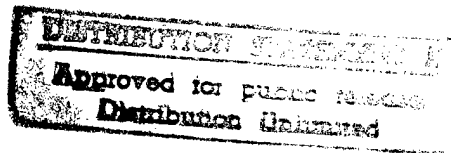


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# China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 373

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14 December 1982

CHINA REPORT  
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### U.S. MX MISSILE DEPLOYMENT REVIEWED

OW270953 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 25 Nov 82

["International Current Events" program: "Questions and Answers on Current Events--What on Earth Are All Those Disputes Over MX Missile Deployment in the United States?"]

[Text] [Question] A few days ago, U.S. President Reagan suggested spending more than \$26 billion on deploying 100 MX intercontinental missiles--in a dense pack arrangement--on a 52 square kilometer missile field. He said that this arrangement would make incoming Soviet intercontinental missiles destroy each other. His proposal has sparked debates in the United States. What is all of this about?

[Answer] In the past few years, in order to stop the downward trend in U.S. military strength as compared with the military strength of the Soviet Union, the U.S. Government has called for developing new strategic nuclear weapons. The MX missile is the fourth generation U.S. intercontinental missile. Compared to the Minuteman III intercontinental missile, it is more powerful and performs better. Over the years, debates have focused on how and where to deploy the MX missiles.

[Question] What is there to debate about deployment?

[Answer] This question deserves careful study. In fighting battles, we must consider how to preserve ourselves and destroy the enemy. In deploying missiles, we must study ways to give the missiles greater mobility, make them less vulnerable to enemy attacks and more capable in striking at the enemy. The present U.S. intercontinental missiles system is comprised of three parts: 1) intercontinental missiles with land launching bases which are simply called land-based intercontinental missiles. Minuteman missiles belong to this category; 2) intercontinental missiles with submarine launching bases simply called sea-based intercontinental missiles; and 3) missiles launched from strategic bombers which are simply called aircraft-carried missiles. These three parts are what is usually known in the United States as land-sea-air three-in-one combination of strategic nuclear strength. Some refer to it as the strategic triad.

[Question] Among the three methods of deployment, which one is considered best?

[Answer] The three methods have their respective advantages and disadvantages. In the United States, views are divided. Those who favor deploying intercontinental missiles on submarines argue that submarines moving under water are highly secretive, mobile and unlikely to be destroyed by the enemy in one strike. However, air force people consider deploying intercontinental missiles on submarines expensive and not necessarily safe. They say that in war time, one nuclear explosion will cause tsumani and rock a submarine upside down. As regards deploying intercontinental missiles on strategic bombers, some people think this is even more ricky because bombers are vulnerable to surprise attacks by enemy missiles.

The United States now possesses an advance warning system that includes satellite and radar. It takes 30 minutes for a Soviet missile to hit the United States. A U.S. bomber may have time to dodge an incoming Soviet missile if it is detected in advance. However, if the missile is launched from a Soviet submarine in the high seas close to the United States, the U.S. bomber will hardly have time to dodge because it takes the missile only a few minutes to reach the United States. Now, more Americans still favor land deployment of intercontinental missiles. Of course, deploying missiles on land is not a good idea either. Such missiles are most vulnerable to surprise attacks because of highly-developed satellite detection technology. However, because of the many advantages of land-based intercontinental missiles--mainly because the command and control equipment is more reliable, the original target of attack can be quickly altered, the warheads are more precise in hitting the target and the management expense is lower--the United States and the Soviet Union still regard land-based intercontinental missiles as their most important strategic weapons. Finally, it was decided to deploy MX intercontinental missiles on land.

[Question] Since it has been decided to deploy missiles on land, why are there all of these arguments?

[Answer] Deployment on land also involves the question of how to preserve oneself and retaliate upon the enemy. According to a U.S. official estimate, if the Soviet Union begins striking with the SS-18 and SS-19 intercontinental missiles, it may destroy all or most of the U.S. land-based intercontinental missiles in one strike, making the United States unable to strike back. Therefore, various plans have again emerged on how and where to deploy the MX missiles.

Former U.S. President Carter favored a multi-bunker deployment plan. According to this plan, several somewhat parallel highways would be built in sparsely-populated states in the West with 23 bunkers along a highway. The missiles would be installed on launch vehicles and kept in certain silos during normal times. Once the warning signal sounding an attack by Soviet intercontinental missiles is received, the vehicle carrying the MX missile would move the missile to another bunker within 30 minutes. The missiles' survivability is greatly enhanced because they can be secretly moved among the close, numerous bunkers. However, this method has its marked drawbacks. First of all, it is expensive and requires huge projects. For each missile, 23 bunkers are to be built; for 100 missiles, 2,300 bunkers are needed. In addition, highways totaling thousands

of kilometers must be built to link the bunkers. This would require tens of billions of dollars and large tracts of land. The local natural environment would definitely be impaired. People in the Western states are doggedly against this plan.

Carter's plan was changed after Reagan took office. According to the proposals in Reagan's letter to the congress a few days ago, the 100 missiles planned for manufacture will be deployed in a 52 square kilometer area in Wyoming state in the West. Each silo will be 500 to 600 meters away from another silo. Reagan also noted that if Congress approved this proposal, the United States could expect to deploy the first batch of 10 MX missiles by 1986 and the remainder of the 100 MX missiles by 1989. Reagan said that by deploying the MX missiles in strong underground silos close to each other, it would be possible to make incoming Soviet missiles destroy each other. In this way, even if the United States is subjected to the first nuclear strike from the Soviet Union, it would still have the ability to strike back.

[Question] How can the incoming Soviet missiles destroy each other?

[Answer] According to U.S. news agencies, because the United States concentrates all of the MX missiles in one place, the Soviet Union is compelled to locate the target of attack within this small area. When the first incoming Soviet missile explodes, the next Soviet missiles would be destroyed or led astray. This will preserve the U.S. power of nuclear retaliation. Some Americans deem this deployment as absurd and ridiculous. Some people ask: Since the first Soviet missile's explosion will result in the destruction of other nuclear missiles, how then is it possible for the United States to launch its MX missiles? As a matter of fact, these are not merely debates on the question of MX missile deployment, the involve the question of funds. Some people have pointed out that since the United States is experiencing huge financial deficits, it does not pay to spend tens of billions of dollars on deploying the MX missile system which, in practical circumstances, is not surefire. Of course, the question of MX missile deployment is also related to relations with the Soviet Union. In the strategic arms limitation talks between the United States and the USSR, both sides want to preserve their superiority and pretend to be sincere about the talks. This question is quite complicated, so we will not go into detail here. It will be fully discussed later when we talk about the question of the disarmament of the USSR and the United States.

CSO: 4005/187

## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### CARTER REVEALS SECRET TALKS WITH DENG XIAOPING

OW290336 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1325 GMT 24 Nov 82

[Text] Former U.S. President Carter's memoirs were recently published in the United States. In his memoirs, Carter revealed the facts about discussions between the U.S. Government and China before the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries. These facts are still generally unknown to the world. Carter openly revealed U.S. imperialism's purpose in establishing diplomatic relations with China.

In his memoirs, Carter paid particular attention to describing his talks with China, including his talks with Comrade Deng Xiaoping during the latter's visit to the United States in January 1979. The former president revealed to the whole world that, during their talks, Deng Xiaoping told him about China's plan to attack Vietnam in February 1979 and obtained his approval. The memoirs also revealed some other details about the secret talks between the Chinese leader and him. The following are some excerpts from Carter's memoirs:

In his memoirs, Carter openly said: My efforts to solve the question of normalizing relations with China are based on the interests of the United States.

Carter expected that the United States' cooperation with China to further increase U.S. strength in Asia and other parts of the world. In other words, U.S. authorities planned to use the "China card" to achieve its global strategic goal of dominating the entire world.

Carter said: The establishment of diplomatic relations between the United States and China is to ensure that China will continue to maintain close contact with and assist the capitalist world and recognize this historical fact.

In his memoirs, former U.S. President Carter revealed some details about the establishment of diplomatic relations between the United States and China. He said: At the end of May in 1978, shortly after U.S. presidential assistant on national security affairs Brezinski's visit to China, Deng Xiaoping sent me the draft of the joint communique. Concerning the portion on the United States' relations with Taiwan, I could not accept it. Brezezinski and I made a decision on not accepting the proposal of the Chinese side and not changing the conditions put forward by us on normalizing relations between the United States and China.

We gave instructions to our representative in China, Woodcock, to put pressure on the Chinese side and told Chai Zemin, China's chief liaison representative in Washington, that only by maintaining the independent status of Taiwan after the establishment of diplomatic relations between the United States and China can the relations between the two countries be normalized.

In describing the events following the establishment of diplomatic relations between the United States and China, Carter said: It would appear that under United States pressure China has changed its stand on the Taiwan issue. Carter also said: By his request, China's newspapers stopped attacks against U.S. policies and commented on the Taiwan issue in a prudent manner.

Carter said: In January 1979, when Deng Xiaoping visited the White House and discussed with the then U.S. President on the time and place of China's attack against Vietnam, those present including U.S. presidential assistant on national security affairs Brezezinski and Secretary of State Vance all pledged that they would never reveal the secret talk.

However, those Americans revealed the secret talk. Because the Vietnamese people learned our army's time of attack, they made full preparations. Now Carter has gone back on his word and said in his memoirs: Deng Xiaoping explained to me in detail China's plan of attack against Vietnam.

The Americans are unreliable. We can see it from this point.

On the matter of U.S. newspapers' publication of U.S. former President Carter's memoirs, the information department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of our country has been authorized to (?refute) the contents of the memoirs and make preparations for refuting the rumor, including Comrade Deng Xiaoping's exchange of opinions with U.S. former President on our country's counterattack against Vietnam.

CSO: 4005/187

## PARTY AND STATE

### REPORT OF 12TH PARTY CONGRESS DISCUSSED

Shanghai JIEFANG RIBAO in Chinese 20 Sep 82 p 4

[Article: "Guidance Material in Studying the 12th Party Congress Report," Part 6]

[Text] Why must party discipline be reinforced in order to strengthen democratic centralism?

First, let us consider it in terms of the nature of the party. As we know, any political party is not a simple collection of its members, but a unified whole organized according to certain principles and systems. Our party is the vanguard of the worker class with Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought as the banner and a unified whole organized according to democratic centralism. On the basis of a high degree of democracy, it practices a high degree of centralism and serves as the nuclear force leading the people of all nationalities in the country. Tightening party discipline is the basic guarantee to realize the party's programs, implement its lines, principles and policies and complete all its tasks. If each does what he thinks is right and goes his own way, how can there be any fighting power?

Next, let us consider it in terms of the party's historical experiences. Reinforcing the party's discipline is the basic prerequisite to strengthening democratic centralism and normalizing its political life. As proved by history, whenever we upheld democratic centralism and tightened party discipline, the political life within the party was normal, the party united and flourished and its cause developed; otherwise, its cause inevitably suffered losses. This experience must be kept in mind always.

Thirdly, in terms of our party's current status, if we wish to strengthen democratic centralism, we must also reinforce the party's discipline. The substance of the party's discipline includes the organizational, political and mass aspects and the duties and rights of its members as stipulated in its constitution. To strengthen democratic centralism, primarily we must reinforce the party's political discipline, making the entire party maintain unity with the Party Central Committee; otherwise, it will basically violate the principles of the party's democratic centralism. Meanwhile, we must also reinforce the party's organizational discipline, viz., the individuals are subordinate to the organization, the minority is subordinate to the majority,

the lower party organizations are subordinate to the higher party organizations, and the whole party is subordinate to the Central Committee of the party. These words collectively express the party's organizational principles and discipline and must be strictly obeyed by all organizations and individuals; there must be no infraction. Within the party, we must develop democracy and permit the members to express different views, fully discuss the problems and truly attain the stage of saying all one knows and saying it without reserve. Once the party organization makes a decision, the party members must firmly implement it. If an individual holds a different view, he may keep it to himself, or express it to the higher organization, but in action he must unconditionally implement the decision, without showing any objection. Only a proletarian political party can have such strict iron discipline. In this aspect, our party has made a great progress. However, as stated by Comrade Hu Yaobang, "in terms of the party as a whole, undemocratic phenomena and patriarchal practices have not been eliminated among many party organizations. Decentralism and liberalism are also fairly serious." They fail to distinguish between right and wrong and between rewards and punishment; failing to criticize or punish when criticisms or punishments are called for. They even showed resistance when higher organizations or discipline inspection units enforce party discipline. All these phenomena are violations of the principles of democratic centralism and are not permitted by party discipline. This shows that if we are to strengthen democratic centralism, we must strengthen party discipline.

Why must member registration be carried out in the course of party rectification?

For basic improvement of the party work style, the Party Central Committee has decided that, beginning in the second half of next year, there will be, over a period of 3 years and by periods and by groups, a total rectification of the party work style and party organization. It has also ruled that, on the basis of rectifying the ideological style, member registration must finally be carried out and, in strict accordance with the provisions of the new party constitution, those failing to satisfy the requirements after education will be expelled or persuaded to resign their membership.

This will be the first time on a party-wide basis in the history of our party that some unqualified party members will be expelled or encouraged to resign their membership from the party by way of membership registration in the process of rectification. Why is it necessary to carry out member registration in the current party rectification?

First, our party is the vanguard organization of the worker class maturing after the tempering of a long struggle. The main stream of our party ranks is pure and strong. However, as to date the remnant poison of the 10-year civil strife has not been completely purged and as the corrosive influence of the various exploiting ideologies under the new conditions has somewhat increased, the issue of impurity in ideology, in work style and in organization is indeed found in our party today, and the party work style has not been basically improved. To eliminate these three impurities in the party, one central link is to conduct a universal and intensive ideological education among the entire party in the course of party rectification. Nevertheless,

while rectifying the ideology, serious attention must be given to organizational rectification, which includes reinforcing democratic centralism throughout the party, reforming the leadership democratic centralism throughout the party, reforming the leadership structure and cadre system, etc. In terms of the current party members, reregistration in the course of party rectification, thereby sifting the wheat from the chaff, is doubtlessly a crucial party of organizational rectification. Only by rectifying the organization while rectifying ideology and politics will the issue of these three impurities in the party be totally purged and unity in organizational action as well as in politics and ideology in the entire party maintained. Lenin once said: "That the proletariat can and will inevitably become an invincible force is because its ideological unity formed in accordance with the Marxist principles is consolidated with organizational material unity."

Next, member registration in the course of party rectification is a means to rectify the organization of the party. In terms of each and every member, it is a criterion for ideological rectification. In other words, a party-wide general education on the new party constitution, on membership requirements and on how to be a communist party member must be carried out in the course of party rectification. Each and every party member, in the course of party rectification, must conscientiously study Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, learn the relevant party documents, consciously examine and compare his own ideology and words and acts, launch criticisms and self-criticisms and finally reregister with the new party constitution as the criterion. In terms of each and every party member, it will be not only a vivid education on membership requirements, but also a strict examination of his membership qualifications.

Third, the issue of the party work style is linked with the life and death of the party in power. Basically speaking, the party work style is manifested through each and every member. In real life, the people's understanding of the Communist Party, their faith in communism and their views on the party's principles and policies often hinge on the manifestations of the party members. "The masses look upon the party members; the party members look upon the cadres." Therefore, whether a party member is qualified is not merely his personal affairs, but concerns the major issue of the party's prestige and fighting power. Reregistration in the course of party rectification, "keeping in the party only those who are aware and truly loyal to communism" and purging the inferior, will purify the party ranks, enhance its fighting power and enable the broad masses to recognize more concretely the soundness of our party from the party members around them. By so doing, it will also enhance the party members' feeling of honor and responsibility, turn each and every one of them into a vanguard of the proletariat and make our party truly into the firm core uniting and leading the people of the entire nation in the socialist modernization construction.

Why must attention be given to developing party membership among the intellectuals?

Comrade Hu Yaobang pointed out in his report at the 12th Party Congress: We must give attention to "actively recruiting qualified persons into the party" among the intellectuals. Why is this issue stressed? There are two reasons.

First, our party is in the course of leading the people of the entire nation to pursue the socialist modernization construction. This historical task requires that the entire party, especially its cadres, under the premise of revolutionization, further master work. Nevertheless, due to factors in history and in work, the problem of "insufficient knowledge" is found not only among many ordinary party members, but also to a considerable extent in the cadre ranks, forming a sharp contradiction with the party's leadership work in the new period. To solve this contradiction, we must, on the one hand, strengthen the education and training of the party's members and cadres for them to become intellectuals. On the other hand we must develop membership among the intellectuals.

Second, relatively speaking, the current proportion of party membership among the intellectuals, especially the middle-aged, is fairly low. After the founding of the nation and before the "Great Cultural Revolution," graduates of institutions of higher learning trained by us and those who have reached the same academic level by studying on their own total about 5 million. They have become the backbone of China's modernization construction. The overwhelming majority of the 5 million intellectuals has not only formed its world outlook during the heyday of our party style and social mood, but also withstood the test of the 10 years of civil strife and made favorable political manifestations. Many among them possess the qualifications for party membership or will possess them after further education and training. As everyone knows, before the founding of the nation, our party, due to the historical conditions of the time, made fairly strict provisions on the membership of intellectuals. It was absolutely necessary at the time. Now the conditions are different. The intellectuals have become a part of the worker class, and a more knowledgeable part. Under this situation, all those among the advanced elements satisfying the requirements for party membership must be treated in the same way as the active elements among the workers and peasants applying for membership, and promptly recruited into the party. Naturally, it does not signify in any manner that membership requirements may be lowered or that party membership will not be developed from other strata (such as workers on the front line or production).

What is the crucial significance of cooperation between the new and old cadres and replacing the old cadres by new ones?

Our party is currently leading the socialist modernization construction in a large nation of 1 billion population. To assume such a heavy historical responsibility, we must build a strong and vigorous leadership system and create revolutionary, youthful, knowledgeable and professional leading teams in all party and government organs.

Our Party's cadre force has, for some time and to a certain extent, been facing the problems of aging and temporary shortages of replacement. Today, old cadres who joined revolutionary work prior to the founding of the nation number approximately 2.5 million. Whether in the war years or in the socialist revolution and construction, they deserve to be called the nuclear force of our cause, rendering outstanding service to the people. Nevertheless, the law of nature is inexorable. "A withered tree comes to life again in spring-time, but man will not be young twice." With the passing of time, more and

more old comrades are becoming advanced in years, failing in energy. How to suitably arrange the replacement of the old by the new in an orderly manner and step by step and promote the thousands and tens of thousands of superior middle-aged and young cadres with both talent and political integrity, so that our cause will have successors and pass on through the generations, is an urgent and major task faced by our party and state.

Although our young and middle-aged cadres do not have the rich revolutionary experiences of the old comrades, nor impressive party qualifications and records of service, generally speaking, they are vigorous, somewhat better educated, and fairly experienced after many years of practical work. With cooperation, guidance, and training from the old comrades, they will become as competent. Placing them at posts of responsibility and permitting them to shoulder the burden will enable them to gain more experience, mature gradually and surpass their predecessors in 3-5, or 8-10 years.

Only by cultivating and training millions of revolutionary successors while the proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation are still healthy will we be able to fulfill the words of Comrade Chen Yun in his speech at the 12th Party Congress: There must be replacements for the work of the large numbers of old cadres withdrawing from the leading teams of the various levels; there must be room for selection in order to hand the shift over to truly reliable people; the troublemakers in the "Great Cultural Revolution" must never be permitted to create chaos in the future. Only thus will we maintain the continuity of our party's lines, principles and policies and the stability of its leadership, thereby forestalling any sudden eruption of social unrest due to the successor issue.

6080

CSO: 4005/39

PARTY AND STATE

IMPARTIAL ENFORCEMENT OF PARTY DISCIPLINE PRAISED

Jinan DAZHONG RIBAO in Chinese 5 Aug 82 p 1

[Article: "In Praise of Being Impartial and Incorruptible"]

[Text] In carrying out investigation of party discipline, Chen Guangwu [7115 1684 2976], secretary of the Chinese Communist Pingyang County Discipline Committee faithfully executes his duties, is incorruptible and impartial, firmly upholds principles, has a spirit of daring to struggle and is worthy of study and emulation.

The 10 years of chaos brought incorrect tendencies to the party, party rules and regulations were trampled on and party discipline took a turn for the worse. Under conditions such as these, any effort to properly carry out investigation into party discipline must certainly encounter many difficulties. However, Comrade Chen Guangwu selflessly and fearlessly faced these difficulties. He bravely accepted this glorious and enormously difficult task in order to rectify party style and to protect party rules and regulations. He said: "I can overcome any problems and am willing to suffer all hardships in order to rectify party style." This spirit of bravery against all danger and firmness in battle in order to rectify party spirit is concentrated indication of the character and virtues which communist party members ought to have.

Because he has just such a spirit in carrying out party discipline investigations, Comrade Chen Guangwu is able to put party interests first, uphold principles and overcome personal feelings. No matter who is involved, if there is any act contrary to party discipline he dares to make an investigation and to exact punishment. Someone said that in performing such tasks it is easy to investigate and punish the average party member but that it is difficult when the county leadership is involved. In terms of party leadership Comrade Chen Guangwu sees all people as equal and not only investigates the lower levels but also investigates the upper levels. Moreover, he follows through in his work and doesn't rest until it is completed.

In correcting others first correct oneself, selflessness leads to fearlessness. Comrade Chen Guangwu is able to correctly perform party discipline work, dares to punish infringements of the rules and dares to rectify improper behavior. These are very important. Furthermore, his personal life is upright, honest and exemplary--a model for emulation. He has no unorthodox ways and always acts properly. He neither permits himself to be feted nor does he accept bribes. He neither open nor uses the "back door." Therefore, he speaks and acts bravely and uprightly and carries out his investigation into breaches of discipline in an impartial and incorruptible manner.

11582

CS0: 4005/1202

PARTY AND STATE

DRAFT CONSTITUTION POSITION ON OVERSEAS CHINESE DISCUSSED

Shenyang LIAONING RIBAO in Chinese 27 Jul 82 p 1

[Article by Liu Baoqi [0491 1405 4388]: "Progress Made in Discussion of Draft Constitution: Provincial and Shenyang Municipal Standing Committee Leadership Comrades Convene Conference"]

[Text] On the afternoon of July 23, Tang Hongguang [0781 1347 0342], Deputy Chairman of the Provincial People's Congress Standing Committee, and Li Cheng [2621 3397], Deputy Chairman of the Shenyang Municipal People's Congress, went to Liaoning University to investigate study and discussion conditions regarding the draft constitution and to convene a meeting on this subject. The responsible comrades of the Liaoning University party committee propaganda department apprised them of study and discussion conditions at the university as a whole, while the professors and lecturers of the economics and physics departments discussed their own study conditions.

Assistant professor of economics Zhou Pinwei [0719 0756 1218] said that the draft constitution affirms the status and role of intellectuals in building socialist modernization and thoroughly demonstrates the value placed on intellectuals by the party and the state. He said that the Party Central Committee has also summed up the experiences of implementing the policy on intellectuals and has used all possible means to improve our living and working conditions. This makes us grateful and want to energetically undertake the two great cultural projects and make new contributions by training people to build the four modernizations. Returned overseas Chinese Professor Chen Shui [7115 3055] and lecturer Mo Taiyun [5459 1132 6663] said that the 47th article of the draft constitution guarantees the legal rights and benefits of overseas Chinese and their families, so we must eliminate all fears and doubts and strive for teaching and research excellence in order to make contributions to education in our homeland.

During the discussion, Comrades Tang Hongguang and Li Cheng thoroughly confirmed the success of the Liaoning University leadership comrades in organizing study and discussion of the draft constitution and also asked for further progress in meaningful discussions of the draft constitution.

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CSO: 4005/1202

PARTY AND STATE

ENTHUSIASM OVER DRAFT CONSTITUTION SHOWN THROUGHOUT LIAONING

Shenyang LIAONING RIBAO in Chinese 21 Jul 82 p1

[Article: "Zeal on Draft Constitution Shown Throughout the Province"]

[Text] Since July, the People's Congress Standing Committees and administrative offices of all municipalities, districts, counties and prefectures have enthusiastically undertaken various actions to incite the cities and countryside to participate in a mass campaign of discussing the draft constitution.

July was the key month for the people of Liaoning province to discuss the draft constitution and all areas generally strengthened leadership in this task, became closely involved with the primary level, gave supervision and offered encouragement. Twenty-four people of the Shenyang Municipal People's Congress Standing Committee, including 6 deputy chairmen, 4 members of the standing committee and the secretary organized 6 groups which separately went to the city's 11 counties and prefectures and to the major primary units of each trade and enterprise to carry out supervision and exert guidance. From June 16 through 20, Comrade Du Li [2629 7812], chairman of the Fushun Municipal People's Congress Standing Committee, and two deputy chairmen visited eight units in Yongling township, Wangqingmen commune and the County Textile Knitting Plant, all located in Xinbin county, to investigate study and discussion conditions of the draft constitution. They uncovered issues, solved problems and guided the study and discussion activities onto deeper levels. The Second Steel Plant sent out cadres and propaganda personnel to fill in the gaps and they went to the homes of nearly 40 sick and retired staff and workers to talk about the draft constitution and expand the area receiving this education. In Tangshulinzi commune in Panshan county some people have been unable to participate in work or attend study sessions all year because of old age and infirmity, so the propaganda personnel took it upon themselves to visit their homes to explain matters to them. This commune adopted all sorts of methods to motivate the masses so that the number of those receiving this education reached over 90 percent. In

Jianchang county, Comrade Liang Wanqing [2733 5502 0530], the armed forces leader of the Baimiaozi commune, got 5 people, aged 67 to 83 years, all together to maintain close links with actual countryside conditions and explained the draft constitution by contrasting new society with old society. Eighty-three year old commune member Liu Tingxi [0491 1694 0823] said that the party and the state have thought of everything and even have included a section on providing for the elderly. He was pleased to hear of this, including this in the constitution is reassuring to the elderly.

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CSO: 4005/1202

## PARTY AND STATE

### SERIES OF QUESTIONS ON CPC CONSTITUTION REPORTED

45th, 46th, 47th Series

OW220433 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 2320 GMT 17 Nov 82

[Forty-fifth, 46th and 47th in a series of questions and answers about the study of the party constitution adopted by the 12th Party Congress: "What Are the Functions and Powers of the National Party Congress and Those of the Local Party Congresses? What Are the Main Changes in the Party's Central Organizational System Prescribed in the New Party Constitution? What Are the Party's Central Organs and the Relations Among Them?"--by the general section of the research office under the CPC Central Committee Secretariat]

[Excerpts] The 45th question is: What are the functions and powers of the National Party Congress and those of the local party congresses?

Article 19 of the new party Constitution stipulates that the functions and powers of the National Party Congress are as follows:

1. To hear and examine the reports of the Central Committee;
2. To hear and examine the reports of the Central Advisory Commission and the Central Discipline Inspection Commission;
3. To discuss and decide on major questions concerning the party;
4. To revise the party Constitution;
5. To elect the Central Committee; and
6. To elect the Central Advisory Commission and the Central Discipline Inspection Commission.

Article 25 of the party Constitution stipulates four functions and powers for the local party congresses at all levels. The functions and powers of the local party congresses at all levels are different from those of the National Party Congress in four aspects:

1. The local party congresses do not revise the party Constitution;
2. They elect delegates to the party congresses at their respective next higher levels;
3. They discuss and decide on major issues in their given areas while the National Party Congress discusses and decides on major issues concerning the party as a whole; and
4. The party congresses at the prefectural, municipal and county levels do not elect advisory commissions at their corresponding levels.

With the exception of the above four, the functions and powers of the local party congresses at all levels in their local party organizations correspond to those of the National Party Congress of the whole party.

All party comrades should conscientiously respect the functions and powers of party congresses, implement their decisions, uphold their prestige and strive to bring their role into full play.

The 46th question is: What are the main changes in the party's central organizational system prescribed in the new party Constitution?

The main changes in the party's central organizational system prescribed in the new party Constitution are as follows:

1. In the past, the National Party Congress only elected the Central Committee, but now it elects the Central Advisory Commission and the Central Discipline Inspection Commission in addition to the Central Committee.
2. The Central Committee has no chairman or vice chairmen but only a general secretary. According to the new party Constitution, the general secretary of the Central Committee, a Standing Committee member of the Central Committee's Political Bureau, is responsible for convening the meetings of the Political Bureau and its Standing Committee and presides over the work of the Secretariat.
3. The party Constitution stipulates that the general secretary of the party Central Committee, the chairman of the Central Advisory Commission, the first secretary of the Central Discipline Inspection Commission and the chairman of the Central Committee's Military Commission must be members of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau. This effectively and systematically ensures the centralization and unity of the party's leading core and the implementation of the principles of collective leadership in the leading core.
4. The party Constitution stipulates that the central leading bodies and leaders elected by each Central Committee shall, when the next national congress is in session, continue to preside over the party's day-to-day work until the new central leading bodies and leaders are elected by the next Central Committee. The party Constitution also includes a similar stipulation regarding the Standing Committee of the local party committees at all levels.

The 47th question is: What are the party's central organs and the relations among them?

According to the new party Constitution, the party's central organs are: the National Party Congress; the Central Committee, the Central Advisory Commission and the Central Discipline Inspection Commission elected by the National Party Congress; the Political Bureau of the Central Committee, its Standing Committee, the Secretariat of the Central Committee and the general secretary of the Central Committee elected by the plenary session of the Central Committee. In addition, there is the Military Commission of the Central Committee.

The National Party Congress is the highest leading body of the whole party. Although the Central Committee, the Central Advisory Commission and the Central Discipline Inspection Commission are all elected by the National Party Congress, they are different in nature. When the National Party Congress is not in session, the Central Committee is the party's highest organ of power, carries out its decisions, directs the entire work of the party and represents the CPC in its external relations.

The Central Advisory Commission acts as a political assistant and consultant to the Central Committee, and the Central Discipline Inspection Commission assists the Central Committee in upholding the party Constitution, rectifying the party style and inspecting the implementation of the party's line, principles, policies and decisions. Both the Central Advisory Commission and the Central Discipline Inspection Commission must work under the leadership of the Central Committee.

The Political Bureau of the Central Committee, its Standing Committee, the Secretariat and the general secretary of the Central Committee are all elected by a plenary session of the Central Committee. The members of the Central Committee's Military Commission are decided on by the Central Committee, and they all must work in accordance with the decisions of the plenary sessions of the Central Committee and are responsible to the Central Committee.

When the Central Committee is not in session, the Political Bureau and its Standing Committee exercise the functions and powers of the Central Committee. The secretariat of the Central Committee attends to the day-to-day work of the Central Committee under the direction of the Political Bureau and its Standing Committee. The general secretary of the Central Committee is responsible for convening the meetings of the Political Bureau and its Standing Committee and presides over the work of the secretariat. When the Central Committee is not in session, the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau is the core leading the party's day-to-day work. This leading core is a collective which includes the general secretary of the Central Committee, the chairman of the Central Advisory Commission, the first secretary of the Central Discipline Inspection Commission and the chairman of the Central Committee's Military Commission. This is conducive to ensuring the collective leadership of the party and its solidarity and unity.

48th Series

OW230940 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 2320 GMT 18 Nov 82

[Forty-eighth in a series of questions and answers about the study of the party Constitution adopted by the 12th CPC Congress: "Why Should We Set Up Advisory Commission at the Central Level and in Various Provinces, Autonomous Regions and Municipalities Directly Under the Central Government? What Are Their Nature, Status and Tasks?"--by the general section of the research office under the CPC Central Committee Secretariat]

[Excerpts] According to the provisions of Articles 19 and 25 of the new Constitution, advisory commissions are to be established at the central level and in various provinces, autonomous regions and municipalities directly under the central government. This is an important measure taken to keep pace with the current situation and meet the needs at the present stage, bring into full play the role of the veteran comrades as advisors and bring about the cooperation between old and new cadres and the succession of the new to the old. This is an unprecedented event in the party history. To set up advisory commissions at the central level and in various provinces, autonomous regions and municipalities directly under the central government is of great significance. Such practice has the following merits:

1. It is conducive to bringing into full play the role of those veteran comrades who have made great contributions to the party, accumulated rich experiences in leadership and enjoyed high prestige inside and outside the party.
2. It is conducive to triumphantly bringing about the cooperation between the party's new and old cadres and the succession of the new to the old.

Comrade Chen Yun said in his speech delivered at the 12th CPC National Congress: We must be soberly aware that for various reasons, the ranks of our party's cadres have long faced the problem of aging to varying degrees, and a gap between the old and the young. Unless this problem is solved now, and satisfactorily, the cause of communism may suffer a setback in China.

To set up advisory commissions at the central level and in various provinces, autonomous regions and municipalities directly under the central government may help some old comrades with noble character and high prestige withdraw to the second line, and let a large number of party members who are in the prime of life and have both ability and political integrity to take up leading posts in the CPC Central Committee and various party committees in various provinces, autonomous regions and municipalities directly under the central government. The young and middle-age cadres actively accumulate experience in leadership by actually exercising leadership with the help and support of the veteran comrades. By doing so, we will be able to triumphantly bring about cooperation between the new and old cadres and the succession of the new to the old, to insure the continuity of the party's line, principles and policies and to maintain long-standing stability and order in the party and the state.

According to the provisions of Articles 22 and 28 of the Constitution, the party's Central Advisory Commission or the party's advisory commission of a province, autonomous region or municipality directly under the central government acts as political assistant and consultant to the party committee at the corresponding level. It works under the leadership of the party committee at the corresponding level, and serves a term of the same duration as the party committee at the corresponding level. Members of the Central Advisory Commission must have a party standing of forty years or more, have rendered considerable service to the party, have fairly rich experience in leadership and enjoy fairly high prestige inside and outside the party.

The Central Advisory Commission elects, at its plenary session, its Standing Committee and its chairman and vice chairmen, and reports the results to the Central Committee for approval. The chairman of the Central Advisory Commission must be a member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau. Members of the Central Advisory Commission may attend plenary sessions of the Central Committee as non-voting participants. The vice-chairmen of the Central Advisory Commission may attend plenary meetings of the Political Bureau as non-voting participants and, when the Political Bureau deems it necessary, other members of the Standing Committee of the Central Advisory Commission may do the same. As for its tasks, the Central Advisory Commission puts forward recommendations on the formulation and implementation of the party's principles and policies and gives advice upon request, assists the Central Committee in investigating and handling certain important questions, propagates the party's major principles and policies inside and outside the party, and undertakes such other tasks as may be entrusted to it by the Central Committee.

The advisory commission of a province, autonomous region or municipality directly under the central government elects, at its plenary session, its Standing Committee and its chairman and vice-chairmen, and the results are subject to endorsement by the party committee at the corresponding level and should be reported to the Central Committee for approval. Its members may attend plenary session of the party committee at the corresponding level as non-voting participants, and its chairman and vice chairmen may attend meetings of the Standing Committee of the party committee at the corresponding level as non-voting participants.

Some comrades ask why the party's advisory commissions have not been set up at the prefectural, municipal and county levels. The reason is: The establishment of the advisory commissions is only a temporary measure under a specific historical condition. In the last analysis, our party's system for cadres will be gradually changed from the lifetime system which actually existed in the past to a retirement system. Therefore, the scale in setting up advisory commissions should not be extensive. No advisory commission will be set up in various organs below the provincial level. The party's prefectural, municipal and county committees may appoint advisors or groups of advisors. With regard to this issue, the party Central Committee and the State Council had adopted a resolution in August 1980 on appointing advisors at and above the county level. In fact, many localities have already implemented this resolution. Therefore, nothing specific has been mentioned in this new Constitution.

49th Series

OW231344 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 2320 GMT 18 Nov 82

[Forty-ninth in a series of questions and answers about the study of the party Constitution adopted by the 12th Party Congress: "Why the Members of the Party's Central Committee and Members of Party Committees at and Above County Level Must Have a Party Standing of Certain Years? How Are the Number of Party Committee Members Decided? How Are the Vacancies in Party Committees Filled"--by the general section of the research office under the CPC Central Committee Secretariat]

[Excerpts] Article 20 of the new Constitution of the Communist Party of China stipulates: "Members and alternate members of the Central Committee must have a party standing of five years or more." Article 26 stipulates: "The party committee of a province, autonomous region, municipality directly under the central government, city divided into districts, or autonomous prefecture is elected for a term of five years. The members and alternate members of such a committee must have a party standing of five years or more. The party committee of a county (banner), autonomous county, city not divided into districts, or municipal district is elected for a term of three years. The members and alternate members of such a committee must have a party standing of three years or more."

The new party Constitution stipulates that the members of party committees at and above county level must have a party standing of certain years. There are two main reasons.

1. Our party occupies the position of leading the political power in the whole country and party committees at and above county level are the party's leading organs at various levels. The members of those committees should have relatively abundant working experience, high party spirit and a certain level of ability to take part in discussing and deciding the party's work and policies.
2. During the 10 years of turmoil, the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques wantonly trampled on the party's rules and regulations in order to form factions and usurp the party leadership. They resorted to such despicable tricks as making a concentrated effort to quickly join the party, "flying across the sea to join the party," "joining the party with the approval of the masses" and "joining the party first and going brought formalities later." [as printed] They absorbed a number of their backbone elements and smash-and-grabbers into the party and arbitrarily placed those people into party committees at various levels. This was something unprecedented in the history of our party. Now the party Constitution has clearly stipulated that the members of party committees at and above county level must have a party standing of certain years. In this way, we can ensure a good system and prevent a reoccurrence of what was done by the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing cliques. This provision is favorable to ensuring the good quality of party committees at and above county level, building up the party, strengthening the leadership of the party and promoting the cause of our party.

How are the members and alternate members of party committees at and above county level decided? According to Article 20 and Article 26, the number of members and alternate members of the Central Committee shall be determined by the party's National Congress. The number of members and alternate members of the local party committees at various levels shall be determined by the next higher committees.

How are the vacancies in party committees at and above county level filled?  
[passage omitted on meaning of vacancy]

According to Article 20 and Article 26, vacancies on the Central Committee and local party committees at various levels shall be filled by their alternate members in the order of the number of votes by which they were elected. This method of filling vacancies is an important principle of the party's election system. It reflects the will of voters and is a manifestation of democracy within the party. The party Constitution adopted at the Seventh and Eighth National Congresses has stipulated this method. However, the party Constitution adopted at the Ninth, 10th and 11th National Congresses had eliminated this method. Now the new party Constitution has again made a clear provision on this issue. This has restored our party's tradition and is very correct and necessary.

#### 50th, 51st, 52d Series

OW250219 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 2320 GMT 17 Nov 82

[Fiftieth, 51st and 52d in a series of questions and answers about the study of the party Constitution adopted by the 12th Party Congress: "What Are the Leading Party Members' Groups? Why Should the Leading Party Members' Groups Be Formed in Nonparty Units? What Are the Tasks of the Leading Party Members' Groups?" "What Has Been Prescribed by the New Constitution About the Party Organizations in the PLA?" and "What Are Primary Organizations of the Party?" "Where and How Are These Primary Organizations of the Party Formed?"--by the general section of the research office under the CPC Central Committee Secretariat]

[Excerpts] The 50th question is: What are the leading party members' groups? Why should they be formed in nonparty units? What are their tasks?

In its chapter: "Leading party members' groups," the new Constitution clearly prescribes where leading party members' groups should be formed, the tasks of these groups, how members of these groups are appointed and how the leadership is exercised over them.

In our socialist nation of the people's democratic dictatorship, there are many nonparty units, in addition to the CPC organizations, such as the central and local government organs, as well as various mass organizations and economic and cultural institutions. The Constitution regards the party's leading organizations in the leading bodies of these nonparty units as "leading party

members' groups." These leading party members' groups do not exercise leadership over the party organizations in their own departments and subordinate units. members of such groups are not elected. They are appointed by the party committee, which approves the establishment of these groups.

Why should leading party members' groups be formed in nonparty units?

To uphold the party's leadership is one of the fundamental principles in the founding of our nation. It has been written into China's Constitution. All the people of the nation, either inside or outside the party, all organizations and all individuals must accept the party's leadership and serve the party. Only under the leadership of the party, can government organs, mass organizations and cultural and economic institutions march along the correct path and serve socialist modernization. The leading party members' groups set up by the party in these nonparty units are the core of leadership in these units. The party's leadership over these nonparty units is, in the main, exercised through the leading party members' groups formed in the leading bodies of these nonparty units.

The main tasks of a leading party members' groups are: to see to it that the party's principles and policies are implemented, to unite with the nonparty cadres and masses in fulfilling the tasks assigned by the party and the state, and to guide the work of the party organization of the unit.

In order to implement the party's principles and policies, a leading party members' group must earnestly study and fully understand the guidelines and the essential points of the party's line, principles and policies; and promptly discuss the resolutions and instructions by the party committee approving its establishment. It must also extensively carry out investigation and study and make specific decisions in close connection with the actual situation in one's own unit and insure that such decisions are implemented.

At the same time, Article 48 of the Constitution stipulates that the Central Committee of the party shall determine specifically the functions, powers and tasks of the leading party members' groups in those government departments which need to exercise highly centralized and unified leadership over subordinate units, and that it shall also determine which such groups should be replaced by party committees.

The 51st question is: What has been prescribed by the new Constitution about the party organizations in the PLA?

The PLA is a new-type people's army, founded and led by our party. In the protracted revolutionary struggle, the PLA, under the direct leadership of the party, has played a significant role in waging armed struggle to oppose foreign aggression and seize political power in the nation, and in participating in, and safeguarding, China's socialist revolution and socialist construction.

Either at present or in the future, it will remain the strong pillar of the people's dictatorship, and the great wall of steel guarding our great socialist motherland.

To uphold the party's absolute leadership over the army is not only the glorious tradition of our party and army, but also the aspiration of the whole party, the entire army and all the people throughout the nation. This conforms with the basic interests of all the people in the nation.

In order to ensure the absolute leadership of the party over the PLA and to build the PLA into a revolutionized, modernized and regular army, the new Constitution stipulates: Party organizations in the Chinese People's Liberation Army carry on their work in accordance with the instructions of the Central Committee. The general political department of the Chinese People's Liberation Army is the political-work organ of the military commission; it directs party and political work in the army. At the same time, because party organizations in the army are different from those in various localities, the new Constitution stipulates: The organizational systems and organs of the party in the armed forces will be prescribed by the Military Commission. Thus, it is no longer necessary to specifically elaborate in this connection in the new Constitution.

The 52d question is: What are the primary organizations of the party? Where and how are these primary organizations of the party formed?

The party's primary organizations are the party's organizational foundation. They are militant bastions of the party to maintain close ties with, and unite, the masses.

Therefore, the party must form primary organizations. Where should these primary organizations be formed? This is an issue of organizational principle. Article 30 of the new Constitution points out: Primary party organizations are formed in factories, shops, schools, offices, city neighborhoods, people's communes, cooperatives, farms, townships, towns, PLA companies and other basic units, where there are three or more full party members.

This shows that the party's primary organizations must be formed in all basic-level units in Chinese society, including production units, work units, administrative units and combat units. This is our principle.

How are these primary organizations of the party formed?

The new Constitution stipulates as follows:

1. In primary party organizations, the primary party committees, and the committees of general party branches or party branches are set up respectively as the work requires and according to the number of party members, subject to the approval by the higher party organizations. As for the number of party members required to form a party branch, a general party branch or a primary party committee, the party Constitution adopted by the Eighth CPC National Congress clearly prescribed: A primary organization with more than 100 party members may form a primary party committee with several general branches or branches under its leadership.

A primary party organization with more than 50 but less than 100 party members may set up a general branch committee with several party branches under its leadership.

A primary party organization with less than 50 party members may set up a branch committee. Under special conditions, individual primary party organizations with less than 100 members may, by a decision of the next higher party committee, establish a primary party committee. A general branch committee may, by a decision of the next higher party committee, be set up in a primary party organization whose membership is less than 50, but whose work requires a general branch committee, or in a primary party organization whose membership numbers 100 or more but whose work does not require a primary party committee. All these stipulations are still applicable today.

2. The leading members of a primary organization are elected. A primary party committee is elected by a general membership or a delegate meeting. The committee of a general party branch or a party branch is elected by a general membership meeting.

A primary party committee is elected for a term of 3 years, while a general party branch committee or a party branch committee is elected for a term of 2 years. Results of the election of a secretary and deputy secretaries by a primary party committee, general branch committee or branch committee shall be reported to the higher party organizations for approval.

A primary party organization must set up and improve the system regarding party activities, and regularly hold party meetings. The Constitution stipulates: In ordinary circumstances, a primary party organization which has set up its own committee convenes a general membership meeting or delegate meeting once a year; a general party branch holds a general membership meeting twice a year; a party branch holds a general membership meeting once in every 3 months.

A primary party organization is directly responsible for educating and supervising party members and nonparty cadres, for ensuring their regular participation in the activities of the party organizations and for strictly enforcing the party's organizational system. This involves an issue which will greatly affect the work of a primary party organization.

CSO: 4005/175

## PARTY AND STATE

### 'CHINA DAILY' COMMENTATOR VIEWS NEW CONSTITUTION

HK300126 Beijing CHINA DAILY in English 30 Nov 82 p 4

["Opinion" column by CHINA DAILY commentator: "Best Constitution Ever"]

[Text] The Fifth National People's Congress currently in its fifth and last plenary session, is deliberating upon and will presently adopt a new constitution that will guide China's one billion people along the road to socialist modernization.

Beginning next year, a new NPC will be elected every five years, according to the draft of the new constitution.

It will be the fourth constitution of the People's Republic. The 1954 Constitution was drawn during a transitional stage when the main tasks of the state were to transform agriculture, capitalist industry and commerce and to lay the foundation for socialist industrialization under the system of the people's democracy.

Socialist modernization was the natural follow-up after the transitional period and should have been so specified 20 years earlier but for the preoccupation with waging constant class struggle and in making "continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat," which culminated in the 10 disastrous years of "Cultural Revolution." The 1975 and 1978 Constitutions reflected the blunders in guiding thought.

#### Economy

The Third Plenum of the 11th Congress of the Communist Party of China, held in December 1978, refocussed the attention of the party and the state on socialist modernization.

The Sixth Plenum in June 1981 summed up the lessons and experiences of the years since the founding of the People's Republic in 1949. Only then a new Constitution could be drafted that would be in keeping with the basic interests of the Chinese people and suited to present realities of the country. The draft was passed by the NPC Standing Committee last April. It has been discussed among hundreds of thousands of workers, peasants and intellectuals across the nation.

During a four-month examination in which an estimated 80 percent of the adult population took part, some 2,000 different comments and suggestions were gathered and have been incorporated into the final draft now before the NPC.

The draft stipulates in its preamble, that the basic task of the Chinese people in the coming years is to concentrate their effort on socialist modernization. While providing that state ownership and collective ownership are the basis of the socialist economy, the draft stipulates that the state allows a private economic sector with individual ownership, foreign investment in China and economic cooperation between China and other countries. It has thus made into law the policy already in practice to invigorate the domestic economy and to open to the outside world.

The draft solemnly declares: "No organization or individual shall enjoy privileges that transcend the Constitution and the law." This, together with the limitation in the tenure of top government posts--two consecutive terms--will prevent the recurrence of the personality cult and provide a guarantee to the people to exercise their rights through democratic elections, to administer the government and to supervise government functionaries.

#### Foreign Policy

In keeping with her status as a developing country in the Third World and her consistent foreign policy, the draft reiterates that China opposes imperialism, hegemonism and colonialism and abides by the five principles of mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit and peaceful coexistence in her relations with other countries.

In the provisions for China's socialist modernization, for the safeguarding of individual rights and freedom, for unity among Han and national minorities as well as the autonomous rights of the latter, and for the principles of opening up to the outside world as well as independence and self-reliance in China's foreign affairs, the new Constitution is undoubtedly the best that the Chinese people have ever had.

The NPC will also hear a report by Premier Zhao Ziyang on the Sixth Five-Year Plan (1981-1985) for the development of the national economy, which stresses productivity and economy effectiveness.

CSO: 4000/21

## PARTY AND STATE

### NPC DEPUTIES PRAISE DRAFT CONSTITUTION

OW300321 Beijing XINHUA in English 0134 GMT 30 Nov 82

[Text] Beijing, 30 Nov (XINHUA)--Deputies to the National People's Congress (N.P.C.) have described China's new draft Constitution as a document that "fully respects the creativeness of the people" and "will bring their initiative into full play."

He Zhongming, vice-chairman of the Sichuan Provincial Planning Commission, said the proposed Constitution enables the people to work as the masters of China by guaranteeing their right to administer the affairs of the country, encouraging their invention and creation and offering them every possibility to display their talents.

An example, he said, is the expansion of the decision-making power of enterprises as stipulated in the proposed constitution, which also gives the workers the right to participate in the management of their enterprises through the congress of workers and other channels.

Zhao Qi, chief engineer of the Zhuzhou electrical locomotive plant in Hunan, also praised these provisions in the draft constitution. "They underline the extensive scope of democracy in socialist China," he said.

Since the plant set up a congress of workers in 1980, Zhao Qi said, the workers have played an effective supervisory role and cooperated well with the director in matters relating to production targets, distribution of profits, enlistment of new workers and the increase in amenities. This has strengthened the ties between them and helped bring the workers' initiative into full play, the chief engineer said. As a result, he said, the plant's profits have been increasing year by year.

Huang Rongchang, assistant chief engineer of the Chongqing Iron and Steel Company, said he likes the provision in the draft constitution that "the state promotes socialist labor emulation."

A model worker who has made more than 300 technical innovations, Huang said this is "an important provision that will encourage the workers to raise their socialist consciousness and technical level, and thus promote socialist construction."

CSO: 4000/21

## PARTY AND STATE

### NPC DEPUTIES CONFIDENT IN DRAFT CONSTITUTION

OW300327 Beijing XINHUA in English 0140 GMT 30 Nov 82

[Text] Beijing, 30 Nov (XINHUA)--An outstanding feature of China's new draft constitution that gratifies deputies to the National People's Congress (N.P.C.) is that it has eradicated the vestiges of "leftism" of the "Cultural Revolution."

Speaking at panel meetings, many deputies described the proposed constitution as "a good document that sets things to right."

Xiao Hua, first political commissar of the Lanzhou units of the People's Liberation Army, drew attention to the deletion from the 1975 and 1978 constitutions of two slogans: i.e., "all-round dictatorship" by the proletariat in every realm of the superstructure and "continuing the revolution" under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The first slogan, he said, was used by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" to enforce a fascist dictatorship, while the second represented an ultra-left theory that agitated for seizing power at all levels in a socialist country.

Countless leading cadres, intellectuals and ordinary people suffered from the two slogans during the "Cultural Revolution," Xiao Hua recalled.

Another conspicuous deletion, he said, is that of the provision about the "freedom to strike."

Going on strike is a means used by workers against capitalists, he said. In China where enterprises and their products are owned by the people themselves, to strike would impair the interests of the people, including the workers.

These deletions, Xiao Hua said, meet the wishes of the people and make the constitution far more scientific.

The noted economist Xu Dixin noted that the draft revised constitution allows the cooperative and individual economy to exist alongside the state sector of the economy, while stipulating that the basis of the socialist economic system is public ownership of the means of production and that the state sector of the economy is the dominant force in the national economy.

These provisions are realistic, he said.

Xu Dixin held that the individual economy will exist in China for a long time, mainly for two reasons: 1. It supplements the socialist public sector of the economy in meeting the needs for more products and a greater variety of them. 2. It helps create more job opportunities for new job-seekers, whose number ranges from 15 million to 17 million every year.

Xu Dixin welcomed the provisions in the proposed constitution which permit foreign investment in China according to Chinese laws.

He said the "gang of four" absurdly described economic exchanges and cooperation with foreign countries as "worshiping" foreign things and fawning on foreign powers." New China, entirely different from the old, is a "fully independent sovereign state, who will never allow foreigners to get hold of her economic lifelines," he stressed.

Economic cooperation with foreign countries would facilitate China's modernization, he said.

Sun Qimeng, a member of the committee for the revision of the constitution, said the draft constitution has specified the role of culture and intellectuals in socialist modernization, placing intellectuals alongside workers and peasants as the three basic forces that must be relied upon in building socialism.

This will have far-reaching significance in the effort to fulfill the general tasks for the new period, he said. It has corrected some wrong ideas that long existed and reached their climax during the "Cultural Revolution"--the ideas that looked down upon education, science and culture, and discriminated against intellectuals, he added.

Sun Qimeng pointed out it is the first time that a constitution of new China has defined the nature, position and important role of the Chinese people's political consultative conference, a highly representative united front organization.

This, he said, has put an end to another manifestation of "leftism" of the "Cultural Revolution," that was the attempt to discredit the united front and vilify the party's united front policy as a "right-devisionist tendency."

CSO: 4000/21

## PARTY AND STATE

### WORLD OPINION WELCOMES NEW DRAFT CONSTITUTION

OW301708 Beijing XINHUA in English 1640 GMT 30 Nov 82

[Text] Beijing, 30 Nov (XINHUA)--Newspapers and news agencies of a number of countries in their commentaries described the new draft constitution under discussion at the fifth session of the Fifth Congress of the Chinese National People's Congress (NPC), as having outlined China's basic development pattern for advancing to the four modernizations.

The draft constitution is of profound significance to the realization of the goals of the modernization program, it was generally held.

Japan's ASAHI SHIMBUN said in an editorial yesterday that with the adoption of the new constitution, China will certainly establish a stable administrative, economic and social order, and complete the establishment of a more open, modern state system.

A REUTER report said on November 27 that China's new constitution lays a theoretical basis for a more stable system based on the rule of law. The document is as much a political document on current policy aims as it is a legal charter. TOKYO SHIMBUN said on the same day that what is noticeable in the new draft constitution of China is a probe into socialist democracy, the interrelations between democracy and economic modernization, and the importance attached to the role of economic responsibility system and collectively owned enterprises.

Iraq press reports pointed out that the new Chinese Constitution signified the restoration of a legal system in China. AFP said the restoration of state chairmanship in China under the new draft constitution is a new reform. Thailand's THAI SIANG YIT PAO said China's decision to restore state chairmanship is a very good thing, for a country needs a head of state who leads the state at home and represents the country abroad. This is the simplest reason of all.

Thailand's NEW CHINESE DAILY NEWS commented that China's new constitution has now corrected the erroneous policies of the "gang-of-four" time. To treat intellectuals equally with the workers and peasants will make them feel proud and elated. The decision to set up a committee of overseas Chinese is good news for overseas Chinese, the paper noted.

The Portuguese paper DIARIO DE NOTICIAS quoted the official report on the drafting of the revised constitution as saying that an early end to the separation of Taiwan from the mainland will be highly conducive to the prosperity of the Taiwan region and the motherland as a whole.

The Hungarian paper MAGYAR HIRLAP said in a report on November 27, "It is the fundamental principle of China's foreign policy to promote diplomatic, economic and cultural relations with all countries on the basis of independence and the five principles of peaceful co-existence, oppose imperialism, hegemonism and colonialism and defend world peace."

The Spanish EFE Agency commented that "In this world of global economic recession China has come through storms triumphantly and is ready for embarking on the road of modernization it has been longing for."

Commenting on China's Sixth Five-Year Plan, on which Premier Zhao Ziyang will submit a report to the current session of the National People's Congress, REUTERS pointed out, "The plan will lay the foundations for achieving the government's goal of quadrupling economic output by the year 2000."

An AFP report said China's Sixth Five-Year Plan will reflect a commitment to rapid economic expansion. In this plan, AFP said, the Chinese Government will do its best to combine the objective defined by general secretary Hu Yaobang at the 12th National Congress of the Communist Party of China with the readjustment applied to the economy in the past few years so as to prepare for the implementation of a Seventh Five-Year Plan which will signal a more rapid economic development."

Newspapers in other East European countries and the Soviet Union also carried reports on the opening of the Fifth Session of the Chinese National People's Congress.

CSO: 4000/21

## PARTY AND STATE

### REPORT ON REQUIREMENTS FOR PARTY MEMBERS

SK181327 Taiyuan SHANXI RIBAO in Chinese 2 Nov 82 p 1

[Commentator's article: "Recruit Party Members in Strict Accordance With the Requirements for Party Members"]

[Text] From the organization department of the Yushe County CPC Committee which learned from Wan Huaqing and strictly guarded the pass for new party members and from the Yushe County Medicinal Herb Company which learned a lesson from admitting Wan Huaqing's son into the party, we have learned that only when we recruit party members in strict accordance with the requirements for party members can we keep the party advanced, maintain its purity and enhance its combat strength.

The new party Constitution states: "Members of the Communist Party of China are vanguard fighters of the Chinese working class imbued with communist consciousness," and "members of the Communist Party of China must serve the people wholeheartedly, dedicate their whole lives to the realization of communism, and be ready to make any personal sacrifices." This is the most important criterion to decide whether one can be admitted into the party. The communist party members' dedication of his whole life to the realization of communism reflects his firm belief in communism and his noble spirit of devotion. It epitomizes communist consciousness. In deciding whether a person is qualified to be recruited, we should not only hear this declaration but, more important, see whether he truly fosters a communist world outlook and outlook on life, what his purpose for joining the party is and whether he has the spirit of doing solid work to serve the people wholeheartedly. He whose purpose is to show gratitude to the party, to make it easier to lead others or even to seek selfish interests will not dedicate his whole life to the realization of communism.

Some comrades think that model and advanced workers have scored great achievements in their work and should be recruited into the party. Such a viewpoint is lopsided. Dedicating their whole lives to the realization of communism, communist party members should treat their labor and work with the communist labor attitude, play their exemplary and vanguard role among the masses and become model or advanced workers. However, the requirements for model and advanced workers are different from those for party members. Those who meet the

requirements for model and advanced workers do not necessarily meet those for party members. When recruiting a party member, we should not merely see his behavior for a certain time toward certain work. Instead, we should review his past and the entirety of his work and examine his understanding of the party and his purpose in joining the party. One of the important reasons why some new party members show great initiative before being recruited and become passive after joining the party is that we fail to conscientiously examine their ideological reality before admitting them into the party. We should draw a lesson from this.

Some comrades hold that certain scientific and technical personnel are well educated and competent and, if recruited, will enhance the party's combat strength. Such a viewpoint is also lopsided. In the past, because of the influence of the "leftist" erroneous ideology, some party branches did not value intellectuals and turned down applications for party membership by some intellectuals who met the requirements. As a result, there were very few party members among the intellectuals. This is a grave lesson. Since the third plenary session, many party branches have attached importance to recruiting party members among intellectuals. This is correct for sure. However, when we are recruiting party members among intellectuals, we still should uphold the requirements for party members. When recruiting party members, if we pay attention merely to political integrity, neglecting ability, our cause will be adversely affected; and if we pay attention merely to ability, neglecting political integrity, our cause will be damaged. Therefore, on the one hand we should continue to eliminate the "leftist" influence and regard recruitment of party members among intellectuals as a major aspect of the work of organizational development and, on the other, guard against and correct the tendency of paying attention to the education and ability of intellectuals to the neglect of their ideology and moral character.

Some comrades think that so-and-so is better than a certain party members and, therefore, should be recruited. Such a viewpoint of deciding whether one can be admitted by the standards of certain party members is not correct. In our party, there are indeed some unqualified members who seriously damage the party's prestige among the masses. It was because we did not examine them in strict accordance with the requirements when we were recruiting them that they became unqualified party members. And it is precisely because there are unqualified members in our party to damage the party's prestige among the masses that we should be all the more strict in guarding the pass for new members. With regard to those who think they are better than certain party members and should be admitted when they are applying for party membership, we should continue to help them patiently and examine them strictly, because their idea shows that their purpose for joining the party is not clear and that they are not qualified.

Like Comrade Wan Huaqing, all party organizations and the broad masses of party members should maintain the communist purity of the party on their own, do a good job in recruiting new members in line with the principle of recruiting party members in a vigorous but prudent manner, strengthen party building and lead the people in creating a new situation for modernization.

## PARTY AND STATE

### NEI MONGGOL CALLS FOR RECTIFYING PARTY'S WORKSTYLE

SK120819 Hohhot Nei Monggol Regional Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 11 Nov 82

[Station commentary: "Study the Documents Well and Rectify the Party's Workstyle"]

[Text] The 12th National CPC Congress set for the entire party the task of effecting a fundamental turn for the better in the party's workstyle. Stressing the style of study of integrating theory with practice, we must, while studying the 12th congress documents, integrate the study with the rectification of the party's workstyle, eliminating all kinds of practices as the study goes along. Leadership at all levels should promote the rectification of the party's workstyle.

By eliminating practices as the study goes along we mean that all party members, those at leading posts at all levels in particular, should voluntarily check themselves against the qualifications set by the new party Constitution for a party member and on their own clear away the dust on their ideology and workstyle and get rid of unhealthy tendencies of all kinds. They should make continued efforts to narrow the gap between what they are and what is required of a party member by the new party Constitution and thus make themselves qualified party members. Only by so doing will the masses have hope for the future, strengthen their confidence and pluck up their enthusiasm.

Following the 12th congress the masses have placed great hope on an improvement in the party's work style. If our party members, particularly the cadres of the party at all levels, will voluntarily rectify their work style while studying the documents and make earnest efforts to check the unhealthy practices over which the masses complain most, the masses will be greatly inspired, sensing that after the 12th congress the party's workstyle has taken on a new look and is undergoing new changes. Otherwise, it will be very difficult for us to make the first step to create a new situation for the four modernizations.

Based on the experience of all localities in the province in checking unhealthy practices since the promulgation of the guiding principles 3 years ago, we should attend to the following four links well in simultaneously studying the documents and eliminating unhealthy practices:

1. Study the documents well. At present we must study the new party Constitution well and understand what new requirements the new party Constitution sets for party members and cadres. To enhance the consciousness for improving the party's workstyle, it is particularly important to understand why the new party Constitution stipulates that party members shall not use public office for private gain, should not seek private gain at public expense and should not seek any privileges.

2. Use the new party Constitution as a looking glass. The new party Constitution provides clear and definite stipulations with regard to the duties and qualifications of party members and cadres. We should use the Constitution as a looking glass and check ourselves in it, find out where we lag behind and make clear what direction we should take in striving to improve our workstyle.

3. Start by improving the workstyle bit by bit. In studying the documents in connection with reality we should correct one-by-one the problems regarding the party's workstyle once they are discovered. If we do not correct them now and let these problems accumulate until the next consolidation of party organization, we will miss the present opportunity.

4. Be strict with oneself. We should start immediately and make a good example out of ourselves. We must not forgive ourselves just because others are also guilty of unhealthy practices. Nor should we take a passive attitude. Waiting to see how much others have done in checking unhealthy practice and do as much.

Over the past few years the party's workstyle in our region has improved visibly thanks to the implementation of the guiding principles, the consolidation of leading bodies at all levels, the crackdown on criminal activities in the economic field and the implementation of the circular of the regional CPC committee on the problems in Qinghe County. At present, if we simultaneously study the 12th congress documents and rectify the party's work style and consciously check our own unhealthy practices, we will be able to win greater confidence from the masses and promote the smooth progress of the four modernizations.

CSO: 4005/175

## PARTY AND STATE

### JIANGSU'S XU JIATUN ON GOVERNMENT REFORM

OW141636 Nanjing Jiangsu Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 13 Nov 82

[Excerpts] The Jiangsu Provincial CPC Committee recently held a mobilization meeting on reform of provincial organs. Comrade Xu Jiatun delivered a report on mobilization at the meeting. Comrades Liu Lin and Han Peixin addressed the meeting. Some 600 persons attended the meeting. They included party members and leading cadres of various provincial departments, commissions, offices and bureaus, and secretaries of various prefectural and municipal party committees.

After expounding the significance of organizational reform, Comrade Xu Jiatun pointed out: Acting according to the principles and demands put forward by the central authorities, we set the period from now to the end of this year as the preparatory stage for the reform of our provincial, prefectural and municipal organs and set the first 3 months of 1983 as the implementation stage.

On how to reform the party and government organs in Jiangsu Province, Comrade Xu Jiatun made the following recommendations in his speech:

1. It is necessary to simplify provincial party and government organs, reduce the staff and establish and perfect the system of job responsibility. All overlappings of provincial party and government organs should be eliminated. The organizations handling similar businesses should be merged. The party and government organs which independently conduct economic activities should be reorganized into economic entities in order to separate the administration from enterprises and prevent the substitution of administrative organs for economic organizations.
2. It is necessary to make overall personnel arrangements and overall readjustment of leading bodies. It is necessary to make overall arrangements for manning the provincial leading bodies and consider overall who should stay, who should come and who should go. In general, one should not hold concurrent positions. The readjustment should make the leading bodies smaller but more capable. We should include a number of energetic young and middle-aged comrades in the provincial leading bodies. In principle, all those who exceed the age limit in the leadership of the provincial departments commissions, offices and bureaus should step back to the second line or the third line. The newly selected young and middle-aged members of the leading bodies should meet the

age, education and job specialty requirements. In the course of readjusting the leading bodies, we should seriously do a good job in removing the five kinds of persons. We should resolutely remove them from the leading bodies and there should be no exceptions.

3. It is necessary to properly settle the veteran cadres.

4. It is necessary to actively prepare the training of cadres on a rotational basis.

In order to insure the smooth progress of organizational reform, Comrade Xu Jiatun emphasized the need to strengthen the party leadership and do the following three things:

1) It is necessary to strengthen the ideological and political work.

2) The leading cadres at all levels should personally take a hand in the reform and take the lead in learning how to do it. They should rely on the party's collective leadership, fully display democracy and adhere to the mass line.

3) It is necessary to undertake the organizational reform and the economic construction at the same time and regard both as the daily routine.

CSO: 4005/175

## PARTY AND STATE

### HENAN HOLDS POLITICAL, LEGAL WORK CONFERENCE

HK820852 Zhengzhou Henan Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 21 Nov 82

[Text] From 10-19 November, the Henan Provincial CPC Committee held a conference on political and legal work. The conference seriously implemented the spirit of the national conference on political and legal work and discussed and looked into issues concerning creating a new situation in political and legal work in our province. The conference demanded that under CPC committees' leadership, political and legal departments at all levels and all cadres and policemen boost their enthusiasm, work hard, regard tidying up social order in the coming winter and spring as their central work, consolidate and develop their achievements in improving urban and rural social order this year and lay a solid foundation for fundamentally improving social order and the general mood of society in our province.

Dai Suli, provincial CPC committee secretary and governor, made a summing-up speech at the conference. Zhao Wenfu, provincial CPC committee secretary, attended the conference and spoke. Members of political and legal leadership group of the provincial CPC committee and responsible comrades of political and legal departments attended.

The conference pointed out: following the shifting of the key point of the work of the party and the state, the stress of political and legal work must be placed on defending and in promoting socialist modernization. It is necessary to resolutely strike blows at all kinds of economic crimes and struggle against criminal activities which jeopardize the building of socialist spiritual civilization. Moreover, it is essential to restore and consolidate grassroots political power and organizations and mass organizations, give full play to their role and strive to create a new situation in political and legal work.

The conference analyzed the state of our province's social order and stated: Under the leadership of CPC committees at all levels and with the vigorous support of relevant departments and the masses political and legal organs have brought their functions of dictatorship into play, achieved great results in tidying up social order, cracked a large number of cases and punished a large number of criminals so that the masses' sense of security has been strengthened and more and more people have found the courage to struggle against criminals.

Furthermore, all places have exercised comprehensive control, strengthened fundamental work, mediated in a large number of civil disputes and prevented some cases from occurring. However, we must realize that security is not yet consolidated or stable enough. We must fully understand the urgency, arduousness and long-term nature of tidying up social order and by no means lower our guard or relay our efforts.

The conference pointed out: We must continue to grasp firmly and well improving social order. This is still the central task of current political and legal work. Both urban and rural areas must apply past effective experiences and, firmly grasp the weak links and the salient problems. The conference emphatically pointed out: To tidy up social order, we must now give prominence to grasping three things:

1. It is imperative to completely carry out measures for comprehensive control.
2. It is necessary to strike severe blows at rapists and other criminals.
3. It is essential to strengthen the struggle against counterrevolutionaries, special agents and spies.

In the winter and spring in previous years, some usual, seasonal problems generally occurred. The conference demanded that all places fully understand the importance of grasping well social order work in the coming winter and spring and strive to grasp this work more firmly and better than any time before so as to make the coming winter and spring the starting point in fundamentally improving social order and the general mood of society in our province. We must further promote social stability and defend the smooth progress of economic construction.

Attending were responsible comrades of all prefectures and municipalities who are in charge of political and legal work and responsible comrades of the public security organs, procuratorates, courts, civil affairs departments and relevant units of all prefectures and municipalities, totaling some 200 people.

CSO: 4005/175

## PARTY AND STATE

### 'GUANGMING RIBAO' DISCUSSES 'FOUR BASIC PRINCIPLES'

HK220950 Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 8 Nov 82 p 3

[Article by Li Shenglin [2621 3932 2651]: "The Four Basic Principles Have Upheld and Developed the Spirit of the 'Communist Manifesto' "--passages within slantlines published in boldface]

[Text] The "Communist Manifesto" was the first document of the nature of program in the international communist movement. Since its publication in 1848, the "Manifesto" has always been a banner for the proletariat throughout the world in fighting for liberation. On the other hand, the world proletariat is also giving new vitality to the "Manifesto" through the new experiences it is continuously gaining in its practice of communism. Marx and Engels said that "the general basic principles expounded in the 'Manifesto' remains on the whole to be completely correct even now." However, "as expounded in the 'Manifesto,' the actual application of these basic principles will always vary in accordance with the historical conditions of the times." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 1, p 228) The four basic principles of adherence to the socialist path, adherence to the people's democratic dictatorship, adherence to the party's leadership and adherence to Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought are an inevitable outcome of our party's adherence to and development of the basic principles of the "Manifesto" at the present stage. Each of the four basic principles is the actual application of the basic principles of the "Manifesto" in socialist China. As the new party Constitution points out, these four basic principles are the "political foundation for the unity and unification of the whole party."

/Adherence to the socialist path is a principle that has been raised in order [to] consciously observe the objective law, as revealed in the "Manifesto," that socialism and communism are the inevitable trend of the development of human society while taking into account new historical conditions./ In accordance with dialectic materialism and historical materialism, the "Manifesto" expounds that "all relationships of ownership have undergone constant historical changes and constant historical substitutions. For example, the French revolution abolished feudal ownership and in its place substituted bourgeois ownership." Moreover, "modern bourgeois private ownership is the most perfect form of the ownership of production and products that is founded on class antagonism and on

the exploitation of man by man." ("Ibid," p 265) This ownership relationship restricts the development of the productive force of society and, in the course of the growth of capital has given rise to a strong proletariat which will be the gravedigger of this ownership. Only when it has broken away from exploitation and oppression can the human race really be liberated. Therefore, it is inevitable that the bourgeoisie is doomed and that the proletariat will achieve victory. Thus, the "Manifesto" scientifically discloses the historical inevitability of the entry of human society into socialism and communism. At present, because the international communist movement and socialist construction at home have undergone twists and turns, we should be even more clear that by adhering to the socialist path, we mean, first of all, adhering to always believing in the inevitable victory of socialism. Dialectics teaches us that the emergence and development of any thing does not come about smoothly and must undergo twists and turns. Lenin said it well: "If we analyze problems in light of their essence, has there been a mode of production in history that was established without undergoing a large number of failures and mistakes and after overcoming a large number of defects? ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 4, p 14) We, communists, can consciously understand the objective laws and correct the shortcomings and mistakes in our work. Since our party smashed Lin Biao and the "gang of four" cliques, we have scored in the short period of a few years many great achievements in the ideological, political, economic construction, science, educational and other fields and in improving the people's livelihood. This has proved not only the correctness of the party's Marxist-Leninist line formulated since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, but also the irrefutable truth that socialism will inevitably achieve victory.

By adhering to the socialist path, we mean that we should vigorously strengthen the construction of socialist material and spiritual civilizations. A high degree of material civilization is the material foundation of socialism, and, on the other hand, a high degree of socialist spiritual civilization is the basic guarantee for the socialist orientation of our modernization. The "Manifesto" puts forward 10 measures for realizing socialism. The basic spirit of these measures is that, on the one hand, the proletariat should seize state power, and, on the other hand, the proletariat should use the strength of its political power to increase, as greatly as possible, the total amount of the productive force and develop socialist material civilization while at the same time developing socialist spiritual civilization. This should include "combining agriculture with industry in order to gradually abolish the antithesis between town and country; abolishing all the present forms of employing children in factories; combining education with material production and so on." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 1, p 273) The strategic policy of building the two civilizations that has been put forward by our party is obviously a development of this important idea.

/Adherence to the people's democratic dictatorship inherits and develops the idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat expounded in the "Manifesto."/ The "Manifesto" points out: "The first step of the workers' revolution is to raise the proletariat to a ruling position and to achieve democracy." (Ibid, p 272)

However, the form of proletarian dictatorship varies as conditions in countries differ. "The proletarian revolution will establish a democratic system and, by so doing, directly or indirectly establish the political rule of the proletariat. This rule can be established directly in England, because in that country the proletariat constitutes the majority of the people. In France and Germany, this rule can be established indirectly, because in those two countries the majority of the people consists of not only the proletariat, but also small peasants and urban petite bourgeoisie..." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 4, p 367) This idea of Marx and Engels is of direct guiding significance for our country. The social and historical conditions in China differ both from those in the developed capitalist countries of Europe and America and from Russia. The old China was a semicolonial and semifeudal country and its state power was in the hands of the feudal landlords and the bureaucratic bourgeoisie. The proletariat was small, the peasantry was large and the national bourgeoisie had a dual character. In his report to the Second Plenary Session of the Seventh CPC Central Committee, Comrade Mao Zedong clearly pointed out that after the victory of the Chinese revolution, we should establish "a people's democratic dictatorship led by the proletariat and based on the worker-peasant alliance." After the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the state power of our country has again been called the people's democratic dictatorship. This reflects China's special characteristics as well as the common nature of proletarian dictatorship.

Marx always held that the proletarian dictatorship was necessary in the transitional period from capitalism to socialism. Our practice of socialism has made us realize that we should adhere to proletarian dictatorship not only in the transitional period but also for a certain period after we enter socialism. The reason why our party holds this view is because after the seizure of state power by the proletariat in a economically underdeveloped country, the proletariat should shift the focus of its work onto socialist construction and must utilize the state power in its hands to organize and lead economic construction, and because "class struggle will still exist in a certain scope in our society for a long time and may become fierce under certain conditions," we must utilize the strength of the dictatorship to safeguard the four socialist modernizations and the people's democratic rights. This has also enriched and developed the idea of proletarian dictatorship expounded in the "Manifesto."

/Adherence to the party's leadership is the nucleus of the four basic principles. By adhering to this principle, we adhere to the basic principle put forward in the "Manifesto" that in order to carry out its revolution, the proletariat must set up its political party./ Concerning the relationship between the Communist Party and the proletariat, the "Manifesto" clearly points out that the Communist Party is a political party of the proletariat and this political party has a remarkable characteristic. "In practice, the communists are, of all workers' political parties in various countries, the most resolute in constantly promoting the progress of the proletariat movement; and, in theory, they are superior to all other sections of the proletariat masses in understanding the conditions, processes and general results of the proletarian movement." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels" Vol 1, p 264) Thus, it expounds on the nature, characteristics

and tasks of the political parties of the proletariat and at the same time stipulates the unshakable leading position of the communist party in the liberation cause of the proletariat. It is impossible for the proletariat to be organized or to promote the proletariat's revolutionary cause if there is no such party.

In the socialist construction period, the key to adherence to the party's leadership lies in strengthening party building and improving the party's leadership. The position of a party in power may give rise to the sentiments of claiming credit for oneself and becoming arrogant and of pursuing ease and comfort. A small number of people may even use their power of office to pursue private interests. Therefore, we must constantly rectify our party work style, overhaul and consolidate our party's organizations, preserve our party's communist political and ideological purity, strengthen our party's close ties with the broad masses of people and raise the combat effectiveness of our party's organizations and thus more satisfactorily meet the demands of the new period. The question of whether we will be able to adhere to the party's leadership is vital to the success or failure of our socialist cause. Therefore, this is the nucleus of the four basic principles and also a priority issue for members of the whole party in maintaining their identity with the Central Committee.

/Adherence to Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought means adhering to the thorough materialist ideology expounded throughout the "Manifesto."/ The "Manifesto" for the first time expounded on the complete system of Marxist theory. Lenin said: "This article extremely, thoroughly and clearly expounds on the new world outlook, the thorough materialism that is applied to all spheres including social life, the dialectics which is the most comprehensive and most profound theory on development, class struggle and the theory on the task of carrying out a historical world revolution [word indistinct] by the proletariat, the creator of the new communist society." ("Collected Works of Lenin" Vol 21, p 30) Adhering to Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought is precisely adhering to the basic principles expounded by the "Manifesto" and integrating these principles with the revolutionary practice in our country. The Chinese communists represented by Comrade Mao Zedong have applied Marxism to the practice of the Chinese revolution and construction, and have thus blazed a revolutionary path and a path of socialist construction with Chinese characteristics. This has given rise to Mao Zedong Thought, the crystallization of the collective wisdom of Chinese Communists. By so doing, the Chinese Communists have enriched Marxism and provided themselves with a sharp ideological weapon. As Engels pointed out: "As for the final victory of the principles mentioned in the 'Manifesto,' Marx placed his hope entirely on the proletariat's spiritual development that will inevitably be brought about by its common actions and discussions." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 1, p 243) For more than a century, every step of the advance of the communists in various countries has contributed to promoting the realization of the final victory of these principles. The Chinese Communists and the highly communist-conscious Chinese people will surely make their outstanding contributions to the final victory of these principles!

## PARTY AND STATE

### ANHUI JOURNAL DESCRIBES VETERAN CADRES' TASKS

OW201231 Hefei Anhui Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 18 Nov 82

["Full text" of editorial in issue No 12 of ANHUI PARTY MEMBERS' LIFE [ANHUI DANGYUAN SHENGHUO], to be published "soon": "Veteran Cadres' Glorious Historical Responsibility"]

[Text] The reform of the leading bodies and the cadre system to ensure that the ranks of the cadres become more revolutionary, younger in average age, better educated and more professionally competent is an important political guarantee for the success of China's modernization and adherence to the socialist road.

The 1st Plenary Session of the 12th Party Central Committee made the arrangements to carry out the reform of organizations and the replacement of leading cadres at the provincial as well as prefectural and municipal levels during this winter and next spring to achieve the four goals in streamlining organizations, raising work efficiency, making proper arrangements for veteran comrades and absorbing new lifeblood and talent. This is the first formidable task that we must fulfill in order to implement the guidelines of the 12th Party National Congress. This task ought to be done sooner rather than later, and it will be no good if it is delayed. There are still many tasks to be fulfilled in the future, with one task following another. "One tide catches up with another, with the later one higher than the earlier one." If one task is not fulfilled on schedule, and if we are thrown into passivity at one stage, then we will become passive in every stage and we will not be able to cope with the work and tasks that will follow. To deal with this task, those who have made up their minds at an earlier time and those who have done a better job in taking the mass line will be able to become more positive in carrying out their work.

On whose efforts should we mainly rely for doing a good job in streamlining the organizations and readjusting the leading bodies? We should say that we should rely mainly on the efforts of large numbers of veteran comrades who have withstood protracted tests and who are trusted by the party and the people. This is the factor that will decide whether the reform of the organizations can be smoothly and successfully carried out.

Only if large numbers of veteran cadres themselves take the lead in standing out, making up their minds to carry out this task and solving this problem can this task be easily solved. Therefore, our party's veteran comrades on their own initiative should shoulder this glorious responsibility that history assigns them.

In dealing with this problem, it is necessary to take a broad and long-term view. The problem should never be considered from the angle of fearing to offend some comrades or letting others down nor should consideration be given to how the tasks for the next 1 or 2 years are to be carried out. On the contrary, it is furthermore necessary to stand on a higher plane and see farther ahead. What should be taken into consideration is the whole situation of our party's cause as well as the undertakings for the next 20, 30, 40 or even 50 years. And efforts should be made to effectively carry out the reform of leading organizations and promote cooperation between old and new cadres and the succession of the old by the new in the leading bodies so that our party's and our state's leading organs can maintain stability and continuity for a long period of time and so that the party's line, principles and policies can be carried on.

In the course of reforming the organizations and readjusting the leading bodies, it is necessary to promote to leading posts large numbers of energetic young and middle-aged cadres who possess both political integrity and ability and who are capable of creating new situations so that the leading bodies at all levels can continuously absorb new lifeblood and talent to maintain their vigor.

Who should be selected to join the leading bodies is a matter concerning who should be entrusted with exercising power and is also a matter of great importance that has concerned our party's cause for centuries. It is necessary to strictly guarantee that the right persons are selected. Our veteran cadres to be selected. Not only their political integrity but also their talents should be tested. Those five types of persons mentioned in Comrade Chen Yun's speech at the 12th Party Congress should never be allowed to join the leading bodies. Veteran comrades should stand up to positively recommend and support those outstanding young and middle-aged cadres who meet the requirements.

Party committees at all levels did a large amount of work and achieved some results in selecting and promoting young and middle-aged cadres in the past few years. However, it is still far from meeting the demands set by the party Central Committee. It should be noted that young cadres more often than not failed to be promoted because of two types of comrades: veteran comrades and comrades of their own generation.

Of these two obstructions, if our veteran comrades would stand up and give their support, one obstruction would disappear. And it would also be necessary for veteran comrades to personally attend to the work of winning the support of the young comrades of the same generation. In this connection, our veteran comrades should put general interests first, take general interests into account, give positive support to those who are professionally competent and open up rather

than block the roads for energetic and outstanding young and middle-aged cadres to grow. They should show their high moral integrity and conscientiously and warmly follow those young cadres who do not have better qualifications or records of service and who do not have more work experience than they do, and they should let them shoulder heavy burdens. Veteran comrades should also do a good job of passing on their experience, giving help and setting good examples in training new comrades.

While selecting and promoting young cadres, our veteran comrades should stand up to support those comrades who have been approved by the majority, who are regarded as qualified after passing repeated investigations and who are regarded as possessing major merits, but they should never demand perfection from these young cadres. As for those who have some defects, only if the veteran comrades would set up good foundations for them can they be fully guided to do a good job. Hesitation and failure in making timely decisions will certainly cause a delay in work.

In selecting cadres to readjust the leading groups, it is also necessary to pay attention to the following two aspects: On the one hand, it is necessary to have good control of the age structure of the leading bodies and make efforts to ensure that the rank of cadres become younger in average age. The problem concerning the older average age of the leading bodies should be solved through the current organizational reform. If cadres are selected from those comrades who are nearly 60 years old, the problem concerning the older average age of the leading bodies will reappear and the problem concerning cooperation between old and new cadres as well as the succession of the old by the new will not be easily solved. Therefore, it will be necessary to select not only those comrades who are a little over 50 years old, but also those who are still in their 40's or 30's. There are large numbers of outstanding personnel who are still in their 40's or 30's. If we concentrate on selecting cadres from these comrades by expanding our views, we will find many qualified personnel for selection and the problem of ensuring that the leading bodies become younger in average age can be easily solved.

On the other hand, it is necessary to conscientiously select and promote a number of intellectuals who are highly educated culturally, including those who have attained that level through self-study, to leading posts at various levels so that our leading bodies will make a great advance in becoming more educated and more professionally competent.

Though we have now come to have a better understanding than in the past about the importance of the educational level in selecting cadres, we have not made sufficient efforts in this area in our actual selection work. One of the most important reasons why intellectuals have failed to be selected or promoted to leading posts is that our minds have not been emancipated. The "leftist" influence on the issue of how to deal with intellectuals has not been eliminated.

It should be clearly noted that the promotion of both material and spiritual civilizations cannot be separated from intellectuals. There are large numbers of intellectuals who graduated from institutes of higher learning before the

"Great Cultural Revolution" or achieved the same cultural level through self-study. It will be extremely useful to make good use of these intellectuals. Unless this problem is easily solved, China cannot expect to achieve its four modernizations and the task of quadrupling China's annual industrial and agricultural output value by the end of this century will come to nothing. It will also be very hard for those who have no theoretical or political knowledge, no scientific or cultural knowledge, no opinions of their own, or those who have no abilities at all to achieve anything. Therefore, we should further emancipate our minds, select and promote talented personnel to leading posts from various circles and without sticking to one pattern in selection, and make up our minds to do a good job in reforming organizations and readjusting leading bodies and strive to create a new situation in the selection of talented personnel.

In the course of the current organizational reform, we will have to relieve of their leading posts a number of veteran comrades who are advanced in age. This is in line with the needs for the development of the party's cause. At present many veteran comrades have expressed their wishes for an unconditioned retirement from the front line. This indicates that our veteran cadres have a high sense of revolutionary responsibility and are good models for our party and our country. This is also a good start in the organizational reform as well as in implementing the decision of the central authorities on the retirement system for veteran cadres.

The retirement of veteran cadres from front-line posts does not mean that the revolution has come to an end. Our veteran cadres will carry on the revolutionary cause to the end. However, veteran cadres do not necessarily have to lead the revolution on the front-line posts. Even after they have retired to the second line, they can still continue to work for the party.

The central authorities have proposed that those veteran comrades who are advanced in age and weak in health should act more as "personnel engaged in study and investigation" and act less as "personnel engaged in giving commands" after they have retired from front-line posts. That is to say, they should try to reduce their right to command but expand their right to speak. They should spend more time and energy in conducting study and investigation, in doing more work to promote ties with the masses, and in working out plans for achieving prolonged order and stability for the party and the state.

In this way, veteran comrades' rich experiences in leadership work can still play an important role in their service to the party, state and society.

We have heavy work and tasks in carrying out not only the current organizational reform but also the party consolidation as well as the overall reform of the economic system in the future. It will not be easy to fulfill these tasks by merely depending on those comrades who are engaged in actual work. In one sense, it is necessary to depend on those comrades who have retired to the second line

for study and investigation, for their planning work, for their opinions and for their efforts in mobilizing the masses. Only if proper arrangements are made for these veteran comrades and only if they are well organized will these retired veteran comrades have much work to do. They should not worry about having nothing to do.

Our veteran comrades have made great contributions to our prolonged struggles in the revolution and also in socialist construction and the people as well as the party will never forget their contributions. We are fully convinced that we have successors to the socialist cause to promote the flourishing and development of our party and our state and that the broad masses of veteran comrades will make new contributions for the party in carrying out the major tasks at present--the reform of institutions and the readjustment of leading bodies.

CSO: 4005/175

## PARTY AND STATE

### WUHAN MUNICIPAL PARTY CONGRESS OPENS

HK210404 Wuhan Hubei Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 20 Nov 82

[Text] The Sixth Wuhan Municipal Party Congress opened on 20 November. The congress is being attended by 702 deputies from all fronts. Comrade Liu Huinong delivered the opening speech. Provincial CPC committee second secretary Comrade Han Ningfu extended warm congratulations to the congress on behalf of the provincial CPC committee. He hoped that Wuhan would advance in the forefront in building socialist material and spiritual civilization in the province, set an example for the whole province, catch up with the advanced levels of some other large cities in China, and strive to do still better. He also hoped that the party members, especially leading cadres, in Wuhan would follow the spirit of the 12th Party Congress, the regulations of the new party Constitution and the guidelines for party life and be resolved to bring about a fundamental turn for the better in party work style, starting with themselves, and lead and unite the masses to work hard to create a new situation.

Comrade Wang Qun delivered a report on behalf of the Fifth Municipal CPC Committee, entitled: Follow the road guided by the 12th Party Congress and create a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization in Wuhan.

The congress will discuss this work report and the work report of the municipal CPC committee's discipline inspection committee. It will elect a new municipal CPC committee, and an advisory committee and discipline inspection committee. It will also elect deputies to the Fourth Hubei Provincial Party Congress. The congress will last 5 days.

CSO: 4005/175

## PARTY AND STATE

### 'BEIJING REVIEW' EXAMINES 'SPIRITUAL CIVILIZATIONS'

HK020138 Beijing BEIJING REVIEW in English No 47, 22 Nov 82 p 3

["Notes From the Editors" column by An Zhiguo: "Two Spiritual Civilizations"]

[Text] China has set itself the task of building a socialist spiritual civilization, i.e., socialist culture and ethics. But some components of this task are also encouraged in capitalist countries. What, then, is the difference between the spiritual civilizations under the two different social systems?

It is true that, in some respects, the spiritual civilizations under the two different social systems are not categorically different or mutually exclusive. But on the whole and in essence, they are worlds apart.

Roughly speaking, socialist spiritual civilization consists of two interrelated aspects: cultural and ideological.

The cultural aspect of building spiritual civilization refers to the development of education, science, literature and art, the media, public health, physical culture and other cultural undertakings.

Some of these, such as general knowledge and natural science, public health and physical culture, represent humanity's joint achievement in understanding and transforming the world; they therefore do not have a class character.

But, in developing these undertakings, the guiding thoughts on whom they should serve and other fundamental issues do have a different class character under different social systems.

Take medical service and public health for instance. The techniques and equipment used in China and in the capitalist countries have much in common, except that China is on the whole relatively backward in this field. But China is doing a better job than some capitalist countries at providing medical service for everyone. This is the outcome of different guidelines under two different social systems.

The ideological aspect of building spiritual civilization covers a whole range of fields, including certain ideological and ethical norms needed to ensure the existence and development of any society as well as a well-ordered social life.

A socialist society is certainly not alone in encouraging citizens to pay attention to decorum, observe public order and maintain environmental sanitation. However, the essential differences between the two spiritual civilizations, the socialist and the capitalist, manifest themselves in the major ideological tenets, i.e., the kind of outlook on life and the world that a given society fosters, people's political awareness and their particular system of morals.

To guarantee the socialist nature of our spiritual civilization, China stresses ideological construction characterized by communist ideals and moral values, lofty sentiments and revolutionary discipline. At the present stage, we are devoting major efforts to fostering among the people firm confidence in communist ideals, devotion to the people's interests and the communist spirit of sacrificing oneself for the sake of others.

This is a long-term, arduous task that cannot be accomplished in one or two generations. But people have noticed that we have already achieved some initial results in building a socialist spiritual civilization. People imbued with communist ideas are emerging in increasing numbers in all fields of endeavour, whose fine examples are respected, loved and emulated.

In capitalist countries many people also dedicate themselves to human progress. But as often as not they face all sorts of difficulties and find themselves in the minority, and sometimes they have to fight alone. Their progressive ideas are often suppressed and the popularization of these ideas are restricted one way or another. In these countries, the dominant ideology still consists of such credos as "money is omnipotent," "the law of the jungle" and "everyone for himself and let the devil take the hindmost."

Thus, while we can't put a class label on everything concerning the two spiritual civilizations, we should also not write off the essential differences between them.

CSO: 4000/21

## PARTY AND STATE

### 'BEIJING REVIEW' ON NATION'S POLICY TOWARD DALAI LAMA

HK300608 Beijing BEIJING REVIEW in English 15 Nov 82 pp 3, 4

["Notes From the Editors" column by An Zhiguo: "Policy Toward Dalai Lama"]

[Text] Do you have any comment about Dalai Lama's many recent trips to other countries this year? What suggestions and requests have his representatives to Beijing put forward and what is the Chinese Government's current policy towards him?

China opposes Dalai Lama carrying out activities in these countries because he is not simply a religious but a political figure, conducting political activities in exile. The Chinese Government cannot agree with any official of any country receiving him. Through diplomatic channels we have already made our position clear to governments involved.

In 1979, Dalai Lama initiated a request to send representatives to contact the central authorities. The request was welcomed by these authorities and, over the last three years, the central authorities agreed to receive four such groups. Some group members paid long-term visits to Tibet.

The party and state leaders and responsible officials repeatedly told the groups the central authorities' views and policies towards Dalai Lama as follows: Although we are still critical of the 1959 rebellion launched by some members of Tibet's upper strata, we should not get entangled in rehashing this historical issue today. Dalai Lama and his followers are welcome to return to China. It is hoped that they will make contributions to the great unity of the motherland and of all the nationalities, as well as to the nation's four modernizations. Upon their return, the government will make appropriate political and personal arrangements for them.

The three-member delegation sent to Beijing by Dalai Lama this year requested that the central authorities accord Tibet the same treatment as is provided for Taiwan in the Chinese Government's nine-point principle, and that all the areas inhabited by Tibetans in Sichuan, Qinghai, Gansu and Yunnan be incorporated with Tibet to establish a unified big Tibetan autonomous region. The central authorities' response to these questions is very clear: both Tibet and Taiwan are integral parts of China, but there are big differences between the two.

Tibet has been liberated for more than three decades. It has completed democratic reforms and socialist transformation, has abolished the feudal serfdom system characterized by a combination of political and religious rule, and has long been an autonomous region under the leadership of the central government. The nine-point principle, therefore, is not applicable to Tibet.

Neither is the request for merging all the areas inhabited by Tibetans realistic. For centuries, the Tibetan people have lived in separate communities within four other provinces in addition to Tibet itself. Just like other minority nationalities in China, they exercise national regional autonomy and are organized into an autonomous region, several autonomous prefectures and autonomous counties. It is not reasonable to change the historically determined administrative divisions simply according to the distribution of nationalities.

China's critics abroad often raise the question of the so-called "independence of Tibet." The assertion that "Tibet had always been independent in the past" is groundless. People who have a little knowledge of Chinese history know that the Tibetan and Han peoples began friendly contacts centuries ago. By the seventh century, in addition to economic and cultural exchanges, the two nationalities had established close political relations. During the Yuan Dynasty in the 13th century, Tibet was included in the domain of China and became part of China's territory.

The so-called "independence of Tibet" in modern history has always been a dirty allegation of imperialist aggression against China and has been opposed by the Chinese people, and most strenuously by the Tibetan people.

Today, some separatists and others with ulterior motives continue to flaunt the misleading banner of an "independent Tibet." In recent years, these forces have given enormous publicity to the "frenzied welcome" received by the visiting delegations from Dalai Lama. In fact this phenomenon is not at all surprising. For historical reasons, Lamaism has deep influence among the Tibetan people. Tibetan buddhists regard not only Dalai Lama, but all the others they call "living buddhas" as gods incarnate, and welcome them accordingly.

Some people who don't know this background have misinterpreted the Tibetans' religious feelings towards Dalai as political trust in him. But some others have always taken advantage of the Tibetan people's beliefs in order to arouse a religious fervour that would serve their own aims of splitting the motherland and undermining our national unity. The future will provide proof that these efforts are in vain.

CSO: 4000/21

## PARTY AND STATE

### REPORT ON PUBLICIZING COMMUNIST IDEOLOGY

HK220614 Beijing BAN YUE TAN in Chinese No 21, 10 Nov 82 p 7

[Article: "Attention Must Be Given to Three Problems When Publicizing Communist Ideology"]

[Text] In order to educate and bestir the masses of people, we must vigorously publicize communist ideology and must conscientiously guide the building of socialist spiritual civilization with it. However, in the propagation, attention must be given to the following three problems:

1. The propagation of communist ideology must be integrated with the implementation of the present socialist policies. In the work of propaganda, neither restriction nor criticism should be carried out concerning the policy of distribution according to labor. The application of the principle "from each according to his ability, to each according to his work" in the socialist period itself constitutes part of the communist ideological system. At present, we are practicing such policies as allowing the existence of individual farming, private plots and rural fairs, and are even allowing the running of joint ventures with foreign capitalists. Looking at the surface, it seems that these policies are far from communist ideology, but in fact, practicing such policies at the present stage is advantageous to socialist construction and the final realization of communism. In the work of propaganda, such a relationship should be clearly explained with a view to preventing the emergence of some "leftist" mistakes.
2. We should publicize communist ideals, but we should not now advocate and apply such communist principles as "from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs," "the dying away of the state," "the dying away of the party" and so on. The communist ideas which should be propagated and advocated at the present stage are mainly firm conviction in communist ideals, the spirit of dedicating oneself to the interests of the people, the communist style of sacrificing one's own interests for the sake of others and working selflessly for the public interests and good behavior such as concerning oneself with public benefits and taking good care of public property.
3. In the propaganda work, the masses should not be given a false impression that communism is close at hand. During the time of the "big leap forward," communism was propagated as if its mast was already visible. This resulted in a gust of "communist wind" together with many "leftist" mistakes. We must remember this lesson.

CSO: 4005/175

PARTY AND STATE

NPC STANDING COMMITTEE ISSUES DECREE NO 11

OW200242 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1255 GMT 19 Nov 82

[Text] Beijing, 19 Nov (XINHUA)--Decree of Standing Committee of 5th NPC of the PRC:

No 11

The "PRC Cultural Relics Protection Law" has been approved by the 5th NPC Standing Committee of the PRC at its 25th session on 19 November 1982. It is hereby promulgated for implementation.

Chairman of the NPC Standing Committee Ye Jianying

19 November 1982

CSO: 4005/175

## PARTY AND STATE

### COMMUNIST IDEOLOGY, ECONOMIC INCENTIVES NOTED

HK220834 Beijing GONGREN RIBAO in Chinese 15 Nov 82 pp 1, 2

[Commentator's article: "We Must Both Publicize Communist Ideology and Uphold the Existing Policies"]

[Text] Since the 12th Party Congress, all enterprises have strengthened their propaganda and education in communist ideology. As a result, good deeds such as working without being concerned about pay and good people who shine with the brightness of communist ideology have continuously emerged, the healthy trend of the advanced ideology of the working class has gained ground and the unhealthy trend of isolating and attacking the advanced has lost ground. However, at the same time a few phenomena have also occurred which merit our attention. For example, some comrades set the encouragement of the communist labor attitude against the current policy of distribution according to labor and think that since we encourage a communist labor attitude, we can neglect or abolish distribution according to labor. Some units even use the excuse of developing the communist spirit to extend working hours arbitrarily, force the workers to work overtime or organize them to participate in voluntary labor of a compulsory nature. These phenomena merit our attention.

In his report to the 12th Party Congress, Comrade Hu Yaobang pointed out that we had to adhere to distribution according to labor and other aspects of the socialist system in our economic and social life and at the same time call on our party members, CYL members and all our advanced elements to use the communist ideology to guide their actions and educate and influence the broad masses. This means that both are indispensable. The current policy of distribution according to labor is not a policy that we can carry out or refuse to carry out at will. On the contrary, it is a policy that we must persistently carry out. Even as regards our party members, CYL members and advanced elements, we should not deny the necessity to carry out distribution according to labor among them on the grounds of their high awareness. What we should do is precisely the reverse. The higher their ideological level, the better their work and the greater their contributions, so the greater is our obligation to carry out distribution according to labor among them. This is because only by so doing can we encourage more and more people to continue to make new contributions to the creation of the new

situation in our socialist construction. As for the reason why we should encourage the communist labor attitude, that is because this is the most correct attitude of a socialist laborer toward his task of labor. We should require not only our party members, CYL members and all our advanced elements to first strive to adopt this attitude, but should, through encouragement, propaganda and education, also make more and more of the masses consciously adopt this attitude. We should make every member of our society understand that because class struggle still exists in the socialist period, it will be impossible to resist erosion from capitalist ideology if we rely only on the principle of distribution according to labor. Only by simultaneously arming ourselves with communist ideology can every member of our socialist society resist erosion from capitalist ideology and maintain a firm stand. Getting their due remuneration and bonuses in accordance with the principle of distribution according to labor does not impede the display of the communist spirit by our party members, CYL members and advanced elements in their work and lives. Adhering to the principle of distribution according to labor, but at the same time refusing to be satisfied with it and raising a higher demand for oneself is the important characteristic of an advanced element. Many advanced elements have been acting in precisely this manner. Zhao Chune, Lui Jianfu and others always do their work well with a high sense of responsibility as masters. They accept their remuneration and do not haggle about it. Sometimes, they give promotion opportunities to other people and sometimes use their bonuses and remuneration to help comrades in difficulty. Have they not satisfactorily combined the principle of distribution according to labor with their communist labor attitude? Therefore, on this issue, we should pay attention to preventing and overcoming the following two erroneous tendencies: first, the idea that since we should carry out distribution according to labor, we can negate the communist labor attitude of the advanced elements in working without being concerned about pay, or even that people should be allowed to dampen the enthusiasm of advanced elements or to sneer at and attack them; the other is the idea that since the communist labor attitude, is being encouraged, one dare not carry out or does not strictly carry out distribution according to labor among advanced elements.

We should make a concrete analysis of working overtime. If the overtime really results from the needs of production or certain special causes, it is necessary to mobilize the masses to display the communist spirit and work overtime in order to fulfill certain urgent tasks. However, we should point out that it is harmful to the health of the staff and workers and detrimental to the work of improving of economic results in enterprises if we always rely on working overtime to fulfill production targets. Moreover, it covers up the backwardness and shortcomings in our administration and management. Therefore, we should not encourage working overtime. In some units, production tasks which could be completed by working the normal 8 hours were delayed in order to work overtime and get overtime pay. This malpractice wastes the labor force and energy resources such as coal and electricity which are in serious shortage in our country at present, and reduces the economic results in our enterprises. In fact, this practice not only fails to create more wealth for the state, but also gives rise to excessive waste of our economic resources. At the same time, this unnecessary overtime

will meet the demand of a small number of backward masses and will facilitate the growth of the unhealthy trend of "looking for money in everything" and corrupt people's minds. This malpractice of paying excessive bonuses and overtime pay is diametrically opposed to the development of communist ideology.

Lenin highly praised voluntary labor and called it the bud of communism. Therefore, it is perfectly acceptable to organize the masses to participate in voluntary labor in order to foster communist awareness and spirit. However, we should ensure that the masses are really willing to participate in this labor. Generally speaking, there should not be so much voluntary labor as to adversely influence the work of the normal 8 working hours. We should not think that only participation in voluntary labor reflects a communist spirit and thus neglect the work of the normal 8 working hours. We must see that the results of the work in the 8 hour day determine the speed and success or failure of the socialist modernizations; therefore, the normal 8 hour day is the main sphere for reflecting communist ideology and displaying communist spirit. For example, at present, in some units the work in the normal working day is carried out in a lax, undisciplined way and their staff and workers work without making any effort, or seek only quantity at the expense of quality. These enterprises must educate their staff and workers in communist ideology and teach them to make the best use of their 8 working hours in order to increase production [words indistinct] working efficiency. In many enterprises, work quotas have not been revised for a long time and most of them are too low. This means these enterprises must mobilize their staff and workers to develop a communist spirit, fix advanced quotas and substitute them for the old backward quotas, thus making greater contribution to the state.

In the production processes of quite a large number of enterprises, there is fairly serious waste of energy and raw materials. [word indistinct] requires us to organize the staff and workers to develop the communist spirit and vigorously put forward rationalization proposals in order to improve production technology, administration and management and thus produce more and better products while consuming the same amount of energy and raw materials. In our ranks of staff and workers people differ in their levels of skills, and workshops and sections differ in their economic effect. We should encourage the advanced to help the less advanced, step up the exchange of experiences and skills among staff and workers and develop socialist cooperation on a large scale. In order to do this we should also educate the staff and workers in communist spirit. At present, a few staff members and workers in quite a large number of enterprises have committed the malpractice of seeking private interests at the expense of those of the state and taking state property as their private property. Some have even committed embezzlement, bribery and pilferage of public property. In order to fight against these erroneous and illegal activities, we are even more obliged to educate the staff and workers in communist ideology. In short, in mobilizing and teaching the broad ranks of staff and workers to foster ideology and spirit, we should first of all require them to do their own jobs well. At present and in a quite long historical period to come, we must continuously expand through propaganda the ideological stand of communism, and

arm an increasingly large number of people with communist ideology. This is undoubtedly true. However, historical lessons are worth remembering. In doing this work, we should pay attention to preventing a revival of "leftist" theory and practice. While propagating and developing communist ideology, we must adhere to the principle of distribution according to labor and other aspects of the socialist system in our economic and social lives. While adhering to the principle of distribution according to labor, we should also pay attention to preventing the malpractice of neglecting the propagation of communist ideology. Only by satisfactorily combining the propagation of communist ideology with the socialist system including distribution according to labor can we enable the working class to play the role of the principal force in the construction of the "two civilizations."

CSO: 4005/175

## PARTY AND STATE

### BRIEFS

HUBEI MUNICIPAL LEADERSHIP GROUP--On 12 November, the Fifth Xiangfan Municipal Party Congress elected a new leadership group of the municipal CPC committee. Now, the average age of the leadership group is 2.88 years younger than that of the preceding leadership group and 65 percent of the committee members are below 50 years old. The number of the Standing Committee members of the municipal CPC committee has been reduced from 17 to 10 and the number of secretaries and deputy secretaries has been reduced from 8 to 5. [Wuhan Hubei Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 14 Nov 82 HK]

NEI MONGGOL TRADE UNION CONGRESS--The Regional Congress of Trade Union Activists ceremoniously opened in Hohhot on 11 November. Attending were regional party and government leaders, including Ting Mao, Wang Duo, Kong Fei, Yun Shiyong, Bu He and (Shi Shengrong). Also present were Wu Lan, adviser to the All-China Federation of Trade Unions, and responsible comrades of the Regional Women's Federation and CYL Committee. (Shi Shengrong), deputy secretary of the regional CPC committee, spoke at the congress. First he extended warm greetings to all the delegates to the congress on behalf of the regional CPC committee. He said: Trade unions are schools that organize the masses of workers to study communism and a strong link through which the party establishes ties with the masses of workers. As activists in trade union work, you have assisted the party with a great amount of work under the leadership of party committees and trade unions at all levels and have played your role successfully. The 12th CPC National Congress has put forward a new demand on us. The masses of cadres, particularly the working class, should plunge vigorously into the four modernizations drive with a brand new spirit and make new and still greater contributions to creating a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization. Comrade (Shi Shengrong) urged the masses of staff members, workers and trade union cadres throughout the region to carry out the following work: 1) Take the lead in studying the documents of the 12th CPC National Congress and act as vanguards in creating a new situation; 2) Carry forward the spirit of doing solid work of the working class and be socialist men of action; and 3) Arm themselves with communist ideology and be models in promoting the spiritual civilization. [Text] [SK120920 Hohhot Nei Monggol Regional Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 11 Nov 82]

NEI MONGGOL CPPCC MEETING--The 18th Standing Committee session of the 4th Nei Monggol Autonomous Regional CPPCC Committee was held in Hohhot from 3-6 November. Wang Duo, deputy to the 12th National CPC Congress and permanent secretary of

the regional CPC committee, relayed the congress guidelines at the session. The session adopted resolutions on implementing the guidelines of the 20th Standing Committee of the 5th National CPPCC Committee, on studying and implementing the 12th National CPC Congress guidelines and on convening the fifth session of the Fourth Regional CPPCC Committee in December. Kui Bi, chairman of the regional CPPCC committee, presided over the session. Attending the session were Peng Sike, Sun Lanfeng, Wu Daping, Zhou Beifeng, Yang Lingde, Na-qin-shuang-he-er, Wang Jiangong, Qi Yongcun, Liang Yiming and Wang Haishan. [Hohhot Nei Monggol Regional Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 6 Nov 82 SK]

TIANJIN INDUSTRIAL OUTPUT--In January-October, Tianjin Municipality fulfilled 83.3 percent of the annual industrial output plan, showing a 6.8-percent increase over that of the corresponding 1981 period. [Tianjin City Service in Mandarin 0030 GMT 7 Nov 82 SK]

NEI MONGGOL PARTY STYLE--The Qingshuihe County CPC Committee conscientiously studied the circular of the regional CPC committee on the problems of Xinghe County and then inspected its own problems in comparison, resulting in an improvement in party style. After the circular was issued, Qingshuihe County has conscientiously studied and discussed it and conducted some self-investigations. First, it inspected some illegal housing construction undertaken by party members and cadres. [words indistinct] eight illegal housing construction cases, in which 684 persons were employed without authorization to build houses, were cracked. In addition, 33 economic cases which were put on record this year have been wound up. Disciplinary punishment and legal sanctions have been given to eight party members who seriously violated the laws and discipline. In addition, 76,898 yuan of illicit money were recovered. Party members also took the lead in recovering 200,000 yuan of debts from cadres. In the inspection, the Qingshuihe County CPC Committee has paid attention to the work of readjusting primary party organizations and checking on party members, and many young and middle-aged cadres have been promoted to fill the leading bodies. [Text] [SK210554 Hohhot Nei Monggol Regional Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 20 Nov 82]

CONGRESS SPIRIT--In order to supervise, review and guide the study of the 12th Party Congress documents in various units, the leaders of the Beijing Municipal CPC Committee recently listened to relevant reports from 13 units including the municipal economic committee, the rural work departments, and the Shoudu Iron and Steel Company. Municipal CPC committee first secretary Duan Junyi pointed out at the report meeting on 3 November: the whole city is doing very well in studying the 12th Party Congress documents. Many units have scored success in their studies. In the future, we should deepen our study and appreciation of the congress spirit. Study must be linked to the reality of ideology and work. All kinds of different views can be put forward. Many problems can be solved through study and discussion by the masses themselves. As a result of study, we should continue to overcome leftist influence, emancipate our minds a bit more, and be a bit bolder in carrying out reforms. Otherwise, we cannot create a new situation. [Text] [HK120207 Beijing City Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 3 Nov 82]

BANQEN ERDINI IN CHENGDU--NPC Standing Committee Vice Chairman Banqen Erdini Qoigyí Gyancan arrived in Chengdu on 14 November after completing his inspection visit to Aba Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture. He was visited at the guesthouse in Chengdu by Sichuan Governor Lu Dadong, provincial people's congress Standing Committee chairman Du Xinyuan, provincial CPC committee secretary Tian Bao, Chengdu PLA units deputy commander Chen Mingyi, and other provincial officials. In the evening the provincial government gave a banquet for Banqen Erdini's party. [HK150329 Chengdu Sichuan Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 14 Nov 82]

HENAN SCIENTIFIC ASSOCIATION--The first academic seminar of the provincial scientific socialism association was held in Zhengzhou from 6-11 November. Zhang Shude, secretary of the provincial CPC committee, made an important speech. (Jiang Liu), deputy dean of education in the CPC Central Committee party school, also spoke. In his speech Comrade Zhang Shude stressed the importance of seriously studying the 12th Party Congress' documents, and applying them as a guide in the study of scientific socialism. The participants pledged to work hard in building socialist spiritual civilization. On the question of class struggle, they held: "The report to the 12th Party Congress has given a scientific and accurate exposition. The exploiting class in China has been eliminated as a class, but the class struggle still exists within a certain scope. This is an indisputable fact. We must therefore make mental preparations for long struggle and persistently apply the class viewpoint of Marxism to handle current class contradictions and phenomena in China that are of the nature of class struggle." The meeting also studied the future tasks of the association. [HK130754 Zhengzhou Henan Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 12 Nov 82]

DENG'S SON IN U.S.--The CHINA TIMES reports from New York that the son of communist Chinese strongman Teng Hsiao-ping has received a doctorate degree from University of Rochester, New York State. The paper added that Teng's son, Teng Chih-fang, has received a research scholarship from America's RCA Company and plans to remain in the United States and not to return to the China mainland. Physicist Chang Wei-liang, while attending a recent seminar on the democracy movement behind the magazine CHINA SPRING, provided this information on the young Teng. [Text] [OW300420 Taipei International Service in English 0100 GMT 30 Nov 82]

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## SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

### WORK STYLE OF PARTY DISCUSSED

Kunming YUNNAN SHEJUI KEXUE [SOCIAL SCIENCES IN YUNNAN] in Chinese No 4, 82  
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[Article by Cheng Fang [2110 2455]: "On the Work Style of the Party"]

[Text] The work style of the party is the summation of the work styles of all party members in the ruling party--from high ranking leaders to ordinary members at the basic levels--in the areas of ideology, politics, work, livelihood, etc. It is the outward manifestation of party character and goals. At the same time, party style forms the criteria by which the broad masses regard the party and for determining their attitude toward the party. The CPC has consistently given much attention to their party work style. As early as the second revolutionary civil war, the party had formulated the well-known "three main rules of discipline and the eight points for attention" as the behavioral standard for party members and revolutionary soldiers. Along with the development of the revolutionary cause, our party's veteran proletarian revolutionaries repeatedly gave comprehensive and profound expositions on party work style. During their life of revolution they were strict with themselves and set a glorious example for the entire party. After the smashing of the "gang of four," particularly since the convening of the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee, the party Central Committee has made an even greater effort to bring about basic improvements in the party's style of work. They adopted a series of very effective measures. It should be noted that although our party's style has improved to quite a large extent, when one looks more closely and compares it to the revolutionary war period and the early years in the founding of the nation, things have not basically changed for the better. Consequently, we must continue to struggle to bring about basic improvements in party style. In his "Talk at the Symposium Convened by the Central Committee's Commission for the Inspection of Discipline on Implementing the 'Guiding Principles,'" Comrade Hu Yaobang made an appeal: "Every person who deeply loves and supports the party, whether party member or not, should be concerned about our party work style. It is our right and responsibility to be concerned about the work style of our party." ("On the Party's Style of Work," p 125). At a time when we are commemorating the 61st anniversary of our party, this article brings up several views on striving to bring about basic improvements in party style.

## The Importance and Urgency of Improving Party Style

Comrade Chen Yun has pointed out: "The work style of the ruling party is a matter that has a bearing on the life and death of the party." This conclusion is a profound summary of historical experience. Each party member, particularly leading comrades at all levels, must thoroughly understand the gist of Comrade Chen Yun's conclusion and use it to guide their speech and actions. They must fully appreciate the relationship of party style to the rise and fall of the party and the nation.

The CPC is a political party that is armed with Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. The character of our party's proletarian vanguard is what distinguishes our work style from that of any other ruling party. It includes the party's three great important styles of work which Comrade Mao Zedong summed up so incisively: integrating theory with practice, forging close links with the masses and practicing criticism and self-criticism. The party's historical course of 61 years of struggle tells us that only by relying on the party's fine traditions and work style can our party mobilize, unite and attract the broad masses, guarantee the implementation of party line, principles and policies and strive for great victories. The vast numbers of CPC members must be the first to charge forward and the last to retreat. They must be the first to bear hardships and the last to enjoy comforts. They must not fear shedding blood or making sacrifices. They must bravely overcome difficulties and hardships and work for the interests of the people with all their hearts. It is precisely because such a party is the leading core and such party members play an exemplary and vanguard role that the disaster-ridden Chinese people have been able to free themselves from the blood-stained rule of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism. They have been able to rise to their feet in the East and establish a brand new life. Thus, the CPC enjoys high prestige and has great influence among the Chinese people. The Chinese people, from their personal understanding, arrived at the conclusion that "without the CPC there would not be a new China." "The CPC is like the sun, wherever it shines there is light. Wherever the CPC is, the people have been liberated." The thinking of the people reflects the limitless love and trust of the broad masses toward the CPC.

After liberation, during the early 1950's, as the ruling party in the most populous nation on earth, our party was confronted with a changed political and economic situation, our party conformed to the historical trends of the times. They fulfilled the aspirations long held by the masses. On the basis of a 3-year economic recovery, they proposed a timely general line for a transitional period and formulated the First 5 Year Plan for national economic construction.

Vast numbers of party members and cadres carried on and gave full play to the fine traditions of the party. They quietly immersed themselves in hard work and willingly took on the burdens of their office. The links between cadres and the masses and between the party and the masses were very close so that they were not only able smoothly to achieve the socialist transformation of means of production, they also completed the 5 year plan ahead of schedule. They established a fine foundation for continuing to expand the establishment of socialism. At that time the people had peace of mind and their enthusiasm was aroused. The party's style of work and social practices at that time are still praised to this day.

Thus, we may say that the party must lead the people along the road to victory. First, we must have correct lines and policies and second, we must have a good party work style and large numbers of party members must play an exemplary role. As for the people's attitude toward the party, they must first "listen to what they say" and see whether party declarations, views, principles, lines and policies coincide with their own interests and whether the party can represent their own political and economic demands. Secondly they must "judge them by their deeds" and see whether the broad masses of party members keep their word, serve the interests of the people and "bow their heads willingly to the children's ox." Our party is a party that works for the interests of the people. The line, principles and policies of our party coincide with the basic interests of the broad masses. Party members must have a strong party spirit and a good work style. They must consistently put the interests of the revolution first and always show concern for the masses. As Comrade Mao Zedong said, "We must give primary consideration to the party and the masses rather than to the individual and give primary consideration to others rather than to ourselves." ("Selected Writings of Mao Zedong," Vol 2 p 332). If party members do all this and wholeheartedly serve the interests of the vast majority and do not seek private gains, the people will without question support and resolutely follow the party. In the history of our party, the broad masses have given their lives for the revolution. They have not hesitated to risk imprisonment and execution to protect the party organization and party members. There are examples too numerous to mention of those who sent their own relatives into the revolutionary ranks to join the party in striving for liberation. Thus, the party naturally grew in strength at a rapid rate and the party's undertaking grew and flourished. The party also developed into an invincible force. Conversely, if the work style of these party members or party organizations was unsound, starting from the gains and losses of a given unit or individual, whenever anything would crop up they would monopolize power for private ends, engage in dishonest practices, ignore the suffering of the masses and even have no scruples about seeking private gain at public expense. They would encroach upon the interests of the masses and sit as overlords on the backs of the people. They would inevitably become divorced from the masses and seriously jeopardize the party's undertaking. This means that the quality of the party's work style determines whether or not the people will support them and the peoples' support then determines the rise or decline of the party. This is true during revolution, peaceful construction and even once a party has come to power. There are no exceptions.

It is worth noting that party style when in power and party style prior to attaining political power have different characteristics. Studying the characteristics of party style of a ruling party has a greater theoretical significance and practical significance for the current phase of revolution and construction. The basic problems of all revolutions are problems of political power. After the leaders of our party seized power, the party's undertaking also entered a new phase of development. As for the Communist Party, "To win countrywide victory is only the first step in a long march of 10,000 li.... The journey after the revolution is even longer, the work even greater and more arduous." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 4 p 1328). This means that winning national victory provides the basic conditions and basic guarantees for realizing the party's objective of struggle and for completing the party's

maximum program. However, because of the victory and changes in the conditions faced by the party, there are several problems in party work style that deserve our full attention.

First, in terms of the establishment of the party, problems in the party style of the ruling party are relatively easy to overlook. After attaining national political power, openly hostile forces were either eliminated and driven out or went underground. The party set up party and political organs at all levels throughout the country. They controlled the powerful state machine and had unprecedented power. Basic changes occurred in the relative strength of enemy forces and our own. Consequently, the effect of the quality of party work style and the quality of the relationship between the party and the masses was no longer reflected directly on the rise and decline of the party as it had been during the revolutionary war years. On top of that, due to differences in work methods and the great changes that occurred in the means of linking up the party with the masses, the mass viewpoint of certain comrades including a handful of leading comrades has steadily weakened. They depend on administrative orders to carry out their work and they have done an insufficient amount of painstaking ideological work. In the past 30 odd years, our political system and state administrative organization has been consistently improving. For a relatively long period of time we have put undue emphasis on centralized leadership so that the party and politics are undivided and party committees frequently get bogged down in the details of daily affairs. They do not pay enough attention to the establishment of the party itself nor do they promptly sum up experiences and lessons. Under such conditions problems in the work style of the party are either overlooked or not stressed.

Second, if members of the ruling party do not increase their vigilance, the possibility of being tainted by unsound practices is even greater. After coming to power, the working, studying and living conditions of party members were greatly improved. At first this provided a fine material foundation for carrying out work on the revolution. However, it may also have given rise to the idea among certain party members that the revolution has come to an end, and therefore they were unwilling to live a hard life anymore or to strive to make progress. Once particular comrades who had undergone rigorous tests became "government officials" they started to enjoy flattery. They could not correctly handle the relationship between themselves and party organizations and the masses. They were supercilious, lazy and considered everyone beneath notice. They lost their revolutionary enthusiasm and sense of political responsibility as well as their moral character and the values that a member of the Communist Party should possess. The bourgeois ideology of being greedy for money and profit gradually grew. In summary, because of changes in the surrounding conditions, if members of the ruling party fail to be on guard, the four attitudes of arrogance, laxity, bureaucratism and lethargy will find fertile breeding ground among certain of our comrades. Furthermore, a number of party members who joined the party after the national victory lacked discipline so that their party spirit is not staunch enough. They may have formally joined the party but ideologically they have not truly joined the party. A handful of people who had impure motives for joining the party at first did so not to wage the revolution but to use the label of party member of the ruling party in order to seek personal fame, gain and position. This

type of person is a "germ carrier" in the party. Third, as for the importance and threat of party style, the quality of work style of the ruling party may directly influence the quality of overall social practices as well as the overall state of the nation. The party is the core of leadership for all the people and it occupies a position of control. Thus, when the party work style is correct, all the people can have confidence in the party and support it. They can closely unite under the banner of the party and apply their energy to the establishment of a socialist material and spiritual civilization. When party work style is pure and the practices of the people correct, then social order will necessarily be stable and the establishment of socialism and the four modernizations will be assured. Our nation will then rapidly flourish and grow more powerful. In this sense, the work style of the ruling party not only has a bearing on the rise and decline of the party itself, it also has a bearing on the future and fate of the nation and the people. If the ruling party is contaminated by unsound practices, its influence will become even more widespread and its threat even greater.

To sum up, the question of the work style of the ruling party is certainly an extremely important problem. Moreover, in the new historical period when the party is leading the people to carry out the establishment of the four modernizations, correcting party style takes on an even more pressing reality. At present, all the people are extremely concerned about the work style of the party. They all urgently hope that party style can be basically improved as rapidly as possible. The Central Commission for the Inspection of Discipline clearly pointed out: "If we underestimate the danger of unsound practices, let them go unchecked and fail to adopt effective and timely measures to correct them, there is the danger that certain elements in the party and even the entire party itself, will gradually become divorced from the masses and degenerate." ("Decisions of the Third Plenum of the Central Commission for the Inspection of Discipline"). We should squarely face this danger and adopt effective measures to correct unsound practices and thereby eliminate this danger. In order to do this it is essential conscientiously to study the current state of the party's work style and the reasons for the existence of unsound practices within the party.

#### The Current State of Party Style and the Reasons Behind the Existence of Unsound Practices

The starting point for studying and solving problems in the party style is to understand correctly and realistically and to analyze the current state of party style. As stated above, in recent years there have been great improvements in the party's style and these are ongoing. However, when making a comprehensive survey of the current state of party style, it can be seen that it has departed from the party constitution and the demands of the "Guiding Principles." It has departed from the Central Committee's tentative idea of "taking 3 years or if 3 years is not enough then 5 years to better establish our party and increase the importance of this glorious, correct and great party." There is still quite a disparity between party style and the hopes of the people. At present, the line, principles and policies of the party and the work style of the Central Committee are the best they have been in 61 years. The entire party and the nation are already on a healthy course. However, unsound

practices within the party are still widespread. It is more serious in some areas than in others. In general, current unsound practices within the party may be seen in the following several areas.

1. A small minority of party members and cadres have not maintained close political unity with the party Central Committee. They have responded passively to the line, principles and policies of the Central Committee and feigned compliance. They have even adopted the attitude of pragmatism or resistance. Particular individuals have either turned a deaf ear and blind eye to the fine state of affairs since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee or have spread talk that goes against the spirit of the Central Committee. They refuse to handle things that should be dealt with and refuse to have anything to do with these problems. The people can deal with them as they wish and abandon the leadership. Others disregard organizational discipline. They alter party and government policies and regulations at will in the districts and departments under their leadership. They persist in their ways no matter what others say.

2. Some people use the power of their position to appoint people by favoritism and form factions and cliques. Today, 6 years after the smashing of the "gang of four," they still engage in this or that unscrupulous practice. They befriend some but neglect others. Some take advantage of all opportunities to assign and promote their own relatives or those who "hold the same views." Moreover, they refuse to "waste their breath talking" to those who disagree with them and will not even sit with them. In certain units there are frequent manifestations of the vestiges of factionalism in promoting cadres, adjusting wages, allotting housing, recruiting workers, etc.

3. A small minority of people make use of the power of their position to seek private gain at public expense. They forget the fundamental interests of the party and state. Starting from individual or clique interests, they arbitrarily raise commodity prices and concoct various pretexts indiscriminately to issue bonuses. They make use of all opportunities to squander and waste. These people not only brought about tremendous losses in state property, they also seriously injured the body of the party and corrupted the ideology of party members and cadres. They have harmed the establishment of a socialist spiritual civilization. Even more serious, certain departments, units, party members and cadres went so far as to take advantage of their authority and favorable conditions to participate in economic crimes. They colluded with criminal elements in society to engage in smuggling and reselling goods, bribery, speculation and fraud, theft and looting of state and collective property. The suppression and practice of smuggling and the enforcement and violation of the law as well as other intolerable phenomena arose.

4. Some people are engrossed in "the art of pulling strings." They take advantage of various connections to seek privileges in their daily life. They hanker after material comforts and forget the party's great objectives and basic purpose of serving the people. They forget that they are communists and have become very short-sighted. They are vulgar and mediocre and see everything "in terms of money." Some people seek all kinds of channels to pull strings and get in the back door. They use every effort to secure advantages by using various pretexts for obtaining commodities in short supply. They violate the

system by encroaching upon public housing and public property and try to arrange a cozy, easy life of comfort. Moreover, they seek special consideration for their children, relatives and friends in finding work, promotion, reassignment of work, promotion to higher schools, job assignments upon graduation, "transferring from agriculture to nonagriculture," etc.

5. Among some cadres bureaucratism and the yamen work style are rampant. They are far removed from reality and divorced from the masses. They do not understand conditions at the lower levels. Some are dilatory in doing things, shift responsibility onto others and do not accept responsibilities. The leadership in certain departments is weak, ineffective, undisciplined, overstaffed and cumbersome. Their work efficiency is extremely low. They are insensitive to outstanding problems in practical work and to problems among the people at the basic levels. They put off work, argue among themselves and rely on conferences and documents of every description for guidance. Furthermore, they are indifferent to the results of implementing the spirit of these conferences and documents not to mention assisting in solving difficult problems and summing up experiences and lessons.

6. There are quite a few party members and cadres who have not actively launched an ideological struggle. They lack the spirit of criticism and self-criticism. Liberal trends and corrupt and decadent work styles are rife among these comrades. They do not resist or struggle against unsound practices. They practice favoritism and shield those who have committed mistakes and intercede on their behalf to protect them. Some even tolerate and support them. Some units have not focused on ideological and political work. They have not promptly dealt with activities that violate party discipline and have even artificially created problems for the Commission for the Inspection of Discipline. After their own unsound practices have been exposed and criticized, some cadres have not accepted suggestions with an open mind and corrected their shortcomings. On the contrary, they have taken retaliatory actions against those who dared to criticize them.

The six areas of unsound practices described above, all exist in varying degrees and to different extents. They have eaten away like mold at the body of the party. They have lowered the prestige of the party, tarnished the image of the party and damaged the flesh and blood ties between the party and the masses. Of course, it should be pointed out that these practices are certainly not inherent in the party nor are they irrevocable. Rather, these unsound practices are as incompatible with the party character of the proletarian party as fire is to water. They have absolutely nothing in common with the fine traditions and work style of our party formed over the years. Comrade Hu Yaobang pointed out: "Where do these unsound practices come from? It should be said that they result from the influence of the ideology of the exploiting class. We cannot say that unsound practices are inherent to the party of the proletariat. The party of the proletariat has been influenced by the ideology of the exploiting class, their ideology has contaminated the party of the proletariat." ("The Question of Party Style," p 126). To be sure, external causes have become operative through internal causes. Quite a few comrades in the party have for

some time let up on ideological transformation and relaxed demands on themselves. They are tainted with the dust of the ideology of the exploiting class. Those degenerate people who have impure motives for joining the party provide an even more fertile soil for unsound practices to develop. These are the "internal causes" behind the contamination of the proletarian party by exploitive ideology which has led to unsound practices.

It should also be noted that there are also specific social and historical reasons why problems in party style have become so noticeable in recent years. Without doubt, it would be of benefit to make a realistic summary of these social and historical factors and earnestly assimilate experiences and lessons. It would also be advantageous for strengthening the ideological establishment of the party and correcting party style.

First of all, among these social and historical factors, the damage to the party's fine traditions and work style by the decade of unrest should be noted. During the "Great Cultural Revolution," Lin Biao and the "gang of four" wantonly destroyed party laws and regulations and the party's fine traditions and work style. They muddled right and wrong within and outside the party and failed to distinguish between good and evil and confused human beings with monsters. "Once the movement began, party organizations at all levels were widely attacked and were paralyzed or semiparalyzed. The party's leading cadres were widely criticized and denounced while vast numbers of party members had to cease their organizational activities. The numerous activists and people at basic levels that the party had long depended upon were rejected." ("Historical Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC," separate edition, p 24). Thus, fine party members and cadres who had earnestly obeyed party discipline and laws, were cautious and conscientious and worked enthusiastically and selflessly, all became the targets of the dictatorship. Those who grew horns on their heads and thorns from their bodies, who put profit first, seized power and sought gain became rebel "heroes." Some comrades developed a passive pessimism because of this and lost all faith in the future. This left a major wound in their hearts. Others learned a "lesson" from negative experience and "were disillusioned with the mortal world." They were no longer willing to act as "fools" as they had in the past and when the opportunity arose they reaped some profit. During the unrest some people fished in troubled waters. Because they were never punished, they disregarded party discipline and flouted state laws. In summary, at this late date, the "Great Cultural Revolution" still has fairly profound "aftereffects" on the ideology, work style and lifestyle of our party. The cure for these "aftereffects" requires a certain course of action.

Next, since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, we have criticized the whole set of leftist practices and implemented the policy to open up foreign trade and revive the domestic economy. This policy is totally correct. It is a firm policy adopted by our party based on needs in the establishment of the four modernizations and on current international and domestic conditions. The implementation of this policy has major strategic significance and it has already achieved great successes. However, while in the process of implementing the policy to open up foreign trade and revive the domestic economy, due to our poor vigilance, inadequate ideological and political work and because certain necessary management systems and measures have not

yet been perfected, certain exploitive ideas have seized this opportunity for a resurgence. Many decadent and foreign capitalist things have also infiltrated by taking advantage of our unpreparedness. Certain weak willed people in our ranks have fallen captive to exploitive ideology. They prostrate themselves before the so-called "material civilization" of capitalist societies and have been an extremely bad influence on the party.

Obviously, the existence of unsound practices within the party has its basic ideological and political causes as well as concrete social and historical causes. Our task is to study these causes. In view of these causes, we must both take stopgap measures and effect a permanent cure. We must advance despite difficulties and do good solid work. We must strive to bring about even greater improvements in party style in the near future and ultimately bring about basic improvements in the party's work style.

#### Arouse Enthusiasm, Coordinate Administration and Strive for Basic Improvements in Party Style

Can our party's style of work be basically improved? The answer should be affirmative. A number of comrades do not have enough faith that party style can be basically improved. This is without basis and totally mistaken. All ways of thinking that cause one to underestimate one's capabilities, lack self-confidence and self-respect and think that nothing is right in our party or nation should be wiped out. At present we are fully qualified to strive for basic improvements in party style. First, we have a fine party Central Committee which is keenly determined to correct party style and strive for basic improvements in party style. Their measures are effective. Second, the vast majority of our party members have undergone various kinds of training and tests so they have a fairly high political and ideological awareness and cognitive ability. They are honest and upright and have long detested unsound practices. Third, all the people support and uphold correcting party style. The prestige of the party has already gone up substantially. Fourth, organization life within the party has gradually been restored to normal. Relevant party regulations and laws are being strengthened and implemented while certain factors tainted by unhealthy practices are now being overcome. Therefore, we should have both determination and confidence that party style certainly can be improved.

Of course, we must also realize that improving party style is not easy to do. There are numerous difficulties in the path ahead and the tasks we face are quite arduous. In order to strive to bring about basic improvements in party style, we should good practical work in the following several areas.

First, comrades throughout the party, particularly leading cadres at all levels must all further increase awareness of the significance and urgency for improving party style. Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out: "In the present historical period of transition, problems have piled up mountain high. Many tasks await to be completed. Strengthening the party leadership and correcting the party's work style have decisive significance." The Central Committee and other leading comrades have frequently raised the awareness of the significance of improving party style to an unprecedented level. The fate of the party's

work style depends on the party line. The fine work style of the party can encourage the formation and implementation of the correct line while the formation and implementation of the correct line can stimulate the development of fine work styles. This constitutes the great power of the party in spreading propaganda among the masses, organizing the masses and leading the masses forward. Our party's current line is correct. If party style is not rectified it will be very difficult to ensure the implementation of this line. The circumstances require that we rapidly rectify party style in order to mobilize the enthusiasm of the entire party and all the people to carry out the four modernizations. We should have a sense of urgency about this. At the same time our party is a long-tested proletarian vanguard. It is a political party armed with the scientific truths of Marxism. Unsound practices basically conflict with our party's character and purposes. They are not tolerated by our party's regulations and laws. Under no circumstances can we allow them to continue to exist.

Second, while rectifying party style, leading bodies at all levels and leading cadres must set a good example. All party committees should consciously begin with themselves. Each level should watch over the next and take the lead. This is the key to improving party style. When leading bodies and leading cadres set an example, on the one hand they must set an example in supporting and developing the party's fine traditions and work style for the broad masses of party members and people. They must teach by word of mouth and through their actions so as to exert a fine influence on everyone. On the other hand once they have finished work on themselves, they are better able boldly and justly to resist unsound practices. They can effectively lead the various departments and units to rectify their work style. This way is much more effective than simply relying on convening general meetings and issuing directives.

Third, we must depend on conducting thorough and painstaking ideological and political work and the entire party must carry out instruction on strengthening party character and discipline. Restoring and developing the fine traditions and work style of the party are major issues for the whole party. It is the unshirkable duty of every party member. The quality of the party's work style is in the majority of circumstances reflected at every turn by every word and action of the broad masses of party members. The party is an organic whole and every party member is a cell of the party. We can only safeguard the health of the body of the party and spur on basic improvements in party style if each party member strengthens his party character. This will ensure the health of every cell. Improving instruction on party character and discipline must depend on long-term steady work so that vast numbers of party members will continue to improve their political and ideological awareness and possess communist morality and values. They must observe party discipline and solve problems with a world outlook. They must foster lofty communist ideals and the idea of wholeheartedly working for the interests of the people. When strengthening instruction on party character and discipline, we must not be capricious or make a terrific din nor must we engage in formalism. That would not produce good results.

Fourth, we must perfect party regulations and laws and give full play to the function of those on the Commission for the Inspection of Discipline. For a

long time our party's effective organizational measures have been to make the special Commission for the Inspection of Discipline responsible for supervising and inspecting the implementation of party rules and laws in order to ensure the continuation and development of fine party traditions and work style and to ensure that all work is carried out smoothly. All party committees must take the work of the Commission for the Inspection of Discipline seriously and improve the leadership of the Commission for the Inspection of Discipline. At present, giving full play to the functions of the Commission for the Inspection of Discipline is a major link in improving party style. Cases involving violations of party discipline must be promptly investigated and studied and earnestly analyzed. They must be resolutely and appropriately dealt with. Those who violate party discipline must be severely dealt with regardless of rank or seniority. Under no circumstances should we be excessively lenient. Of course, those concerned with the Commission for the Inspection of Discipline must see to instruction and frequently conduct instruction on observing party discipline and national laws for party members. They must not believe that by punishing a few individuals they have rectified all unsound practices. At the same time all party members must support and assist those on the Commission for the Inspection of Discipline in doing good work.

Fifth, at the present time we must regard the struggle to combat major economic crimes as a significant measure in improving party style. Consequently, we must reorganize the party's ranks and strengthen and perfect party leadership. The "Resolution on Combating Major Economic Crimes" of the Central Committee and State Council pointed out: "Attacking serious economic crimes is the most practical and effective measure under the present circumstances to consolidate the party and rectify party style. Communists must take a clear-cut and resolute stand. Whoever passively flinches during this struggle and either winks at, tolerates or shields criminal elements has major faults in party character and is unqualified to be a communist and is certainly unworthy of being a communist charged with the responsibility of leadership." Doing good work in this struggle is the most practical and effective instruction on party character for every party member. Every communist, particularly all leading cadres must actively participate in this struggle to safeguard the purity of communism in the party and to defend the socialist system and the basic interests of all people. At the same time they must withstand all tests and be tempered in the struggle. They must consciously correct their own unsound practices and gradually become resolute, sober-headed and active Marxists.

Sixth, it should be noted that the ruling party must maintain and develop their fine traditions and work style as well as persevere in the long-term struggle against corruption. Since the exploiting class accomplished the abolition of classes, class struggle is no longer a major contradiction in our society. However, due to internal factors and foreign influences, class struggle still exists within a limited scope and it may intensify under certain conditions. Consequently, it is necessary to maintain strong vigilance and launch an effective struggle against all forms of political, economic, ideological, cultural and social corruption and damage inflicted by the ideology of the exploiting class by elements antagonistic to socialism. Lenin said: "If we do not draw clear distinctions with elements who propagate the capitalist influence among proletariats and carry out a ruthless struggle, then the great undertaking of unifying and consolidating the fighting force of revolutionary

proletariats will not be successful." ("Complete Works of Lenin," Vol 17 p 205"). In summing up the experiences of the international communist movement and our 30 odd years of experiences in socialist revolution and construction, the sabotage of elements abroad and at home who are antagonistic to socialism is, in many respects, carried out by corrupting and roping in members of the ruling party in accordance with the ideological and organizational establishment of the ruling party in socialist countries. Thus, it is inevitable that we face a long-term struggle against the corrosive influence of exploitive ideology and bourgeois liberalization. Historical experience tells us that "things must first rot before worms can appear." "The easiest way to capture a fortress is from within." Only if the body of the party of the proletariat is healthy can they effectively resist the encroachment of all kinds of "germs." Thus, it can be said that if the proletariat and their political party want to win a victory in their new kind of long-term class struggle, they must continue to rely on the strong state machine which is in their control. At the same time they must rely on their staunch party spirit and fine party style. Furthermore, the launching of the struggle against corruption in turn will instruct all party members. It is necessary to constantly maintain a strong vigilance, uphold the purity of communism, strengthen immunity against all sorts of germs and do a better job in carrying forward the fine traditions and work style of the party.

In sum, as long as our entire party mobilizes and arouses enthusiasm, carries out comprehensive government and makes an effort in various areas, party style certainly will show fundamental improvements. Once party style has improved, it will spur on improvements in all social practices and social order. It will accelerate the establishment of a socialist spiritual civilization and promote the advancement of the undertaking of modern socialist construction. This would enable our nation to rapidly become rich, strong and prosperous. There are high hopes for the undertaking of the party and the future of the nation. We should be full of confidence in our sure victory. At present, we are carrying out the socialist construction of the four modernizations. The leadership of the CPC is the basic guarantee for achieving the four modernizations. Our party is now concentrating on carrying out organizational reform and systems reform. We are combating serious economic crimes, establishing a socialist spiritual civilization, reorganizing the ranks of the party and strengthening and perfecting the leadership of the party. Work in these four areas is closely connected to the work style of the party. They all require that we "eradicate unsound work styles and uphold fine work styles." Comrades in the entire party should take positive action and earnestly study the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. They must constantly strengthen their party character and discipline during practical work and struggle. They must strive to bring about basic improvements in the party's work style.

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## SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

### INTELLECTUALS HAIL DRAFT REVISED CONSTITUTION

OW281258 Beijing XINHUA in English 1226 GMT 28 Nov 82

[Text] Beijing, 28 Nov (XINHUA)--"It is encouraging that the draft revised Constitution has attached great importance to intellectuals, regarding them as one of the three basic forces in building socialism."

This was stated by Zhao Zukang, vice-mayor of Shanghai and a deputy to the National People's Congress (N.P.C.), at a N.P.C. panel meeting here.

A graduate of Jiaotong University in 1922, the octogenarian vice-mayor said the provisions about intellectuals in the draft will surely meet with warm response.

Recalling how hard he tried before liberation to do something in local highway and municipal construction, Zhang Zukang said he was frustrated by the corruption and despite against intellectuals prevailing at that time.

He said the draft clearly declares that workers, peasants and intellectuals must be relied upon in building socialism. "This is both an honor and a spur to us intellectuals," he stressed.

At a panel meeting of Beijing deputies, Professor Li Helin, rector of Lu Xun Museum, said the draft Constitution has reassured the intellectuals that they no longer have to worry about academic problems being exaggerated and regarded as a matter of class struggle or as contradictions between the enemy and the people.

It is in keeping with the aspirations of the intellectuals that the draft has expressed in legal terms the spirit of the principle of "let a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend," Li Helin said.

The professor with more than half a century's teaching experience said he appreciated the preamble of the draft revised Constitution. "It sums up in about 1,000 words the modern history of Chinese revolution and the country's achievements and experience in building socialism in the past three decades. Both the content and the writing are excellent," he said. He proposed that the Ministry of Education include the preamble into the language or politics textbooks for middle schools. The proposal won support from several other deputies.

Professor Feng Zhi, 77-year-old director of the Foreign Literature Institute, said the draft has correctly emphasized the development of socialist spiritual civilization.

"Modernization of material conditions alone cannot be called socialist modernization," he said. "Some Western countries are highly modernized, and their standard of living is high as far as material conditions are concerned, but many people there lack mental ballast and feel uncertain about the future."

Feng Zhi stressed that the development of socialist spiritual civilization is of vital importance to the future of a country. "Everybody, particularly educational and cultural circles, should work for it," he said.

Professor Tao Dayong of the Beijing Normal University, especially appreciated the stipulation about compulsory primary education.

He said the latest census indicates that illiterates and functional illiterates still account for 23.5 percent of China's total population. "In order to raise the scientific and cultural level of the whole nation, it is imperative to regard education both as a right every citizen should enjoy and as a duty he must fulfill," Tao Dayong said.

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## SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

### TIBET GOVERNMENT CHAIRMAN INTERVIEWED

HK011602 Beijing BEIJING REVIEW in English No 47, 22 Nov 82 pp 14-18

[Article by "Our" correspondent Jing Wei: "Tibet: An Inside View (I); Interview With the Autonomous Regional Government Chairman"]

[Text] [Editor's note: Tibet, the roof of the world, has always caught the imagination of people in the outside world. In recent years, as more tourists visit this part of China, more articles are appearing in the press, often giving conflicting reports about this area of more than 1.2 million square kilometres.

What is the real situation in Tibet? To find the answer our correspondent and a photographer paid a two-month visit to Tibet. They interviewed people from various professions and trades in Lhasa, Xigaze (Shigatse) and Gyangze. The following is the first of a series of articles that will appear in BEIJING REVIEW.  
[end editor's note]

The people of all nationalities in China highly respect Nagpoi Ngawang Jigme, a Tibetan cadre. He was a galun (one of the highest officials) of the former Tibetan Gasha (local government) and is now chairman of the people's government of the Tibet Autonomous Region and vice-chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress. In 1951, as chief representative of the former Tibetan local government, he signed with the representative of the central people's government the agreement on the measures for the peaceful liberation of Tibet and made important contributions to the unity of China and the liberation of Tibet.

Soon after arriving in Lhasa, the capital of Tibet, our correspondent interviewed Ngapoi Ngawang Jigme, now in his seventies, and asked him some questions of concern to our readers.

Question: Some foreigners have said that Tibet, once a "secluded paradise," is now a "miserable place." What is your view?

Answer: This is wrong. It shows that some people abroad know very little about Tibet.

Tibet never was a "secluded paradise" and cannot be cut off from the world. Historically, Tibet had close relations with China's other regions and frequent contacts with neighbouring India, Nepal and Bhutan. In 1888 and again in 1904, foreign imperialists twice invaded Tibet. Imperialism would not let Tibet become a "secluded paradise."

In the years before the liberation of Tibet, the Tibetan local government pursued a closed-door policy and strictly restricted foreigners from entering Tibet. During this period, foreign imperialists extended their aggression deep into Tibet. They sowed dissension among the Han and Tibetan peoples and manipulated a few upper-class reactionaries to try to divide our country. Activities for so-called "Tibetan independence" were rampant in those years. The old Tibet clearly was not a "secluded paradise."

The statement that Tibet now is a "miserable place" is not only wrong but it represents a view that is totally contrary to that of the Tibetan people.

In the old Tibet, the working people were long ruled by an oppressive, theocratic, feudal serf system. Feudal officials, aristocrats and monastic autocrats--5 percent of the total population--owned almost all the land and most of the livestock. The serfs and herdsmen owned no land or livestock and had to toil year round to eke out a bare subsistence. They had no individual freedom at all. The ruthless exploitation and suppression by the local government, the aristocracy and the monasteries severely hampered productivity. Tibetan society was stagnant for a long time.

The old Tibet was a hell for the labouring people. It was a paradise only for the serf-owners, the tiny minority.

Under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, the Tibetan people have instituted democratic reforms, thrown off the shackles of feudal serfdom and taken the socialist road.

What changes has Tibet undergone since its liberation? Besides the profound social change of the one million serfs becoming masters of Tibet, let me give some economic and cultural examples.

The total grain output of Tibet has increased 3.25 times, from 155,000 tons in 1952 to 505,000 tons.

There are now 23.46 million head of livestock, 2.4 times the 9.7 million in 1952.

Where before there was no industry at all, now there are more than a dozen types of enterprises producing electricity, machinery, woolen textiles and building materials.

Tibet, with no highway at all in the past, now has a highway network of some 21,000 kilometres centring on Lhasa. There are also air services from Lhasa to Chengdu and Xian.

At present, Tibet has more than 6,000 primary schools, 74 middle schools and technical schools, and three institutes of higher learning. There were no schools in the past.

We admit that during the 10-year period of turmoil (1966-1976) the Tibetan people, like the people of other nationalities in China, suffered greatly. During this period, socialist development was badly hampered. After the

convocation of the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee in 1978, and especially after implementation of the party Central Committee's directive on Tibet issued in 1980, we set things to rights, relaxed our economic policy and established various forms of the job responsibility system in rural and pastoral areas. This year, I went to the rural and pastoral areas in Tibet and saw production developing and people's living standards improving. There was an air of the beginnings of prosperity everywhere. Although Tibet is still relatively poor and backward, the Tibetan people are freer and happier than ever before.

Question: To what extent were temples and monasteries in Tibet destroyed in the "Cultural Revolution?" Why were they destroyed?

Answer: Temples and monasteries in Tibet were seriously damaged during the "Cultural Revolution." The extent of the destruction was unprecedented in our history. Even some ancient monasteries such as the Samye Monastery and Gahdan Monastery, which have a long history and are listed by the State Council as important cultural sites under the protection of the state, did not escape destruction. All monasteries in Tibet, except the Daipung Monastery and Potala Palace, were damaged to varying degrees. Quite a few were reduced to ruins.

The destruction of monasteries was strictly a result of the 10-year period of turmoil. Since the liberation of Tibet, the Chinese Communist Party has pursued a policy of religious freedom for the masses and of protecting monasteries. But the party's policy on religion was sabotaged during the "Cultural Revolution" together with other policies. In Tibet, monasteries were regarded as embodying the "four olds" (old thinking, old culture, old customs and old habits) so they sustained greater destruction. At that time, some evil people were using anarchism and ultra-left thinking among the masses to attain their own ends.

The damage to monasteries was serious. Many losses are irretrievable. But we are making efforts to correct this and are striving to restore the monasteries.

In order to better implement the party's policy on religion, the party committee and government of the Tibet Autonomous Region have drawn up a plan according to the party Central Committee's directive for rebuilding more than 50 historically important temples and the main monasteries of each religious sect in Tibet. Zuglakang (Jokhan) and Trashilhunpo monasteries have acquired a new look following several years of restoration. Other monasteries are in the process of being repaired. Some religious centres are being rebuilt by the masses themselves with support from the government. Today, religious freedom and religious activities are protected.

Question: What advances has Tibet made in exercising national regional autonomy over the past years?

Answer: Since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee held in late 1978, errors in the guiding ideology of work concerning minority nationalities have been corrected and the party's policies towards minority

nationalities have been implemented. In its instructions concerning work in Tibet circulated in 1980, the party Central Committee stresses the full exercise of minority nationalities' autonomous rights in their regions under the unified leadership of the central government.

The key to national regional autonomy is to have sufficient minority nationality cadres. The party committee of the Tibet Autonomous Region has been working hard to train and promote Tibetan cadres. Today the proportion of full-time cadres of Tibetan nationality in the region has increased from 31.9 per cent in 1965 to 54.4 per cent. When the second group of cadres of Han nationality is transferred back to other parts of China, the ratio will grow to over 60 per cent. Already, most prefectural commissioners, county heads, bureau directors and heads of mass organizations are Tibetans.

Attention has also been paid to the Tibetan language. The party and government have called on all cadres, both Tibetan and Han, to learn Tibetan. Education in the Tibetan language has been strengthened in school. To gradually make Tibetan the principal language used in the region's schools, more Tibetan personnel are being trained and more teaching materials are being compiled and translated into Tibetan. This does not mean that the Han language is neglected. Only by learning and using both languages, can we benefit the development of Tibet and strengthen unity and interflow among the different nationalities. During my recent visit to Sagya County, I saw that the people there were truly applying themselves to learning the Tibetan language. All county documents and notices are now in Tibetan.

Thanks to the concern of the party and government, Tibetan culture and art have been revived and developed as has production of special products, such as Tibetan medicine, needed by the Tibetan people. Furthermore, Tibetan customs and habits are being respected.

It has been especially gratifying that the autonomous region has accomplished much on legislation these past years. We have adopted detailed regulations on holding elections in Tibet. We have made changes in the marriage law and in the laws governing criminal procedures as well as many local laws and regulations. All these are in accord with the special characteristics of the autonomous region while ensuring unity under the central authorities. For instance, it is stipulated that Tibetan is the principal language used in investigation, prosecution and trial; that the proportion of Tibetan and other minority nationality deputies to the people's congresses at all levels must not be lower than 80 per cent, and that the rights to vote and to be elected of Tibetans who have gone abroad are guaranteed when they return.

As the policy of national regional autonomy has been conscientiously implemented over the past years, the unity of all nationalities living in Tibet has been greatly strengthened. This is an important guarantee for the future development of Tibet.

Question: Now the last question. Would you like to say something about the future prospects for Tibet?

Answer: Certainly. Since 1980 we have achieved remarkable progress. This may be considered the next major turning point in Tibet's history after its peaceful liberation and the democratic reforms that followed the quelling of the rebellion. The gross output value of agriculture and animal husbandry in 1981 was 487 million yuan, a 20 per cent increase over 1979's 407 million yuan. The average per-capita income of peasants and herdsmen rose from 127 yuan in 1979 to 200 yuan in 1981. We owe these initial successes to the implementation of such policies as reducing the burdens of the people and encouraging economic development in Tibet.

We shall continue to implement such effective policies as establishing various forms of the production responsibility system; giving peasants and herdsmen more leeway in private plots, private livestock, private trees, and in sideline occupations; developing a diversified economy according to local conditions, and encouraging rural markets and small-scale foreign trade in the border areas.

To improve economic development, the regional party committee and government have worked out a plan based on the actual conditions in Tibet so that the region may undergo a small change in three years, a medium-sized change in five years and a major change in 10 years. In other words, we shall strive to bring about a big growth in production by the end of 1990 so as to bring the beginnings of prosperity to most of Tibet, with annual income for a peasant or herdsman reaching 400-500 yuan.

While speeding up the region's economic construction, we shall further implement the party's national policies and try to perfect Tibet's national regional autonomy. We shall firmly carry out the party's policy on freedom of religious beliefs and strengthen our efforts to build a socialist spiritual civilization with communist ideology as its core. I am confident that with the concern of the party and government, and with the help of fraternal provinces and regions, the people of different nationalities in Tibet are sure to build a united, prosperous and culturally developed socialist new Tibet on the "roof of the world."

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## SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

### SOCIOLOGIST ON DEVELOPMENT IN MINORITY AREAS

OW291654 Beijing XINHUA in English 1558 GMT 29 Nov 82

[Text] Beijing, 29 Nov (XINHUA)--China's new draft Constitution guarantees genuine equality among all nationalities in the country, said Professor Fei Xiaotong, 71, in an interview here today.

This is clear from the stipulation in the proposed constitution that the state should render financial, material and technical support to areas where minority nationalities live in compact communities, he said.

Professor Fei, winner of Malinowski award for 1980 and Thomas H. Huxley memorial medal, said that all nationalities are genuinely equal only when their economic and cultural development is balanced.

The professor made tours of Xinjiang, Inner Mongolia, Yunnan, Sichuan and Guangxi this year. He said that owing to long feudal and national oppression in old China, some minority areas remain fairly backward, though progress has been made in the past three decades. To remedy this situation is an important aspect of the work on nationalities and a problem to be tackled in China's modernization drive.

Professor Fei is a vice-president of the China Democratic League, a democratic party which is mainly composed of intellectuals. "It is necessary first of all to help train more professionals of minority nationalities," he said.

To develop the economy in those areas, he said, it is also necessary to bring local natural advantages into full play, for instance, grasslands in Inner Mongolia.

The professor said that the Democratic League last year sent groups of specialists to border areas on lecture tours. "More will be sent in the future," he said.

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## SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

### MINORITIES INCREASE IN NEI MONGGOL, XINJIANG

OW300553 Beijing XINHUA in English 0233 GMT 29 Nov 82

[Excerpts] Beijing, 29 Nov (XINHUA)--The Mongolian population in Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region was 2,489,000 on July 1 of this year, triple the 1949 figure when new China was founded, according to the census office of the region.

The censuses show an increase of 79.84 percent in population of the region between 1964 and 1981, as against an average increase of 45.1 percent in population in the country as a whole during the same period.

In Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region in northwest China, the population of the Uygur, the major minority nationality in the Xinjiang region, topped 5.9 million on July 1, an 84 percent increase above 1949 the Xinjiang census office said.

While China's family planning policies apply to the majority, Han population, the policies have been relaxed for the 55 minority nationalities.

The two census offices attributed the big growth of population for minority nationalities to local development of the economy, culture, education and medical care.

In Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region, total output value of industry and agriculture has increased by 11 times between 1949 and 1981, and with a contingent of more than 60,000 medical workers, a medical care network has been formed in the region, a Xinjiang official said.

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## SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

### NPC DEPUTIES ON PROGRESS FOR AUTONOMOUS AREAS

OW291640 Beijing XINHUA in English 1607 GMT 29 Nov 82

[Text] Beijing, 29 Nov (XINHUA)--Legislative work has made considerable progress in China's national autonomous areas, according to deputies who are here attending the current session of the National People's Congress (N.P.C.).

China has five autonomous regions, 30 autonomous prefectures and 72 autonomous counties (banners) of minority nationalities. The draft revised Constitution now being discussed at the current N.P.C. session stipulates that people's congresses of national autonomous areas have the power to draw up statutes governing the exercise of autonomy as well as separate regulations, in the light of the political, economic and cultural characteristics of the nationality or nationalities in a given area.

At least 40 separate regulations and statutes suited to, or adapting certain state laws to, local conditions have so far been worked out. They are related mainly to such matters as protecting natural resources, ensuring the exercise of national autonomy in these areas and respecting the customs and habits of minority peoples.

Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region ranks first in China in the area of grassland and the number of big animals. The Yarlung Zangbo River Valley in Tibet has abundant forest resources, including vast tracts of virgin forests. To protect these resources, Inner Mongolia issued "The law of grassland" and Tibet "the provisions for forest management."

The Tibet Autonomous Region made supplementary regulations governing the implementation of the criminal law, the criminal procedural law, and the electoral law for local people's congresses promulgated by the state, so as to safeguard the rights of minority citizens. It is stipulated that at least one judge of the local minority nationality should attend the trial in which a litigant is of minority nationality, and the local minority language should be used in investigation, prosecution and trial in such cases. The supplementary provisions to the electoral law stipulate that Tibetans and other minority peoples in Tibet must account for at least 80 percent of the deputies to the people's congresses at all levels in the region, and that Tibetans now living abroad would enjoy the right to vote and stand for election once they return home.

At the request of the local people, the Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region has decided to restore the use of the old Uygur written language familiar to the local people, and stop using the alphabetic new Uygur language that was adopted a few years ago.

Since the promulgation of the marriage law of the People's Republic of China, the autonomous regions of Xinjiang, Tibet, Inner Mongolia and Ningxia have all made supplementary regulations, lowering the legal marriage age by two years and putting no control on birth rate for minority families.

In fact, China's minority population has grown much faster than that of the Han population. According to the country's third national census on July 1, 1982, the minority population has increased by 68.4 percent since 1964, as against 43.8 percent for the Han population.

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