of intellectuals who made mistakes in the past, nor should we permit attacks on or persecution of other intellectuals. Squandering or suppressing qualified personnel is extremely foolish. We should learn from Bei Zhaohan, to value qualified personnel, boldly employ all types of qualified personnel, and allow qualified personnel to develop their talents, to make greater contributions to the four modernizations.

12534

CSO: 4005/789

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

SYSTEM OF TEACHERS, STAFF MEMBERS CONGRESSES DISCUSSED

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 31 Jul 84 p 2

[Interview with Fang Ming [2455 2494], secretary of the National Education Union's party branch, by staff reporter Tang Xun [0781 2484]: "Instituting of the System of Teachers and Staff Members Congresses in Schools of Higher Learning Is a Reform Measure in Management System"; date and place not given]

[Text] The issue of instituting the system of teachers and staff members congresses in schools of higher learning was discussed on the floor of the conference on ideological and political undertakings for the nation's higher schools, which took place not too long ago. This reporter interviewed the secretary of the National Education Union's party branch Fang Ming, who answered the following questions:

[Question] What are the necessary conditions for instituting the system of teachers and staff members congresses?

[Answer] The system instituted is the teachers and staff members congresses, which function under the guidance of the party committee. Those agencies that have restructured their leading bodies may institute this system. No other prerequisite conditions have been set.

[Question] How are the congresses to be run effectively so that they do not deteriorate into a matter of formality?

[Answer] To begin with, we should enhance the knowledge cadres and the masses have of the teachers and staff members congresses. Second, we should exercise good judgment in selecting representatives to the congresses. At least 60 percent of the representatives should be teachers. Third, the issues discussed by the congresses should be chosen carefully in accordance with circumstances, the nature of the work involved, and public opinion. The teachers and staff members congresses should have on their agenda not only those issues that concern the immediate welfare of the masses, but also those concerning the general academic policy. Fourth, opinions voiced by representatives should be acknowledged; each and every motion raised by them should be treated properly. Those that can be dealt with should be dealt with immediately; reasons must be given concerning those motions that are not attended to. Leading cadres should take part in activities together with representatives as equals, and should

listen to the people. Fifth, we assure that the party committee will strengthen and improve the leadership it offers to the teachers and staff members congresses.

[Question] What will the ties between teachers and staff members congresses and school unions be like?

[Answer] The formulating and perfecting of the system of teachers and staff members congresses is a task to be shared among school party committees, school administrations and unions. Teachers and staff members should be organized to participate in democratic management--a large portion of the organizational and public work needs to be put under the supervision of a management agency. And according to the charter of the Chinese Labor Union, the Labor Union of Schools of Higher Learning should assume the role of this management agency. Under the leadership of the party committee and with the cooperation of concerned departments, it handles the preparatory work of the congresses, which includes electing representatives and collecting and organizing motions for the congresses. The union, after the meeting of the congress is over, supervises the implementation of its resolutions and motions, defends the democratic rights and acknowledges the complaints of teachers and staff members, and also handles other relevant matters.

After the system of the teachers and staff members congresses has been instituted, the representatives assemblies of basic-level unions should still meet according to the schedule set by the charter of the union. The nature, content, function and composition of the representatives of the assemblies are different from those of the teachers and staff members congresses and therefore the two are not interchangeable.

12680

CSO: 4005/791

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

COMMENTATOR EMPHASIZES STUDY OF DENG'S WORKS

Beijing BANYUE TAN [SEMI-MONTHLY TALKS] in Chinese No 15, 10 Aug 84 pp 3-4

[Article by staff commentators: "Properly Study the 'Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping' "]

[Text] The "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping" has just been published, and the original printing of 12 million copies is already exhausted, which shows the high enthusiasm of the masses for study.

The Chinese Communist Party Central Committee has called upon the whole party to sincerely study the "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping" to bring about a great step upward in understanding, make progress in all areas of work, and guarantee overall smooth progress in all aspects of the party consolidation. The All-China Propaganda Work Conference confirmed the importance of studying the "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping" in future propaganda work. Our broad cadres and masses must thoroughly realize the great significance of the proper study of the "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping."

In order to create a new period in the construction of socialist modernization, all comrades and people throughout the country must unify their ideological understanding before we will be able to march in unison with one heart and mind. What should we use to achieve this unification? We should use Marxism, Leninism, Mao Zedong thought and use the Marxist line established by the Third Plenum of the 11th CPC Central Committee and the 12th Party Congress. This line is most clearly and prominently represented by the "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping." This embodies a furtherance and development of Mao Zedong thought in the party's new historical period. Consequently, proper study of the "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping" is mandatory for fulfilling the tasks suggested by the 12th Party Congress.

Long ago in 1942 when the party was in a difficult period of revolutionary struggle, in order to achieve victory in the War of Resistance against Japan, the party central leadership conducted a whole-party consolidation and held a Marxist educational movement in which Mao Zedong thought was used to arm the whole party and unify the thought of the whole party. After the united struggle of the whole party and the whole nation, the Chinese revolution took on a new appearance and welcomed a new phase of victory in the War of Resistance. Today, our country is in the midst of a new historical period of united struggle and a national awakening. The success or failure of construction of modernization is

concerned with the fate and future of the Chinese people. By properly studying the "Selected Writings of Deng Xiaoping," in this great issue of unifying understanding and struggling together to build a socialism having distinctively Chinese features, we definitely will be successful in the construction of socialist modernization.

People always say that it is necessary to maintain political unity with the party Central Committee. How is unity maintained? It is first necessary to maintain unity with the political line of the party Central Committee. The "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping" are a concentrated expression of the correct explanation of the most important issues of the party Central Committee during this great new historical period, a general outline for national construction of a socialism having distinctively Chinese features, and the theoretical foundation for the formulation of the party's line, principle and policy. A circular from the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee points out: "This demonstrates the creative spirit of Comrade Deng Xiaoping on a whole series of issues, and also demonstrates his work style of drawing on the collective wisdom of the masses, upholding democratic centralism and the mass line, and opposing the cult of the individual and individual decision-making. In this regard, this book is the collective creation of the correct views of the party Central Committee. Consequently, proper study of the "Selected Writings of Deng Xiaoping" is helpful to us in more consciously maintaining ideological unity with the party Central Committee.

How does one study? First by advocating sincere reading to comprehend the spiritual qualities of the documents. The study of the "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping" can be simultaneous with the study of the documents of the 12th Party Congress and the collected documents of the 3rd Plenum, along with the Chen Yun [7115 7189] manuscripts. It is now necessary to carefully center on conducting study, linking work, ideological realism, summing up the lessons of experience, overcoming various mistaken ideas, improving ideological consciousness and properly performing our basic tasks in order to guarantee the four important issues of key construction, reforms, construction of the two civilizations and party construction.

The tasks are incredibly complex, so study should not be neglected. Proper study of the "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping" will definitely become a stimulus for promoting progress in all our affairs.

11582

CSO: 4005/60

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

DENG'S WORKS PROVIDE IDEOLOGICAL BASIS FOR PARTY CONSOLIDATION

Beijing BANYUE TAN [SEMI-MONTHLY TALKS] in Chinese No 17, 10 Sep 83 pp 3-5

[Article by staff commentator: "A Powerful Ideological Weapon for Party Consolidation"]

[Text] The issue of party style is one which concerns the life and death of the ruling party. In order to bring about a fundamental turn for the better in party style, the party Central Committee decided that starting this autumn it would use a period of three years to carry out an overall consolidation of party style and party organs by stages and in separate groups. This is an issue of prime importance for the party.

Prior to the start of the party consolidation, and during the entire period of party consolidation as well, the emphasis in our ideological and propaganda work is to organize the study and popularization the "Selected Writings of Deng Xiaoping" to make this work into a powerful ideological weapon in this party consolidation. During the latter half of the year, all work and each meeting must embody the appropriate passages in the "Selected Writings of Deng Xiaoping." Prior to the start of the overall party consolidation, we should choose among the party cadres of the county and youth corp level, select either the form of core group or short term study to thoroughly read the selections, and deeply understand the spirit of the 12th Party Congress in order to make proper ideological preparations for the party consolidation. This arrangement was made by the party Central Committee and also was a request made of all levels of party organizations at the All China Propaganda Work Conference convened by the Central Committee Propaganda Department.

After the "Selected Writings of Deng Xiaoping" was published, it had a great influence on party and non-party people, with repeated demands for reprintings. The original publication plans called for the printing of 12 million copies, which was far from satisfying the demand, with Hunan province alone requiring the printing of 55,000 additional copies. This shows that the broad party membership, masses and cadres have faith in Comrade Deng Xiaoping, that they hope to find answers for various problems in the "Selected Writings of Deng Xiaoping," and that they hope to use it to arm their minds and improve their work.

The "Selected Writings of Deng Xiaoping" provide the theoretical basis upon which to formulate the party line, direction and policy for the overall plan of national construction of a socialist nation with distinctively Chinese features; it is a continuation and development of Mao Zedong thought, and a precise guiding principle for properly conducting all work. Consequently, the "Selected Writings of Deng Xiaoping" are a powerful ideological weapon in this party consolidation and are an answer for the needs of all party comrades and the whole people.

The party Central Committee is strongly resolved to carry out this party consolidation and the people have high hopes. These are generally summed up in two major categories: one category is the issue of ideological understanding; the other category is the issue of illegal activities and lax discipline. The former category includes the issue of whether or not the party central committee can maintain political unanimity, whether or not there are doubts about the party line, principle and policy, whether or not there are conflicts, whether or not there is any "left" influence and whether or not there is any rightist influence. The following ideological issues can also be listed: liberalism, individualism, anarchism, decentralism, selfish departmentalism, bureaucratism, factionalism, personal relationships, special privileges, the loss of contact with reality, loss of contact with the masses, a wavering of faith in communism, belief that Marxism, Leninism, Mao Zedong thought are outmoded and a weakening or complete neglect of whole-hearted service to the people. Most of these belong to the category of problems of ideological understanding. Many people exhibit these faults, and the primary reason is that in regard to these flawed comrades the party lacks criticism, lacks education and lacks supervision; the party does not control itself and party construction has not been given a suitable schedule; the party does not understand its own members and does not help them; inner party life is very imperfect and party discipline is lax. Experience proves that in some test units which have gone through party consolidation, the party organs have become closely involved with party member education, have studied the party regulations, studied the documents of the 12th Party Congress, studied the "Selected Writings of Deng Xiaoping," and conducted inner party criticism and self-criticism. Party member thought has undergone great changes, muddled thoughts have cleared up, and many inner-party problems have been resolved.

Problems of the other category are that a minority of people break the laws and are undisciplined, they run rampant over party discipline and national laws, and they moreover do so with full awareness. These people are of low character, degenerate and corrupt; they are smugglers and purveyors, take bribes, rob and cheat, use authority for personal gain, oppress the masses, act like hegemony, harm the state, overly agree but covertly oppose, and engage in double dealing. These people sob and cry during self criticism, but do not mean what they say, and some become even worse. These people commit crimes anywhere and pollute things everywhere. Such party members are not found in great numbers, but they cause great harm to the party. After the party assumed power, some certain opportunists, adventurists and careerists purposefully and consciously wormed their way into the party while plotting to attain private gain and personal authority. Not long after the October Revolution, Lenin pointed out that some people thought of using the status of the ruling party to benefit

themselves and were quite unwilling to shoulder the burden of selfless party work. The actions of these people had extremely bad influences on the party and the masses are very angry with these people. We must undertake this party consolidation to expose each and every one of these criminal and undisciplined elements and proceed according to party discipline and state law in handing out strong punishment according to the severity of the infractions.

During the party consolidation work, the above-mentioned two major categories of problems should be carefully distinguished. We must also carefully distinguish the border between the proletariat and the non-proletariat, and carefully note the line separating the party and non-party areas. This requires that the entire party be capable of grasping powerful ideological weapons. These powerful ideological weapons are our party documents, the writings of the party central leading comrades, and, relatively central to this, is the "Selected Writings of Deng Xiaoping." Consequently, both prior to and following the party consolidation, we must use the spirit of the "Selected Writings of Deng Xiaoping" to arm the minds of all comrades and to unify the thought of the entire party and use these to distinguish and handle all sorts of problems.

The party consolidation during the 1940's was a Marxist educational movement. In the autumn of this year, we launched another Marxist educational movement. The consolidation movement of the 1940's made a synthesis of the general theory of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practices of the Chinese revolution and Mao Zedong thought, and used this to arm our party and unify the thought of the whole party. This party consolidation is making a synthesis of the general theory of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practices of socialist construction in China to build a socialism having distinctively Chinese features. Practice proves that in these days, a unification of the general truths of Marxism with the actual conditions of socialist construction in China is already reflected in the line, principle and policy of the 3rd Plenum of the 11th CPC Central Committee is reflected in the writings of the party central leading comrades, and most of all is concentrated in the "Selected Writings of Deng Xiaoping." Consequently, the study and implementation of the spirit of "The Selected Writings of Deng Xiaoping" is the key to properly conducting this Marxist educational movement and in terms of ideology it is the most important guarantee of success in the party consolidation.

11582

CSO: 4005/60

EAST REGION

SHANGHAI STEPS UP REFORM OF HIGHER EDUCATION

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 28 Jul 84 p 1

[Article: "Shanghai Steps Up Reform of Higher Education: Graduate Students Nearly Doubled, Big Increases in Professional Students, Big Developments in Liberal Arts Subjects"]

[Text] Remarkable successes have been achieved in stepping up higher education reform in Shanghai. Even now, proportional imbalances in administrative structure, areas of study and specialized subjects are being changed and the training of qualified personnel is gradually conforming to the needs of the four modernizations.

In the past, there was a contradiction in the administrative structure of higher education in Shanghai because there were too many undergraduates and too few graduate and professional students. "The two ends were too small and the middle too big," and the organization of qualified people was not equitable. In the past few years, Shanghai has stepped up training graduate students, so that the proportion of graduate students among college students has gone from 2.4 percent in 1978 to 4.4 percent currently. At the same time, they vigorously developed professional training, changing the wide gap in the proportions of undergraduates to professional students, so that there is now a comparatively large increase in the proportion of professional students. According to statistics on general schools of higher learning, students in professional training made up 2 percent of the undergraduates in 1978, which now has been raised to 26 percent. According to combined figures on general schools of higher learning and adult higher education schools, there are 78,000 undergraduates and 52,000 professional students. The proportion of professional students has reached 40 percent.

Shanghai also has made several reforms in the areas of study and specialized subjects in higher education, such as speeding up the development of the liberal arts, particularly finance and economics, politics and law, and foreign trade. There has been comparatively greater development of practical liberal arts subjects urgently needed by society, such as political science, sociology, secretarial science and library science. At the same time, the proportion of the liberal arts to the other areas of study and specialized subjects was raised. The current proportion of students in specialized liberal arts subjects has been raised to 22 percent from 19 percent in 1978. According to

combined figures from general higher education schools and adult higher education schools, there are 40,000 students in specialized liberal arts subjects, and 90,000 students in such specialized subjects as physics, engineering, agriculture and medicine. The proportion of liberal arts students has reached 30 percent. Many higher education schools have gone beyond schools, systems or specialized subjects and established a group of new peripheral and interdisciplinary subjects, such as marine engineering, genetic engineering, systems engineering, biomedical engineering, lasers, energy and environmental protection, in which they are working hard to meet the needs of building the nation.

12534

CSO: 4005/789

EAST REGION

SHANDONG: SU YIRAN'S ARTICLE HAILS PUBLICATION OF BOOKS

SK010240 Jinan Shandong Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 29 Sep 84

[Excerpt] Su Yiran, secretary of the Shandong Provincial CPC Committee, write an article hailing the publication of a series of books on lovely Shandong, entitled "Love Your Motherland Ardently and Build Up Shandong."

The article states: The seven publishing units of the Shandong Provincial Main Publishing House jointly published a series of books on lovely Shandong to hail the 35th anniversary of the National Day. These books are good materials for giving a systematic education on patriotism to the broad masses of people in Shandong Province. Conducting propaganda and education among the people, especially among youths, on cherishing the country and one's hometown in the course of carrying out China's socialist modernization construction, of fostering their patriotic spirit, of enhancing their thinking and consciousness of cherishing the motherland, and of building socialism and communism is a regular and basic task of our propaganda and educational work as well as in ideological and political work. All trades, professions, and all fronts should pay great attention to it. The contents of and materials on patriotic education are extensive and rich. In the past tens of thousands of years, there were good teaching materials everywhere for conducting education on patriotism. However, teaching materials reflecting local conditions and meeting local needs are most touching and acceptable. The ideological awareness of patriotism is not abstract. It reflects itself in deeds of building up and defending the motherland. Shandong is a part of the motherland with a long history and civilization. It also has a brilliant revolutionary history in the last century. In building up the motherland and Shandong Province, we should have good knowledge of, be familiar with, and cherish Shandong, and devote all our energy to its socialist modernization construction. This series of books on lovely Shandong is compiled based on this need. They are a set of books reflecting local conditions and meeting local needs.

We are convinced that the publication of this series of books will be welcomed by the broad masses of readers. We hope that all relevant departments will make good use of them and consider them as good teaching materials while extensively conducting a study campaign among the urban and rural youths to stir up a new upsurge in conducting ideological education on patriotism.

In line with the guidelines of the directives of the central authorities and the provincial CPC committee, the series of books on lovely Shandong,

published by special publishing units under the sponsorship of the provincial main publishing house, were distributed for sale to all XINHUA bookstores across the province on 29 September.

On the morning of 29 September, the provincial main publishing house and the provincial XINHUA bookstores held a ceremony to mark the publication of this series of books at the XINHUA bookstore on (Quancheng) Road. Su Yiran and Liang Buting cut ribbons to mark the first issue of the series of books on lovely Shandong. Lu Maozeng, Li Changan, Li Zhen, Jiang Chunyun, Yang Yanyin, Feng Lizu, Zheng Weimin, Gao Keting, Wang Zhongyin, Qin Hezhen, Ma Changgui, Li Zichao and Yu Xiu, as well as leading comrades of the province, Jinan City, and the PLA units stationed in Jinan, and well-known personages from the cultural, education, scientific, and technological circles attended the ceremony.

CSO: 4005/027

EAST REGION

SHANDONG: WANG ZHONGYIN AT DISCIPLINE INSPECTION FORUM

SK171740 Jinan Shandong Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 16 Sep 84

[Excerpts] From 10-13 September, the Provincial Discipline Inspection Commission held a forum on discipline inspection work, demanding that the discipline inspection work insure a smooth development of reform. Wang Zhongyin, secretary of the provincial Discipline Inspection Commission, presided over and summed up the forum. Li Farong, deputy secretary of the provincial Discipline Inspection Commission, relayed the guidelines of the forum on discipline inspection work of some provinces and cities sponsored by the Central Discipline Inspection Commission.

In his speech, Comrade Wang Zhongyin said: The economic system reform has developed from rural areas to urban areas and to all professions and trades, thus promoting great economic development. This really creates a majestic atmosphere. The work of discipline inspection commissions at all levels should suit and keep pace with the new situation of reform. All discipline inspection cadres should study, be familiar with, participate in, and enthusiastically support the reform, should promote and protect the smooth development of reform with actual work, and should serve as promoters of reform.

Comrade Wang Zhongyin called on discipline inspection commissions at all levels and all discipline inspection cadres to correctly understand the relationship between the work of straightening out party style and reform, to better give play to the role of discipline inspection work in reform, and to strive to grasp the work of straightening out party style and enforcing party discipline in the course of carrying out reform.

Referring to the correct enforcement of party discipline, Comrade Wang Zhongyin said: In the current reform, discipline inspection commissions at all levels should, in line with the standards of party discipline, emphatically investigate and deal with those who resist and oppose the party's line, principles, and policies, those who resist and oppose the reform, those who deal blows to and destroy reform and encroach on others' legal rights and interests, those who indulge in bureaucratic practices and are irresponsible in their work, and those who abuse their powers to serve their own interests on the occasion of reform. At present, in carrying out reform, many new situations and problems have emerged. We should pay attention to investigating, studying and concretely analyzing them. Discipline inspection commissions at all levels should conscientiously examine their ideology, workstyle,

regulations and systems to see whether they fall short of what is required by the present party principles and policies and by the new situations in order to promote smooth development of reform.

Comrade Wang Zhongyin said: Under the leadership of the provincial CPC committee and the Central Discipline Inspection Commission, thanks to the concerted efforts of all party members in the province, our province has effected a remarkable turn for the better in party style this year, we must continually adhere to the basic experience of the entire party, striving to improve party style.

Attending the forum were secretaries of various prefectural and city discipline inspection commissions; secretaries of discipline inspection commissions of various large enterprises; secretaries of discipline inspection commissions of organs directly under the provincial authorities; and heads of discipline inspection groups of various departments, commissions, sections and bureaus under the provincial Discipline Inspection Commission.

CSO: 4005/027

EAST REGION

SHANDONG: EDUCATION ON NEGATING CULTURE REVOLUTION URGED

SK140348 Jinan Shandong Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 13 Sep 84

[Text] On the morning of 12 September, in his speech delivered at the study class sponsored by Jinan City on ideological and political work for leading cadres of enterprises, Jiang Chunyun, deputy secretary of the provincial CPC committee and secretary of the Jinan City CPC Committee, emphatically pointed out that party organizations at all levels throughout the city should do a good job in realistically conducting education on totally negating the Great Cultural Revolution in order to weed out factionalism, strengthen party spirit, and to make preparations well for the party rectification drive. This is a most important current task for the ideological and political front, which has a most important bearing on further eliminating leftist influence, upgrading the consciousness of acting in unison with the CPC Central Committee, doing a good job in conducting urban reforms, doubling economic returns, and strengthening the ideological and organizational construction of the cadre ranks.

Comrade Jiang Chunyun stated: Through the correct conclusion on totally negating the great Cultural Revolution was set forth by the resolutions adopted at the 6th Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, some party members and cadres still lack due understanding of the harmfulness of the Cultural Revolution. They still have some confused ideas and erroneous viewpoints. As of now, the pernicious influence of the erroneous theories that cropped up in the Cultural Revolution has played a certain role. The leftover practices of the Cultural Revolution, particularly factionalism, have not been totally weeded out. Some persons still uphold the factionalist viewpoint of the Cultural Revolution, stress what their faction is doing is right, and draw a line of demarcation between different factions. Some have had a recurrence of old errors, have willfully made trouble by flaunting the banner of conducting reforms, and have framed others by inventing stories. Though these indicators are committed by a few, the harmfulness caused cannot be underestimated. If we fail to totally negate the great Cultural Revolution and to weed out factionalism, our current work will not only be afflicted, the party rectification drive will also be in danger of being carried out perfunctorily or superficially.

Comrade Jiang Chunyun pointed out: In negating the Cultural Revolution, it is imperative to pay attention to negating it in a thorough way and to negate it totally and thoroughly in both theory and practice. Efforts should be made to

totally negate various factions and organizations emerging in the Cultural Revolution. Meanwhile, it is imperative to negate the leftover practices of the Cultural Revolution in major aspects, such as great democracy and anarchism.

In referring to how to conduct education on negating the Cultural Revolution, Comrade Jiang Chunyun urged all departments and units throughout Jinan City to spend a period of time organizing the broad masses of party members, cadres and the people to study again the resolutions adopted at the 6th Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee and to study a series of directives of leading comrades of the central authorities with regard to negating the Cultural Revolution and the documents adopted at the 4th party congresses of Jinan City and the province in order to clarify the confused ideas and erroneous understanding of the Cultural Revolution and to unite their thinking truly with the spirit of the resolutions adopted at the 6th Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee. Efforts should be made to integrate education on totally negating the Cultural Revolution with the ideological and political work conducted in economic reforms and with education on publicizing the great achievements of the 35 years since the PRC's founding and on implementing the party's line, principles, and policies set forth in the period since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee so as to enable education on negating the Cultural Revolution to be the motive power in promoting transformations, unity and economic construction.

CSO: 4005/027

EAST REGION

SHANDONG: COMMENTARY ON NEGATION OF THEORY OF CORRECTNESS

SK110338 Jinan Shandong Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 9 Sep 84

[Station commentary: "Thoroughly Negate the Theory of Consistent Correctness"]

[Text] It has been 8 years since the Cultural Revolution was ended. However, the theory of consistent correctness produced during this turmoil still finds a certain support. Except for the small number of people who committed serious mistakes during the Cultural Revolution and the three types of persons, most comrades who adhere to the theory do not clearly understand why the theory is wrong. Therefore, it is necessary to analyze it.

To negate the theory of consistent correctness, we should first answer the questions of how to understand the Cultural Revolution and how to see ourselves. The Cultural Revolution took the erroneous theory of continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat as its guidance with idealism and metaphysics as its ideological line. It was not--and cannot possibly be--a revolution or social progress in any sense. The entire course of the practice of this movement cannot be evaluated simply by some achievements or some mistakes. The Cultural Revolution must be thoroughly negated. The people who think they were consistently correct [words indistinct] participated in the 10-year domestic turmoil which brought serious disaster to the party and the state. How can they say they were consistently correct? Stubbornly thinking they were consistently correct during the Cultural Revolution only shows their failure to truly understand the necessity to thoroughly negate the Cultural Revolution. Only when we thoroughly negate the Cultural Revolution theoretically and ideologically can we thoroughly negate its product--the theory of consistent correctness.

It is partly because of their failure to correctly understand themselves that some people still hold to the theory of consistent correctness. Outwardly, they have come to understand the need to negate the Cultural Revolution. However, when things develop or become more specific and involve them, [words indistinct] they are afraid that in negating the Cultural Revolution their (?actual) deeds will be negated, thus making them lose face and respect. For this reason, they [words indistinct] insist that they were consistently correct. The mistakes of these comrades lie in their [words indistinct] themselves with the unprecedented disaster. A few mistakes were unavoidable during the great turmoil of the Cultural Revolution. However, they should not regard what was wrong as correct, nor call weakpoints strongpoints, still less

consider themselves consistently correct just to save face. They should have the courage to admit their mistakes. They should free themselves from the bonds of the theory of consistent correctness, step out of their narrow world, take the general situation of the party and the people into consideration, conscientiously sum up their gains and losses and their lessons, maintain ideological and political unity with the CPC Central Committee, and advance in step with the people.

History [words indistinct] has led to the conclusion to thoroughly negate the Cultural Revolution. It is only natural for us to thoroughly negate the theory of consistent correctness which is a product of the Cultural Revolution.

CSO: 4005/027

EAST REGION

PARTY BUILDING ADAPTED TO OPENING UP EXTERNALLY URGED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 17 Jul 84 p 5

/Article by Wang Jifu /3769 3444 1133/, secretary of the Yantai Municipal CPC Committee, Shandong Province: "Party Building Must Adapt to the New Situation of Opening Up to the Outside World"/

/Text/ To practice opening up to the outside world is a major strategic decision made for the construction of our modernization by the party Central Committee. Recently, Yantai Municipality was listed as one of 14 coastal cities to be further opened. Whether or not we can meet the requirements made by the party Central Committee depends, just as Comrade Deng Xiaoping has pointed out, on whether or not our party cadres at the various levels are enlightened persons and have the needed zeal. That is to say, it depends on whether our party organizations at the various levels and the vast ranks of our party members can adapt to the new situation and tasks of opening up to the outside world in terms of ideology, organization, and in terms of their level of knowledge and workstyle. This is a new issue in our party building today.

First of all, we must continue to emancipate our thinking and persistently and assiduously eliminate "Leftism" and guard against Rightism. At present, the problem of our party members' and cadres' thinking not adapted to it is rather salient. Instances of being afraid of "undertaking any risk," of "making mistakes," and of "diverting the character of socialism" are all indicative of the aftermath of those "Leftist" things. After the holding of the forum of a part of our coastal cities, we have reinforced our education on foreign policy and study of the basic theories concerning external economic activities, conscientiously studied the experiences of special zones such as Shenzhen and Xiamen, launched investigation and study, analyzed the actual situation in this municipality, and done our best to help our party members and cadres to destroy fetters that shackle their thinking. However, those "Leftist" things have existed for a long time; they are rather hard to get rid of all of a sudden; they are also likely to reappear hereafter without any letup. This makes it necessary for us to eliminate them again and again without interruption. On the other hand, opening to the outside world is like opening the window; once fresh air comes in, various germs are also likely to sneak in; thus part of those weakminded within the party are very likely to "catch cold" and exhibit symptoms of corruption and degeneration. This possibility has long been pointed

out by our party Central Committee. We must pay attention to overcoming the state of flabbiness and laxity and Rightist tendency on the ideological front, educate the base ranks of our party members and cadres with our powerful ideological and political work in order to enhance their party character, rectify our party workstyle, strictly abide by our party discipline, and preserve our Communist purity. In a word, we must both eliminate "Leftism" and guard against Rightism; this will be the long-term task of our party organizations in the strengthening of our ideological construction during the period of our openingup to the outside world.

We must reinforce the professional training of the ranks of our party members and cadres in order to enable them to adapt to our opening to the outside world in terms of both knowledge and skills. At present, the knowledge structure and business quality of the ranks of our party member leading cadres are hardly commensurate with the tasks they face. Of the various existing categories of cadres in the municipality, those with a university or college level of education make up only 15 percent; those with a secondary school or vocational school level make up 30 percent; people really converse in international trade, finance, laws, and up-to-date science and technology number very, very few. Solving such talent shortage and raising the quality of our cadres have already become our urgent tasks in our attempt to do a good job in opening up to the outside world; they are also urgent tasks in our party building at the present stage. The ways of solving this problem include, first, doing a conscientiously good job in implementing our intellectuals policy, especially in paying attention to promoting people who are really talented and very keen on carrying out reform to the leadership posts. In the meantime, we must courageously reform our personnel employment system, promote and appoint talents by making exceptions, and energetically import various talents externally. Second, we must open wide the doors of all schools and strengthen the specialized training of our existing party members and cadres. Apart from continuing to handle well our technical colleges, and correspondence schools and encouraging our cadres to resort to self-study, we also plan to draw 10 percent or more from among our existing party and government cadres and train them while they are released from production. Through such measures, the vast contingents of our cadres will be able to learn as fast as possible to do a good job in mastering the two capabilities of domestic construction and international trade, and become the "enlightened persons" who would guide our openingup efforts forward.

We must endeavor to change our spiritual state and make our zeal and workstyle commensurate with our openingup to the outside world. For a long time, some comrades have nurtured a rather bad habit: when a "priority document" is absent, they dare not do anything that even obviously needs to be done. After Yantai Municipality proceeded to further open up, some comrades were still waiting for the "priority document" to appear; they depend on external places to offer them experience, and they ask the superior level to provide them with regulations and rules. Such a spiritual state falls far from meeting the needs of openingup to the outside world. We have, in close junction with our party rectification, studied concentratedly and carried out education on four kinds of spirit. One is the advanced spirit of making decisions when the opportunity arose and taking action resolutely and speedily in order to meet the new situation of openingup to the outside world; a second is the penetration spirit of

daring to break through those old conventions and old modes, old regulations and old rules, and daring to challenge those sterile concepts, and daring to resort to reform and innovation in respect to labor and wages, personnel and cadre systems, and styles of economic management; a third is the spirit of struggle of being brave enough to make sacrifices, being unafraid of difficulties, unafraid of setbacks, unafraid of risks and at the same time actively giving support to those Communists who take the lead in carrying out reform; and a fourth is the practical and pragmatic spirit of uniting full enthusiasm with a scientific attitude and practical measures. Party and government organs and all departments and units must establish and perfect a strict individual responsibility system and prevent and resist the bureaucratic work-style of sitting around and discussing empty theories, being derelict and malfeasant in their work, and bungling up matters for the state and the people.

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CSO: 4005/863

EAST REGION

BRIEFS

SHANDONG INTELLECTUAL PARTY MEMBERS--Since the third plenum, the party organization of Qufu Teachers' College in Shandong Province has conscientiously stressed the work of recruiting college students into the party. Three hundred and five excellent college students have joined the party. At present, 5.8 percent of the total students are party members. [Excerpt] [Jinan Shandong Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 14 Sep 84 SK]

RETIREE RECEIVES JINAN AWARD--Rao Shoukun, commander of the Jinan Military Region and Chen Renhong, political commissar of the Jinan Military Region, recently issued an order to confer a first class merit award on Chen Bin, retired leader of Shshui County People's Armed Forces of Shandong Province at the regiment level, and to raise his administrative rank by one grade with a view to commending his advanced thinking and model deeds of voluntarily rendering medical service and willingly using his remaining years to contribute to his hometown's medical undertakings. The order finally called on the broad masses of commanders and fighters of the whole region and especially retired cadres to learn from Comrade Chen Bin to carry forward his fine tradition, to be inspired with revolutionary spirit, to bravely conduct reform and create new work and to devote their remaining years to the construction of a characteristically Chinese modernized and regularized revolutionary army. [Excerpt] [Jinan DAZHONG RIBAO in Chinese 8 Sep 84 p 1]

DRAMA FESTIVAL AWARDS RALLY--The second Shandong provincial drama festival month concluded successfully. On the evening of 28 September, an awards rally was held at the Shandong Theater. Attending were responsible comrades of the Shandong Provincial CPC Committee, the provincial Advisory Commission, Discipline Inspection Commission, people's congress Standing Committee, government and CPPCC committee, including Su Yiran, Liang Buting, Lu Maozeng, Li Changan, Li Zhen, Jiang Chunyun, Zheng Weimin, Gao Keting, Wang Zhongyin, Qin Hezhen, Ma Changgui and Ding Fangming. Zhang Zhi, deputy political commissar of the Jinan Military Region, also attended. [Excerpt] [Jinan Shandong Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 28 Sep 84]

CSO: 4005/027

CENTRAL--SOUTH REGION

HENAN MAKES PROGRESS IN INTELLECTUALS POLICY

Press Criticism

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 7 Sep 84 p 2

[Article by reporter Li Jie [2621 2638]: "The Leadership of the Henan Provincial CPC Committee and the Xuchang Prefectural CPC Committee Pay Attention to Press Criticism, Xuchang City Makes Progress in Implementing the Policy on Intellectuals"]

[Text] Editor's Note: This newspaper published a series of three reports between May and June this year exposing the serious problems existing in some units in Xuchang City in implementing the intellectuals policy. The Xuchang City CPC Committee considered the criticism "sound" which "hit the nail right on the head." However, the report: "The Problems Have Become Clear, the Resistance Has To Be Eliminated" published by this newspaper on 8 June identified a vice mayor as "empress." It is unceremonious and improper to call an errant comrade "empress," we should make self-criticism here.

Xuchang City has made progress in implementing the intellectuals policy under the supervision and inspection of the Henan Provincial CPC Committee and the Xuchang Prefectural CPC Committee.

Since May this year, this newspaper has published a series of reports exposing the serious problems existing in Xuchang City in implementing the intellectuals policy. These articles were: "Whose Ideas Did Intellectuals of Xuchang City Follow?," "The 'Short-lived' Factory Manager of 245 Days," and "The Problems Have Become Clear, Resistance Has Yet To be Eliminated." The Henan Provincial CPC Committee paid much attention to Xuchang City's problems reported by the newspaper. The provincial CPC committee and the provincial government sent work teams to Xuchang City to assist in and deal with the problems. Song Zhaosu [1345 3564 5126], secretary of the Xuchang Prefectural CPC Committee, and other leading comrades went deep down to a number of low-level units in Xuchang on different occasions. They visited the intellectuals and made friends with them and tried to understand their problems. They organized cadres transferred from organs directly under the prefecture into four

investigation teams to work in the few units in Xuchang City where more problems were reflected by the masses so as to analyze typical cases. The Xuchang City CPC Committee held that the press criticism was "sound" and "hit the nail right on the head." It organized more than 120 cadres into inspection and investigation teams, respectively, which went deep into bureaus, committees, offices and industrial and mining enterprises concerned to check on problems in implementing the intellectuals policy. They are now meting out measures to deal with those comrades who made mistakes in implementing the intellectuals policy. The "short-lived" factory manager Jin Shanzeng [7246 0810 1073], previously attacked and dismissed, returned to the barrows factory to resume his old post and form the new leading group of the factory. Jin Shanzeng was honorably admitted into the party in July.

In adherence to the criteria for the "four modernizations" and while eliminating the "Leftist influence, the Xuchang City CPC Committee boldly promoted a group of intellectuals to leading positions at all levels. After the structural reform, intellectuals with university and specialized education serving in the leading groups of bureaus and committees now constitutes 52 percent. The city financial authorities have decided to allocate 400,000 yuan to build houses for the intellectuals. Some enterprises have also arranged their own funds to build dormitories so as to solve the housing shortage confronting the intellectuals. In the past several months, 77 intellectuals in the city were admitted into the party. The organization department and the party school under the city CPC committee also set up classes for activists both inside and outside the party and 290 intellectuals have enrolled. A responsible comrade of the scientific and technical bureau of the Xuchang Prefectural CPC Committee told this reporter that "with the elevation of the intellectuals' social status at present, there are now fewer people looking down on knowledge and intellectuals and their market is diminishing."

Xuchang City is making good progress in implementing the intellectuals policy. However, it should also be noted that some units are still lagging behind in their work. The people are anticipating that the work of implementing the intellectuals policy in Xuchang City will continue to develop smoothly.

Manager Resumes Post

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 5 Jul 84 p 3

[Article by Chen Jingchun [7115 2529 2504]: "Xuchang Prefectural CPC Committee Correctly Handles Press Criticism, 'Short-lived' Factory Manager Receives Instructions To Resume Office"]

[Text] The article: "The 'Short-lived Factory Manager of 245 Days' and others published by the 17 April HENAN RIBAO and the 8 May RENMIN RIBAO criticising the Xuchang Barrow Factory for not implementing the policy toward intellectuals have evoked strong reaction in Xuchang Prefecture. Responsible comrades of the provincial CPC committee and the Xuchang Prefectural CPC Committee are paying attention to the criticism. Calling a number of meetings to discuss the matter, the prefectural CPC committee held that the criticism should be turned into a driving force to promote the implementation of the intellectuals policy. An

inspection team was sent to the Xuchang Barrows Factory on 18 April to check up things there.

On 19 April, the Xuchang Prefectural CPC Committee issued a "Circular on Conscientiously Examining the Implementation of the Intellectuals Policy." The circular pointed out solemnly to the whole prefecture that the erroneous removal of barrows factory manager Jin Shanzeng [7246 0810 1073] from his post by the former Xuchang City CPC Committee was a typical incident of discriminating, attacking and persecuting intellectuals.

The circular called on CPC committees at all levels to learn a lesson from this incident and do a good job in the following four areas: First, correctly handling press criticism and vigorously promoting the implementation of the intellectuals policy. Second, immediately transferring cadres led by leading comrades to conduct investigation and solve problems in implementing the intellectuals policy. Units and individuals who refused to implement the intellectuals policy and continued to discriminate, attack and persecute intellectuals will be sternly dealt with after facts are verified. Third, carrying out activities to promote education on the intellectuals policy, listening to the criticism and suggestions by the intellectuals and striving to create a social mood of showing respect for knowledge and intellectuals. Fourth, various county and city CPC committees and units directly under the prefecture must make reports in a timely manner to the prefectural CPC committee on the implementation of the intellectuals policy.

On 3 May, the Xuchang City CPC Committee and the city government formulated and published "Certain Regulations Governing the Implementation of the Intellectuals Policy."

On 20 May, seven leading comrades of the prefectural CPC committee and the Xuchang City CPC Committee attended a general meeting of workers and staff members of the barrows factory at which the city CPC committee announced its decision that Comrade Jin Shanzeng would resume his post as manager of the barrow factory. This decision and the names of members of the new leading group announced were welcomed by the workers and staff members.

The prefectural CPC committee and the provincial CPC committee's work team working together at present are conscientiously examining the work done earlier. They have submitted a written report to the provincial CPC committee, formulated plans and measures for further implementing the intellectuals policy from now on and are determined to carry them out earnestly and effectively.

12662

CSO: 4005/857

CENTRAL-SOUTH REGION

HENAN EXPELS FACTIONALISTS FROM PARTY

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 13 Jul 84 p 1

[Article by reporter Wu Xinghua [0702 5281 5478]: "Concurring With the Report the Shaoyang Prefectural and City CPC Committees, the Hunan Provincial CPC Committee Expels Ideologically Degenerated Factionalists Wang Anyi and Peng Fusheng From the Party and Decides To Investigate Yang Guangyan, Vice Chairman of the Shaoyang City CPPCC Committee, and Others Who Participated in Wang Anyi's Activities"]

[Text] The Hunan Provincial CPC Committee recently wrote comments on the report submitted by the Shaoyang Prefectural and City CPC Committees concurring the disciplinary action taken by the Shaoyang Prefectural CPC Committee in expelling the ideologically degenerated factionalist Wang Anyi [3769 1344 5030] from the party; concurring the disciplinary action taken by the Shaoyang City CPC Committee in expelling Wang Anyi's partner Peng Fusheng [1756 4359 3932] from the party and recommending that he be removed from all administrative duties. In discussing the Wang Anyi issue, the provincial CPC committee also decided to conduct an investigation on Yang Guangyan [2799 0342 8827], former Shaoyang City vice mayor and presently vice chairman of the Shaoyang City CPPCC Committee who was involved in Wang Anyi's activities. It was also decided that Wang Anyi's six other partners including Gong Zhihua [7895 1807 5378], party committee secretary of the Shaoyang City Hydraulic Turbine Plant; and Liu Jixiong [0491 1323 7160], director of the Shanyang Prefectural Communications Bureau, be suspended for further investigation or asked to make a clean breast of their wrong doings.

In mid-March this year, the staff office of the Central Commission for Guiding Party Consolidation sent an investigation team to check up on the Wang Anyi and Peng Fusheng issues, the provincial CPC committee also decided to send an investigation team to help the Shanyang Prefectural and City CPC Committees in investigating Wang Anyi and Peng Fusheng. A thorough investigation on the Wang Anyi and Peng Fusheng issues was basically completed after more than 3 months.

Yang Guangyan, former vice mayor of Shaoyang City and presently vice chairman of the Shaoyang City CPPCC Committee, supported and participated in Wang Anyi's clique activities and schemed for the clique while he was party committee secretary of the Shaoyang Prefectural Motor Repair Plant. He was promoted to vice mayor of Shaoyang City for his meritorious services in support of Wang

Anyi and he continued to support and participate in Wang Anyi's factionalist activities even after becoming vice mayor. In June 1982 when Wang Anyi's partners were scheming to make Wang Anyi a delegate to the 12th Party Congress, Yang Guangyan called a meeting at the home of Wang Anyi's brother, a manager of a tea factory under the prefectural foreign trade bureau, to discuss the so-called line and plans for action of the provincial CPC committee. The Wang Anyi gang went to the provincial CPC committee to make trouble after the meeting. Yang Guangyan remained very active last year when Wang Anyi rejected and interfered in the structural reform. He went to Changsha to inquire about "news" and called a factionalist meeting to discuss problems that might come up after the inauguration of the new city CPC committee. He also played an abominable role by suggesting that the gathering of "materials" about the new members of the city CPC committee be continued and the tactics of struggle changed so as to make the struggle legitimate.

12662

CSO: 4005/857

SOUTHWEST REGION

YUNNAN UNITED FRONT WORK ENCOURAGED

Kunming YUNNAN RIBAO in Chinese 20 Jul 84 p 1

[Editorial: "Make Progress in United Front Work"]

[Text] In the last few years, particularly since the 3d Plenum of the 11th Party Central Committee, under the correct policy guidance of the party Central Committee, united front work in Yunnan Province has basically set things to rights in guiding ideology and practical work. There have been marked successes in carrying out each united front policy. Every level of the CPPCC has been restored and set up one after another, and as the committee members number more than 17,000 in all, the united front lineup has been expanded as never before. Every aspect of the united front is based upon the requirements of building socialist modernization. In such areas as intellectual advice to border areas, commune-run schools, importation of capital, technological exchanges, and economic consultation, it expands "the people's way," and conscientiously serves the party's general line and general goals, exploring new avenues. Facts prove that the current patriotic united front is much broader in scope, with a more strengthening effect and more opportunity than any united front in any other period of history.

Nevertheless, united front work in Yunnan should progress in initiating a new situation, even though it faces many difficulties and obstacles. The principal problem now is that "Leftist" influences have still not been completely eradicated. Many comrades within the party still have the old concepts of a united front from the period of democratic revolution and socialist transformation. Their understanding of the new significance of this latest, broadest patriotic united front is inadequate, particularly with regard to Yunnan's many special problems, such as the location of its borders, its numerous nationalities, its complex problems of religion, and its returned overseas Chinese and relatives of overseas Chinese, as well as the resulting lack of thorough comprehension of the importance and arduousness of united front work. Therefore, from here on out, we should broaden our involvement in propagating education on united front theory and policy, staunchly overcome the mistaken tendency to "take the left as correct, and the correct as the right," correct our guiding ideology on united front work, and make clear the nature, effects, policies and tasks of the new patriotic united front.

The united front should serve the general goals and general task of the party. At present, it should center firmly on reform and lifting restrictions as its central task, bringing into full play the enthusiasm of every democratic party group and other people outside the party in Yunnan to work for reform and lifting restrictions. In particular, we should mobilize every aspect of the united front to explore this new avenue, to get involved in investigation, to sum up and extend fresh experience, to enlarge the scope of work, to open all avenues for people of talent, to suggest ways and means for reform and lifting restrictions, and to manage practical affairs and come up with practical results for economic construction, so that we can broaden the avenues by which the united front serves the general goals and general task of the party as we go.

We should mobilize every positive factor in the service of the three great tasks of the eighties and nineties, while continuing to stress the implementation of united front policies. At present, we should earnestly carry out the policy on intellectuals, and deal well with intellectuals outside the party. Party committees at every level should stress this work, organizational departments should take this up immediately, and the CPPCC and united front departments should not shirk their responsibilities. We should overcome all "Leftist" deviations of intellectuals, to genuinely develop intellectuals into party members in accordance with the standards for party members. At the same time, we should help them resolve problems of necessary conditions of work and livelihood. On all policies on other aspects of the united front, such as those on CPPCC committee members, personnel who revolted and crossed over from the old Kuomintang, our Taiwan compatriots, and returned overseas Chinese and relatives of overseas Chinese, the Central Committee has made clear specific provisions. The key lies in implementing them. We should investigate them one by one, implement them item by item, stipulate a set period of time, and delegate responsibility to people. For anything that should be managed or can be managed but has been delayed or rejected, we should investigate whether it is the responsibility of leadership or individuals.

Party committees are the key to successful united front work. United front work is the work of the entire party, and it is an important component of party committee work. Party committees at every level must promote this work to a major agenda. The comrades with central responsibility on party committees should lead the way in united front work, and set an example in making friends and honest critics among people outside the party. Party committees at all levels should be concerned with building the ranks of cadres in the CPPCC and united front work departments, and should create the necessary work conditions for them. On the other hand, the CPPCC and united front departments should bring into play their own enthusiasm, initiative and creativity, and serve as good party committees in giving advice and assistance in united front work and to truly engage in discussing national affairs, understanding the entire situation, managing one's own profession, and making great contributions to initiating a new situation in united front work.

12534

CSO: 4005/788

SOUTHWEST REGION

CRITICISM SEEN AS VITAL IN PARTY RECTIFICATION

Kunming YUNNAN RIBAO in Chinese 27 Jul 84 p 3

[Article by Ma Hanru [7456 3352 0320]: "On Criticism and Self-Criticism"]

[Text] Criticism and self-criticism is one of the three major work styles of our party, and they are the effective methods for resisting the various dirty political corruption and for overcoming various deviant tendencies. During the 10 years of internal turmoil, the morale of our party suffered wanton destruction and trampling by the two counterrevolutionary cliques of Lin Biao and the "gang of four." The seriousness of its after-effect and the wickedness of its influence have, even up to today, made it a difficult task for us to really renew this fine tradition of our party. However, in the currently launched party rectification movement, to really and completely renew this kind of work style is significantly important and urgent.

I

In whatever we do, there should always be objectives, and there should also be ways to achieve them. When the methods are correct then the objectives are easy to achieve. The process of party rectification is also like this.

The central authorities of the party have indicated in their directive: "The fundamental methods of this party rectification is: to conscientiously study documents and to raise the basis of ideological understanding to launch criticism and self-criticism, distinguish right from wrong, correct mistakes, and to purify the organization." The directive has also clearly indicated "to study document, and increase understanding in order to change the conditions which have created contradictions within the party, so that one can correctly carry out the effective methods of criticism and self-criticism to resolve the contradictions within the party. Not a single objective of the party can be accomplished without sincerely carrying out criticism and self-criticism. It cannot be better told that the fundamental method of party rectification is the method of criticism and self-criticism. In order to achieve "every objective" of party rectification, we must sincerely promote criticism and self-criticism.

The first task of party rectification is to seek ideological unity, i.e., to unify the thinking of the entire party so that it coincides with the line adopted by the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee. Along

the guiding principle and fundamental policy, it requires us to overcome and correct, within the party and including ourselves, the various "leftist" ideological influence and rightist erroneous tendency. That is, to undertake the ideological struggle on these two fronts. The second task of party rectification is to rectify the work style, to correct the various deeds of using one's authority of office to benefit oneself, and the bureaucracy of opposition to one's responsibility to the party and the people. Can this be accomplished without undertaking criticism and self-criticism? Can this trend of unhealthy practices and evil be swept away? Certainly not! Neither can the third and fourth tasks as well as requirements of other objectives of party rectification be achieved while deviating from this sharp weapon of criticism and self-criticism. It is apparent that the effect and position of the criticism and self-criticism method is important in party rectification!

II

The pernicious influence created by the damage of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" had a strong impact on the criticism and self-criticism method during the 10 years of internal turmoil. For example, criticism was used as a means to attack others, actually attacking others in the guise of criticism. However, this may just be an individual, specific case. Currently, the most outstanding influence in our party is that there are many who are not only disgusted with criticism and self-criticism and have abhorrent feelings, but are afraid of launching criticism and self-criticism. Therefore, liberalism ideology has gained much ground, and the "old good guy" work style such as saying, "plant more flowers and less thorns," and "be worldly wise and play safe and seek only to avoid blame." There are some organizations inside the party which only stress on saving face, not on getting the truth, therefore, the practice of criticism and self-criticism cannot be launched: Some go for mutual admiration, carrying on "You are well, I am well, we are all well;" even though some clearly have differences with each other, but they would not come to the table for discussion, such as "gossip behind people's backs but say nothing to their faces," and "say nothing in a meeting but speak carelessly afterward," making democratic life abnormal. In party rectification, especially in the comparison and evaluation phase, these kind of activities are occurring in certain units, and their efforts to carry out party rectification cannot solve any problems. The comparison and evaluation phase is a critical phase of the entire process of the party rectification. The main problems to be solved in this phase is to strengthen the party organization, to give it more fighting power, to improve the party morale, to raise the level of ideological consciousness of the broad masses of party members and cadres, to cast away the excessive baggage, to clear misunderstanding, improve solidarity, to further maintain political uniformity with the Party Central Committee, to further thoroughly carry out the party line, principles and policies through one's own initiative, and to be of one heart and one mind to vigorously strive to carry out the party's overall tasks. This requires us to use the documents in party rectification such as the Party Constitution and "Certain Criteria for Inner-party Political Life" as the ideological weapons to mutually carry out enthusiastic support, to launch correct, not deviate and sincere, but not perfunctory, criticism and self-criticism, and to earnestly solve existing problems. Otherwise, the comparison and evaluation phase can not be carried out properly and party rectification will be just like going through motion.

III

In launching criticism, one must begin with a desire for solidarity, and an attitude to help others. This point is very important in the party rectification process because the party morale that was damaged by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" has not yet completely recovered as of today. This is so because the objective of criticism is to help our comrades to overcome shortcomings and to correct mistakes. Even if one carries on solemn criticism of the comrade who has made serious mistakes, it is done to "learn from past mistakes to avoid future ones, and to cure the sickness to save the patient," and it is not to "cast a stone on one who has fallen into the well," and to "kill with one stroke." Only through a starting point from a desire for unity, going through criticism and self-criticism can one achieve new unity upon a new foundation. Unity--criticism--unity, this is the only correct way to resolve the contradiction within the party. The kind of ultra-"leftist" methods of using opportunities to make criticism, to give vent to one's spite, to carry out revenge, to utilize factionalism to punish someone, or to carry out "ruthless struggle and merciless blows," are all completely erroneous and should be resolutely stopped. In this way, we can correctly resolve the various contradictions existing within the party during party rectification, and to clear our thoughts as well as achieve the means of unifying our comrades.

IV

In carrying out criticism and self-criticism, one must seek truth from facts. One must look at one's own as well as others' mistakes, look only at the fact without exaggerating or slighting it. In criticizing others, we must not depend on hearsay, not make groundless accusation, but stress on facts, emphasize on investigation and study, base fact on evidence, use correct measure, and convince people by reasoning and use kindness to move people. In self-criticism, one must be strict in appraising oneself and be courageous in uncovering one's shortcomings and mistakes in ideology and in work. One must not be casual, perform one's duties in a perfunctory manner, speak insincerely and exaggerate the mistakes of others to the maximum. We should, on the one hand, maintain strictness and incisiveness in criticism and self-criticism, and, on the other hand, maintain scientific objectivity in criticism and self-criticism. One should not emphasize one thing at the expense of the other, and only then can one be able to improve his thinking, overcome shortcomings, correct mistakes and promote the work objective.

V

When carrying out criticism, one must be permitted to argue his case, in order to obtain an important and necessary real effect of criticism. When Lin Biao and the "gang of four" were on the rampage, criticism was a besieging denouncement; "I criticize and you submit," using power to bully, and no defense was allowed. Today, we do not engage in such practice. We insist in having a desire to achieve unity as the objective for criticism, and it is based on fact so that the one who is criticized is sincerely convinced and accept it sincerely. However, due to various reasons, inevitably there are criticism which are incorrect and not comprehensive, and criticism, is made incorrectly. Therefore,

one who is criticized should have the right to argue for himself, and he should have the right to carry out counter-criticism and to voice his opinion. Even if the criticism is correct, but the criticized one cannot accept it due to a temporary mental block, he should be allowed to go over his thoughts, and one must patiently wait for his acceptance. This is indeed the beneficial way to solve the problem of ideological understanding. Of course, in dealing with criticism, one must advocate the attitude of "correct mistakes if you have made any, and guard against them if you have not," and not be entangled in minor details. Otherwise, it is without slight benefits.

VI

The key to sincerely launching criticism and self-criticism, is that leading cadres should set examples, and take lead in practices. First of all, one must go all out in mobilizing the vast number of party members and lower level party organizations to present suggestion for criticism. One should take the attitude toward the one who is criticized that "blame not the speaker but be warned by his words," and encourage everyone to "say all you know and say it without reserve" and to come out with all comments. One must oppose those who cover up their errors, refuse to carry out but even suppress criticism, and who have the odious behavior of revenging attack on those who criticize them. Second, one must face up to the unit's and one's own existing mistakes, not avoiding them, not covering up, not to push away above and slide away below, but dare to use high standard to subjectively and conscientiously carry out self-criticism. One must overcome the kind of fear of losing face, fear of losing prestige and fear of negating one's achievements, thereby refusing to admit one mistakes and afraid to openly think about and conduct self-criticism. Third, one must deal with the existing mistakes of other leading cadres, and to also properly carry out criticism with sincere solemnity and to seek truth from facts. One must change the attitude toward the kind of problems existing within the leading group, of no exposure, no criticism, of being a peace maker (who is more concerned with stopping the bickering than settling the issue), and the condition of keeping on good terms with everyone at the expense of principle. If the leading cadres can do these, then they can lead the broad masses of party members in doing a good job in party rectification.

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SOUTHWEST REGION

YUNNAN PROVINCIAL PARTY COMMITTEE HOLDS MEETING

Kunming YUNNAN RIBAO in Chinese 15 Jul 84 p 1

[Article by staff reporter: "The Sixth Plenary Session of the Third Yunnan Provincial Party Committee Ends After Having Completed All Items on the Agenda"]

[Text] This paper has learned that the Sixth Plenary (enlarged) Session of the Third Yunnan Provincial Party Committee came to an end in Kunming yesterday. The conference lasted 11 days and covered all the items on the agenda.

On the morning of 7 July, Comrade An Pingsheng [1344 1627 3932], speaking on the floor of the conference on behalf of the provincial party committee's Standing Committee, compared and examined its work. The comparison and examination involved three parts. Part one concentrated on reviewing the accomplishment achieved by, and problems still existing in, the province since the 3d Plenum of the 11th Party Central Committee. Part two stressed the examination of the gap between reality and ideals. The examination began with the leadership and ideological guidance of the provincial party committee's Standing Committee. Basically, its execution of the ideological line has fallen short of the party's goals. "Leftist" influence has interfered with its work in many areas. Five aspects of the Standing Committee's work were examined: "Leftist" influence and obsolete ideas have limited its economic performances; goals set for the border areas, among various nationalities, and on the united front have not been met; the building of spiritual civilization has not been stressed sufficiently, nor has it been treated in a strategic fashion so as to fully execute the building of the two civilizations; there is no sense of urgency among cadres concerning the "four modernizations" program and the "third echelon formation" and policy toward intellectuals has not been implemented intensively and thoroughly; issues concerning democratic centralization, ideological style and leadership were also examined. The third part of the comparison and examination involved five reformatory measures proposed by the provincial party committee's Standing Committee.

On the morning of 10 July, Comrade Pu Chaozhu [2528 2600 2691] briefed participants on the "planning of work in economics for the second half of the year." After having outlined the positive economic trend in the entire province during the first 6 months of this year and major problems that still existed, he suggested five ways to improve our work in economics for the second half of the

year. These suggestions were made with reform and the open policy in mind as party rectification could improve the economy and be tested by economic factors. These five measures can be implemented at the same time as rectification and reform: correct the ideological line, simplify policies and decrease centralization, change work style; waste no time in carrying out various projects, accelerate the pace of urban reform; assure favorable results in agriculture by implementing Central Document No 1 in the spirit of reform; restructure the educational and scientific research systems; insist on instituting the open door policy in order to attract unrestricted capital, technology and talent for the development of Yunnan.

On the morning of 14 July, Comrade Li Qiming [2621 0796 2494], on behalf of the provincial party committee, talked about the repudiation and inspection of the "three kinds of people." He focused on the purpose, significance, guiding ideology, methods, measures and relevant policies concerning the repudiation and inspection of the "three kinds of people." The repudiation and inspection are meant to unify ideology, boost the party's spirits, overcome factionalism and enhance the awareness of the people.

Under the assistance of the liaison group stationed in our province by the order of the Central Commission for Guiding Party Rectification and through the efforts of all participating cadres, the conference was conducted in accordance with party Central Committee's directives on party rectification and in the spirit of Circular Nos 7, 8 and 9 of the Central Commission for Guiding Party Rectification [CCGPR]. As a result, it achieved the goal it had set out for. It urged the practice of criticism, self-criticism and democracy. It unified ideology, enlivened the party's spirits, enhanced the sense of unity, embodied the spirit of rectification and created a new situation. Participating comrades discussed and made numerous favorable criticisms and suggestions concerning problems existing in the ideological guidance and leadership of the provincial party committee's Standing Committee. The conference gave a positive and powerful push to its work in comparison and examination. It helped to create a new work situation in Yunnan. Participants supported Comrade Pu Chaozhu's proposals that related to the content and basic policy of work in economics for the second half of the year, and offered numerous additional ideas. Participants' views on the inspection of "the three kinds of people" were further unified after Comrade Li Qiming's talk had been discussed. All three items on the agenda were fully explored. Positive ideas had been offered and participants were fundamentally in agreement with one another. This has established a fine ideological foundation for the party's rectification work and created a new phase in economics for Yunnan.

Now that the conference is over, the provincial party committee's Standing Committee should engage in individual comparison and examination. It should spend 3 months in extensive investigation and research in order to carry out fully rectification and reform according to the directives of the CCGPR and the spirit of the conference. Most of the various provincial and Kunming municipal units that are conducting party rectification work will soon enter the period of comparison and examination. The comparison and examination should be executed in the spirit of the CCGPR's Circular No 9. They should

aim at correcting the ideological guidance for operational undertakings, eliminating factionalism, boosting the party's spirits, and rectifying bureaucratism and erroneous practices that involve using position of authority for personal gain. The overriding goal of comparison and examination should be to solve major problems that exist within leading circles. Regions, prefectures, cities and counties should reform before setting out to rectify by undertaking work in the four areas mentioned above so as to push forward their work in economics and other fields. This constitutes the most important part of the preparatory work in party rectification.

The conference reached the conclusion that the work in economics for the second half of this year should be carried out in accordance with the spirit of Premier Zhao Ziyang's "Report on Government Work" and the directives of the provincial party committee and the people's government. Further correction of the ideological line is the key to success. The accuracy of our operational undertakings and guiding principles is dependent upon the degree to which they meet with the overall mission and goal of the party. Six measures were proposed to accomplish this goal. One, strengthen our work in political ideology, continue criticizing "leftist" influence. An outline of urban reform should be formulated quickly. Propaganda education is to be initiated extensively and intensively among all party members, cadres, the masses of workers, staff members and urban and rural dwellers in order to enhance people's support of reform and overcome all ideological obstacles that interfere with reform and economic development. Two, we should transfer the managerial power to lower level cadres and restructure cadres' administrative system in order to meet the demands of economic reform and the open-door policy. Three, the personal responsibility system should be instituted extensively in the provincial party and political organizations to enhance efficiency. Requests and reports filed from lower levels should be studied seriously and be attended to according to schedule. Four, the provincial people's government should set up immediately a team to coordinate work in economics which will be authorized to make final decisions concerning controversial issues. Five, those regulations, systems, and measures of the provincial party committee, the provincial people's government and various departments that are obsolete and do not meet the requirements of the party's overall mission and goal should be done away with. Research and investigation should be conducted to formulate new regulations, systems and measures that correspond with the new circumstances. Six, comparison and examination should be integrated closely with reform. As soon as comparison and examination has reached a certain stage, various reform measures should be implemented thoroughly throughout basic levels and among the masses. Unified planning should be made in developing various projects so that they complement each other. We should liberate ourselves from "piles of documents and an ocean of meetings" and engage enthusiastically in investigation and research so as to assist our subordinates in solving problems and accelerating their work pace. This year marks the first year of party rectification. We must work twice as hard and keep up the good work in economics which achieved favorable results during the first half of this year. We hope to greet the 35th anniversary of the founding of our nation with even more impressive results.

The conference stressed the importance of eliminating factionalism and enhancing the sense of loyalty to the party. The 10 years of upheaval caused by the

counterrevolutionary clique of Lin Biao and Jiang Qing has had disastrous effects on our province and has left behind deep scars ideologically among cadres and the masses. Factionalism is the unique, destructive result of the 10 years of upheaval. Even certain highly conscientious comrades have become involved in factionalism in one way or another. It is a kind of corrosive that eats away the unity of the party. The party cannot accomplish its various projects unless it is unified. We must face up to this problem and try solving it by improving our understanding of the proper ideology, strengthening our sense of loyalty to the party and adopting effective measures. We should review the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC," educate intensively the masses of party members on the negative aspects of the "Great Cultural Revolution," and eliminate factionalism ideologically, politically and organizationally. Leading cadres should be role-models. It would be easier to overcome this problem once the ideological positions of various leading cadres have been unified and improved.

The final round of the sixth session of the Third Provincial Party Committee was held yesterday afternoon. Comrade Zhao Tingguang [6392 1694 0342] expressed his views on the future of party rectification in our province, and Comrade An Pingsheng presented a summary of the conference.

Participants of yesterday's session included members and alternate members of the Third Provincial Party Committee, members and alternate members of Yunnan's CPC committee, and chief of the central directives committee's liaison group in Yunnan, Li Dezhong [2621 1795 0112]. Also present were leaders of various departments of the provincial party committee, top level provincial departments and bureaus that have been assigned to the state organs, the provincial economic research center and Yunnan University's leading party group (party committee). The political commissars and secretaries of various prefectures, zhous and cities also attended the meeting.

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SOUTHWEST REGION

POLITICAL, IDEOLOGICAL WORK IN SCHOOLS OF HIGHER LEARNING STRESSED

Beijing ZHONGGUO JIAOYU BAO in Chinese 3 Jul 84 p 3

[Article by Ministry of Propaganda of Sichuan Provincial CPC Committee and Sichuan Provincial Bureau of Higher Education: "Strengthen Administration of Political and Ideological Work in Schools of Higher Education"]

[Text] There are a total of 51 schools of higher learning in Sichuan Province. After the 3d Plenum of the 11th CPC Central Committee, political and ideological work in schools of higher learning in our province has been strengthened and improved. In the past few years, the provincial party committee and the provincial government have strengthened administration of political and ideological work in schools of higher learning mainly from the various aspects as follows.

Innovate Administrative System, Strengthen Administrative Organizations, Conscientiously Enhance Leadership in Political and Ideological Work in Schools of Higher Learning.

After the smashing of the "gang of four," political and ideological work in schools of higher learning has once become very weak. Erroneous tendencies such as negating political work and uglifying cadres engaged in political work have appeared in society and in schools. In view of these situations, leading cadres of the provincial party committee and the provincial government, on the basis of the spirit of the 3d Plenum of the 11th CPC Central Committee, repeatedly emphasized that, in the new historical period, political and ideological work in schools of higher learning can only be strengthened but not be weakened. Comrade Tan Qilong [6223 0796 7893] pointed out once at a meeting of secretaries of party committees of schools of higher learning that, 10 or 20 years later, what kind of people will succeed comrades of the older generation to become the backbone on all fronts and members of the leadership in the party, government, institutions and enterprises? A considerable portion of them will be college graduates who are being cultivated today. To do a good job in political and ideological work for college students is a matter of importance which has a bearing on the future of the party and the country. Therefore, the basic task of party committees of schools of higher learning is to do a good job in political and ideological work for students. Another responsible comrade of the provincial party committee

also pointed out that, in conducting political-ideological work in schools of higher learning, we must regard it as the most important task of the party committee to conscientiously carry out the work by recognizing the importance from the high plane of the training of successors, its urgency from the pressing needs of people who are socialist-minded and professionally proficient in the four modernizations drive, its toughness from the struggle between corruption and anti-corruption, and recognizing its persistence from the nature and characteristics of socialist education. In order to strengthen administration of political and ideological work in schools of higher learning, the provincial party committee has adopted the following measures in recent years.

First, the administrative system has been reformed. In order to make a change of the situation of multi-leadership and ambiguities of personal responsibilities in schools of higher learning, the provincial party committee decided in 1978 in accordance with the spirit of the National Conference on Educational Work that political and ideological work in schools of higher learning in our province should be under the unified leadership of the provincial party committee. Party committees in municipalities, prefectures and autonomous prefectures where schools are located will be held responsible for supervising, expediting and administering party affairs. Schools of higher learning located in Chongqing Municipality are to be administered by Chongqing municipal party committee. In the provincial party committee, not only the secretary and a deputy secretary were assigned to share out the work, principal responsible comrades also took a personal interest in this matter. At the end of 1982, the provincial party committee and the provincial government further strengthened their leadership in educational work during the reform of organizations at the provincial level. In addition to a deputy secretary of the provincial party committee who was assigned to be concurrently in charge of this matter, two members of the standing committee of the provincial party committee and a lieutenant governor were also assigned to share out the work.

Second, organizations at the provincial level which administer political and ideological work in schools of higher learning have been readjusted and strengthened in order to bring the role of functional departments into play and to practice unified administration. In recent years, in addition to the former propaganda department of the provincial party committee which was responsible to taking the lead in guiding political and ideological work in schools of higher learning and was in charge of giving lectures on political theories, a section of higher education was set up in the office of culture and education of the provincial party committee and the provincial government. A total of nine cadres have been assigned to work in this section. Under the direct leadership of the director and a deputy director of the office of culture and education, they specifically took care of political and ideological work in schools of higher learning throughout the province. After the merge of the office of culture and education of the propaganda department, the section of higher education remains unchanged. At the same time, a section of

political education has been set up on the basis of the former section of students' affairs of the provincial bureau of higher education. Besides, there are unions of educational workers, school affairs work department of the provincial League committee and moral education research associations in universities, middle schools and junior colleges. Under the unified leadership of the provincial party committee, the forces of the party, the government, the unions, the league and the masses have been put together to practice unified administration over political and ideological work in schools of higher learning. Under a unified leadership of this type, they each lay particular emphasis on their own tasks and coordinate with each other. In so doing, it is advantageous to the close combination of politics with vocational work, of education with administration and of theory with practice, to the formation of a joint force and to the improvement of the fighting power, persuasiveness and attraction of political and ideological work.

Third, attention has been paid directly to leading cadres in schools of higher learning in order to enable them to understand and keep abreast of the spirit of the relevant directives of the party Central Committee and the provincial party committee in time and to help them resolve some important problems. Schools of higher learning are considered to be one of the most sensitive departments on the ideological front. However, in the past few years, owing to the fact that the administrative system was confused and that the information transmission was impeded, they landed themselves in a very passive position. This has been one of the reasons which has caused political and ideological work to be in a disorganized and flabby state. In order to alter this situation, starting from 1979, the provincial party committee has begun to make it a usual practice to draw party committee secretaries of schools of higher learning or university presidents or college means who are party members to participate in all important meetings convened by the provincial party committee in addition to holding many conferences of party committee secretaries of schools of higher learning. The main tasks of these meetings were to relay and study the important documents of the party Central Committee, to exchange experiences and to draw up work plans. In some of these meetings, they also carried out criticisms and self-criticisms and helped the leading cadres of schools of higher learning resolve some of the tendentious ideological problems.

Practices in recent years have proven that the administrative system and the setup of organizations are basically suited to the needs for strengthening political and ideological work in schools of higher learning.

Overcome Obstructions from the "Left" and the Right, Rectify the Guiding Ideology and Lead Political and Ideological Work in Schools of Higher Learning to a Healthy Development.

After the smashing of the "gang of four," political and ideological work, in schools of higher learning has been faced with a new situation which is entirely different from that of the 1950's and the 1960's. On the

one hand, it is good to see that the thinking of the masses of teachers and students has been emancipated and they are bold to explore. As a result, a favorable condition has been created for political and ideological work in schools of higher learning. On the other hand, however, owing to the various historical and immediate reasons, some problems have also emerged, for instance, the problem of individuals taking the lead in creating troubles, the problem of impacts resulting from spiritual pollution and the problem of committing criminal offences. These problems have become factors which have caused the instability in schools and sometimes they may even impair public order. Confronted with such a situation, there are people who have become lackadaisical and blunt or have become impetuous and oversimplified. In order to overcome this flabby and disorganized state as well as the "leftist" influence so that political and ideological work in schools of higher learning can be healthily developed along the direction guided by the line adopted at the 3d Plenum of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the provincial party committee, in accordance with the plan drawn up by the party Central Committee, has held conferences of party committee secretaries of schools of higher learning many times to correctly analyze the political and ideological situations in schools of higher learning in order to understand the spirit of the directives of the party Central Committee in an all-round way and to clearly guide the ideological trend so as to correctly guide them from the two aspects of doing a good job in day-to-day work and in handling chance occurrences.

On the one hand, to proceed from the purpose of realizing the goal of education in schools of higher learning for the overwhelming majority, the emphasis of political and ideological work has been placed on day-to-day work and on the fundamental issue of educating the young students to adhere to the four basic principles. Since 1979, schools one after another have approved to organize teachers, students, staff members and workers to learn from the speech which Comrade Deng Xiaoping delivered at the party's meeting on ideological guidelines, from the "Current Situations and Tasks," from the spirit of the Work Conference of the party Central Committee held in December 1980, from the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the People's Republic of China" and from the documents of the 12th CPC National Congress so as to educate them to have an intensive understanding of the four basic principles. In this education, the provincial party committee, countering the two erroneous views of both regarding paying attention to conducting education in the "four upholds" as an obstacle to the emancipation of mind and looking upon education in the "four upholds" as measures to "tighten" or to "oppress," has clearly pointed out that it is not advisable to think of adhering to the four basic principles as conflicting with emancipation of mind. Only when emancipation of mind has been realized can we correctly understand and adhere to the four basic principles. And only when we adhere to the four basic principles can we emancipate the mind along the correct track and utilize the fundamental tenets of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought to study new situations and to resolve new problems. After having conducted education in the "four upholds" during the past few years, activists have strengthened

their conviction in the party and in socialism, a handful of students who were perplexed and hesitant have become clear about the way forward and individuals who took wrong steps have been redeemed.

On the other hand, the two different types of contradictions have been strictly distinguished, the principle of persuasion has been insisted, a handful of students who were seriously imbued with political and ideological mistakes have been educated and redeemed and cases of creating troubles have been correctly handled. During a period of an important turn in the course of events, intricate situations have always appeared in different types of contradictions and problems and especially so among the young students for which we must make concrete analysis and deal with them correctly. A small-character poster of serious problems has once appeared in Chongqing College of Architectural Engineering. Later on, it was found that the small-character poster was written by a student under the age of 20. The main reason of writing this poster was that he was seriously poisoned by the "gang of four" and was completely unfamiliar with the line of the 3d Plenum of the 11th CPC Central Committee and thus resulted in some erroneous points of view. His erroneous viewpoints must be refuted, but this still belongs to the question of ideological understanding. Therefore, the party committee of the school adopted the method of conducting criticism and education in order to redeem and win over him. A tremendous amount of work has been done in cooperation with his parents to enable him to recognize his mistakes. He said gratefully: "The education and assistance of the teachers have enabled me to put my train of thought back on the right track." Still there were others who had once lost their bearings that are back on the right track after having undergone comparison, distinction, thinking and exploration. And some of them already joined the Communist Party. Practice has proven that the principle of persuasion is a correct principle for resolving contradictions among the people and it is more so in conducting education for the young students. Some comrades said that, in dealing with this kind of problems, we must have the spirit and daring as "Da Yu in dredging the nine rivers." We must dredge but not stop up. We must persuade but not oppress. We must go about things steadily but not act in haste. In dealing with mistakes of the young students, it is not correct to take a laissez-faire attitude because it is a manifestation of the disorganized and flabby state. However, if we do not adopt correct principles and methods but rather follow the same old stuff of the "leftist" ways of doing things, it is possible to bring about undesirable results which will go contrary to our wishes. The provincial party committee has, in accordance with the spirit of the party Central Committee, summed up experiences gained in some schools and have repeatedly stated that, in dealing with this kind of problems, we must pay attention to the following points: First, we must unflinchingly maintain political unanimity with the party Central Committee and have a clear-cut stand to adhere to the four basic principles. On this cardinal question of right and wrong, a slight degree of confusion or vacillation may encourage erroneous thoughts and result in serious consequences. Second, we must resolutely overcome bureaucratism, improve our workstyle, care about the daily life of the masses, strengthen

administrative work, earnestly resolve problems which teachers and students urgently asked us to resolve and which can be resolved, and do whatever we can to improve the studying, living and working conditions of teachers and students. We must guard against long delay without making a decision that might touch off public indignation and thereby result in an intensification of contradictions. With regard to problems which cannot be resolved for the time being, we must frankly and sincerely speak out to make them understandable to the masses so that the leadership and the rank and file are of one mind to overcome difficulties in concert. Third, at the time of safeguarding stability and unity, attention must be paid to making continual efforts for emancipating the mind, encouraging the free airing of voices, carrying out a variety of after-class activities and developing a lively situation. Fourth, matters must be handled in accordance with the pattern followed in ideological work. For instance, in dealing with questions relevant to ideological understanding, we can only persuade but not oppress and, moreover, we must know how to wait and allow relapses. Also, in dealing with academic questions, we must insist on the "double-hundred principle," advocate contention and allow the reservation of different views. Facts have proven that, in so doing, it is advantageous to resolving contradictions, to achieving stability and unity and to vitalizing ideological work.

Look Downward, Pay Attention to Exploring New Paths for Disseminating the Truth of Communism in Practices.

In a period of time, comrades of many schools reported that, under the new historical conditions, the demand is rigid and the difficulty is great in carrying out political and ideological work. "The old methods are no longer applicable; the new methods are not yet familiar to us; the tough methods are hot potatoes and the soft methods are ineffective." The fear of difficulty is relatively common in existence. The provincial party committee regarded that, in order to resolve this question, we must look downward and pay attention to practices. Not only must we know how to utilize the experiences of the political work of the party effectively implemented in the past, attention must also be paid to investigation and study, to the understanding of the new situations, to the settlement of the new problems, to the summation of new experiences and to the cultivation of new models in order to steadily explore the features and patterns of political and ideological work in the new period and to probe the new paths for disseminating the truth of communism. After the 3d Plenum of the 11th CPC Central Committee and especially since the party Central Committee calling for strengthening the building of a socialist spiritual civilization, large numbers of activists who wish to devote themselves to the building of a socialist spiritual civilization have emerged one after another in schools of higher learning in our province and a lot of new and effective experiences in conducting education in communism have been created. Over the past few years, we have promptly summed up and promoted these experiences. As a result, political and ideological work in schools of higher learning throughout our province has taken on a gratifying aspect in which the conducting of the communist ideological education can be carried out at different levels, through different channels and in a variety of forms.

First, importance has been attached to the role and experience of the full-time political work ranks. The full-time political work ranks are the backbone in opening new aspects for conducting the communist ideological education. Over the past few years, they have done a vast amount of work. Both the excellent situations currently emerged in schools of higher learning and the improvement of the ideological awareness of teachers and students are inseparable from their assiduous work. In August 1982, the provincial authorities held a commendatory conference in a relatively large scale. At the conference, 100 outstanding political work cadres were cited and their experiences have been summed up and exchanged.

Second, great efforts have been made to promote and spread the experiences that teachers have gained in teaching and in cultivating students. The teachers are important and they work in close coordination with political work cadres. In carrying out ideological work, their characteristic is that they have placed ideological education in the teaching of professional knowledge to help students combine the consolidation of professional thinking with the cultivation of lofty ideals, combine the desire of achieving successes in professional work with the strengthening of training in professional morality, and combine the understanding of the scientific laws with the formation of the scientific world outlook. In so doing, the education in communist ideology has been carried out fairly and reasonably and undoubtedly logical. As a result, the persuasiveness and attraction of political and ideological work have been greatly improved and noticeable successes have been achieved. Among them are Wei Yingtao [7136 3467 3447], associate professor of the department of history of Sichuan University, who started with teaching of history to conduct education in patriotism and communism, Feng Guangyu [7458 0342 6877] and Chi Yan [1508 3508], associate professor of Sichuan Music College and lecturer of Sichuan College of Fine Arts respectively, who used the healthy music appreciation and the knowledge of aesthetics to exert a favorable influence on people's feelings, and Hong Fan [3163 5400], the former vice president of Neijiang Normal Junior College (currently associate dean of Southwest Normal College), who used his personal experience gained during his more than one year stay in the United States to conduct education and communist outlook on life. Over the past year or so, they have respectively delivered more than 100 important lectures. As a result, they have brought the superiority of knowledge into play and have created new experiences in disseminating the truth of communism and thereby caused strong repercussions among the young people. Just as what some of the listeners said: "To move people by articles, people can be moved by affections; to convince people by history, people's will can be firmed; to entertain people by beauty, people's hearts can be cured."

Third, the experiences of self-education of students have been summed up and promoted. Over the past few years, a large number of advanced elements have emerged among students of schools of higher learning in our province. They have created and developed a variety of forms for the masses to carry out self-education. One of these activities was oratorical contests with

the "three ardent loves" as the theme. For instance, there were oratorical contests under the titles of "Sing the Praises of the Motherland, Sing the Praises of the Party" and "University Students of the 1980's." Another kind of activity was carrying out a social study. During the summer vacation in 1979, Chongqing Medical College arranged to send students back to their home towns to carry out a social study which was considered to be an assignment of the vacation for conducting education in the four basic principles. Good results have been achieved. We have promptly summed up and exchanged their experiences which are being publicized step by step in schools of higher learning. Through this study, many students have deepened their understanding of the party's line, guiding principles and policies adopted since the 3d Plenum of the 11th CPC Central Committee. Still another activity was learning from Marxism-Leninism and emulating the advanced, for which new developments have been made in the past few years. For instance, there were cases that secretaries of League branches went onto the platform to explain and publicise the "Decision," that party lectures were given by secretaries of students' party branches, that students organized themselves to carry out "commentaries on current events," that people went into society to explain and publicise modern history, that people offered legal consultative services, that the campaign of keeping a diary was carried out in League branches with "On the Road of Opening Up New Prospects" as the theme, and so forth. After the 12th CPC National Congress, groups of self-study on Marx's and Lenin's works and groups organized to study the new Party Constitution have emerged in all schools. In some schools, students participated in these groups made up 20 to 30 percent of the total number of students. At the same time, activities such as learning from Lei Feng, fostering the new workstyle and creating the three good qualities have never been interrupted in the last few years. Especially since activities in the building of a spiritual civilization such as the "five stresses, the four points of beauties and the three ardent loves" have been carried out throughout the country, activities aimed at learning from the advanced have been raised to a new level and have been provided with substances which are more signal and touching as they have been combined with activities of emulating Zhang Hua [1728 5478] and Zhang Haidi [1728 3189 6611], both of them are Lei Feng of our times, and of learning from the heroic deeds of the Huashan emergency fighting collective. Some of these activities may even be combined with learning from the advanced models of their own schools. As a result, these activities have increasingly been well received by the masses of students and have played a very useful role in helping students to foster the communist outlook on life and to change the spirit and appearance of schools.

The reason why the various forms of self-education mentioned above are welcomed by the masses of students is that they have reflected the mass line followed in the party's political and ideological work to be in keeping with the fundamental principle that internal causes play a decisive role. It has been proven by a vast amount of facts that in the deepening of understanding and in the settlement of ideological problems, although the leading role played by teachers, the imbuelement of systematic

theories and the great environmental impact cannot be ignored, it is, however, after all, decided by the level of consciousness of those who receive education. For this reason, in order to achieve good results in political and ideological work, it is necessary to arouse the initiative and enthusiasm of those who receive education and to concentrate our efforts on the inspiration of consciousness. It seems that the principles of relying on the masses to educate themselves and of learning communism in practice are also applicable in political and ideological work in the new period and which we must insist.

Concentrate Our Efforts on Making Moral Education Scientific, Conscientiously Put Communist Education in Idealism, Morality and Discipline into Practice.

In cultivating talents to enable them to develop in an all-round way, morally, intellectually and physically, moral education should be primary. However, in the work carried out in schools, moral education has always failed to carry through. At the Conference of Party Committee Secretaries of Schools of Higher Learning convened by the provincial party committee in May last year, it was pointed out that two things must be put on the work schedule, of which one is to make moral education scientific and the other is to build the ranks of political workers. As soon as we can do a good job in these two things, can we make a new breakthrough in political and ideological work in schools of higher learning. During the past year or so, we have handled a few things in these two aspects.

The organizational problem has been resolved. Over the past few years, some comrades in schools of higher learning in our province still had some confused ideas about the questions of why moral education should be made scientific and how to make it scientific. Consequently, blindness and carelessness in varying degrees still exist in practical work. Through many discussions and preliminary practices, more and more comrades started to understand that, in moral education, the question of the necessity to make it scientific really exists. Making moral education scientific as mentioned above by us is absolutely not to imitate the so-called science of conduct indiscriminately, but to have a good grasp of the pattern of moral education. What is moral education? What is the position of or the role played by moral education in the cultivation of talents? What is the dialectical relationship between the three different kinds of education, moral, intellectual and physical? What are the specific demands of moral education in achieving the goal of cultivation in schools at different levels? What are the contents of or ways and methods adopted in conducting moral education? How to establish an orderly and steady system for conducting moral education? With regard to these fundamental questions of both theory and practice, we have to give scientific answers to them. Our party has rich experiences in running schools and in cultivating talents. Over the past few years some new experiences and new models have also emerged. For all this, it is still necessary to make a systematic summation and to find out therefrom things of regularity and to raise them to a theoretical level so as to make a Marxist scientific exposition. Again, in making the administration of the work of moral education scientific, there are

also questions from the administrative system both within and outside of schools to quality requirement, cultivation and assessment, policy and treatment concerning the ranks of political workers and even to the setting up of teaching and research organizations for conducting moral education and the coordination among departments concerned, and so forth. Therefore, all of us feel that only when we conscientiously exert real efforts to make moral education scientific can moral education be implemented in line with its pattern.

We have set up courses in communist ideology and moral character. We have implemented education in idealism, morality, discipline, history and legal system in various classes in an effort to enable education in communist ideology and moral character to form a scientific system which starts from learning, to becoming a qualified college student and finally turning into a talented person who is both red and expert. After deliberations and preparations over more than a year, this course has been set up throughout all schools of higher learning in our province since the first half of 1983. Beginning from March 1983, we have carried out an experiment to modify the course in Marxism-Leninism theories in Chengdu University of Science and Technology.

In order to raise the political quality and professional level of the ranks of political workers to meet the needs of making moral education scientific, the provincial authorities have respectively organized two study groups to teach modern history and convened a symposium to exchange experiences of education in communist ideology conducted in schools of higher learning throughout the province. Ideology and moral character education and research offices or political and ideological work research offices have been set up in all schools. At the time when it was organized to implement teaching of courses in ideology and moral character and to carry out a study on moral education, the training of political work cadres has been strengthened in a planned way which has played a useful role in stabilizing and improving the ranks of full-time political workers.

Over the past few years, we have accomplished some work in strengthening the administration of political and ideological work in schools of higher learning in accordance with demands set by the party Central Committee. However, political and ideological work towards teachers, staff members and workers have been relatively weak. With regard to political and ideological work towards students, the "leftist" influence has not yet been eliminated and the oversimplified ways of handling things have emerged from time to time. With regard to combining education with administration, there are still many weak links. A considerable number of political work cadres still do not feel at ease. For a long time, the issue of separating party from politics in schools of higher learning has not been resolved and the main efforts of the party committees and general branches have not really been shifted to grasping political and ideological work. These are the questions which we must pay attention to in our work from now on.

9560

CSO: 4005/830

NORTH REGION

HEBEI EDUCATIONAL REFORMS ANNOUNCED

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 21 Jul 84 p 1

[Article: "Basic Educational Reforms in 81 Counties and Municipalities of Hebei Province"]

[Text] The agriculture education reform theory conference, organized jointly by the Hebei Province Educational Research Institute and the province Education Association, was held in Shijiazhuang from 10 to 12 July. The participants made several profitable inquiries into such problems as reform in the administration of the province's middle and elementary agricultural schools, reform of the agricultural teachers appointment system, and the raising and use of agriculture education funds, from the point of view of political economy, educational economy, educational sociology and educational historiography.

A distinguishing feature of this conference was the gathering together under one roof of those who do theoretical work in education and those who do practical work. During the conference, the first secretary of the Hebei Provincial CPC Committee, Gao Yang [7559 2254], met with a representative of the conference.

Since Hebei Province began carrying out test reforms at selected points of agriculture education in May of last year, there are now already 81 counties or municipalities where the task of reform has been basically completed, 51 counties or municipalities where reform is extending over the entire area, and 8 of them where test reforms are still being carried out at selected points. In 1983, the province invested more than 138 million yuan in improving the administration of the middle and elementary schools. Since this year, each locale raised funds for school administration improvements of more than 77 million yuan. In the reform, a rather thorough reorganization was carried out in the ranks of agriculture teachers. Their proficiency was assessed and 16,000 substandard teachers were dismissed, who constituted 7 percent of the teachers undergoing assessment. Nearly 10,000 young people with senior middle levels of culture or higher were appointed to fill the ranks of the teachers. The agriculture education reform of the past year has been a success.

Shi Pu [4258 3877], the deputy director of the province Education Bureau, says the task of reforming agriculture is still very arduous. From now on, we should strengthen inquiry into educational theory, to contribute to the establishment of a distinctively Chinese socialist educational system.

12534

CSO: 4005/788

NORTHEAST REGION

NEW ATMOSPHERE EMERGES IN PARTY RECTIFICATION

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 14 Jul 84 p 4

/Article by reporters Jing Bo /2529 0590/ and Xie Jinhu /6200 6855 5706/:
"Eliminate Factionalism and Enhance Unity Through Heart-to-Heart Talks"/

/Text/ Party members of organs under the direct jurisdiction of Heilongjiang Province have during party rectification attained the goals of eliminating factionalism and enhancing their unity through an extended launching of heart-to-heart talks.

The general approach of such heart-to-heart talks on the part of party members in these organs under the direct jurisdiction of Heilongjiang Province is: leading members talk with each other; party member leading cadres take the initiative to seek out ordinary party members to talk; party member comrades take the initiative to invite nonparty comrades to talks. Such talks take place mainly in the form of person-to-person chat; but there are also cases of collective talks. Results from both are fairly good.

During party rectification, the provincial academy of social sciences organized its members to hold at various points 44 talks with leading groups of the various institutes, divisions and offices within the academy collectively and with ordinary party members individually; party members of the academy held 306 talks between themselves individually; party members and nonparty comrades held over 100 talks. During such talks, all were able to open up their minds and speak frankly and sincerely, make strict demands upon themselves according to party membership criteria, earnestly criticize themselves, and thereby eliminate the barriers between themselves, enhance their unity and advance their work. A principal responsible person of one research institute at this academy has long encountered disharmony in his relations with certain comrades in the past; he thinks that the 10-year internal turmoil has turned interpersonal relations into something unfathomable, and it is very difficult for people to treat each other with sincerity. Through party rectification and study, he has enhanced his perception and is determined to uproot the remnant poison in himself left over from the "Cultural Revolution." He thus repeatedly took the initiative to seek out comrades who were critical of him for talks, and during such talks he was brave enough to bare his own thinking and make earnest self-criticism; this served to enlighten comrades within the institute greatly, so that everybody endeavored to demonstrate sincerity during such talks

and also volunteered frequently to criticize himself. At present, there has emerged a new atmosphere of people uniting together with one heart.

One party member at the provincial geology bureau used to persecute other people during the "Cultural Revolution" and was also persecuted by others. During such talks he not only earnestly sought out comrades who were persecuted by himself to talk things out and examine his own mistakes in front of others but also took the initiative to seek out comrades who had persecuted him for a chat so as to dispel the other side's worries and eliminate the barriers between them. Through such talks, 25 pairs of comrades at this bureau were able to get rid of the ideological handups accumulated for many years between them, so that they succeeded in uniting with each other ideologically and politically.

The provincial construction commission is a unit where factionalism has been fairly serious; several years ago, views held by the leading members thereof were often inconsistently because of the aftermath of factionalism; they could not unite well with each other, and many things that should have been handled were somehow delayed in their implementation. For several years, the entire organ failed to promote even one single division-level cadre. Last year, the organ constructed a dormitory; the housing distribution program was discussed as many as three times but the distribution still could not be done. The masses first hate factionalism; secondly they are afraid of it, and thirdly they wish to avoid it. Since those above and those below could not coordinate their palms to grasp, the organ's tasks were given no prospects of accomplishment. During party rectification, from leading cadres to ordinary party members all engaged themselves in heart-to-heart talks. Through the study of party rectification documents, all made demands upon themselves during these talks according to communist party membership criteria, examined their own factionalist inclinations. A new atmosphere thus emerged in the entire organ in the exhibition of a common will and adherence to running things according to the principle of abiding by their party character.

9255

CSO: 4005/863

NORTHWEST REGION

NEGATION OF CULTURAL REVOLUTION URGED

Yinchuan NINGXIA RIBAO in Chinese 12 Jul 84 p 1

[Article by staff commentator: "Thoroughly Negate the Cultural Revolution, Earnestly Eliminate Factionalism"]

[Text] Thorough negation of the Cultural Revolution and earnest elimination of factionalism, which were put forth in Circular No 9 of the Central Commission for Guiding Party Rectification, require that every party rectification unit, following the completion of a basic investigation, must stress successful engagement in this work during the period of rectification. Looking at the actual conditions of party rectification in our area, each party rectification unit, following the conclusion of a basic investigation, focused on a period of time, and educated the entire body of party members to implement thorough negation of the Cultural Revolution and earnest elimination of factionalism. The successful execution of this aspect of rectification is truly an important guarantee of the comprehensive completion of the task of party rectification and of realizing that "Ningxia will stand up first." Our area was one that suffered destruction under the Cultural Revolution. The disasters were manifested not only in the harvesting of private plots, the destruction of "capitalist lackeys," and in such material aspects as people lacking food and clothing, but it was even manifested in the creation of serious consequences in the spiritual realm, as people's standards of right and wrong became confused, the new socialist relationships among the people were destroyed, and factions and sharp opposition between factions were formed. In the past, many people said Ningxia is so small, yet its factionalism is so great. When the autonomous region was set up, even though quite a few talented people were gathered there from every place in the country, factionalism prevented their intelligence and knowledge from being put to good use, and they were unable to make strong contributions to building socialism.

Though Ningxia's factionalism was considerable in the past, the situation is much better today. After order was restored since the 3d Plenum of the 11th Party Central Committee and the repeated education of the party Central Committee, many party member comrades handle affairs with a communist mind-set, forget personal feelings, conduct everything on the basis of the overall situation, and unite with other comrades to help them, struggling together, progressing together, and together creating new conditions for building Ningxia. This kind of situation is very rare, and ought to be treasured. This is

one side. On the other side, we must recognize that the factionalism produced in the 10 years of internal chaos is even now not yet overcome among a portion of party members and party cadres. Some people acknowledge in words that the resolutions passed by the 6th Plenum of the 11th Party Central Committee are correct, but in their thinking they have not thoroughly negated the Cultural Revolution. Any prominent show of belonging to any unrecognized factional organization is incorrect, although strengthening your own faction has certain correct aspects. Some people recognize factions and not the party, and when organizations choose cadres, they do not look at whether a cadre correctly carries out the line, principles and policies of the party, but instead look at his factional affiliation, supporting those of their own faction and depreciating those not affiliated with a faction. Some people do lackadaisical work, yet they stir things up energetically, frequently fabricating rumors and slander, engaging in strange talk, making their neighbors uneasy and mutually suspicious. Some people violate the law and discipline themselves, even engaging in criminal activities, while they falsely accuse others of factionalism, trying to muddy the water, to cover their own mistakes and crimes. Some units do not look at whether a cadre conforms to the requirements of the "four modernizations" or is competent, but only at whether he is of their faction. If he is, they will use him; if not, they will not, and whoever does use him will be labeled. Those departments and units with the kinds of things stated above are lacking in the warmth of the revolutionary ranks, have strained relations among all levels, canceling out each other's strength, and are basically only paying lip service to creating a new situation. To sum up, factionalism can only harm seriously the unity of the party and hinder the implementation of its line, principles and policies.

During the phase of involvement in rectification, each party rectification unit should organize the broad masses of party members to restudy "The Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of the Party Since the Founding of the PRC," and repeatedly make clear that the Cultural Revolution was launched due to mistakes by the leadership, and taken advantage of by a clique of counterrevolutionaries, which brought with it internal chaos and grave suffering for the party, the country and people of every nationality. Factionalism was a product of this internal chaos. The great majority of the masses who participated in each faction's mass organizations at that time was good or relatively good, while the bad were only an extremely small minority. Nevertheless, generally speaking, all the factional organizations were produced and engaged in activities under the mistaken theory of "continuing the revolution under a dictatorship of the proletariat," and therefore they were all in error. In the study process, we should organize everyone to discuss actual manifestations of factionalism, and state clearly the dangers created by factionalism, using historical experience to explain that the past reliance on any faction cannot be used to run party enterprises well. To run party enterprises well, we must create a new situation for building socialist modernization, relying only on party spirit, the party's way of employing people, and "all corners of the land." Through a lively education that integrates practice, we can vigorously eliminate factionalism in ideology, politics, and organizations. In working to thoroughly negate the Cultural Revolution and earnestly eliminate factionalism, leading cadres should certainly strengthen party spirit by serving as an example, never becoming an umbrella for factionalism. With

regard to those party cadres and party members who continue to support factionalism or engage in covert factionalism, who are obstructing party rectification work or other work, they must be dealt with severely. The more thorough their negation of the Cultural Revolution, the stronger their party spirit and principles will be. Only by thoroughly negating the Cultural Revolution and earnestly eliminating factionalism and vigorously strengthening party spirit, can we hold great hope for realizing the strategic goal of having "Ningxia stand up first."

12534

CSO: 4005/788

NORTHWEST REGION

LI XUEZHI ADDRESSES REFORM AT PARTY CADRE CONFERENCE

Yinchuan NINGXIA RIBAO in Chinese 13 Jul 84 p 1

[Article: "The Autonomous Regional Party Committee Convenes a Conference of Responsible Party Cadres, Conscientiously Implement Circular No 9 of the Central Commission for Guiding Party Rectification, Earnestly Carry Out Reform"]

[Text] The autonomous regional party committee convened a conference of responsible party cadres at the Red Flag Theatre in Yinchuan on the afternoon of 11 July, where the autonomous regional party committee secretary Li Xuezhi [2621 1331 2535] delivered a report on "conscientiously implementing and earnestly engaging in rectification work of the Central Commission for Guiding Party Rectification Circular No 9."

Comrade Li Xuezhi said the Circular No 9, most recently issued by the CPC Central Commission for Guiding Party Rectification, requires that after each party rectification unit concludes a basic investigation, and focusing on a period of approximately 3 months, they become involved in rectification, and make clear the stipulations on the focal points and requirements of rectification work. This has major significance for proper execution of party rectification and for the revitalization of Ningxia's economy. Every party rectification unit and party organization should promptly organize all party members to study this conscientiously and resolutely put it into practice. They should maintain close links with the practice of their own unit, center close on the focal points and requirements of rectification, and come up with serious, feasible plans.

In discussing the problems of correcting vocational work guiding ideology, Li Xuezhi pointed out that at present we should stress these 10 reforms: to simplify government and relinquish authority, expand the autonomy of businesses, and vigorously promote testing of factory director (manager) responsibility systems at selected points; to implement comprehensively all forms of economic responsibility systems in the cities; to reform distribution systems, establish and develop central markets, strongly promote a diversified economy, and reform the circulation management system; to reform capital construction and the construction management system, promote a comprehensive investment contract system and contract bidding system in the building trades, and promote a 100-yuan output value wage content contract system; to reform the labor personnel and wage management system and on the basis of currently reformed

methods, to choose several breakthrough measures, suitable to the needs of the present reform; to reform the financial system, with the planned relinquishing of some financial authority, vigorously support reform, and conscientiously enact preparations for step two of the reform of private income tax; to develop the effect of the central cities, for with Yinchuan serving as a selected test site city for comprehensive reform among the cities of the autonomous region, the other cities (and counties) should reform rapidly; to speed the lifting of restrictions against the outside, to promote construction in Ningxia, and vigorously engage in all preparatory work, and welcome the convention of the international economic and technological cooperative talks to be held in September; to work hard for the reform of the education system and the scientific research system, making them appropriate to the needs of economic development; to engage in reform of departmental work, establish a system of personal responsibility, improve work, and raise work efficiency. Li Xuezhi said that reform is a widespread and profound revolution. In successful reform, we should rely on the practice of the broad masses of the people. If reform is to be successful, we should be good at discovering reformers, vigorously support reformers, sincerely assist reformers, and boldly choose business people and reformers who can open up a new situation, from among leading bodies at all levels. We should continue to liberate our thinking, eliminate "Leftist" influences, and promote reform work in Ningxia.

In discussing the problems of thoroughly negating the Cultural Revolution and earnestly eliminating factionalism, Li Xuezhi said that at the most recent inspection of Ningxia by leading comrades of the Central Committee, they stressed that we must thoroughly negate the Cultural Revolution and earnestly eliminate factionalism. The more thorough the negation of the Cultural Revolution there, the stronger the party spirit and principle, and the more thoroughly will factionalism be overcome. Next, Li Xuezhi elaborated on why the Cultural Revolution was basically wrong, the dangers and manifestations of factionalism, and the problems of thoroughly negating the Cultural Revolution, earnestly eliminating factionalism, and strengthening party spirit. He said that every factional organization in the Cultural Revolution was produced and engaged in activities under the mistaken theory of "continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat," and therefore were all in error. Factionalism is a product of the 10 years of internal chaos and the great enemy of party spirit. It seriously endangers the unity of the revolutionary ranks and obstructs the implementation of the party's line, principles and policies. Thoroughly negating the Cultural Revolution and earnestly eliminating factionalism is an important pledge to comprehensively fulfill the task of party rectification and promote the building of the four modernizations. Eliminating factionalism should come about through a close combination of study, clear statement, discussion and correction. "Study" means to earnestly study the basic theory and knowledge of the party, to study "The Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC," and to study the line, principles and policies since the 3d Plenum of the 11th Party Central Committee. Study the important speeches of leading comrades in the Central Committee, eliminate pernicious "Leftist" influences, unify thinking, and elevate understanding. "Clear statement" means we should clearly state every manifestation of factionalism, particularly the current manifestations of covert factional behavior, and expose and analyze factional

statements and actions. "Discussion" means we should conscientiously develop criticism and self-criticism, discuss the dangers factionalism presents to the cause of the party and the people, and discuss the personal dangers of factionalism. "Correction" means that even now there are still factionalist comrades, who should raise their consciousness, make thoroughgoing investigation, and correct their mistakes. Li Xuezhong stressed that leading cadres should take the lead in overcoming factionalism, to set an example. Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out long ago that, "With regard to factionalism, leaders should maintain a clear attitude, and staunchly oppose it," and "with regard to people who persist in factionalism, those who should be investigated will be investigated, those who should be criticized will be criticized, and those who should be struggled against will be struggled against. We cannot hesitate; we must always deal with them." Li Xuezhong said we should guard against people who are factionalists and rectify people with party spirit. We should commend those good party members and cadres who overcome factionalism and expound principles, party spirit, unity and style. With regard to those people with serious factionalist thinking, who even now engage in factional activity, they should go through criticism and education.

If they refuse to mend their ways despite repeated admonition, we should administer party discipline or punishment. If they belong to a leading body, we should resolutely regulate them, or even dismiss them from their posts. As for those who instigate factionalism or fabricate lies, they should be thoroughly flushed out. Those who intend to shield "the three types of people" or exploit factionalism to punish people should be dealt with severely. Li Xuezhong said that every unit will have at least one problem in thoroughly negating the Cultural Revolution and eliminating factionalism. He asked that the first group of party rectification units set up a period of time especially for this work; the second group should engage in a period of studying documents; and those at local and county levels and below should carry out education in thoroughly negating the Cultural Revolution and eliminating factionalism.

In his report, Comrade Li Xuezhong also discussed such problems as correctly stressing the handling of major cases and strengthening the building of leading bodies.

The conference was chaired by the autonomous regional party committee deputy secretary Li Yunhe [2621 1926 0735]. Over 1,100 people participated in the conference, including members of the Standing Committee of the autonomous regional party committee, committee members from the autonomous regional advisory commission in Yinchuan, the chairman and vice chairmen of the Standing Committee of the autonomous regional people's congress, the vice chairmen of the people's government, the chairman and vice chairman of the CPPCC, the commander, deputy commander and political commissar of the Ningxia Military District, members of the Standing Committee of the regional Discipline Inspection Commission, regional party committee secretaries from every locale, city and county, all departments of the regional party committee, all departments of party organizations, party committees, and mass organizations directly under the region, party committee members of all institutions of higher education and leading party cadres of provincial department and bureau levels, as well as all the comrades in the township enterprise conference convened by the regional party committee and in the urban system reform symposium.

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY AFFAIRS

MODERNIZATION OF CHINA'S NAVY DISCUSSED

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 1 Aug 84 p 1

[Article: "China's Navy Has Developed Into a Fighting Force on a Proper Scale, With Offensive and Defensive Capability"]

[Text] On the eve of 1 August, we learn from the Chinese People's Liberation Army Naval Headquarters that there has been great progress made in modernizing the technical equipment of the People's Navy. China's navy has now become a naval fighting force on a proper scale, with offensive and defensive capability.

China's navy has already developed from a major importer or copier of foreign naval vessels to designing, manufacturing and constructing its own guided missile destroyers, guided missile escort vessels, guided missile fast attack crafts, submarines and naval air arm, with coastal defense units and a marine corps made up from various branches of the armed services. The navy's principle weapon is the guided missiles. Communications equipment consists of long and short wave communications networks. Marine navigation equipment also includes satellite navigational instruments. The gaps have begun to be filled in in marine supply and survey naval vessels and equipment. The development of naval technical equipment has promoted rapid changes in the intellectual composition of the ranks of cadres. In the early fifties, only 2 percent of naval vessel cadres and technical cadres were graduates of institutions of higher education, while nearly 45 percent are now.

The development of technical equipment and the rapid maturation of qualified personnel laid the foundation for raising the navy's combat capability. The first guided missile destroyer made in China has already been sailing safely for 15 years now and has traveled tens of thousands of nautical miles. Ocean-going supply ships and ocean lifeboats made in China have performed very well in many tests in the wind and waves of the Pacific Ocean. The 1983 underwater test firing of guided missiles from submarines was successful, demonstrating that the technical equipment of China's navy has reached a new level.

12534

CSO: 4005/789

PERSONNEL CHANGES IN CHINA'S TOP LEADERSHIP

Hong Kong CHENG MING [CONTENDING] in Chinese No 82, Jul 84 pp 23-25

[Article by Luo Bing [5012 0393]: "Peng Zhen and Wan Li Vying for Admission into Politburo Standing Committee"]

[Text] New Ministers, New Vice Premier

Relatively major personnel changes will occur in China's top leadership during the second half of 1984 and the first half of 1985.

This is not a prediction, but a fact and a prospective fact relayed to me by my cadre friend who is well-informed about the internal affairs of Communist China.

On just the same day, 8 July, RENMIN RIBAO announced three ministerial appointments to the State Council by the standing committee of the National People's Congress. The three new ministers are Rui Xingwen [5360 2622 2429], replacing Li Ximing [2621 6932 6900] as Minister of Urban and Rural Construction and Environmental Protection, (Li Ximing was transferred to be secretary of the Beijing Municipal Chinese Communist Party Committee); Qian Yongchang [6929 3037 2490], replacing Li Qing [2621 3237] as Minister of Communications; and Yang Tiafang [2799 1132 5364], replacing Wen Minsheng [2429 2404 3932] as Minister of Posts and Telecommunications. I asked my friend, "Are these ministerial changes the 'relatively major' personnel changes you were talking about?" He nodded, saying, "However..."

I interrupted, "The Minister of Economic and Trade Relations with Foreign Countries, Chen Muhua [7115 1970 5478] has criticized herself because of some job-related errors. Actually her abilities are rather limited and a lot of her work is taken care of by her assistants. Rumors have been around for a long time, therefore, about her resignation and succession by Jia Shih [6328 4258]. Also, Wu Xueqian [0702 1311 6197] reportedly will be transferred from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, probably to work with Ji Pengfei [1213 7720 7398], or to be groomed as his successor. The foreign ministership will go to Qian Qichen [6929 0366 3819], currently deputy foreign minister who started out as a member of the Communist Youth League. Right?"

My friend nodded again in agreement.

Another ministerial rumor suddenly crossed my mind. "I've heard that in the Ministry of Finance, too, there will be a personnel change: Zhao Ziyang's trusted follower, Li Peng [2621 7720], will replace Wang Binggan [3769 0014 0051]. Are all these moves what you called "relatively major personnel changes in top leadership?"

"Concerning the change in the finance ministership, no decision reportedly has yet been taken at the top. However, apart from the personnel changes you mentioned, there are other even more significant ones: a new vice premier in the State Council, and..."

My urge to speculate was irrepressible. "Is it true that Hu Qili will join the Politburo of the CPC Central Committee?"

"The most important personnel move is an increase in the membership of the standing committee of the Politburo."

Politburo Standing Committee to be Enlarged

Everybody knows that the CPC Central Committee oversees all activities in China, and the standing committee of the Politburo of the Central Committee oversees the overseer. The standing committee as organized by the 12th National Party Congress has six members: Yu Yaobang, Ye Jianying, Deng Xiaoping, Zhao Ziyang, Li Xiannian, and Chen Yun. According to my friend, the standing committee of the Politburo at a recent meeting discussed and endorsed the proposal by the secretariat of the Central Committee to increase its membership. Nominations were put forward, the most important ones being Peng Zhen and Wan Li. A decision will be taken by the coming second plenary session of the 12th National Party Congress. If the plenary session decides to increase its membership by two, then it would be a simple matter of admitting both Peng Zhen and Wan Li.

Before the "cultural revolution", Peng Zhen was the mayor of Beijing, and Wan Li, its vice mayor. At present, both are Politburo members. If both are admitted to the standing committee, it will probably make a remarkable political story.

Upon his appointment as a member of the standing committee, Wan Li will step down as vice premier. His successor, as tentatively decided by the Politburo, is Zhang Baifa [1728 4102 4099], currently vice mayor of Beijing.

But what if the standing committee has only one extra seat? Inevitably Peng Zhen and Wan Li will "run" for it. It is hard to say at the moment who will win.

Wan Li Loses Out on Seniority and Qualifications

As far as qualifications and seniority go, Wan Li is no match for Peng Zhen.

Peng Zhen, 82, joined the party in 1923, a year earlier than even Deng Xiaoping, and 13 years ahead of Wan Li, 68. He held relatively senior positions in the party even before the War of Resistance Against Japan, serving successively as secretary of the Tianjin Municipal Chinese Communist Party Committee, and director of the organization department of the north bureau of the Central Committee. During the War, he was secretary of the Shanxi and Hebei bureau, vice president of the party school and director of the organization department. After the War, he was successively secretary of the northeastern bureau of the Central Committee, a commissar of the Democratic United Army, and director of the organization department of the Central Committee. His major posts after 1949 included the first secretary of the Beijing Municipal Chinese Communist Party Committee, mayor and secretary of the secretariat of the Central Committee. At present, he is a member of the Politburo and chairman of the standing committee of the National People's Congress. Judging by his resume, Peng Zhen's position in the party is comparable to that of Deng Xiaoping.

Wan Li's pre-1949 position in the party was not high. During the War, he was a cadre at the county and local committee level. After the War, the highest positions he held were as member and secretary general of the party committee in the Hebei, Shandong and Henan region, and deputy financial director, economic director and construction director in the Nanjing military control commission. Compared with Peng Zhen, Wan Li is only "a junior cadre." After the founding of the People's Republic, however, his rise has been more rapid. Before the "cultural revolution," his highest positions were as minister of urban and rural construction, secretary of the Beijing Municipal Chinese Communist Party Committee, and vice mayor. After the "cultural revolution," he was promoted from a local official to one in the capital. In recent years, he was made vice premier of the State Council, secretary of the secretariat of the 11th National Party Congress, and a member of the Politburo of the 12th National Party Congress. Judging by events in recent years, the difference in political status between Peng Zhen and Wan Li has been reduced to nil. Overall, though, Peng Zhen's seniority and qualifications are more formidable than Wan Li's.

Wan Li's Three Advantages over Peng Zhen

On the other hand, the political capital accumulated by Wan Li after the "cultural revolution" has surpassed that of Peng Zhen. In 1977, when he was first secretary of the Anhui Provincial CPC Committee, chairman of the provincial revolutionary committee, and first commissar of the provincial military region, he carried out more open reforms in the rural areas, making Anhui one of the two provinces in China where the rural economy sprang back to life. (The other province was Sichuan, where Zhao Ziyang was first secretary of the Provincial CPC Committee.) He

was later transferred to the central government to be minister of the State Agricultural Commission and chairman of the afforestation commission, contributing to the reform of the entire nation's agriculture and forestry. This was a prominent political achievement in China's top leadership.

Furthermore, Wan Li is 14 years younger than Peng Zhen, more vigorous and healthy, and has a more supple mind.

Another important point is Wan Li's popularity. That Peng Zhen and Wan Li are vying for a seat on the expanded standing committee of the Politburo is a closely guarded secret known to few people. Among cadres in the know, the majority support Wan Li. As for the masses not privy to this news, they either are well disposed towards him or do not dislike him, for three reasons:

1. Wan Li is more of a reformer with more progressive ideas.
2. Wan Li has no bureaucratic airs and does not go after privileges.
3. His political performance in recent years has really been impressive.

About Wan Li's political performance, it might be added that together with Hu Yaobang and Zhao Ziyang, he prevented Hu Qiaomu and Deng Liqun from throwing open the floodgates of the campaign against spiritual pollution. This vastly increased his prestige and trust among intellectuals.

On the other hand, many people in Beijing are critical of Peng Zhen.

They think that among China's top leadership, Peng Zhen's political thinking is more left-leaning. He and Chen Yun have one similarity in that they both want to put the clock back to the 1950's. His role in the anti-spiritual pollution campaign was more active and radical. People are worried that once admitted to the standing committee of the Politburo, Peng Zhen would affect the continuation of the open policy.

Important Impact on Policy-making

Thus it can be seen that whether Peng Zhen or Wan Li will be admitted to the standing committee will have a totally different impact on China's policy-making.

Among the six committee members at present, Hu Yaobang, Deng Xiaoping and Zhao Ziyang are firm reformers, while the other three show rather unstable inclinations. In the balance of power between the two, the reformers often come out on top. However, if only Peng Zhen is admitted, he might tip the scale in favor of the non-reformers. Conversely, should Wan Li be admitted, he would do the same for the reformers.

In China today, there are still no signs that one-man rule has been replaced by a system in which everybody has a say. Personnel matters have a lot to do with what the leaders want. According to my friend, Politburo members with decision-making powers greatly trust Wan Li. I asked, "It looks as if the possibility of Wan Li's being admitted to the standing committee is very high?"

My friend just smiled.

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