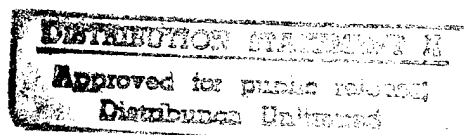


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11 January 1983



# China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 379

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11 January 1983

# CHINA REPORT

## POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 379

### CONTENTS

PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

#### PARTY AND STATE

|                                                                                                          |    |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|
| Exemplary Worker Hailed for Her Communist Idealism<br>(ZHEJIANG RIBAO, 13 Sep 82) .....                  | 1  |
| Ideological Education Needed To Overcome Doubts About Communism<br>(ZHEJIANG RIBAO, 10 Sep 82) .....     | 4  |
| 'ZHEJIANG RIBAO' Initiates Debate Over Merits of Communism<br>(ZHEJIANG RIBAO, 15, 16 Oct 82) .....      | 7  |
| Letter from Model Worker, by Sun Xudu<br>Reaction to Previous Letter, by Zheng Haixiao                   |    |
| Lectures on New Party Constitution Published<br>(ZHEJIANG RIBAO, 22, 27 Oct 82) .....                    | 11 |
| CPC Nucleus of Socialism<br>Demands, Standards                                                           |    |
| Building of Spiritual Civilization Discussed<br>(NANFANG RIBAO, 23 Nov 82) .....                         | 16 |
| Deepening Study of Party Congress Documents Urged<br>(NANFANG RIBAO, 11 Nov 82) .....                    | 19 |
| 'Five Stresses, Four Beauties' Campaign Promoted<br>(HEBEI RIBAO, 16 Oct 82) .....                       | 22 |
| 12th Party Congress Documents Studied Earnestly, In-Depth<br>(HEBEI RIBAO, 16 Oct 82) .....              | 25 |
| Joint Study Session for Studying Congress Documents Held<br>(Chen Jiafeng; HEBEI RIBAO, 27 Oct 82) ..... | 27 |

|                                                                                                          |    |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|
| Methods for Studying Congress Documents Discussed<br>(HEBEI RIBAO, 29 Oct 82) .....                      | 29 |
| Strict Party Discipline Regarded as Guarantee for Victory<br>(Zhao Weiji; SHANXI RIBAO, 29 Oct 82) ..... | 32 |
| Taiyuan Trains 3,000 Publicists<br>(Shi Wu, Xie Wende; SHANXI RIBAO, 23 Oct 82) .....                    | 35 |
| Seventh People's Congress Convened in Taiyuan<br>(Yue Weifan, et al.; SHANXI RIBAO, 17 Oct 82) .....     | 36 |
| China Youth League Trains Key Promoters<br>(Lin Yunzhuo; SHANXI RIBAO, 29 Oct 82) .....                  | 38 |

#### MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

|                                                                                                                    |    |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|
| Party Discipline Emphasized in Guangzhou Armed Forces<br>(Xiang Mingaci, Liu Elin; NANFANG RIBAO, 19 Nov 82) ..... | 39 |
| Guangdong Army Leaders Study Congress Documents<br>(Wang Jining; Ye Sui; NANFANG RIBAO, 7 Nov 82) .....            | 41 |

#### SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

|                                                                                                      |    |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|
| Article on Interpreting Census Communiqué<br>(Hou Wenruo; BEIJING REVIEW; 29 Nov 82) .....           | 43 |
| More Tibetans Assume Leadership Positions<br>(Jing Wei; BEIJING REVIEW, 29 Nov 82) .....             | 46 |
| 'NINGXIA RIBAO' Urges Political Discipline<br>(Jiang Yang; NINGXIA RIBAO, 21 Nov 82) .....           | 50 |
| 'BEIJING REVIEW' on Policy Toward Intellectuals<br>(Xin Xiangrong; BEIJING REVIEW, 6 Dec 82) .....   | 53 |
| PRC Official Discusses 'Moral' Education of Youth<br>(Ge Dewei; CHINA DAILY, 10 Dec 82) .....        | 55 |
| Hebei Holds Executive Meeting on Education<br>(Hebei Provincial Service, 23 Nov 82) .....            | 57 |
| Heilongjiang Ends Birth Control Work Conference<br>(Heilongjiang Provincial Service, 9 Dec 82) ..... | 59 |
| Yunnan's Sun Yuting Talks About Nationality Work<br>(Yunnan Provincial Service, 8 Dec 82) .....      | 60 |
| Xinjiang Urges Proper Handling of Complaints<br>(Xinjiang Regional Service, 1 Dec 82) .....          | 61 |

|                                                                                               |    |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|
| Regional Meeting on Handling Complaints<br>(Xinjiang Regional Service, 1 Dec 82) .....        | 62 |
| Qian Xuesen Speaks on Intellectuals Issue<br>(XINHUA, 7 Dec 82) .....                         | 64 |
| Feng, Jixin, Others Send Telegram to Rewi Alley<br>(Gansu Provincial Service, 1 Dec 82) ..... | 66 |
| Xinjiang's Wang Enmao on Nationality Policy<br>(XINHUA, 2 Dec 82) .....                       | 67 |
| Remuneration for Intellectuals Discussed<br>(Zong Man; HEBEI RIBAO, 2 Nov 82) .....           | 68 |
| Social Force Advocated in Managing Education<br>(Sa Kongliao; RENMIN RIBAO, 9 Nov 82) .....   | 74 |
| Briefs                                                                                        |    |
| Shaanxi Cadre Training Circular                                                               | 78 |
| Gansu Minorities Work Group                                                                   | 78 |
| Xizang Reduces Traffic Accidents                                                              | 78 |
| Guangdong Secondary Education                                                                 | 79 |
| Shaanxi Conscription Work                                                                     | 79 |
| Yunnan Radio Newspapers Symposium                                                             | 79 |
| Toponymy Dictionary                                                                           | 79 |
| Educational Bimonthly                                                                         | 80 |
| Chinese Dance Trends Discussion                                                               | 80 |
| Air Academy Graduates                                                                         | 80 |

#### HONG KONG MEDIA ON CHINA

|                                                                                     |    |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|
| Central Party School Test Published<br>(MING PAO, 27 Nov 82) .....                  | 81 |
| Beijing To Experiment With Party Rectification<br>(MING BAO, 30 Nov 82) .....       | 82 |
| Chen Yonggui Admits Mistakes<br>(MINGBAO, 3 Dec 82) .....                           | 84 |
| Jinan Prepares for Rectification<br>(Liang Dongchu; MING BAO, 3 Dec 82) .....       | 85 |
| Wuhan Test-Runs Vocational Universities<br>(Yang Jiatong; MING PAO, 6 Dec 82) ..... | 87 |
| Beijing Plans for Administering Hong Kong Viewed<br>(MING PAO, 3 Dec 82) .....      | 89 |

|                                                                                                   |    |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|
| Enforcing New Constitution Seen as Potential Problem<br>(MING PAO, 7 Dec 82) .....                | 91 |
| Agreement Between PRC, UK on Hong Kong Deemed Necessity<br>(MING PAO, 24 Nov 82) .....            | 93 |
| Independent Hong Kong Journal Comments on Taiwan Issue<br>(Tu Fan; CHI-SHI NIANDAI, Oct 82) ..... | 95 |

## PARTY AND STATE

### EXEMPLARY WORKER HAILED FOR HER COMMUNIST IDEALISM

Hangzhou ZHEJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 13 Sep 82 p 4

[Commentary by staff commentator: "Communist Idealism Is the Right Light Leading the People Forward"]

[Text] While the 12th party congress, with its great historic significance in the history of our party, is being triumphantly convened, we hereby earnestly recommend to readers of "A Necessary Lesson in the New Era" a good youth who is compiling her communist record with her youth and ideals--Gong Xinglian [7895 6580 5114].

Gong Xinglian is a common soldier on the commercial front. Her job is to bring goods to the people of the mountain villages; what she does is very ordinary. Yet, precisely from such a "common person and ordinary thing" we are witnessing the growth of the communist generation of new people. In accomplishing something extraordinary in an ordinary post, what does Gong Xinglian have to rely on? What she has to rely on is nothing other than communist ideology and spirit. Precisely because such a lofty ideology and spirit has blended in her life and work, she is able to consciously connect the small hawker's load on her shoulder with our great cause and doggedly love her work, perseveringly tread among the tall mountains and thick forests so as to bring the party's care and warmth to the people of the mountainous regions in each commune and each village, each household and each family, devote herself to public interests and forget about her private interests, and place the emphasis in this scale of public and private considerations more on the side of the interests of the party and the people. This shows that communist idealism is a bright light leading the people forward. In order to bring about an overall new situation in the construction of our socialist modernization, we must have hundreds and thousands of down-to-earth communist practitioners.

To struggle for the communist cause, we must first of all wholeheartedly work for the interests of the people, like Comrade Gong Xinglian does. This is because serving the people wholeheartedly is a very important component of the ideological system of communism and also the central content of the building of our socialist spiritual civilization. Today, we can happily see on the soil of our socialist motherland that the communist workstyle of devoting oneself entirely to public interests and forgetting about one's private interests is being given full play. But there is also a small number of people who would shake their heads once they hear about communism, muttering that since communism

takes the efforts of struggle on the part of several generations of people, and since we can hardly hope to see it or enjoy it in our own generation, we might as well pay some attention to practical benefits. Obviously, this kind of thinking is very harmful. Indeed, communism as a social system is not something that we will be able to witness in the near future, and it can be realized only in the rather distant future; but communism as an ideology, a kind of conduct, and a movement has since the birth of Marxism always existed and been developing. Looking back at the 61 years of our party's history, we can see that this in fact is the glorious history of the very communist movement in our country. And through every revolutionary stage of this great movement--such as the first revolutionary civil war, the second revolutionary civil war, the war of resistance against Japan, the war of liberation, and the period of socialist revolution and construction--runs the purpose of our party serving the people wholeheartedly. In reality, isn't the light of communist ideology shining throughout in the person of every one of those advanced people in our real life today who dedicate their all to the interests and cause of the people at their own expense? This shows that communism is also right in front of our eyes, not to stress the point that, since the communist cause depends on the relayed struggle of one generation after another, how can we as people living in the present new era seek to enjoy its fruition while sitting idly by? If by regarding communism as a matter of the distant future one thinks that one has thereby understood the "real secret" of life and hence begins to pay attention to practical benefits, to look up to money, to dwell in the small circle of individualism, to care only about the little realm beyond one's nose, or even not to hesitate at all to damage the interests of the party and the people, but to take advantage of the convenience of one's office and power to work for one's own personal interests in regard to "positions, houses, tickets, and children," etc., then one has in essence always denied the communist cause.

In order to struggle for the communist cause, one must, like Gong Xinglian, stick to his own duty and move solidly, with each step leaving a deep print. As early as 1920, when Comrade Zhou Enlai went to France to study the truth for [the cause of] saving the nation and saving the people, he already sought to promote and foster the spirit of "putting emphasis on practicality" in his article "The Religious Spirit and Communism," wherein he earnestly criticized the erroneous inclination on the part of some to let communism drift toward "pure talk" and to "believe in it yet at the same time doubt it and hence refrain from practicing it." Today, in order to advance the communist cause, every comrade must begin from now on and begin with his own ordinary present-day work; the reason for this is that with our ordinary work there can be no great achievements in one's undertakings. "A big tree that one must measure with both arms around it grows from an insignificant sapling; a nine-tier platform is built up by layers of soil." The great communist cause takes shape from hundreds and thousands of ordinary pieces of work converging together. Have we not always compared the communist cause to a "big mansion?" A big mansion or tall building is always built with individual bricks and tiles. The workers work; the farmers farm; the soldiers of liberation stand guard and fulfill their sentry duty; the cleaning workers water and sweep and put out the night-soil carts; the service trades sell vegetables, cut hair, wait at the counters, etc., etc. All of these [activities] are adding the bricks and tiles of socialism. If the hundreds and thousands of people who engage

day and night in such noble yet ordinary labor in the various trades for the building of socialism are absent, then the magnificent communist mansion can only remain a blueprint on paper and a mirage forever. Actually, of those who have surged forth on our various fronts, such as Zhang Side [1728 1835 1795], Lei Feng [7191 6912], Luan Fu [2940 5397], and Zhao Chun'e [6392 2504 1230], and other communist warriors of the like, none has not grown from his or her own assigned post. This shows that of the various tasks we ordinarily undertake, each and every one is linked to the great communist goal; any attitude or conduct of despising, loathing and sabotaging one's own present work can hardly be right.

The tall mountains and thick forests; the winding narrow roads; the "hawker" Gong Xinglian has her hawker's load on her shoulder as she strenuously climbs; what she is climbing is the "golden mountain" of communism. Let us learn from Gong Xinglian and join the ranks of the soldiers marching toward communism!

9255

CSO: 4005/158

## PARTY AND STATE

### IDEOLOGICAL EDUCATION NEEDED TO OVERCOME DOUBTS ABOUT COMMUNISM

Hangzhou ZHEJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 10 Sep 82 p 4

[Questions and Answers on Studying the 12th Party Congress Documents: "Is Emphasizing Communist Ideological Education Disadvantageous To Implementing Current Policies?"]

[Text] To the Readers:

Since the convening of the 12th party congress, the vast ranks of party members and cadres are conscientiously studying the important documents of the congress with full political enthusiasm. During this process of study, many comrades have put forth doubts and difficult questions in conjunction with the reality of their respective unit's work and the reality of their own thinking. For this reason, this newspaper has decided to open up a special column entitled "Questions and Answers on Studying the 12th Party Congress Documents" in order to facilitate an exchange of opinions and a deepening of our understanding. It is hoped that readers will enthusiastically send us letters and manuscripts so that we can manage this special column well.

Comrade Editor:

Our unit has planned to use the 12th party congress documents as our guide, keep in line with the reality of the workers' and staff's thinking, popularize knowledge about scientific communism among the cadres and masses, commend the new people who exemplify the communist spirit, and thereby carry out a concrete communist ideological education so as to better promote the building of our socialist spiritual civilization. But some comrades think that what we are practicing now are socialist policies; that putting emphasis on making demands on people according to communist ideas and morality leads to demands that are ahead of our times and is therefore unrealistic and disadvantageous to the implementing of our current policies. I am very eager to hear your opinion as to whether or not this view is right. Please answer. Reader Qiu Weide [5941 0251 1795]

Comrade Qiu Weide:

The question raised in your letter to me is actually a question of how to understand the distinction and relationship between communist ideological education and current policies. In suggesting communist ideology as the core of our socialist spiritual civilization and stressing communist spirit as the guide to our words and deeds, the 12th party congress is by no means asking us to carry out communist policies immediately. In order to fully realize communism as a social system in our country, an earnest struggle on a long-range basis over a number of generations is still required. There are current policies suited to given conditions in every period. We cannot practice socialist policies in a period of socialism, and still less can we substitute communist ideological education for, or negate, various concrete current policies. If such demands were made, that would really be getting ahead of the developmental stage of history, and it would also likely lead to the committing of "leftist" mistakes. In stressing communist ideological education today, we definitely do not mean this; such worry is unnecessary. As an ideological system, communism both plays a guiding role in the formulation of our current policies and affords a guaranteeing role in the implementation of such policies. Communist ideas and morality, the idea about oneself being the master of one's own house and the idea of collectivism, the spirit of dedication in serving the people's important spiritual supports; they are indispensable ideological guarantees in the implementation of our various current policies. Lenin once praised the workers' voluntary communist labor without compensation on Saturdays as a "great creative act," pointing out that it was a "bud of communism." That was meant to have us never forget the direction of communism as we continue to advance in a socialist society toward the destination of the higher stage of the future: communism. In our socialist society, "to each according to his work" is in practice, and its premise is "from each according to his ability." This in itself implies that it should have a communist quality. Only by strengthening our communist ideological education and guiding people to observe problems and treat their work within the ideological system of communism can we overcome such unwholesome practices as ignoring the interests of the state and the collective and "rendering one's work only according to what one receives." Hence, uniting the current policies that seek to realize "to each according to his work" with the carrying out of communist ideological education tallies with both the laws of objective economic development and the requirements of the ideological system of communism at the present stage, takes into consideration the material interests of the masses, and does not forget the direction in which we are advancing. The two are mutually complementary and supplementary. In deciding to do so, you are in accord with the spirit of the 12th party congress.

Everyone knows that socialism is the preliminary stage of communism. The policies the party carries out and the tasks the party accomplishes in the socialist stage are all practical means adopted for the realization of the farsighted goal of communism, and all are meant to advance the communist movement a step forward. In carrying out communist ideological education, fostering the growing communist factor, giving scope to communist morality, and promoting the communist spirit, we are fulfilling precisely our responsibility as communists. Practice also tells us that whether or not we seek to call forth

the people's enthusiasm and arouse the people's revolutionary fighting will with communist spirit makes a great difference in whether or not we can correctly implement the party's current policies. For instance, in Hangzhou two factories have been simultaneously carrying out the system of rewards. In the case of one factory, the leaders at one time thought that "with reward taking the lead, we need not worry about not having people make extra efforts in their production"; thus they relaxed their ideological and political work and concentrated on following the devious road of finding material stimulation for them. Under this program, production was stimulated somewhat in the beginning, but later some people indulged in "looking up to money" and thereby brought about various unwholesome tendencies such as overlooking the whole situation, ignoring their workstyle, doing more work only for more reward and doing less work for less reward, and stopping their work altogether when no profit seemed to be in sight. Their sense as masters in their own house proved thin; their hired-hand mentality began to raise its head; individualism became inflated; and production could not be done well. In the case of the other factory, when they conscientiously carried out the system of rewards, they paid attention to strengthening their ideological and political work, energetically carried out education in the idea that they are masters in their own house, and emphatically grasped a "three-approach" policy: they ran a "new workstyle column" to commend new people, new things, and new customs in a timely way so as to give scope to a healthy spirit; they established a "lookout post" to regularly mobilize the masses to criticize the budding erroneous ideas of "looking up to money" and the hired-hand mentality in order to draw a boundary between right and wrong; and they developed a "warning-bell platform" to expose unhealthy practices in the factory and warn people in time. In reality this meant strengthening the building of our socialist spiritual civilization bit by bit. As a result, not only was the policy of "to each according to his work" implemented well, but the ideological front of communism likewise continued to expand, and the ranks of the staff and workers also grew in a healthy manner. These two directions have led to two kinds of results; they serve both positively and negatively to answer the question as to whether implementing our current policies requires communist ideological education as a guarantee. In fact, what kind of spiritual support we have and what our ideological state is make a difference in the direction and results of our policies when people seek to implement them. Therefore, my own view has three interpretations: in terms of policy, we must adhere to distributing to each according to his work, we must promote the labor attitude of exacting from each according to his ability; and in terms of ideology, we must give scope to our spirit as masters in our own house. These rudimentary views are hereby offered for your reference.

Chu Bi [2806 4310]

9255

CS0: 4005/158

PARTY AND STATE

'ZHEJIANG RIBAO' INITIATES DEBATE OVER MERITS OF COMMUNISM

Letter from Model Worker

Hangzhou ZHEJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 15 Oct 82 p 1

[Letter from Sun Xudu [1327 0652 1653], Communist Party Member of the Hangzhou Heavy Machine-Building Plant: "Is the Discussion on the Communist Spirit 'Outmoded'?" ]

[Text] Editor's note: Comrade Sun Xudu is an advanced individual and a winner of such honorary titles as provincial and municipal model worker, model worker of the nation's machine-building industry, and national model worker. This letter reflects a high degree of his communist consciousness, and a conscientious style of studying documents on the 12th Party Congress in conjunction with reality. The letter also reflects some ideological and epistemological problems that exist among the people today, who say that only "fools" will carry forward this "outmoded" communist spirit, will "look for that trouble," and will "chant a bombastic song like that"; "Since nobody knows what communism will be like, why should we risk our lives for it?" "Let us emphasize tangible benefits more than obligations." Do we still want the principle of to each according to his work" when the communist style is emphasized? So on and so forth. A clarification of these problems will have a direct impact on the implementation of the guidelines of the 12th Party Congress, the comprehension of the communist ideology and the development of the communist spirit. For this reason, we published this letter in a decision to start a discussion in this newspaper of the following question: Is the discussion on the communist spirit "outmoded"? We hope everyone will feel free to express his views in conjunction with reality. He may feel free to answer questions reflected in Sun Xudu's letter or bring up other ideological and epistemological problems concerning attitudes toward the communist spirit. This discussion may result in further raising our communist consciousness, clarifying various muddle-headed ideas, making us able to handle properly the relationship between carrying forward the communist spirit and implementing the party's current policies, and truly unifying our thinking behind the guidelines of the 12th Party Congress.

Editor-comrade:

These days, I have studied the documents on the 12th Party Congress, which makes clear the course of advance and makes my faith in communism firmer than ever. I have decided to further carry forward the communist spirit and work selflessly and energetically in order to reach the grand goal set by the 12th Party Congress. In the course of study, I have also recalled some problems in conjunction with reality. These problems largely come from real life, and comrades who disagree with what I have said and done daily. The debate that ensued centers around the topics of how to treat the communist spirit and whether the current discussion on the communist spirit is "outmoded."

In July 1979, after my application for party membership was approved, I was elated by the thought of becoming a vanguard fighter dedicated to the communist cause. At that time, I felt that a communist party member must work longer and produce better results. Since then, I have arrived in office one hour earlier and left one hour later than usual almost everyday. In case of need in production, I often volunteered my services as an additional contribution to the nation. Although most comrades supported and encouraged me to do so, I also heard some different arguments. Some comrades called me "an old-fashioned fool," saying that at a time when everybody emphasizes tangible benefits, since his admission to the party, Sun Xudu has emphasized only contributions instead of tangible benefits, and he is somewhat "stupid."

In the second half of 1979, I and another technician Qian Jiakui [6929 1367 1145] spent half month working day and night and overcoming difficulties in improving the quality of an important component part for an excavator, difficulties that had remained unsolved for years. When the concerned comrades of mine reminded me that I was "losing weight," other individual comrades said that I was "looking for trouble." Brushing aside this remark, I said: "If a communist party member is unwilling to bear hardship before others, how can he claim that he is dedicated to communism? I am only fulfilling a commitment as a communist party member." From then on, I heard much feedback. Some said: "Since nobody knows what communism will be like, why does he risk his life for it? It seems better to emphasize tangible benefits more than obligations." Others said: "Provided we rely on him alone, what role can he play in promoting the four modernizations and communism? By punishing himself in this way, he will die in vain." Still others said: "What era is this? No more bombastic songs."

Early last year, the Changchun Material Testing Machinery Plant requested assistance from our plant in processing two important assembly parts used in a sophisticated scientific experiment for national defense. The processing of the two assembly parts each weighing over 3 tons was very difficult. Since never before had we touched things like that, acceptance of this job really involved risks. Aware that these assembly parts were urgently needed in national defense scientific research, I thought that we should accept and test it out, no matter whether we could succeed or not. At that time, some people tried to persuade me to turn it down, saying that

acceptance meant asking and looking for trouble. I turned a deaf ear to this as something inappropriate. Following over a month of day and night experiment, we finally succeeded in inventing a special gadget to enable us to plod away at this big job bit by bit. Noting this successful invention, some comrades said: "Now things are done in accord with the economic rules: you have solved a long-standing difficult problem for the consumer, and brought additional income to the plant, you should grasp this opportune moment to raise your demands. After overcoming this technical difficulty, you should demand additional bonuses." Although I do not object to the awarding of bonuses in accordance with the state regulations, I wondered how could a communist party member demand additional pay?

In the same year, in order to speed up the promotion of the new metal cutting tools and technology among the masses, and to raise the levels of metal cutting skills within the industrial and mining industries in Hangzhou Municipality, I joined the Hangzhou municipal metal cutting technique promotion team. I spent two nights every week leading comrades on the team to help fraternal plants overcome technical difficulties. While volunteering such services, I often had to dig money out of my own pocket to pay for the bus fare. Seeing me spend my own money on such voluntary service trips, some comrades said: During this socialist period, the socialist distribution principles of "to each according to his work," and "more work for more pay" must be emphasized. "Instructor Sun has not only devoted his energy to providing voluntary services but must also pay for the trips. What idea is that?" I must say that there is no contradiction between providing voluntary services and implementing the policy of to each according to his work, but the key lies in how to form a correct view of this problem. In his report to the 12th Party Congress, Comrade Hu Yaobang said: "Of course, at present, we must uphold the system of to each according to his work, and other socialist systems in economic and social life. Certainly, we cannot expect every member of our society to become a communist, but we must imbue Communist Party members, CYL members and all other advanced elements with communist ideology and make its influence felt among the masses through their educational efforts."

What I have previously stated is cases that have come to my attention during the study of the documents. These cases indicate that today, different ideas on communist ideology and on developing the communist spirit still exist among the people. For this reason, I must take this opportunity to write this letter of reference value, informing you of the situation I have encountered.

#### Reaction to Previous Letter

Hangzhou ZHEJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 16 Oct 82 p 1

[Article by Zheng Haixiao [6774 3189 0878]: "Is it Necessary to Carry Forward the Communist Spirit"]

[Text] The letter from Comrade Sun Xudu to ZHEJIANG RIBAO really deserves our attention. I endorse this paper's initiative to start a discussion on this matter and give the public vivid communist education.

In the final analysis, at this time is promotion of the communist spirit "outmoded?" I consider it very "appropriate." Its "appropriateness" is valid not only today but as far back as the period of the democratic revolution. I am an old man who has dedicated his life to communism. I have experienced years of privation and seen my own relatives and comrades-in-arms sacrifice their lives in the face of the enemy butcher knives. What strength prodded our comrades to defy dangers and die heroically? Obviously, the noble communist spirit. Shortly after joining the party (in 1941), my daughter Zheng Mingde fell into the enemy hands in order to protect other comrades. Although she was only 16 years old, she proved able to withstand various tests. As soon as killer Zhang Shaowu, magistrate of Pingyang County, learned the Mingde was my daughter (by then, I was secretary of the Pingyang County CPC Committee), he tried everything possible to make her talk. After seeing that his soft approach to this case failed, Zhang subjected Mingde to brutal torture first by putting her on the rack and then by hanging her upside down and feeding one bowl of pepper water after another into her nostril. This torture failed to crush her strong will. From beginning to end, she never revealed one iota of any secret about the party. After seeing that he could get nothing out of her mouth, Zhang Shaowu murdered her. One afternoon in June 1942, Mingde walked calmly out of her prison with her feet fettered. When she was being escorted to the scene of execution, Mingde found that she wore a pair of new sports shoes. She then kicked the shoes off her feet and said to an old rickshaw driver Hu Peiland: "We are all poor. Please keep this pair of shoes for use in the future. As soon as the Kuomintang reactionaries gun me down, this pair of shoes will become their loot. I cannot give them anything." This was the way Mingde was murdered by the Kuomintang reactionaries. Why could she face death with equanimity? Did she hate her young life? No. Since she was a little girl, Mingde fervently looked forward to studying in classrooms and to having a happy family. But under the influence of the revolutionary rank and file, Mingde knew the truth that only after all of China was liberated could she liberate herself. Meanwhile, she was firmly convinced that it was a better thing to sacrifice herself to protect the interests of the party and people. This is why she could shout slogans "long live the Communist Party!" and "the Communist Party is bound to triumph!" when she was about to be executed. Although Mingde could not live to see the liberation of the country and enjoy the happy life, she struggled for the realization of that life at the expense of her young life. Is this communist spirit worthy of being carried on and inherited by youngsters today? Today, we live in socialist society--the initial stage of communism. To build a socialist power with four modernizations and subsequently realize communism is a difficult undertaking unprecedented in history. How can this great objective be achieved without the communist spirit and hard struggle to be carried out by people for several generations to come? Therefore, I must say that as in the past, we must vigorously carry on the communist spirit until it is realized.

9574

CSO: 4005/170

## PARTY AND STATE

### LECTURES ON NEW PARTY CONSTITUTION PUBLISHED

#### CPC Nucleus of Socialism

Hangzhou ZHEJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 22 Oct 82 p 4

[5th Lecture: "CPC Is the Leading Nucleus of the Cause of Chinese Socialism"]

[Text] The General Programme of the new Party Constitution says: The CPC "is the leading nucleus of the cause of Chinese socialism."

How are we to realize and understand this leadership position of the party? We must first of all affirm that the party's leadership role in our country's revolution and construction has come about through a protracted historical struggle. Without the communist party, there would have been no victory in the Chinese revolution, there would be no socialist new China, also no possibility of accomplishing the four modernizations, and also no possibility of having our country and our nation grow and flourish. Any inclination to deny the leadership of the party and to try to break away from the leadership of the party is therefore completely mistaken. We must also realize that the effective leadership of the party requires strengthening party building and raising the party's fighting capacity. To regard this stress on the leadership of the party merely as a demand directed for recognition toward the masses outside the party and of no problematic significance for the party itself, would also be an incorrect and biased conception. In recent years, Comrade Deng Xiaoping has repeatedly raised the point in his many speeches, that we must "uphold the leadership of the party and improve the leadership of the party." He also emphatically pointed out: "In order to preserve the leadership of the party it is necessary to make great efforts in reforming the party leadership." This means that in order to exercise the leadership, it is extremely necessary to give serious attention to strengthening party building.

In order to render our party capable of taking on the heavy historical responsibility of leading the people of all nationalities throughout the whole country in the drive for socialist modernizations, the new Party Constitution formulated three basic demands with regard to effective party building. First, a high degree of ideological and political unity. This demands principally from every party member to fight all his life for the realization of the communist social order, to uphold the four fundamental principles at the present stage, to concentrate all energy on pursuing the socialist modernizations, to

uphold the principle of seeking truth from facts, to adhere to a practical and realistic ideological line, and to oppose all "leftist" and rightist deviations. Second, whole-hearted service to the people. This demands principally that the party, during the entire course of leading the masses in the struggle for realization of the communist ideals, always share the comforts and hardships of the masses, keep in closest contact with the broad masses of the people, never allow any party member to cut himself off from the masses and place himself above the masses. Third, adherence to democratic centralism. This demands principally that a high degree of democracy be given full play within the party and that a high degree of centralism be practiced on the basis of democracy, that the sense of organization and discipline be strengthened, so as to ensure unity of action throughout the entire party, and that persistent antiparty elements and elements that harm the party be strictly expelled according to the provisions of the new Party Constitution. These three demands are interrelated. A high degree of ideological and political unity is the foundation for a high degree of organizational and operational unity, and a high degree of ideological and political as well as organizational and operational unity is necessary for the greatest benefit of the broad masses of the people, and beyond that for the realization of the great ideals of communism. The three demands are the basic demands that we make during the new historical period on the party organizations at all levels and on every single party member. They are also demands that are essential for the leadership of our party in the pursuit of the socialist construction. It is not difficult to imagine, that if there were no high degree of ideological and political as well as organizational and operational unity in our party, if a daily clamor for anarchism and factionalism became rampant, could the party possibly maintain its leadership? If our party's program and policies were not expressions of the greatest benefits of the broad masses, could the party lead the masses forward? If our party members were not whole-heartedly serving the people, but merely seeking personal gain, working all day for their own children and houses, or even using the powers of their office to gain improper advantages at the expense of the state or the masses and undermining socialism, would they fulfill the functions that are expected of a party member? Obviously, all these things would be impossible. We must therefore resolutely and earnestly rectify the working style and consolidate the organization of the party according to the mentioned three demands.

The party's leadership in the cause of socialism consist mainly in political, ideological and organizational leadership, but does not comprise all administrative affairs. In concrete terms, it concerns the three items mentioned in the new Party Constitution: (1) The party must formulate and implement the correct political line, principles and policies. It means the party's leadership organs must effect an integration of the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought with the practice of our socialist construction and determine a program, political line, principles and policies that conform with the objective realities. The party must point out to the broad masses of the people the direction and the road for their advance, point out the objective of their struggle and the immediate tasks for present action, so that the masses will be able to advance with one heart and one mind in the direction pointed out by the party. The party must also pay attention to check the correctness of its program, political line, principles and policies in the practice of every phase of work. (2) Effective organizational and propagandistic

work by the party. This means that the party must do effective organizational, propagandistic and educational work among the masses through the party organizations at all levels and conscientiously implement the party's political line, principles and policies, coordinate the various aspects and bring activities in various quarters together on to the party's line and policies and mold the strength of the 1 billion people of the whole country into one united, organized contingent that will struggle for the cause of the socialist modernizations. (3) Have all party members demonstrate their exemplary vanguard role in every phase of work and in every aspect of social life. This means that the party must rely on the whole body of party members to show a high degree of consciousness, sense of discipline and spirit of self-sacrifice in all spheres of work, show themselves as a backbone force and play the exemplary vanguard role, so as to win the confidence and support of the masses in carrying out the party's leadership of the masses.

Presently, the 12th National Party Congress, which assumed great historical significance, in its profound summation of the historical experiences, positive and negative, of our party's 30-odd years of leadership in the socialist construction and especially basing on the positive and negative experiences of creating order out of chaos since the Third Plenum of the 11th CPC Central Committee, has already formulated for us the correct program and systematic and correct principles and policies that will usher in a comprehensive new phase of all-round socialist modernizations. According to the demands of the new Party Constitution, the all-round rectification of the party's work style and organizational work will soon be launched everywhere. As to the individual members of our party, particularly those serving as cadres, at the present time the most important thing is to study conscientiously the documents from the 12th National Party Congress and strictly demand of each of us, according to the conditions and standards for party members, to play an exemplary leading role in every phase of work and every aspect of social life. In the years of air-rending gunfire, our party members were always in the van of the fighting and the last when it came to withdraw. They were the first to bear hardships and the last to enjoy comforts. This is what forged their close bonds with the masses of the people and made them persevere and triumph in the revolutionary war, always guided by the party. In the great undertaking of socialist modernizations, we must equally rely on the devotion of the whole body of party members and cadres to defy personal dangers, to shoulder courageously the heavy tasks, work unselfishly, engage in arduous struggle in all spheres of work and by acting in this manner unite the broad masses to rally around the party in efforts to realize our party's program. This is also an extremely important condition for our party's leadership in the socialist cause.

#### Demands, Standards

Hangzhou ZHEJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 27 Oct 82 p 3

[6th Lecture: "The Communist Party Member Must Make Demands on Himself in Accord With the High Communist Ideological Standard"]

[Text] As to the conditions for membership in the communist party, the new Party Constitution lays down demands that are more stringent than in any of the previous party constitutions. It emphasizes that party members must serve

the people wholeheartedly, must truly be ready to sacrifice everything and devote their whole lives to the realization of communism. It emphasizes that party members shall for all times be ordinary members of the working people. Excepting personal benefits and powers of office within the scope of regulations and policies, no party member may seek personal gains or privileges of any kind. That means that a party member must make strict demands on himself, applying the high standards of communist ideology.

Why should so much stricter demands be made on party members? This is determined by the historical position of our party and the great historical mission it is entrusted with, to realize the four modernizations. If the party is to shoulder this new historical mission, the key lies in a continuous strengthening party building and raising the fighting capacity of the party, and it is this that requires more stringent demands on all party members. In the final analysis, it means demanding of the party members to establish the scientific world outlook of Marxism. There are now people who say that a time of warfare and of real swords and spears requires the readiness to give one's life for the cause. What we are now doing is economic construction; there is no more need and also no possibility for anybody to sacrifice his all. This is an extremely mistaken conception. It is of course true that times of war, when a powerful enemy has to be overcome, demand sanguinary sacrifices and a self-sacrificing spirit, but the four modernizations of today are a great undertaking without parallel in history. They are a formidable project of great complexity and as such not less demanding than times of war, and in a certain sense people will even have to sacrifice more of themselves and pay a higher price. The 12th National Party Congress calls on us to embark on the struggle that will usher in the new phase of constructing the four modernizations. Faced with this glorious and arduous historical mission, just think: If the broad masses of party members will not carry on and display the self-sacrificing spirit of the revolutionary war years, will not carry on serving effectively as the firm rock in midstream, could the party lead and spur on the people of the whole country in the struggle for the great undertaking of realizing the four modernizations?! Anyone who says that there are no more men today who would sacrifice their everything, acts like a person that has shut his eyes and stopped up his ears. When still alive, Doctor Lu Shicai [0712 1102 2087] once said: "...joining the party is not done to get anything out of it, but to give one's everything, including one's life, to the party." People like Lu Shicai, Zhao Chune [6392 2504 1230] and Luo Yuehua [5012 6460 5478] are shining examples of people who did not shirk from sacrificing their own precious lives for the magnificent cause of communism. The radiant sparks of their communist ideology, their lofty character and images, are they not indeed sustaining us and spurring us on; are these not facts for all to see?!

If a person is determined to devote his whole life to the realization of communism, he must not only have the spirit of never shirking from sacrificing everything, including his life, but must also exert himself in steeling and strengthening his revolutionary steadfastness. These two things in themselves complement each other. If a person has no revolutionary steadfastness, he will not be able to have a self-sacrificing spirit. If a person has the spirit of sacrificing everything for communism, he must first of all be firm in his belief in communism. To be a staunch communist, a person must be firmly and unswervingly faithful to and live up to his own pledge at joining the party and

must firmly believe in the certain success of the communist cause. In the process of building communism, a person must not only have full confidence when things go smoothly, but in times of difficulties and setbacks he must still not become dejected and sluggish in the least. The commendable revolutionary spirit of a communist must of course manifest itself at times when the situation is excellent and when he is full of vigor, but an even more commendable side shows when he meets with difficulties, setbacks and defeats and still retains his firm belief in the certain victory of the communist cause. Every single communist must therefore not only be able to stand the test of victory, that is, retain a sober mind and not become overbearing in the face of victory, but must also be able to stand the test of difficulties and defeats, and in the face of difficulties not lose heart, not despair, but surmount every difficulty to win victory.

A party member who has truly the intention of unflinchingly sacrificing everything and of fighting all his life for the realization of communism must not only have the above-mentioned qualifications of a proletarian world outlook and a resolute revolutionary determination, but must also show an excellent work style, which means he must preserve for all times the true qualities of the laboring people and be an ordinary member of the working people. History and the lessons from actual reality warn us: members of the ruling party must be particularly on guard never to lose contact with the masses. A key problem in this connection is how to properly exercise power and how to effectively use power. The power in the hands of a member of the ruling party has been conferred by the people. The people have conferred this power on us to have us serve the people most effectively. A party member who oversteps his official powers, deviates from regulations and exceeds the limits of his functions to gain personal benefits and privileges, is thereby divorcing himself from the masses in a serious way and will end up being cast aside by the masses. This kind of bitter lesson has been witnessed not infrequently, and we should bear it deeply in mind. We must therefore clearly and distinctly recognize that members of the proletarian ruling party are the public servants of the people and not overlords sitting on the backs of the people. Whether a person joined the party to serve the people or to secure an official position for his personal enrichment that is the touchstone and watershed that show us the difference between a true communist and an opportunist and degenerate element. A communist starts out from the fundamental purpose of serving the people wholeheartedly. This will enable him to be like Lei Feng [7191 6912], Jiao Yulu [3542 5940 4389], Zhao Chune and Lu Shicai...those people with lofty revolutionary ideals and noble spirits, enable him to acquire an undaunted revolutionary spirit, and will enable him to perform outstanding achievements full of power and grandeur for the revolutionary cause. In this magnificent cause of constructing the socialist modernizations, history has presented our party with weighty responsibilities. To strengthen the party building in this new era, the Party Central Committee decided on a consolidation of the party that is to start in the latter half of next year, to last 3 years and to be conducted by stages and in groups. Education on party consolidation will be a onetime systematic re-education in Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. The party consolidation will certainly enable our party to raise Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought to even higher levels. From now on every individual party member will strive with greater political consciousness and greater efforts to acquire for himself the qualifications of a party member, fully up to the required standards!

## PARTY AND STATE

### BUILDING OF SPIRITUAL CIVILIZATION DISCUSSED

Guangzhou NANFANG RIBAO in Chinese 23 Nov 82 p 1

[Commentary by staff commentator: "In Building Our Spiritual Civilization, It Is Necessary to Grasp the Fundamental Question"]

[Text] Recently, the provincial party committee printed and distributed to us "Proceedings of the Forum on Strengthening Communist Education and Building Socialist Spiritual Civilization" and also issued a circular to us for this reason. On this, our newspaper now publishes a detailed report at the No 1 item on page 1. Today, various localities are combining with their deepening study of the 12th Congress documents, linking with their respective reality, and conscientiously implementing it.

In this process of implementing the "Proceedings" of the forum, we must correctly understand the main spirit of the forum this time; only thus can we grasp what is fundamental and thereby push the building of our socialist civilization a step further. What is the main point of the forum this time? It is that, in order to do a good job in building our socialist spiritual civilization, we must strengthen our Communist ideological education with the Communist ideology as its core. In strengthening our Communist ideological education, the main thing at present is to carry out the education on dialectical materialism and historical materialism among the cadres and masses; and while carrying out this Communist ideological education we must at the same time unify it with the implementation of our current policies of socialism.

Everyone knows that dialectical materialism and historical materialism are the world view of the proletariat; they are the sharpest weapons with which we understand the world, reform the world, and engage in resolution and enterprises of construction. The building of a spiritual civilization with the Communist ideology as its core is to enable people gradually to establish the Communist world view and become persons with Communist ideals, morality, and workstyle. If we fail to learn the basic knowledge of dialectical materialism and historical materialism, fail to understand the objective laws of social development, and fail to understand that socialism is bound to triumph over capitalism, then it would be impossible for use to consolidate our Communist belief, nor to talk about establishing Communist ideals, morality and workstyle. Some time ago, the reason why some people experienced a crisis in their belief and attempted to spread the "theory of uncertain future" about communism,

saying that communism was mere "fantasy," is, as we come to examine it, mainly because they have failed to arm their minds with dialectical materialism and historical materialism and, instead, looked at problems from the metaphysical point of view.

What need to be further clarified is that doing a good job in building our socialist spiritual civilization and strengthening our Communist ideological education do not conflict with the propagation and implementation of our current policies of socialism. On the contrary, carrying out our political and ideological work and developing our Communist ideological education must be done around our various work and around our current policies before they can be practical and effective. We must be good at unifying the education and propagation of the communist ideology with the implementation of our current policies of socialism. These two are different from, yet linked with, each other. Only by carrying out the Communist ideological education among the cadres and masses can they be enabled to heighten their ideological consciousness and thereby consciously implement our current policies; only thus can people be enabled to correctly understand the strict difference and close relationship between the Communist ideology and our current policies, make clear the distinction between what should be done and what should not be done and why should it be done this and not that way, and thereby implement the party's policies better. For example, today the countryside is carrying out various forms of the production responsibility system; some say that this is retrogression. This is precisely because they fail to understand dialectics and materialism. The policies we are implementing are policies of the socialist period formulated under the guidance of the Communist ideology and on the basis of the realistic situation in our countryside. They have broken down the past practice of "eating from the common pot" and effected a revolution against equalitarianism and proved in accord with the peasant's demands and wishes on the question of distribution; they are able to fully mobilize the peasants' enthusiasm in labor and production and to develop agricultural production. This is a great creation in the building of a socialist new countryside with Chinese characteristics. Over the past few years, we have been promoting various forms of the responsibility system; the countryside has already embarked upon the road of building such a socialist new countryside with Chinese characteristics. Along with the perfection and development of these various forms of the responsibility system, the situation in the countryside is bound to become better and better. This is evidently progress; how can we say it is retrogression?

Why do some comrades, while carrying out the party's policies of the current stage, especially economic policies, tend to turn now "Left" and now Right, and when are turning "Left" they would blow a "Communist wind" and resort to "Making the transition in poverty," when they are turning Right they would perceive the distribution policy of to each according to his work in a partial manner, show an inclination toward calculating about every little thing, "looking up to money in everything," stressing only immediate interests and ignoring long-range interests, etc.? The emergence of the erroneous tendencies, in the final analysis, is also because their minds lack dialectical materialism and historical materialism. If they fail to arm their minds with dialectical materialism and historical materialism and fail to understand that things continue to change and also change by stages, it is impossible for them to

understand and implement well the party's policies in the present stage, and it would inevitably lead to the appearance of the continued practice of resorting to those "Leftist" antics or distorting the party's policies from the Rightist angle. As far as the present is concerned, it is especially important to prevent "Leftist" ideas from raising their heads and prevent the negation of the series of policies of our present stage.

Therefore, we emphasize that when we carry out the building of our spiritual civilization with the Communist ideology as its core, we must grasp what is fundamental; and that means to grasp from beginning to end the education on dialectical materialism and historical materialism, correctly understand and handle the relationship between the Communist ideological education and the implementation of our current policies and unify the two. If this problem is solved well, we would be able to enable the vast ranks of our cadres and the masses to establish their Communist ideals, morality and workstyle and thereby assure their implementation of our current policies.

Of course, in saying that we put emphasis on the grasping of what is fundamental in building our spiritual civilization we do not mean that our continued efforts at present to launch activities about the "five stresses and four points of beauty" and to cure "dirtiness, chaos, and inadequacy" are unimportant, nor do we mean that we can relax our efforts to handle well our cultural construction and actively develop mass recreational activities during their sparetime; rather, we mean to have these activities subsumed under the Communist ideological education. We must educate and mobilize the masses to participate in these activities with the Communist ideology and further grasp typical things in these activities and educate the masses to care about and protect public interests, public properties, to protect the public ownership system to obey public order, and to participate in voluntary labor and various enterprises and activities in the public interest without regard to rewards and on a wholly conscious, voluntary basis; when their individual interests are involved, they must be selfless and forget about their private interests and forgo calculating about every little thing. In thus promoting things this way, we would make our Communist ideological education concrete and lively and not empty and dull; we should be also able to organically link with the education on socialism, collectivism and patriotism we launched in our province last year; this way, we would also be able to make the activities about the "five stresses and four points of beauty" more ideologically relevant and provide the institutionalization and regularization of our curing "dirtiness, chaos and inadequacy" more of an ideological guarantee.

9255

CSO: 4005/199

## PARTY AND STATE

### DEEPENING STUDY OF PARTY CONGRESS DOCUMENTS URGED

Guangzhou NANFANG RIBAO in Chinese 11 Nov 82 p 1

[Commentary by staff commentator: "Push the Study of the 12th Congress Document Toward a Deepening Process"]

[Text] For over two months, party organizations at various levels in our province have followed the directive of the party central committee and the arrangements of the provincial party committee, handled the study and propagation of the 12th Congress documents as a matter of primary importance, and done a great deal of work. The emphasis put on this study by leading cadres at the various levels, the impetus of the propagation, and the results achieved have all been unprecedented in many years.

After this period of study, many party members, cadres, and the masses, have come to understand better the fundamental spirit of the 12th Congress documents and further consolidated their trust in the party central committee, their belief in communism, and their confidence in the realization of the three fundamental turns for the better and the construction of the four modernizations. But these are merely preliminary achievements; we need still to push this study toward a deepening process.

Pushing the study of the 12th Congress documents toward a deepening process is to follow the requirement made by the party central committee on this study, help all the cadres, party members and the vast ranks of the masses to correctly understand the fundamental spirit of the 12th Congress documents, unify their ideological perception under the principles and policies determined by the 12th Congress so that they can thereby exert their spirit, forge a common mind and common effort, struggle hard, work earnestly, and endeavor to bring about a new situation in the construction of our socialist modernization. The so-called deepening process is namely an effort to dig deeper according to this overall requirement. Naturally, this is not something that can be achieved overnight. Today, we need to make a partial summing-up of our study in the preceding period, check against the requirements made in the directives of the party central committee and the provincial party committee, inspect how our own localities, our own departments, and our own units have done on the study and the propagation, what are our achievements, what is our main experience, what problems exist, and what perceptions and problems must still be solved so

that we can review them in some order and thereby know them pretty well and in the end solve them one by one. At present, we should put emphasis on carrying out the following tasks.

We must set up a scheme of special subjects and organize our study in a deepening manner. We must study one special subject after another; we must, in response to the key questions of a general nature broached in a previous stage of the study and through a conscientious persual of the documents and pertinent discourses of Marxism, carry out consultation, discussion and debate between comrades and also organize guidance measures to have them clearly understood one by one. Some questions may also be really solved only through investigation and study and after a process of practice. Leading cadres at the county level and above should learn more, better, and more deeply than ordinary cadres. They should combine the study of the 12th Congress documents with the study of Marxism-leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, especially the basic theories of dialectical materialism, historical materialism, and with the study of the important documents since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee and the important works of Comrades Deng Xiaoping and Chen Yun, and thereby unify their perception under the spirit of the 12th Congress documents at the theoretical and political plane.

We must, on the basis of seriously studying these documents, improving our perception, and correctly understanding the spiritual essence of these documents, closely link with the reality of our work and promote a greater development of our work. At present we must put emphasis on linking with our province's institutional reform and reform in the economic system, our implementation of the special policies and Flexible measures, our further opening to the outside world and enlivening the economy domestically and major principles and policies of the like and the reality of our work in these respects, sum up our historical experiences and lessons, study and formulate the necessary measures and approaches so as to bring the spirit of the 12th Congress into reality and bring about a new situation in the various work in our province.

We must place our study concerning the building of an advanced socialist spiritual civilization on a salient position, improve the perception of all our cadres and party members of the strategic meaning of the building of such an advanced socialist spiritual civilization. We must strengthen our education on the Communist ideology and actively launch our struggle against corrosion by the capitalist ideology and against the remnants of feudal ideas. We must conscientiously carry out an education on Communist ideals, morality, and workstyle and on love for the country, love for the collectives, and love for socialism so as to enable more and more people to become persons with ideals, morality, culture and discipline. At present, we must link with the deepening development of activities concerning the "five stresses and four points of beauty" and put emphasis on promoting voluntary labor regardless of compensation, promoting the Communist spirit of single-mindedly devoting oneself to public interests, and overcoming the erroneous tendency of "looking up to money in everything."

We must energetically provide rotational training to our party members. We must continue to train cadres on a rational basis by the form of "small concentration." especially cadres at the county and division levels and above. We must organize party members to study the new Party Constitution, preliminarily check against the provisions of the Party Constitution and launch criticism and self-criticism, give scope to achievements, overcome defects, endeavor to become qualified Communists and serve as leading cadres upheld by the masses. We must strive to complete such rotational training of all party members in the province during this winter and the forthcoming spring in order to prepare well ideologically for the overall rectification of the party hereafter.

The key to whether or not we can push our study into a deepening process lies in whether or not we can strengthen our leadership. Party committees at all levels must grasp this effort to deepen our study and propagation of the 12th Congress documents as a big matter, strengthen their organizational leadership over such study and carry out timely inspection and supervision; they must conscientiously sum up and exchange their experiences in such study; they may for this purpose convene meetings on the exchange of such study experiences on their respective fronts, in their respective departments and units, and they may also hold forums where individual gains from such study can be exchanged. Practice proves that this is a good approach to pushing our study into a deepening process.

9255

CSO: 4005/199

## PARTY AND STATE

### 'FIVE STRESSES, FOUR BEAUTIES' CAMPAIGN PROMOTED

Shijiazhuang HEBEI RIBAO in Chinese 16 Oct 82 p 2

[Article "To Develop the 'Five Stresses and Four Beauties' Activities In-Depth and on a Long-Term Basis"]

[Text] Not very long ago, the Propaganda Department of the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee convened a special meeting, requesting various places throughout the country to extensively develop in October the activities to control filth, disorder and inferior standards, and to give impetus to a wider and deeper development of the "Five stresses and Four beauties" movement, just as they developed the Month of Civility and Politeness activities in March. Developing the "Five stresses and Four beauties" movement just as they developed the Month of Civility and Politeness activities in March. Developing the "Five stresses and Four beauties" constitutes concrete action in fulfilling the spirit of the 12th Party Congress and establishing a socialist spiritual civilization. It is an important step toward striving for a sound party style and a healthy social atmosphere. Leading comrades of party administrative departments at all levels must give high regard to these activities and handle them well.

In his report to the 12th Party Congress, comrade Hu Yaobang pointed out: "While we are building a high-level material civilization, we must simultaneously build a high-level socialist spiritual civilization. This is an issue of strategic policy in building socialism." Since last March, the "Five stresses and Four beauties" activities, with the building of socialist spiritual civilization as its goal, have been widely launched in cities and villages throughout the province. In more than half a year's time, we have achieved obvious results. The sanitary outlook of cities and villages has been greatly changed, social order has begun to show improvement, and the quality and quantity of services have been upgraded. There have been widespread activities in learning from Lei Feng [7191 6912] and establishing a fresh social trend. The communist ideology of finding pleasure in assisting others has been extensively disseminated. With help from the People's Liberation Army, the vast rural areas of Bao Ding District have launched widespread activities in building a cultured village. Encouraged by the spirit of the 12th Party Congress, the activities of the Na Tai Municipality Youth Service Team to serve the people are thriving impressively. In Shi Jia Zhuang Municipality, the "I help to add to the bright outlook of the provincial capital" activities have had a positive effect on purifying the environment and beautifying the provincial

capital. However, the situation of filth, disorder and inferior standards in some places is still very serious. Although some places have formulated various "regulations," "pledges," and "principles," they tend to become formalities lacking inspection and supervision. Therefore, in the current process of studying and carrying through the spirit of the 12th Party Congress, it is very necessary to conduct an earnest inspection and summarization of the first part of the "Five stresses and Four beauties" activities based on the practical situation of our province, so that we may launch the activities penetratingly and over a long period of time.

In order to launch the "Five stresses and Four beauties" activities penetratingly and over a long period of time, we must have a comprehensive and correct understanding of the activities. Some comrades feel that the immediate and urgent matter before us now is studying and practicing the spirit of the 12th Party Congress. To conduct the "Five stresses and Four beauties" activities is making a mountain out of a molehill and is not necessary. Such a view is erroneous. It is not just for the purpose of performing some good deeds, or creating a fine working and living environment and a good social order that we introduce the "Five stresses and Four beauties" activities. More significantly, through launching the activities, we want to purify people's hearts, foster noble, ethical sentiments and high thinking. Without a beautiful heart, a person cannot consciously follow society's recognized rules and consciously maintain a clean environment and good social order, and it is even more impossible for such a person to always think in terms of others and to find pleasure in assisting others. It is therefore clear that in order to treat filth, disorder and inferior standards in our society, we must first treat filth, disorder and inferior standards in our minds, and conduct a thorough-going educational campaign on patriotism, collectivism and communism among ourselves. Those comrades who would separate the "Five stresses and Four beauties" activities from the spirit of the 12th Party Congress are wrong, and their thinking is damaging.

At present, in some places and units in our province, there is a tendency to just take care of the problem of filth while overlooking the problems of disorder and inferior standards, particularly the latter. In the service sector, service and attitudes are bad. In hospitals, medical personnel are not very considerate, nor do they feel much concern about the patients. Patients are treated carelessly and indifferently. In some stores, sales people show no enthusiasm in helping customers and force their sales upon customers with little regard to the customers' true needs. Also, the ill trend of "entering the backdoor" is relatively serious. The broad mass of people are very dissatisfied by these phenomena. In launching the October "Five stresses and Four beauties" activities, we must correct this tendency and handle the problems collectively.

Right now, October is half over. Those areas and units which have yet to stir should quickly initiate some action. Members of the Communist Party and Communist Youth League ought to give full play to their model and leadership functions and bring about a fresh, dynamic, yet down-to-earth upsurge of the "Five stresses and Four beauties" activities throughout the province.

After more than half a year's practice, a group of advanced "Five stresses and Four beauties" collectives and individuals have emerged in our province. We should give them full public recognition and guide the people to follow their new ideas and morals. In this way, we may form a healthy social trend in our province where everyone cares about morals, cleanliness, order and politeness, and which will enable everyone to carry on the construction of the two civilizations with even greater energy, vigor and spirit, and to make new contributions to the initiation of new phases in all tasks.

9519

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## PARTY AND STATE

### 12TH PARTY CONGRESS DOCUMENTS STUDIED EARNESTLY, IN-DEPTH

Shijiazhuang HEBEI RIBAO in Chinese 16 Oct 82 p 1

[Article "To Lead and Guide the Study"]

[Text] At present, there is an upsurge of enthusiasm in studying the 12th Party Congress documents in various areas throughout the province. The studying zeal is very high among the broad mass of party members, cadres and people who are determined to seriously study the 12th Party Congress documents, carry through the spirit of the 12th Party Congress, and strive hard to realize the grand strategic goal proposed in the 12th Party Congress. Party organizations at all levels must clearly discern the situation, clearly affirm the great historical significance in studying, publicizing and fulfilling the spirit of the 12th Party Congress and, going one step further, handle the study of the 12th Party Congress and, going one step further, handle the study of the 12th Party Congress documents as they handle all important matters of top priority. The 12th Party Congress has formulated a grand, comprehensive scheme for initiating a new phase in modern socialist construction. It has also formulated a program, system, a set of diverse organizational principles which enable party building to become the hard core of leadership for the modern socialist construction enterprise. A very important assignment lies ahead of party organizations at all levels to organize and lead the broad mass of party members, cadres and people to study the 12th Party Congress documents and to align their ideological consciousness with the spirit embodied in the 12th Party Congress documents, establishing a sound ideological foundation for comprehensively initiating a new phase in modern socialist construction. Party organizations at all levels must absolutely not take such a matter of great practical significance and profound historical significance casually; they must control and handle it well.

In order to heighten the consciousness among party organizations at all levels in treating the study of the 12th Party Congress documents as an important matter of top priority, it will be educational to reflect upon the lessons learned from the truth criteria discussions and the superficial study of, and adherence to, the spirit of the 3rd Plenary Session. Everybody knows that during that time, our province was not well organized in the study of Central documents. Failing to solve problems through integrating ideology and practicality, some leading cadres, still bound by the "leftist" guiding

ideology in their thinking, set up many untouchable and forbidden areas by their policies. Failing to correctly summarize the experience and lessons learned from the 10 years of internal turmoil in our province, these cadres firmly adhered to wrong policies as if they were right ones. Despite high enthusiasm among the masses during that period, our guiding ideology, for reasons known to all, could not truly keep in line with Central party politics. Consequently, our province and cities, be it in the area of practical policies of economic constructions. Meanwhile, due to divergence in understanding the spirit of the 3rd Plenary Session and the formation of various kinds of ideological knots which have not been untied over long periods of time, revolutionary unity has been affected. Up until today we still cannot but pay the price for having studied the Central documents superficially at that time. Since we are now in a period of great historical transition, the negative effect will be even more serious if we fail to align our ideology with the spirit of the 12th Party Congress and fail to have a good understanding of the program guiding this great historical transition.

The Provincial Committee places heavy emphasis on study of the 12th Party Congress documents. Leading cadres of party organization at all levels must also further heighten their consciousness of truly considering the study as an important matter of top priority. First of all, they need to learn the documents well themselves, integrating ideology with practicability, summarizing past experiences and lessons, and unifying their ideological consciousness with the understanding of the 12th Party Congress documents. While studying the documents well themselves, leadership members should also set aside a definite amount of time to visit the areas and departments under their supervision, to join in and guide the study among cadres and masses. This way, not only will leadership members be able to use themselves as models to motivate the cadres and masses, they will also be helpful in timely response to questions raised by the masses during the study. Furthermore, they can enhance their perceptual understanding through investigation and research, creating the prerequisites for resolving problems in a practical manner. Of course the propaganda departments ought to be enthusiastic toward such an urgent and important matter as the study of the 12th Party Congress documents and be responsible for its organization. Party organizations at all levels, especially the principal cadres in charge, must also assume personal responsibility to guide the study perseveringly and achieve results.

Learning, drilling, going-deep--these are the questions which require answers at all times as we guide and organize the study. At present, aside from continuing to extensively motivate the masses to plunge into the study, we especially need to put in effort to guide the masses to a thorough-going and in-depth study, such being the key factor which will determine whether we can truly benefit from the study or are just going through the motions. Party organization at all levels must constantly analyze and research the study situation and its current problems, adopt effective measures, assist the masses to study the documents thoroughly and to understand the spiritual essence of the study. They must continuously guide the study to make it thorough-going. Otherwise, with weak leadership and dampened enthusiasm among the masses, it will require much greater effort to re-ignite the study drive. Therefore, party organizations at all levels must firmly grasp the opportunity to conscientiously conduct the study, and earnestly resolve the problems which arise in guiding the study to its proper depth, thus setting off an upsurge of activities with impetus, scale, practicability and depth.

## PARTY AND STATE

### JOINT STUDY SESSION FOR STUDYING CONGRESS DOCUMENTS HELD

Shijiazhuang HEBEI RIBAO in Chinese 27 Oct 82 p 1

[Article by Chen Jiafeng 7115 1367 7364]: "Provincial Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference and Provincial CPC Committee United Front Department Jointly Convene Study Session For People From Various Circles. Yin Zhe [1438 0772], Provincial CPC Committee Secretary and Provincial Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference Chairman, Attends and Delivers Speech"]

[Text] The 2-week study session for people from various circles that was jointly held by the provincial CPPCC and the provincial CPC committee united front department began on 11 October and satisfactorily concluded on 23 October.

The purpose of this study session was to enable people from various circles to study better and grasp the fundamental spirit of the 12th Party Congress documents. In all more than 50 people took part at the provincial capital, among which were groups of provincial CPPCC committee members, leading figures of various democratic parties at the provincial level, various public figures, and a group of high ranking intellectuals under provincial jurisdiction. At the beginning of the session Zhang Xiaodong [1728 0879 2639], vice chairman of the provincial CPPCC standing committee, gave a mobilization talk. The study session adopted the combined method of using self study as the key method, small group discussions, and planned guidance, and assigned units to study earnestly and discuss the 12th Party Congress documents. Experiencing the earnest, rather systematic and intensive study of the documents, listening to guidance lectures, and exchanging experiences will enable everyone to take a big step towards understanding and grasping the spirit of the documents. They will particularly have a much deeper understanding of the major significance and historical place of the documents, the tripling of the war preparedness effort formulated by the documents, the major significance of socialism's spiritual civilization, and the 16 character policy united front work that are defined by the 12th Party Congress documents. Everyone felt that their direction was clearly defined, their faith had been strengthened, and their enthusiasm aroused. Everyone has shown that under the guidance and inspiration of the spirit of the documents they must indeed unite their ideologies, be of one heart and one mind, conscientiously exert themselves in their work, and make even larger contributions to the building

of our province's socialist spiritual and material civilization. Some senior professors, senior specialists, industrialists and businessmen over 60 and 70 years old were inspired in their discussions by the old adage: "the old ox knows that the setting sun is brief, so there's no need to crack the whip." Although those of us in my generation are in the evenings of our lives, we are still vigorous, and in this great era of forging ahead into the future and vigorously developing China we will unreservedly devote our remaining years to the cause of modernizing our homeland.

On the 23rd the session was presided over by Li Zishou [2621 1311 1108], deputy department head of the provincial CPC committee united front department and provincial CPPCC secretary general. In his speech comrade Yin Zhe required of all comrades in attendance that, in accordance with the plans of the Central Committee, they at first regard the studying of the 12th Party Congress documents as a central task at present, thoroughly and repeatedly study them, unite study with reality, and truly understand and grasp the fundamental spirit of the documents. He emphatically pointed out that the opening address given by comrade Deng Xiaoping was the summation of the guiding ideology of the 12th Party Congress documents, which stated that the program for making comprehensive breakthroughs in the socialist modernization and the foundation for each principle, policy, and measure were formulated by the documents. This address is the epitome of the spirit of the documents and must be repeatedly studied and thoroughly understood. In his talk he also related his own studying experiences, emphatically spoke of the major significance and historical place of the 12th Party Congress documents, analyzed the scientific foundation on which the documents have set a goal of tripling the annual gross output value of industry and agriculture by the end of this century, and spoke of the actual possibility of achieving the goal of war preparedness. Finally, comrade Yin Zhe spoke of the problem of giving free reign to the patriotic democratic parties and figures from various circles. He stated that "they have coexisted for so long and oversee each other. They are utterly devoted and will rise or fall together." This is the party's longstanding, unswerving policy. We hope that comrades outside the party will support, assist, and supervise each item of the party's work, such as the building of socialism's spiritual and material civilizations, rectifying party work styles, and so on. They should promptly express any opinion or make any suggestions, for this would be beneficial to our doing well each item of work. Giving speeches at the study session were Tian Yupu [3944 3768 3877], provincial CPPCC standing committee member and deputy chairman of the provincial civil construction committee, Li Tongwei [2621 0681 0251], provincial CPPCC committee member and democratic revolution committee member, Huang Hongxu [7806 1347 3563], vice president of Hebei Normal University, Xu Shaobin [1776 4801 2430], deputy bureau chief of the provincial aquatic products bureau and senior engineer, and other comrades.

9926

CSO: 4005/185

## PARTY AND STATE

### METHODS FOR STUDYING CONGRESS DOCUMENTS DISCUSSED

Shijiazhuang HEBEI RIBAO in Chinese 29 Oct 82 p 1

Article: "Use Many Methods To Study Party Congress Documents"

Text At present, each locale has developed many effective methods for studying the 12th Party Congress documents. Their experiences prove that proceeding from the actual conditions of these locales and using various methods to spur on the cadres and masses to be utterly absorbed in studying and grasping the fundamental spirit of the 12th Party Congress documents are good ways to bring gradually among the people the studying of the documents.

The 12th Party Congress documents are the glorious literature of Marxism-Leninism and are the crystallization of its collective wisdom and the sum of its historical experiences. These documents are of major significance for guiding each item of the party's work now and in the future. Thus, we cannot permit superficial learning by just glancing at the documents. We must read them over and over, study hard, and carefully think them over. Only this way can we grasp the essence of the documents and learn them well.

At present, there are some comrades, particularly some leading comrades, who believe that we must stress the importance of any party congress document, yet they do not understand the exceptional significance of the 12th party congress documents. Thus, they are content to glance at the documents to be familiar with the major ideas, then hurriedly discuss "what are we to do." There are also some comrades whom you cannot get through to. They do not sit down and all day long are immersed in their work. Little do they realize that their studying of the 12th Party Congress documents is not thorough, their understanding is shallow, and their direction is not clear. Anything they do can only be done recklessly. Party organizations at every level must strengthen organizational and leadership work in the studying of the documents to enable everyone to understand further the historical place and far reaching significance of the 12th Party Congress documents, understand that the victory of the new democratic revolution relies on the seventh great document and the victory of the cause of the socialist modernization relies on the 12th Party Congress documents. Small group discussions and study groups must at first be used to train leading cadres at all levels. Make them free themselves from their work and set aside leisure time to study earnestly a step at a time and understand each point so that they can better

shoulder the heavy responsibility of leading the studying done by their units and systems.

Because each individual's ideological and cultural level is different, it is unavoidable that in studying the documents this kind of problem of understanding or that kind of theoretical problem will arise. Not resolving these problems will hinder the further development of study activities. At present, newspapers and periodicals have already published a series of successive guidance articles and materials plus experiences of studying. On the foundation of self study, fully utilizing these materials will give guidance to the cadres and the masses. They are aimed at removing obstacles and clarifying questions that everyone may encounter in their studying. This is utterly essential. Nevertheless, while giving guidance we certainly must put "primary" and "supplementary" in a correct relationship. We must emphasize the studying of the documents as being of primary importance and must make every effort to prevent the supplementary from superseding the primary.

Each system under provincial jurisdiction recently convened various conferences to exchange studying experiences, which were headed by leading cadres who talked about the problem of integrating ideology with practice. This can both deepen understanding of the documents and serve the purpose of mutual enlightening, exchanging, and advancing. Practice has proven that this is a good, effective method for bringing deep among the people the studying of the documents. Each locale should popularize and follow this example.

Currently, the harvesting, ploughing, and sowing of the vast majority of our province's rural areas is busily drawing to a close, so their study activities will be fully under way. Because of the common practice of the system of job responsibility for production, the rural areas are rather scattered and not easily centralized, so organizing reporters and publicists to explain the documents to the grass roots cadres and masses of the vast rural areas must be done according to this distinguishing feature. While explaining the documents, they must unite theory with practice, put their fingers on the ideological pulse of the masses, integrate the affairs with which the masses are familiar with the problems that they are concerned about, and explain profound ideas in a simple way. This will enable the masses to understand what they hear, therefrom becoming mobilized and educated. In addition, each locale has already adopted wire broadcasting, blackboard newspapers, slides, theatrical performances, and other methods to mobilize public opinion and make the spirit of the 12th Party Congress documents known to all. This too is indispensable. Some places have adopted party and CYL members being assigned as instructors to contact households and other methods to explain the spirit of the 12th Party Congress documents. These methods have achieved rather good results and also have something to recommend themselves.

In brief, leading comrades of bodies of the party and the government at all levels must use their heads, thoroughly conduct studies and research, promptly summarize the good methods for studying the 12th Party Congress documents and popularize them among the masses, strengthen leadership, and solidly and

dramatically launch our province's 12th Party Congress document study activities. Any method that is adopted must be done so based on the special features and situations of each locale and should never be copied mechanically. Whatever method is used, strive for substantial results and avoid formalism. Only this way can study activities be brought deeply and healthily among the people, which will then cause the spirit of the 12th Party Congress documents to strike root in the hearts of the people by the day and become a formidable force for making new breakthroughs in each item of work.

9926

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## PARTY AND STATE

### STRICT PARTY DISCIPLINE REGARDED AS GUARANTEE FOR VICTORY

Taiyuan SHANXI RIBAO in Chinese 29 Oct 82 p 3

[Article by Zhao Weiji [6392 4850 1015], Deputy Secretary of Shanxi Provincial Commission for Discipline Inspection: "Iron Discipline Is the Guarantee of Victory"]

[Text] The new party constitution adopted by the 12th party congress puts forward stricter demands than previous ones on all party members, party cadres and basic level organizations. Among the requirements, the most important one involves the relatively complete and concrete provisions for party discipline. In the main, they are: 1) Implement the principle that everybody is equal before the party discipline and strongly forbid the existence of extraordinary party members who do not take the party in the party's organizational life and who refuse to accept supervision by the party and the masses; 2) Demand that each party member must strictly abide by party discipline and state law. Those who violate the law should not only be censured by the party but also be punished in accordance with the law and thereby subject to legal sanction. Those who seriously violate criminal laws must be expelled from the party' 3) A party organization which seriously violates party discipline and fails to correct itself should be reorganized or disbanded in accordance with the decision of its upper-level party committee depending on the degree of seriousness of the case involved; 4) in implementing discipline the relevant producer of the provision of the party constitution must be strictly adhered to and the rights of party members respected, while violation of this provision shall also be subject to penalties of the party discipline.

Furthermore, the new party constitution makes certain provisionf for the party discipline inspection organ. Such provisions have enhanced the state of discipline inspection work and increased its responsibility, so that this commission possesses a complete system from to bottom and strengthens its power of jurisdiction.

Why must the new party constitution make such exacting demands on party discipline? This is because discipline is an important weapon to safeguard the implementation of the party line, principles, policies and

resolutions, to defend the party's solidarity and unity, to consolidate the close relationship between the party and the masses, as well as serving as a fundamental guarantee to attain victory in revolutionary undertakings.

First of all, only by strengthening party discipline can the party's solidarity and unity be safeguarded and the thorough execution of its line, principles, policies and decisions be guaranteed. Our party as a whole is united and unified. However, due to various reasons, certain differences in opinion and policy have unavoidably cropped up within the phenomena of disunity and dissonance. To sum up, these phenomena may be classified into several types. One is that due to incorrect ideological line, certain party members do not understand the party's line, principles and policies and, consequently, they fail to firmly implement them and even unconsciously harp on a discordant tune. The second is that under the influence of liberalization of the bourgeoisie, they question and disown the four basic principles, depart from and oppose the party's leadership. The third is that certain party members imbued with traits of individualism, egotism and factionalism are only concerned with their selfish benefit within their small circle in total disregard of the party and its long-term interests, therefore they are in dissension and discord with the party, their behavior deviating from the party's line, principles and policies. The fourth involves those unaccounted-for remnants of the "great cultural revolution," those who rode to power by rebelling with Lin Biao and Jiang Qing, those who were seriously involved in factionalism and those who engaged in beating, smashing and looting. After the smashing of the "gang of four," their standpoint remained unchanged and they continued to play and form factionalism and even sabotage the party's unity. Moreover, there were some people who opposed the Party Centrum's line after the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CPC. There are people who seriously violate the law in the economic field and a few other bad elements who became party members without undergoing the proper procedures and, as soon as conditions turn ripe, they will rise and oppose the party's line, principles and policies and carry out activities to split and sabotage the party. Therefore, in order to safeguard the party's unity and solidarity, we must guarantee the thorough implementation of the party's line, principles and policies and in order to guarantee the maintenance of unanimity with the Party Centrum in the political field, we must have a most strict, uniform party discipline.

Secondly, only by strengthening party discipline can we consolidate and develop the close relationship between the party and the masses. We are aware that our socialist undertakings are the undertakings of one billion people. The party must maintain the closest possible relationship with the masses and rely on the strength of the masses in order to fulfill its tasks. To achieve this, it is necessary for the great masses of our party members to consciously at all times abide by the party discipline, maintain the party's superior work style and safeguard the people's interests, and to fight against all phenomena detrimental to the people's benefit so that the party's prestige can be consolidated and enhanced in the minds of the people.

Thirdly, only by strengthening party discipline can we plug all loopholes and prevent the recurrence of such counterrevolutionary incidents as the "gang of four." Why was it that, during the "great cultural revolution," the two counterrevolutionary groups of Lin Biao and Jiang Qing could run rampant for a considerable period? It was because they utilized a portion of power they wrested into their hands to penetrate into the loosely-disciplined space, which resulted in a deluge of anarchist ideas, factionalism, evil trends and an increase in cases of law violations as well as grievances and injustices. We must remember and learn from this bitter lesson always.

The 12th party congress has drawn up a new set of militant program to carry on with its eradication of negative effect left behind after ten years of internal strife and to create an all-embracing new situation for our socialist modernizations. However, the militant tasks put forward by the 12th party congress can absolutely not be achieved in a facile manner, because they need the full support, dedication and high-level unity of the entire comrades of our party. If a party permits its members to do as he likes or to act freely, it will become a heap of loose sand and achieve nothing. Only by exercising a strict discipline can the party better play the role of core of leadership. Without a strict and clear-cut discipline for a governing party in a country with 1 billion population, there cannot be national unity or solidarity among its people, nor can there be victory for socialist and communist undertakings! Therefore, everyone of us communist party members must follow the provisions of the new party constitution, consciously accept the restrictions of the party discipline, and consciously maintain our identity with the party Central Committee in ideology and deed. Every party member, irrespective of seniority, position or contribution, must without exception abide by the party's discipline and strive to become a qualified communist party member.

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PARTY AND STATE

TAIYUAN TRAINS 3,000 PUBLICISTS

Taiyuan SHANXI RIBAO in Chinese 23 Oct 82 p 1

[Article by Shi Wu [1597 2976] and Xie Wende [6200 2429 1795]: "Taiyuan Trains Over 3,000 Key Publicists. Bring Deeply Among the People the Studying of the 12th Congress Documents"]

[Text] To study and publicize better the 12th Party Congress documents, the Taiyuan municipal CPC committee propaganda department and party school, the municipal federation of trade unions, and the CYL municipal committee each recently conducted seven to ten day classes to train leading cadres and theoretical mainstays. In all, more than 3,000 people took part.

For the most part, these training classes had the following characteristics: First, they began early. The class to train leading cadres in rotation that was held by the municipal CPC party school officially began on the second day after the conclusion of the 12th Party Congress, and other training classes also began before the 17th of last month. Secondly, student morale was high. Thirdly, instructors prepared lessons in advance and their lectures were understandable. Fourth, good methods. This training mostly used the combined method of group lectures and small group discussions, which not only cut down on expenses, but also closely linked together the training of these mainstays with the studying being done by the cadres and masses.

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## PARTY AND STATE

### SEVENTH PEOPLE'S CONGRESS CONVENED IN TAIYUAN

Taiyuan SHANXI RIBAO in Chinese 17 Oct 82 p 1

[Article: "Yue Weifan [1471 4850 5672] Elected Chairman of the Municipal People's Congress Standing Committee, Wang Maolin [3769 5399 2651] Elected Mayor; Taiyuan Convenes First Session of Seventh People's Congress; Li Haoshan [2621 1170 1472] Elected Chairman at First Plenary Session of the Sixth Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference"]

[Text] From 22 September to 28 September the city of Taiyuan solemnly convened the first session of the Seventh People's Congress, at which the mayor and deputy mayors of the Taiyuan municipal people's government were elected. This session followed the Sixth People's Congress of 16 years ago and was convened under the good circumstances of completing the arduous task of bringing order out of chaos and bringing about a great historical transition, just at the time when people throughout the city were studying and implementing the spirit of the 12th Party Congress documents.

Before the congress, all the representatives to the congress met at Lakeside Hall to hear a report on the grand occasion and spirit of the 12th Party Congress given by Wang Xiujin [3769 4937 6930], provincial CPC standing committee member and representative to the 12th Party Congress. The congress' opening ceremonies were presided over by comrade Li Xiuren [2621 0208 0088], first secretary of the municipal CPC committee and presiding chairman of the congress. With the spirit of the 12th Congress as its guiding principle, the congress was divided into two stages. The first stage summed up the earnest implementation of the lines, principles, and policies formulated by the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, the elimination of the "leftist" influence, and the successes achieved on the industrial and agricultural, urban construction, cultural and commercial, and other fronts, all of which have occurred in over three years. During the congress the representatives put forth 381 proposals and recommendations and expressed many constructive opinions for acting in the spirit of the 12th Party Congress documents and comprehensively making new breakthroughs in the socialist modernization construction that will build Taiyuan into a modernized metropolis that has reached the highest level of socialism's spiritual and material civilization.

The second stage of the congress was devoted to holding elections. Comrade Yue Weifan was elected chairman of the standing committee of the municipal people's congress and Li Wangxian [2621 2489 0341], Lai Bingliang [0171 4426 5328], and Qu Yongshan [798 0737 0810] were elected vice chairmen. Comrade Weng Maolin was elected mayor and Cao Xiaoyu [2580 2400 4416], Jin Shiwei [2516 0013 0251], and Li Shulin [2621 2885 2651] were elected deputy mayors. These elections fully embodied the spirit of the party's 12th Congress, implemented the principles of doing things in a revolutionary way, mastering intellectual work, replenishing the ranks with younger people, and specialization, and brought about cooperation and the replacement of the old with the new. Many revered senior cadres have heard the party's call and, with the importance of the causes of the party and state in mind, have gladly withdrawn to the second line and have enthusiastically given their support to the middle aged and younger cadres' shouldering the burden of leadership. The average age of the newly elected mayor and deputy mayors is 53.2 years, 11 years below that of the previous leaders. Representatives who attended the congress believe that the members of this group are in the primes of their lives and have both ability and political integrity.

9926

CSO: 4005/182

## PARTY AND STATE

### CHINA YOUTH LEAGUE TRAINS KEY PROMOTERS

Taiyuan SHANXI RIBAO in Chinese 29 Oct 82 p 3

[Article by Lin Yunzhuo [2651 0061 3504]: "China Youth League Concludes Training Session For Key Promoters of 12th Party Congress Documents"]

[Text] The class to train key promoters of the 12th Party Congress documents that was held by the Shanxi provincial committee of the CYL concluded in Xiyang county on 17 October. At the conclusion of this training session, Zhang Weiqing [1728 4850 1987], secretary of the league provincial committee, required of league organizations at every level that they play a leading role in the course of studying and propagating the 12th Party Congress documents, do the most that they can to mobilize the vast teenagers to continue to develop thoroughly the "five stresses and four points of beauty" activities, and particularly do well the work of assisting those youths who have lagged behind or taken a wrong turn and accelerating fundamental improvements in social practices.

This training class began on 6 October and more than 250 people from throughout the province took part, including representatives from each locality (municipality) and county, each institute of higher learning, each major industrial enterprise, and league committee secretaries from each office under provincial jurisdiction. Leading comrades and theoretical workers of the provincial CPC committee organization and propaganda departments, provincial CPC committee party school, and provincial planning committee guided the students in the studying of special topics in the 12th Party Congress documents. Leading comrades of the Jinzhong local committee and Xiyang county committee briefed the students on the profound changes that have taken place in Xiyang county since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee. The training class also organized all of the students to take part in Xiyang county's "five stresses and four points of beauty" cleaning day activities.

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## MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

### PARTY DISCIPLINE EMPHASIZED IN GUANGZHOU ARMED FORCES

Guangzhou NANFANG RIBAO in Chinese 19 Nov 82 p 1

[Article by Xiang Mingaci [0686 2494 6299] and Liu Elin [0491 5501 2651]: "You Taizhong [1429 1132 1813] and Wang Meng [3769 3718] Spoke of the Need to Correct Party Style Beginning With The Leadership and Enforce Party Style Within The Leadership During Discipline Committee Secretary Meeting for Guangzhou Units Above Army Level"]

[Text] The Guangzhou armed forces called a meeting of discipline committee secretaries of units above the army level during November 8 to 15. Based on the spirit of the CPC 12th National Congress and the Plenary meeting of the Central Discipline Inspection Commission, the meeting analyzed the party style of the armed forces and studied the problems of properly carrying out the discipline inspection work under the new situation and achieving a fundamental improvement of party style.

Commander You Taizhong of the Guangzhou armed forces and Comrade Wang Meng, political commissar, pointed out that the Guangzhou armed forces were relatively seriously affected by the poison of Lin Biao and the "gang of four." Moreover, the armed forces are stationed next to Macao and Hong Kong and are in the front line of struggle against Vietnam. The elimination of the erroneous ideologies of the "left" and the right and resistance to the corruption of the capitalist ideology are especially important. Various levels of party committees and discipline committees must maintain a clear head and clearly recognize the special environment that the armed forces are in.

In their talks, they emphasized that carrying out the spirit of the 12th National Congress, correcting party style, and enforcing party discipline must start by the leadership and with the leadership. Various levels of party committees must deal with the truth and not worry about face-saving, persist with the principles, have the courage to struggle, and vigorously publicize model advanced units and individuals that carry out the new party regulations and "code of conduct". With regard to problems within the leadership groups, they must be corrected immediately when they are discovered and must not wait passively until the time of overall party reform. With regard to problems with leading cadres, they must be handled

on a level by level basis and treated strictly and conscientiously. When important problems occur in the armed forces, at the same time that the responsibility of the person in charge is determined, the responsibilities of the primary leading cadre and the leader in charge of the work involved must also be determined. It must not be strict down below and lenient at the top. The handling of a problem must not be muddled through by placing the responsibility on the entire party committee. Investigating down below and not at the top must not be permitted at all. In the determination of a problem, we must persist with principles, handle it as an official business and not on the basis of personal relationships. We must not minimize its or ignore, tolerate, or wink at it because of any old personal relationship.

Comrades You Taizhong and Wang Meng emphasized that the various levels of party committees must strengthen their direction of the work of the discipline committees and provide them with effective support. During the investigation and handling of important problems, the principal leader must participate personally. When resistance is encountered, support should be provided to the discipline committees so that it will be able to do their work without worry, develop their influence fully, and strive to achieve a basic improvement of the party style with determination and without rest.

5974

CSO: 4005/190

## MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

### GUANGDONG ARMY LEADERS STUDY CONGRESS DOCUMENTS

Guangzhou NANFANG RIBAO in Chinese 7 Nov 82 p 1

[Article by Wang Jining [3769 1015 1380] and Ye Sui [0673 4482]:  
"Principal Leaders Handle Top Events With Primary Energy; Guangzhou  
Units Called Meeting of Army Commanders, Political Commissars Provincial  
Military Region Commanders and Political Commissars to Discuss Ways of  
Continuous and Intensive Study of the CPC 12th National Congress Documents"]

[Text] On November 2-3 You Taizhong [1429 1132 1813], Commander, and Wang Meng [3769 3718], Political Commissar, Guangzhou Army Units, and other leading members called a meeting of commanders and political commissars of various armies and provincial army regions to specially discuss the problem of the intensive study of the CPC 12th National Congress documents. It was raised at the meeting that the principal leadership cadres must use their primary energy to handle the study of the 12th National Congress documents as a major event. The study must be related to realities. The erroneous influence of the "left" and right must be cleansed, especially the ideological influence of the "left."

Through an analysis of the conditions of study, participants at the meeting felt that during the first part of the study, the cadre fighters have achieved notable results in grasping and mastering the spirits of the documents, in improving understanding, and in unifying ideology. In all units, 80 percent of the cadres above the regiment level have participated in studying on a centralized basis. Various large units have trained a large group of publicizing speakers and established speaking points in companies. Heated discussions have been developed on the requirements of the Party Central Committee and have been directed at problems which exist in the learning. Surrounding the problem of the intensive application of the learning, studies have been carried in terms of understanding and methods.

First, ideological mobilization must be intensified and understanding from the study of the 12th National Congress documents further strengthened. The feeling of being satisfied with the mere reading and discussion of the documents and of "that's about enough" of stopping with a little knowledge must be prevented and overcome. The study of the 12th National Congress documents must continue to be treated as a major event by the

party committee. Principal leadership cadres must use their primary energy to take hold of this matter. This is particularly true with immediate heavy and detailed tasks, which must be arranged scientifically to persistently stress this priority of studying of the 12th National Congress documents.

Study must be carried out deeply and must be closely related to the thoughts and work realities of the individual army outfit, unit, or department. During study, the leading cadres must consciously include themselves in the process. In ideology, the erroneous influence of the "left" and the right must be cleaned up, especially the ideological influence of the "left." The more thorough the "left" influence is cleaned up, the deeper will be the understanding of the party line, principles, and policies established since the 3rd Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee and the practices will be more consciously carried out. For the poor understanding which exists among the fighting cadres and the questions they raise, the leading cadres should clear them up or answer them by the results of their own learning. During the meeting, questions reflected by the units in their studies were cleared up. It was believed that the important problems must be studied deeply and cleared up by the leading units.

Participants of the meeting believe that the conscious application of the spirit of the 12th National Congress documents to various work, starting from onw and with each person individually and creating a new situation in the army construction, is an important reflection of the depth of study. This requires that every leading cadres must use the guiding ideology and principles and policies established by the 12th National Congress to direct the entire work of the units. Every comrade must use the spirit of the 12th National Congress to guide his actions. Various units must use the spirit of the 12th National Congress documents to establish plans and measures for creating a new situation. In carrying out a certain concrete task and certain concrete work, the units must be guided by the spirit of the 12th National Congress. Many of the leading cadres at the meeting expressed that they themselves must first arouse their spirit so that they will be in a good position to lead in demonstrating the communist spirit and they can direct the units to create a new situation with a revolutionary courage and resourcefulness and realistic attitude.

Zhu Yunqian [2612 0061 6197], Assistant Director of the General Political Department, came to the meeting to listen to the reports and also gave a talk.

5974

CSO: 4005/190

## SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

### ARTICLE ON INTERPRETING CENSUS COMMUNIQUE

HK100619 Beijing BEIJING REVIEW in English No 48, 29 Nov 82 pp 13, 14

[Article by Hou Wenruo, assistant researcher at the Research Institute of Demography of the Chinese People's University: "How to Interpret the Census Communique"--passages within slantlines published in boldface]

[Text] On 27 October, China released the major figures from its third national census (see Issue No. 45). Post-enumeration sampling checks detected a population overcount of 0.71 per thousand and an undercount of 0.56 per thousand, with a net overcount of only 0.15 per thousand. This confirms the accuracy of this census, which is unprecedented in scale throughout the world. As a demographer, I would like to make the following observations.

/Initial results in population control./ According to the recent census figures, on 1 July 1982, China had a population of 1,031,882,551, an increase of 313,593,529 over the 1964 national census, with an average annual growth of 2.1 percent over the past 18 years. In terms of demography, this growth rate is still quite high. It is conceivable that if China had not introduced a family planning programme in both the urban and rural areas as early as in the 1970s, its population growth rate would have been shockingly high today and its total population would soar to 1,500 million by the year 2000.

The 12th National Party Congress called for quadrupling China's gross annual industrial and agricultural output value by the end of the century and keeping the nation's population within 1,200 million so that the average per-capita national income can reach 1,200 yuan by then. Without population planning, our modernization drive as well as the improvement of our people's standard of living will be impeded. Our population control policy over the past decade has achieved initial results. But we are still confronted with an arduous task in this field.

/A new baby boom./ The communique reports that China's 1981 natural population increase rate was 1.46 percent, reduced by one half from the figure of 1970, the year when the family planning programme was introduced. But, compared with the period between 1976 and 1980, it has picked up again. This forecasts a new baby boom in China, mainly caused by the fact that the children born in the two baby booms in the mid-1950s and the 1960s have reached

child-bearing age in the 1980s. The coming decade is not expected to see a significant reduction of our population growth rate. In addition, the 1981 marriage law reduced the legal minimum marriage ages by 5-8 years (to 20 for women and 22 for men) compared with the minimum ages of late marriage stipulated by various places when the family planning programme was introduced. This has boosted the number of people bearing children. Population control, therefore, has become an imminent problem in China and can allow for no negligence.

/Scientific and cultural quality of the population should be enhanced./ The communique says that of every 100,000 people in China, 599 have received university education. Therefore, the population's scientific and cultural quality has been improved since the previous census (in 1964, only 416 of every 100,000 received university education). But we still lag far behind the developed countries in this respect. Many countries' experiences prove that without an adequate number of people with higher education, a nation cannot update its science and technology nor can it go about its production and management creatively, thus making it extremely difficult to realize modernization.

This census also found that in 1982, among the population aged 12 and above, 236 million are illiterate or semi-literate. Although the illiteracy and semi-literacy in the total population has dropped from 38.1 percent in the 1964 census to 23.5 percent today, the absolute number of illiterate and semi-literate people in China is only 27 million fewer. By contrast, only 2 percent (or less) of the population of developed countries is semi-illiterate or illiterate.

Thus, to achieve socialist modernization, our population's scientific and cultural quality must be greatly enhanced.

/Sex composition conforms to the regular pattern./ On a global scale, the number of males and females is more or less equal. This has been true for centuries and has become a regular pattern. In countries where birth registration is regular, the proportion of males to females fluctuates between 104-107 to 100. According to this census, in 1982, China's males account for 51.5 percent while females account for 48.5 percent, the proportion of males to females being 106.3 to 100. This maintenance of the traditional proportion of males to females tells that so far our practice of "one couple one child" has not unbalanced the national sex composition.

/Towards progressive population development./ According to the census figures, China's 1981 birthrate was 20.91 per thousand, which was not only much lower than China's birth rates in the 1950s and the 1960s but was also lower than other developing countries' 1981 average birthrate of 32 per thousand. The figure, however, approached the 1981 level of the developed countries--an average of 16 per thousand. This indicates that China's population development is transforming from a high birthrate to a low birthrate, a progressive type of population growth.

According to the census figures, China's 1981 mortality rate was 6.36 per thousand which, compared with the figures of other countries, was among the most advanced levels in the world. In 1981, Brunei registered the lowest mortality rate in the world--4 per thousand--followed by Singapore, 5 per thousand, and Japan, 6 per thousand. The low mortality rate we achieved should be attributed to the government's care for the health of women and children and the vigorous development of medical and health services in China.

In the future, with the call of "one couple one child" gradually taking root in the hearts of the people, and after the 1980s baby boom subsidies, China's birthrate will be brought down further. In the 1990s, with this expected reduction of both the birthrate and mortality rate, China will usher in a progressive type of population development characterized by a low birthrate, a low mortality rate and a low natural increase rate.

CSO: 4005/216

## SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

### MORE TIBETANS ASSUME LEADERSHIP POSITIONS

HK100655 Beijing BEIJING REVIEW in English No 48, 29 Nov 82 pp 14-17

[Article by "Our" Correspondent Jing Wei: "Tibet: An Inside View (II); More Tibetans Assume Leadership"]

[Text] [Editor's note] This is the second part of a series on Tibet. Part One, "Tibet: An Inside View (I)--interview with the autonomous regional government chairman," appeared in our last issue. [End editor's note]

As developing an indigenous leadership is the key to the implementation of autonomy in the minority regions of China, it is interesting to see just what the situation is in Tibet.

From 200 to 30,000

During my two months in Tibet, I was mostly received by leaders and officials of the Tibetan nationality. They worked in party and government departments, administrative offices and institutions at all levels, in Lhasa, the region's capital, the county seats, and the pastoral areas.

Shortly after the peaceful liberation of Tibet in 1951, there were only 200 Tibetan cadres in the whole region. By the end of 1981, 29,406 were Tibetan, not including 9,000 part-time cadres at the commune level.

This has radically changed the composition of Tibet's leadership. Today Tibetan and other non-Han cadres are in the majority. The cadre department of the Tibet Autonomous Region provided the following statistics:

| Year | Cadres of Tibetan Nationality | Proportion of Total (Percentage) |
|------|-------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 1951 | 200                           | --                               |
| 1965 | 7,508                         | 32.9                             |
| 1978 | 20,023                        | 44.5                             |
| 1981 | 29,046                        | 54.4                             |

Including part-time cadres at the commune level, 39,000 of the cadres are of Tibetan or other non-Han nationalities. They make up more than 60 percent of the total. As more cadres of the Han nationality are transferred back to other parts of China in the next few years, Tibetans and other minority nationalities will comprise two-thirds of the total.

Full-time cadres are paid by the state and include officials in party or government offices and professional workers such as doctors, engineers, teachers and editors.

Part-time cadres have specific grass-roots duties and receive part of their income from the state and part from their own productive labour.

#### Assuming Key Positions

The maturing of the Tibetan leadership is evident in their increasing numbers, but more importantly, in their promotion to important positions. Almost all the heads of party and government organizations at all levels in the region are Tibetan.

--At regional party and government level, the first party secretary, who is of Han nationality, is the only exception. The chairmen of the government and of the standing committee of the Regional People's Congress are Tibetan.

--At the prefectural and city level, the first party secretaries and commissioners of five prefectures, the first party secretary of Lhasa, its mayor and the chairman of the standing committee of the People's Congress are Tibetan. (Since the state organ at the prefectural level is an agency of the autonomous region government, there are no people's congresses at that level.)

--In all 75 counties of Tibet, all county chairmen and chairmen of the standing committees of the people's congresses are Tibetan, as are 58, or 77.3 percent, of the county party secretaries.

--All district chairmen and party secretaries and commune chairmen are of Tibetan or other minority nationalities.

The departmental and bureau directors and the president of the Academy of Social Sciences I interviewed are Tibetan. I also met with many Tibetan professional workers such as Basang Puchi, a 37-year-old experienced gynaecologist and obstetrician who is deputy director of the Autonomous Region Hospital. Yexi Dainzin, 41, a graduate of the Central Academy of Fine Arts in Beijing and author of a novel about the Tibetan people's life, is vice-chairman of the Tibet Writers' Association.

Does this mean there is no need for Han cadres in Tibet? Not at all. In fact, many veteran Han cadres, now retired from important positions, are passing on their experiences to recently promoted Tibetan cadres. Many Han cadres with professional expertise are devoting their energies to building the new Tibet. As one Tibetan leader noted: "We still need the genuine help of our Han comrades. Hu Yaobang was quite right when he said that the Han people need the help of the minority nationalities and vice versa."

## Road to Leadership

When several Tibetan cadres were asked how people of their nationality became leaders, they each spoke about their own different experiences. But all of them mentioned three basic factors that had contributed to their growth: First, party education; second, help of veteran Han comrades; and third, their own efforts.

Gyaco, 44, vice-chairman of the autonomous region government, was a hired shepherd before the liberation of Tibet. After joining the revolution at the age of 14, with the help of the party, he learnt to read and write and studied revolutionary theories. Since the early 1960s, he has been workshop party branch secretary, factory party committee secretary, vice-director and then director of the industrial bureau. In 1980, he was promoted to his present post. His knowledge and administrative experience were gained mainly in the course of his work.

Dainzin, 36, deputy editor-in-chief of XIZANG RIBAO (Tibet daily), was once a Serf. After the democratic reform, he was sent to study at the Tibet Institute for Nationalities, the Central Institute for Nationalities in Beijing and the Journalism Department of Fudan University in Shanghai. In the past dozen years or so, he worked for the XIZANG RIBAO. From an ordinary correspondent, he rose up the ranks to become deputy editor-in-chief in 1980. He also has received awards for a novel and an essay. Not long ago he was elected vice-president of the Tibetan Federation of Literature and Art Circles.

Xuikang, 59, vice-chairman of the autonomous region government and head of the cultural bureau, is a former aristocrat and fifth-rank official of the old Tibetan local government.

After the liberation of Tibet, he supported the policies of the Communist Party of China and fought staunchly for the unity of the country. Later he became a communist and held the posts of vice-president of the Tibet Youth Federation, deputy secretary of the Tibet Committee of the Communist Youth League and deputy secretary-general of the Tibet People's Political Consultative Conference. During the "cultural revolution," he was criticized and demoted. While on an inspection tour in Tibet in 1980, Hu Yaobang, general secretary of the Chinese Communist Party, personally nominated him for an important official post.

Most of today's Tibetan cadres are liberated Serfs who have been trained and promoted. Others are patriotic former local officials or youths from aristocratic families. All of them are working toward a common goal -- to build a united and prosperous new Tibet.

## Problems and Their Solution

It is inspiring to see many Tibetan leaders emerging. However, there are still problems, some quite conspicuous. "The lack of scientific and technological personnel is the key problem," said Vice-Chairman Gyaco, talking about industrial construction. "There is a great gap between the present

level of Tibetan leaders and the needs of Tibet's modernization drive," said a personnel spokesman. The "gap" here means, first, the low educational level, and second, the lack of professional expertise.

Why have the past 30 years not provided a basic framework of science and technology? Historical factors have been compounded by ideological errors. Because Tibet was extremely underdeveloped before its liberation, the illiteracy rate was over 95 percent and there were practically no science and engineering personnel. After Tibet's peaceful liberation, the feudal Serf system remained intact. The oppressed Serfs did not have even personal freedoms. The training of cadres was severely limited at that time.

Following the quelling of the rebellion in 1959 and the subsequent democratic reform, the party selected and trained many liberated Serfs to become cadres. But then, "left" ideological deviations, the overemphasis on political moments delayed the training of cadres in science and technology.

What is the remedy to this situation? Since 1980, this question has attracted much attention. Last year, the Tibet party committee established an administrative department in charge of training, promoting and transferring scientific and technological workers have been sent to study in colleges or technical schools.

The autonomous region government has drawn up a cadre training plan. According to this plan, various measures are to be adopted to strengthen the general education and professional training of cadres. By now the autonomous region, the prefectures, cities, counties, departments and bureaus have all set up their own general education schools or classes to which cadres will be released from work and trained group by group. All cadres in Tibet are required to reach at least a middle school level within five years. The autonomous region government, while stressing politics, health and age in selecting and promoting cadres, also pays attention to educational and professional levels.

The plan also reiterates the importance of developing education in the autonomous region, of continuing to send students to universities and colleges in other provinces of the country for further studies, and of enlisting those with special skills or talents wherever they may be found in society.

CSO: 4005/216

## SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

### 'NINGXIA RIBAO' URGES POLITICAL DISCIPLINE

HK060433 Yingchuan NINGXIA RIBAO in Chinese 21 Nov 82 p 3

["Ideological Commentary" by Jiang Yang (3068 2254): "A Most Important Political Discipline"]

[Text] In its report at the 12th CPC National Congress, the central commission for inspecting discipline pointed out: "All politically, all party members and the leading cadres at all levels in particular, must stay firmly in line with the CPC Central Committee; this is a most important political discipline. To violate the political discipline, and to resist and oppose the party line principles and policies, are serious violations of party discipline." In order to consolidate party solidarity and unity and enhance the party's fighting effectiveness, politically, it is urgently necessary to acquire a better understanding of the importance and necessity of being in line with the CPC Central Committee, to earnestly implement this most important discipline, and to resolutely eliminate the phenomena of seriously violating party discipline which do greatest harm. This is a duty that each party member should fulfill.

Politically, party members should be in line with the CPC Central Committee. This is the traditional work style and important guideline to which our party has consistently adhered and manifests the high level of party spirit and principle. The 1941 "CPC Central Committee resolution on strengthening party spirit" emphasized: "We should lay more stress on the importance of unity, centralism, and subordination to Central Committee leadership." Each party member should resolutely implement the ideological, political and organizational lines of the party Central Committee, and stay in line with the party Central Committee while taking political action for the realization of the party line. Before a resolution is adopted, the party allows and advocates the airing of different opinions, in particular, study, which serves to resolve the new questions emerging in socialist modernization. After a resolution has been adopted by the party, if any party member holds divergent views on it, he may have reservations and submit his opinions to the CPC Central Committee directly or with the help of the party organization, under the prerequisite that he resolutely implements the resolution. However, before the resolution has been altered by the party, a party member should abide by it and he is not allowed to violate it in his action or spread any idea which makes people cast doubt upon, feel unsatisfied with and oppose

the resolution. Thus, the party is able to exercise unified leadership, to become the vanguard of the working class with unified discipline, and to become a real leading core of the socialist cause in the country.

Today, politically, it is more important than ever to lay stress on taking unified action in line with the CPC Central Committee. This is because, on the one hand, it is urgently necessary to strengthen the unity of the whole party under the great banner of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong thought, in order to create a new situation in socialist modernization and to lead the people to carry out the combat programme and task by taking concerted action, and on the other, because we have a reliable CPC Central Committee which knows how to cope with complicated situations, how to lead the people to overcome difficulties and how to win victory. With courage and resourcefulness and high level of art of leadership, the CPC Central Committee is adept in integrating Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong thought with the practical conditions, providing correct direction, waging ideological tendencies and constantly leading us to create a new situation. Therefore, only by strengthening our unity under the CPC Central Committee, and politically, taking unified action in line with it, can we represent the people and their interests, and advance victoriously along the correct political track provided by the party Central Committee.

Now, there are some comrades who misunderstand why it is necessary to unite under the CPC Central Committee. Citing as a pretext that the CPC Central Committee has in the past made mistakes, some comrades doubt this important political discipline. These comrades are unaware that it is precisely our party Central Committee which in the revolutionary spirit of the truth of Marxism and of bearing a high sense of responsibility to the people, has conducted historical and correct self-criticism and made scientific analysis and criticism of the "leftist" tendency which had been existing for years and the mistakes made by Comrade Mao Zedong in his later years, and re-established the Marxist ideological, political and organizational line. Politically, by holding identical views with the CPC Central Committee, we will be able to avoid taking the same disastrous road. Comrade Deng Xiaoping seriously pointed out: "The mistakes which the Central Committee made have been corrected and nobody is allowed to resist the Central Committee leadership under this pretext. Only with the whole party strictly subordinated to the Central Committee, will the party be able to lead the people of the country to strive to realize the great task of modernization." To uphold party political discipline greatly benefits the party as well as the people. This is question of right and wrong. No suspicion or vacillation is allowed.

Our party has persisted in and developed the ideological line based on seeking truth from facts in the new practice since the 3d plenary session of the 11th CPC Central Committee.

The party has repeatedly stressed that the party line, principles, and policies are to be implemented in the light of the specific conditions of the localities, departments and units, and are not to be copied mechanically. However, this does not mean that anybody may do as he pleases, or

politically, go on his own way. Otherwise, our party will fail to become a militant collective, to seek unity of will and to have fighting effectiveness. Practice has proved that the CPC Central Committee line, principles and policies are correct and that to go one's own way, to decide on matters for oneself and to have one's own policy are phenomena that endanger and violate party discipline. Those who have seriously violated the party political discipline or have been against the line of the 3d plenary session of the 11th CPC Central Committee are not to be promoted or given an important position, in accordance with party discipline.

Politically, in order to ensure the unity of the whole party with the Central Committee, all party members must, first of all, act in unison by persevering in the fundamental issue of the four basic principles and implementing the policies and tasks put forward by the 12th CPC National Congress. We should conscientiously study the 12th Congress documents, and reach a common understanding based on the 12th Congress spirit. Specifically, we must not only oppose those who attempt to go back to the "leftist" trends of the erroneous theories and policies during and prior to the "cultural revolution," but also oppose the rightist tendency of bourgeois liberalism in suspecting and ignoring the four basic principles. "A high degree of ideological and political unity" is a fundamental demand put forward by the new party constitution. While carrying out the strategic task of creating a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization set forth by the 12th Congress, ideologically and politically, let us fulfill the task of the new party constitution and further strengthen the party's fighting effectiveness in order to achieve a change for the better in the party style by taking unified action under the party Central Committee.

CSO: 4005/216

## SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

### 'BEIJING REVIEW' ON POLICY TOWARD INTELLECTUALS

HK140818 Beijing BEIJING REVIEW in English No 49, 6 Dec 82 pp 3, 4

["Notes from the Editors" Column by Cultural Editor Xin Xiangrong: "About Intellectuals"]

[Text] How and why has China's policy towards intellectuals changed?

China's current policy towards intellectuals is quite different from the policy during the 60s and 70s. The major alterations are: "Left" mistakes that governed policy for a considerably long time have been corrected, intellectuals have regained their appropriate political and social positions, and the nation has recognized the importance of their role in the ongoing modernization drive.

To explain such changes, it is necessary to give a brief rundown of history.

The old society left new China in its infancy with about 2 million intellectuals. Most of them were of exploiting class origins, received a bourgeois education and served the old Chinese rulers. As they were attached to the bourgeoisie, their political stand, ideology and sentiments were different from those of the workers and peasants.

After coming to power, the Chinese Communist Party actively rallied these intellectuals in the service of new China and adopted the policy of "uniting, educating and remoulding" intellectuals, that is, unite them to carry out revolution and national construction, educate and help them to change their political stand and world outlook. In line with this policy, intellectuals throughout the nation were organized to study Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong thought; they were given jobs, and proper arrangements were made for them. Many participated in the land reform and other movements to transform the society, which gave them the chance to educate and steel themselves.

At a national conference on intellectuals in 1956, Premier Zhou Enlai proclaimed on behalf of the party Central Committee that the overwhelming majority of intellectuals were employed in government organizations and enterprises and were serving the cause of socialism, and so they had become part of the working class. The conference stressed that in building socialism it was imperative to rely on the workers, peasants and intellectuals.

This affirmed that the party policy towards intellectuals had been successfully implemented and tremendous changes had taken place among China's intellectuals.

Unfortunately, in the ensuing years, especially in the 10-year "cultural revolution," the party committed "left" errors in its guiding thought, which included the discarding of its correct assessment of intellectuals and correct policy towards them. The upshot was they were again labelled as "bourgeois intellectuals." Many who had made outstanding accomplishments and contributions were discriminated against and some were even attacked and persecuted by the gang of four.

After the smashing of the gang of four in 1976 and particularly after the third plenum of the 11th Party Central Committee towards the end of 1978, the party Central Committee reassessed the situation of China's intellectuals and devoted major efforts to correcting the "left" deviationist mistakes prevalent in the previous years, while repeatedly affirming that intellectuals are part of the working class.

This represented a major policy change, which required the society to rely on intellectuals and trust them as members of the revolutionary ranks and to give them full opportunities to play positive roles.

In the meantime, the party redressed large numbers of false charges, frame-ups and wrong sentences of previous years, assigned appropriate jobs and promoted numerous competent intellectuals to leading posts.

Whenever and wherever possible, efforts have been made to improve intellectuals' working and living conditions. The change in the party's policy and a series of related measures adopted in the last few years have catalysed tremendous changes in the mental outlook of China's intellectuals. They have become full participants in the modernization drive and the mainstay in such fields as science and technology, culture and education, medical service and public health.

China's renewed emphasis on the role and position of intellectuals worries some of our well-intentioned foreign friends who fear that this could engender "intellectual aristocrats" in China and give rise to class polarization between the "blue collars" and the "white collars." Such worry is unnecessary. In fact, sustained efforts will be necessary to ensure the implementation of the revamped party policy before intellectuals can really be confident of their role as a force the nation relies on and treated as equals by workers, peasants and soldiers. We are still combating the erroneous tendency to discriminate against and look down upon intellectuals. It takes time to completely stamp out the remnant influences of the "left" mistakes that were there for so long.

On the economic side, our current wage and housing systems do not provide any prerogatives for intellectuals. Many of China's intellectuals between 36 and 50 years of age -- a staunch force in all fields of endeavor -- get low wages and live in cramped rooms. It has come to national attention that many must stretch their meagre means to support their parents and children, as they are obligated by law and custom. This is a problem that will be gradually solved. Socialist China has never engendered "intellectual aristocrats" and is unlikely to do so in the future.

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

PRC OFFICIAL DISCUSSES 'MORAL' EDUCATION OF YOUTH

HK100313 Beijing CHINA DAILY in English 10 Dec 82 p 3

[Article by China Daily Staff Reporter Ge Dewei: "Institute Is Tackling Urgent Problem of Moral Education"]

[Text] A survey made in more than 20 universities involving some 200 students led to the conclusion that after the ten disastrous years of the "cultural revolution" moral education was an urgent need.

Lin Jinxian, deputy director of the Research Institute of Youths and Juveniles in the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences told this to a China daily reporter.

In over 200 higher learning institutions, offices or societies of moral education have been established.

The Institute of Youths and Juveniles was set up to investigate the problems facing young people.

Seventy-six topics in connection with the theme were assigned by the Kunming (Yunnan) meeting of the institute [?] to 700 universities and colleges throughout the country, and about 300 dissertations have been handed in.

One hundred of these are to be discussed in the coming meeting at Xiamen (Amoy) from 21 to 27 December.

Forty-five years ago on 9 December, some 6,000 youths from Beijing and a little later more from Shanghai, Hangzhou, Changsha, Tianjin, Nanjing, Wuhan and other cities universities and colleges walked on the streets demonstrating and demanding resistance to Japanese aggression, and national salvation.

This world-famous "Yi'er Jiu Yundong" (The December 9th Movement) heralded the war of resistance which eventually led to the birth of new China.

Now, as 45 years ago, said Li the Chinese Communist Party is giving guidance to the young people of China.

Another problem which the institute stresses is young and juvenile delinquency.

In the 1950s and even the 1960s, Li said, most of the criminals were dregs from the old society. For juvenile delinquents, then, there were the old abettors to blame.

But now all young offenders were born after 1949.

Since August 1981, the institute co-sponsored with the public security, the prosecutor's office, judicial and youth league organs and the court two forums with delegates from 15 cities and provinces. It set up a study of teenage crime and a research society.

Li said that there are good examples. Siping City (Jilin), in the northeast, and the Nanpin City (Fujian), in the south, are known for their comprehensive measures of juvenile re-education.

Another problem is finding jobs for young people, Li added. Last year, the government recruited some 27 million young people.

Besides regular graduates from schools, five million Chinese pupils miss the opportunity of entering middle schools each year, another five million junior middle school boys and girls are excluded from senior middle schools and more than five million middle school graduates fail to gain university enrollment.

How to find jobs for the young school-leavers in state enterprises, collective and even individual enterprises is one of the institute's major items on the agenda.

In Tianjin, Li said, the discriminate ways of teaching towards graded students in middle schools, the unsureness of future employment and enrollment and some makeshift policy of job-replacing between parents and children, have made some junior middle school boys and girls play truant.

Li said, now youth accounts for 70 percent of the present working force and in a couple of years the working class will be wholly taken over by them.

They should know history, learn something about psychology, sociology and correct ways of growing and developing. These are all what the institute is working for.

Although a national institute. Li finds the work a heavy task on his nine departments and 43 researchers and calls for cooperation with fellow institutes in Shanghai, Gansu, Qinghai, Fujian, Sichuan, Guangdong and Guangxi which have all been keeping pace with the progress of the subject.

CSO: 4005/216

## SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

### HEBEI HOLDS EXECUTIVE MEETING ON EDUCATION

HK021318 Shijiazhuang Hebei Provincial Service in Mandarin 0400 GMT 23 Nov 82

[Summary] On the morning of 16 November, the Hebei provincial government held a governor's executive meeting to specially study and discuss the issues of developing secondary and primary education and restructuring education in the province. At the meeting, a responsible comrade of the Provincial Education Bureau made a report on the province's situation in secondary and primary education and on problems in and views on the future development of the educational cause. Leading comrades of the provincial government, including Liu Bingyan, Li Feng, Xu Ruilin, Yang Naijun and Han Qimin, talked about their views on developing secondary and primary education after inspecting some 10 municipalities and counties, including Zhao, Qing, Yangyuan and Guyuan counties, Shijiazhuang and Baoding. These views are mainly as follows:

"1. The whole party must attach importance to and grasp education. The 12th Party Congress regarded grasping education as one of the key strategic points of economic development. All levels must change the past practice of purely grasping production into simultaneously grasping the building of two civilizations. It is necessary to give prominence to grasping education well. The province, prefectures and municipalities must assign competent cadres to grasp education. At present, it is essential to correct the ideological line and emancipate the mind." Secondary and primary education must be conducted by people and subsidized by the state. Counties must run rural middle schools well, communes and brigades must run rural primary schools well and urban areas must run middle vocational schools well.

"Production in rural areas is developing now. They have lacked all kinds of technical personnel. In conducting education to train qualified personnel, proceeding from the actual situation of localities, we must train qualified personnel to meet the needs of production and diversification carried out by the masses of localities. We must take such measures as are suitable to local conditions to set up all kinds of vocational schools in agriculture, forestry, animal husbandry, sideline production, fisheries and commerce. Next year, all counties must carry out pilot schemes and each of the m must first change a general middle school into a middle agricultural technical school or middle vocational school." They can run a 4-year

junior middle school on a trial basis, in which three-fourths of the time is used for the study of cultural subjects and one-fourth of the time for the study of specialized subjects. Alternatively, they can run specialized courses in middle schools.

"2. To suit the development of the rural educational cause, it is imperative to adopt the method of linking the regular educational system with advanced studies by stages in order to speed up the training of teachers. We must strengthen normal education and vigorously train primary school and kindergarten teachers."

"3. We must enhance the teachers' status and improve their livelihood and remuneration. We must create an atmosphere in the whole party and society of respecting teachers and cultivate the virtue of respecting teachers by the whole people. In the future, a meeting of representative should be held every year to commend outstanding teachers. Personnel departments must draft at an early date the regulations on assessing the titles of outstanding teachers and special grade teachers of middle and primary schools." Press units must vigorously publicize the exemplary deeds of advanced teachers. Leaders at all levels and relevant departments must quickly investigate and severely deal with the cases of slandering, assaulting and persecuting teachers.

Leading comrades of the provincial government demanded that relevant departments make full preparations for holding the provincial conference on general education next year and draft the programs on readjusting secondary and primary education, on training teacher and advanced studies for them, on middle and primary school teachers' remuneration and on compiling teaching materials.

CSO: 4005/216

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

HEILONGJIANG ENDS BIRTH CONTROL WORK CONFERENCE

SK100437 Harbin Heilongjiang Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT  
9 Dec 82

[Text] According to our reporter, the Provincial Birth Control Work Conference sponsored by the Provincial CPC Committee and the Provincial People's Government closed on 8 December. The conference adopted a decision that by the end of this century, the province's population should be controlled at under 33 million and the 1983 provincial birth rate should be under 19 per thousand.

The conference pointed out: Implementing birth control is our country's basic policy and the birth control work must serve the strategic object set forth by the 12th Party Congress. The conference stressed: To achieve the goal of population work, our tasks are arduous and many difficulties exist. Leaders at all levels must get a full understanding of this work and concentrate their energy on it. First priority should be given to the work in the 1980's and, in particular, to the work in the period of the Sixth 5-Year Plan. At present, efforts should be made to stop multiple births and increase the one-child rate.

To this end, we should attach great importance to propagation and education. During the 1983 new year period and the spring festival, the birth control propagation month activity should be conducted among urban and rural areas, with stress on the latter. The policy of rewards and penalties should be upheld. We should pay attention to the work of technical guidance and distribution of medicine. We should also establish a strong, powerful work contingent to regularize and systematize birth control work. CPC Committees and People's Governments at all levels should list birth control work as an important item on their daily agendas.

During the session, leading comrades of the Provincial CPC Committee and the Provincial People's Government, including Li Lian, Chen Lei, Li Jianbai, Chen Yuanzhi, Wang Fei and Li Rui, listened to some work reports. Li Jianbai, spoke at the conference.

CSO: 4005/216

## SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

### YUNNAN'S SUN YUTING TALKS ABOUT NATIONALITY WORK

HK090857 Kunming Yunnan Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 8 Dec 82

[Excerpts] According to XINHUA reports, Sun Yuting, NPC deputy and deputy secretary of the Yunnan Provincial CPC Committee, said in a talk with a XINHUA reporter: The tasks of nationality work in the new period as defined in the new constitution are a scientific summation of the experience in nationality work in the 30-odd years since the founding of the PRC. A conscientious implementation of the new constitution will certainly promote the unity of various nationalities and bring about a prosperous economy and culture in the areas inhabited by the minority nationalities.

Sun Yuting said: Now that the new constitution has come into being, it is absolutely necessary for [?] and ensure its implementation. In order to further strengthen the unity of various nationalities in Yunnan and promote economic and cultural prosperity in the areas inhabited by the minority nationalities, I deem it necessary to pay attention to the following three points:

1. Cadres at various levels should firmly acquire a Marxist outlook toward nationalities. Not only should they guard against and overcome big-nationality chauvinism, particularly Han chauvinism, they should also conscientiously guard against and overcome local nationalism. With respect to these tendencies, it is necessary to adopt a method of patient education and criticism.
2. The unity of cadres from various nationalities is a key to doing a good job of national unity. All cadres must strictly act according to the provisions of the new constitution and take these provisions as a guide in their ideology and actions. The Han cadres and the cadres from the minority nationalities should get along well and on an equal footing. They should treat each other with sincerity, respect and make allowances for each other and strive to become models in national unity.
3. It is necessary to conduct extensive and frequent education in national unity among various nationalities and foster the idea that the Han nationality cannot be separated from the minority nationalities and that the latter cannot be separated from the former. It is also necessary, through various forms such as organizing report meetings and forums and launching national unity month activities, to conduct once or twice a year reeducation in the policy toward nationalities and in national unity and commend on a grand scale model collectives and individuals in national unity so that national unity will become the order of the day.

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

XINJIANG URGES PROPER HANDLING OF COMPLAINTS

HK020929 Urumqi Xinjiang Regional Service in Mandarin 1300 GMT 1 Dec 82

[Station Commentary: "Properly Handle People's Letters and Visits and Maintain a Close Link Between the Party and the Masses"]

[Excerpts] Writing letters and calling on the higher authorities to voice demands and opinions is one of the people's democratic rights provided in the constitution, as well as a means for the people to engage in state administration and exercise their supervision over state affairs and state functionaries. Correctly handling people's letters and visits is of great significance to strengthening socialist democracy, implementing the guiding principles and policies of the party and the government, maintaining a close link between the party and the masses and mobilizing the initiative of the masses of people in building socialism.

At present, as our country has entered a new historical era, the work of handling people's letters and visits has to face new tasks as well.

Since the Third Plenary Session, following the implementation of the various policies of the party, our region has achieved great success in handling people's letters and visits. However, some departments and units have lowered their guard and relax their efforts in the face of success. Such a tendency is wrong and such an understanding is groundless.

At present, in handling people's letters and visits, we must not only continue to vigorously carry out the party's policies and solve historical issues, but must also give full play to the role of the masses in supervising state functionaries by writing letters and calling on the higher authorities. At the same time, we must conscientiously consider and promptly reflect the masses' suggestions on the building of socialist material and spiritual civilization.

In order to properly handle people's letters and visits, the CPC committees and governments at all levels must continue to strengthen leadership and uphold the job responsibility system of handling people's letters and visits according to the jurisdiction of different departments concerned.

CSO: 4005/216

## SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

### REGIONAL MEETING ON HANDLING COMPLAINTS

HK020923 Urumqi Xinjiang Regional Service in Mandarin 1130 GMT 1 Dec 82

[Text] The fourth regional meeting on the work of handling complaints by letter and easing the grievances of visitors from localities appealing to the higher authorities for help was recently held in Urumqi. The meeting pointed out that in the new historical era, the work of handling people's letters and visits must play its role in the implementation of the magnificent goal and the strategic principles laid down by the 12th CPC National Congress and in the achievement of stability and unity and the four modernizations in the region.

The meeting conveyed the spirit of the third national meeting on the work of handling people's letter and visits, pertinently evaluated the actual situation in the region and conscientiously summed up the relevant experiences. The meeting also affirmed that since the Third Plenary Session, the departments in charge of people's letters and visits at various levels of the region, in centering around the key tasks of different periods, had comprehensively taken up step by step the review of unjust, false and wrong verdicts concluded in the great cultural revolution; had begun to handle many historical issues existing since the founding of the PRC; had paid great attention to and investigated various economic crimes and unhealthy tendencies exposed by people in their letters and during their visits, and different problems concerning the nationality policy, nationality unity and the rural economic policy reflected by the people of all nationalities; had handled some of these problems in good time; and had thus achieved great success in the work of handling people's letters and visits.

When putting forth the specific tasks for the work of handling people's letters and visits in the new historical era, the meeting called for the completion of the following three tasks:

In cooperation with departments concerned, continue to carry out the party's policies and solve historical issues. Give full play to the role of the masses of people in supervising state functionaries, expose and deal blows at the serious criminal activities in the economic field, vigorously improve the party style and the general mood of the society, and push ahead with the building of socialist material and spiritual civilizations. Unremittingly study the new circumstances and new problems emerging in the work of handling

people's letters and visits and thus, further strengthen our ideological building, organizational work and work efficiency.

In order to accomplish these tasks, the meeting demanded that the CPC committees and governments at all levels must continue to strengthen their leadership over the work of handling people's letters and visits, continue to eliminate the influence of leftist thinking, further implement various policies of the party, strengthen the work of handling people's letters and visits at the grassroots level and try to solve most problems at the grassroots level, continue to properly solve the problems of those visitors who frequently call on the higher authorities for help, pay attention to complaints from the masses of minority nationalities and conscientiously deal with their problems.

Regional party and government responsible comrades, including Huang Luobin, Qi Guo, Janabil, Zhao Yuzheng and Simayi Yashengnuofu, came to pay a visit to the participants of all nationalities in the meeting.

CSO: 4005/216

## SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

### QIAN XUESEN SPEAKS ON INTELLECTUALS ISSUE

OW090301 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0328 GMT 7 Dec 82

[Text] Beijing, 7 Dec (XINHUA)--NPC Deputy Qian Xuesen spoke on the intellectuals issue at a group discussion held by the PLA delegation to the current NPC session. He said that he was greatly encouraged by the statements on intellectuals, both contained in the draft of the revised constitution, defined at the 12th Party Congress and examined at the current NPC session, and in Premier Zhao Ziyang's report. He said: The formulation that intellectuals have become part of the working class and are one of the three basic social forces in our socialist construction was an amazing achievement which did not come easily.

Qian Xuesen said: "In the past, intellectuals constituted only a tiny minority, but they have grown into a mighty contingent today. They used to be dependent on, and serve, the ruling class, and Chinese intellectuals were no exception. Intellectuals in China have given up the old road they travelled in the old society and have embarked on a new road, by integrating themselves with the workers and peasants. The fact that they have completed this great historical transformation is their glorious accomplishment."

He said: It is possible that some people in our society still do not quite understand why we intellectuals are now considered part of the working class, and one of the three basic social forces. As intellectuals, we should not blame others for this, because it is not possible to quickly eliminate the old social influence of thousands of years, especially the influence of the "left" ideas during the "cultural revolution" which ignored science and looked down on intellectuals.

He went on: The middle-aged intellectuals, Jiang Zhuying and Lui Jianfu, are certainly examples for other intellectuals. "I was deeply moved by their noble qualities and I will earnestly learn from them. At this time, I, however, would like to raise one question. This country has tens of thousands of people like Jiang Zhuying and Lui Jianfu. In their middle age, they are leading operations of China's scientific and technological undertakings. They are our successors. We must not wait until their death before conferring on them the title of hero or model or Communist Party member. It is now high time to solve some of the problems of our middle-aged intellectuals. It is an issue closely related to building ours into a modern,

socialist state. It is true that the central authorities have made mention of this question and the point at issue has been included in the report [as received].

Qian Xuesen said: Intellectuals should not regard themselves as infallible on the grounds that the question has been mentioned by the central authorities and included in the constitution. They must not relax their study and their efforts to remold themselves. Premier Zhou Enlai said that one is never too old to learn and to remold oneself. We must know that intellectuals were under the influence of feudal ideology. For instance, showing respect for older people is fine and is one of the Chinese people's traditional virtues. In academic discussions, however, we cannot take what the teachers or the elders said for granted and thus fail to make different views known. At forums or symposiums nowadays, we often see just one person delivering a lecture or a report. We do not see the presence of a warm atmosphere, in which a hundred schools of thought contend. How can we weed through the old to bring forth the new and let our academic circles flourish without the contention of a hundred schools of thought? I am worried about the awkward silence on the floor at symposiums and forums. A strict atmosphere of politeness prevails when you want to discuss questions with someone. Is it because he is afraid of showing his hand or picking a wrong card? Or is it because he fears that you may take his answer away from him if it is correct? This is just one aspect of feudal ideology. We intellectuals should see our own shortcomings, release the load from our minds and continue to press forward.

Qian Xuesen continued: It is necessary to attach importance to the work and livelihood of intellectuals. A phenomenon exists nowadays, that, when you attach importance to, and promote, intellectuals, you should put them in leading administrative posts. Once they are put on leading administrative posts, they tend to give up their specialities and professional work. Scientific and technical personnel invariably possess different talents. Some have a gift for organizing, others are talented in special project research, while still others are gifted in scientific experiments. But they cannot serve as officials. It is a bad thing that we did not distinguish between their different abilities.

Qian Xuesen said that he has many streams of thought and feelings. He had spent 20 years in the United States and 27 years have passed since he returned to the motherland. He feels that Chinese scientists and technicians are good indeed, at least they are as good as their foreign counterparts. They are better than foreign scientific and technical personnel in one thing. That is: They ardently love their motherland and work hard, day and night, for her. This was rarely seen in foreign countries. He added: "I feel that no difficult scientific or technical problems cannot be tackled by Chinese scientists and technicians. They can fulfill whatever tasks are entrusted them by the party and government. They have, however, one thing to fear. They face too many organizational, management and administrative problems and the like. Sometimes, as they are wrapped in a maze of these problems, they cannot move even an inch and demonstrate their talents. This can be said to be a block to science and technology by problems other than scientific or technical in nature.

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

FENG JIXIN, OTHERS SEND TELEGRAM TO REWI ALLEY

HK020805 Lanzhou Gansu Provincial Service in Mandarin 1125 GMT 1 Dec 82

[Text] December 2 will be the 85th birthday of Comrade Rewi Alley, our well-known foreign friend from New Zealand. Feng Jixin, first secretary of the Gansu Provincial CPC Committee, Governor Li Dengying, and Ge Shiyang, chairman of the Gansu Provincial Branch of the Chinese People's Association for Friendship with Foreign Countries, sent a telegram to Rewi Alley on 29 November. On behalf of all cadres and people of all nationalities throughout the province, they extended warm greetings to him.

The telegram says: Long-term practice has shown that you are a respectable and faithful internationalist and spent 55 combat years of historical significance in our country. You have scored a stirring victory for the traditional friendship of the Chinese and New Zealand peoples. Now, you have vigorously promoted the development of the friendly relations between Gansu and Canterbury in New Zealand. Your good wishes have met with the praise of the people of our province. At this moment of congratulating you on your 85th birthday, we are further developing the friendly relations between the New Zealand and the Chinese peoples so as to allow the flower of their friendship to flourish even more.

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## SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

### XINJIANG'S WANG ENMAO ON NATIONALITY POLICY

OW070643 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1941 GMT 2 Dec 82

[Excerpts] Beijing, 2 Dec (XINHUA)--(Exclusive for XINJIANG RIBAO) The delegation of deputies from the Xinjiang Uygur autonomous region to the fifth session of the Fifth NPC began deliberating Premier Zhao Ziyang's report on the Sixth 5-Year Plan on 2 December. Earlier, these deputies earnestly deliberated the draft revision of the constitution and Comrade Peng Zhen's report.

Wang Enmao said: Cementing unity among nationalities is of tremendous significance to the development of the cause of socialism in China and the prosperity of the Chinese nation. The draft revision of the constitution has made clear-cut provisions for cementing unity among, and promoting common prosperity of, all nationalities. It has also added new contents regarding autonomy in nationality areas. If we conscientiously implement it, unity among all nationalities will certainly be cemented and the development of economic and cultural undertakings in nationality areas will certainly be accelerated.

Deputies said during their discussions: Summing up the historical experience in developing socialism in our country and reflecting the common will and basic interests of the people of all nationalities of the whole country, the draft revision is the best constitution since the founding of our country. They recommended that this draft revision of the constitution be adopted.

CSO: 4005/216

## SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

### REMUNERATION FOR INTELLECTUALS DISCUSSED

Shijiazhuang HEBEI RIBAO in Chinese 2 Nov 82 p 2

[Article by Zong Man [1350 1383]: "Problems on Remuneration of Labor for the Intellectuals"]

[Text] This year's May issue of "Social Sciences" ["Shehui Kexue"], published in Shanghai, carried an article on the investigation of the living conditions of intellectuals in Shanghai. The article introduced the following reference: "Based on the 1981 statistics compiled by the Jiaotong University, of its 60 professors, 54 hold positions not commensurate with their duties (90 percent). Of the 230 assistant professors, 198 hold positions not commensurate with their duties. Of this total, 46 hold positions one grade lower than what their duties call for, 62 hold positions two grades lower, 42 hold positions three grades lower, and 48 hold positions four grades lower. Of the 1,046 lectures, 962 hold positions not commensurate with their duties (92 percent), of which 209 hold positions one grade lower than what their duties call for, 548 hold positions two grades lower, and 204 hold positions three grades lower." The report of investigation summarizes the current condition of the middle aged intellectuals as follows: "heavy work tasks, heavy family work, heavy economic burden, low income, and poor health conditions." A 45 year old physician-in-charge in a hospital for gynecology and obstetrics "suffers from high blood pressure, but because of surgery demands, he regularly works at the operating table in spite of his illness, sometimes continuously for 36 hours. Several times he fainted at the side of the operating table. The old director of the hospital said with emotion: 'The work of these comrades is heavy and they come to work even when they are ill. They have economic difficulties but they never complain. This is not because their work is not heavy and their difficulties are not great. It is because they have a high degree of ideological awakening and they put their whole heart to the "four modernizations." For such commendable intellectuals, if we as leaders do not actively show concern for them and share their difficulties, it would be extremely shameful.'" After reading this report of investigation, I felt deeply moved. The problems raised in the report are common. They deserve consideration and study by those of us who are workers in economic theories.

Each exerting his maximum capability and distribution according to labor is the socialist principle of distribution of consumer products. Just as Marx said, this principle requires that "every producer, after various

deductions, takes back from society exactly what he has given to the society" and "he provides the society with labor in one form and then takes it all back in another form." (page 10-11, volume 3, "Selected Works of Marx and Engels"). Or as Lenin said: "receive equivalent products according to equivalent labor" (page 252, volume 3, "Selected Works of Lenin"). Of course, the "labor provided the society" not only refers to the duration of labor but also includes the quality of labor condensed in the product. It covers the differences in the complexity, proficiency, and intensity of labor. The labor of a person is not limited to the expenditure of simple labor force only. There exists also the complex labor in the "use of skill and knowledge obtained through either large or small amounts of toil, time, and money which must be expended" (page 237, volume 3, "Selected Works of Marx and Engels"). This is simple labor multiplied many times. For the same duration of labor, the contribution of complex labor to society is greater than that of simple labor. Similarly, it should also receive a higher remuneration than simple labor. There should not be any doubt on this point in political economics.

However, for a period, especially during the "10 years of chaos," we refused to look squarely at and even did not dare to accept any difference in labor remuneration between complex labor and simple labor and between intellectual labor and physical labor. We even used every effort to downgrade and discriminate against complex labor and attacked and persecuted intellectuals. This is the main reason why the positions of the middle aged senior and middle grade intellectuals are not commensurate with their duties. This situation violates the principle of each to his maximum capability and distribution according to labor. It is also unfavorable to the development of the four modernizations cause and it requires our clarification in its theory and gradual solution in practice.

Complex labor represents a greater productive force. It can create more utility value and [monetary] value for the society and provide more surplus labor. In analyzing the complex labor of the capitalistic society, Marx pointed out: "This type of labor requires greater educational cost than the ordinary labor. Its production requires more labor time. As a result, it has a greater value. Since it has a greater value, it also reflects a higher level of labor and materializes into greater value in the same length of time." (page 223, volume 23, "Complete Works of Marx and Engels") The spirit of these words by Marx also applies to the socialist society. For two otherwise similar workers, one has gone through educational training, he is possessed with a solid theoretical foundation and rich practical experience, he has the ability to handle complex technical problems, and he is able to perform creative labor, while the other does not have these capabilities. The contribution of the former to the society is greater. He will bring to the society a greater material wealth. The remuneration for his labor should, therefore, be higher.

Senior and middle grade intellectuals are engaged primarily in mental work. Their work is basically under the category of complex labor. From the standpoint of our country, now engaged in four modernizations construction, the type of work and labor performed by the senior and middle grade intellectuals is of critical importance. Our construction of the four modernizations

requires knowledge, wisdom, science, and talent. Intelligence or, in the words of Marx, "invention and thought outside the physical element of simple labor" (" (page 607, volume 1, "Complete Works of Marx and Engels") is an extremely important productive force. Marx calls it "the most reliable form of wealth." It is both "the product of wealth and the producer of wealth" (see page 166, sub-volume 3, "Critique Outline of Political Economy (draft)"). The more developed a society becomes and the higher the degree of socialization that production acquires, the more important they will become. A part of the work of the intellectuals is directly materialized in the product. Through their ideas, suggestions, design, and results of research, the level of technology is raised, techniques are improved, consumption is reduced, product change is accelerated, useless things are transformed into useful things, things with small utility value are changed to ones with large utility value, and a great amount of products can be produced with the same amount of materials. Thus, a higher rate of development is achieved in social production. Some creations and inventions do not necessarily materialize in products directly or condense in the quality of products directly. However, as scientific experiments, research plans, and basic theories, they provide the technical and theoretical basis for an even higher rate of development in the next generation of material production. Or, they are popularized as scientific and technical knowledge and advanced experience so that the creative inventions of individual units and individual producers may achieve application on a broader basis. All these will promote a higher rate of development of productive forces either directly or indirectly. Complex labor by non-material production departments, such as the curing of diseases by physicians, creative writing by authors, and performance by actors, will affect the vitality and physical body of people and therefore indirectly the development of social production. The greater their contribution to society, the greater should be their remuneration. This is the requirement of the development of productive forces in the socialist society. If we only compute the time of labor and ignore the complexity of labor and actual contribution, how can we encourage people to more actively learn the modernized knowledge, improve cultural and technical levels, and march towards science and technology?

Higher remuneration for complex labor is also the requirement for the reproduction of complex labor. First, the creation of a complex labor capability requires a greater expenditure than that of simple labor. It cannot depend on natural gift alone. It requires education and training and it also requires the individual worker to multiply his labor in studying and learning. In our country, the very major part of the educational and training expenses of complex labor are paid by the state. However, a portion is paid by the family. The augmented labor in learning put out by the worker and the educational expenses paid by the family should be remunerated. Secondly, complex labor is hard labor. It is not at all like what some comrades imagine it to be, the kind of labor that can neither use one's four limbs nor tell the five grains apart and that sits in the office leisurely and loafing around. Not at all. Complex labor requires a great deal of mental work. It also requires a certain amount of physical labor. It requires not only mental exertion but also physical action, talking, and sometimes a great deal of

blood and sweat. The physicians doing surgery, the actors practising acting and singing, the scientists conducting scientific experiments, the teachers preparing their lessons and lecturing, and the engineering and technical personnel making designs all require large physical strength and mental output and consume large amounts of sweat. If this work is not carried out diligently, day and night, and without sleep and food, results of what is called complex labor would be difficult to achieve. If all this complex labor "is to be able to repeat the same process tomorrow under the same mental power and physical conditions," the total living materials should be sufficient to allow the individual worker to maintain himself under normal living conditions" (page 194, volume 23, "Complete Works of Marx and Engels"). This is the requirement for the reproduction of the physical strength for complex labor. Otherwise, the worker will decline early, shorten his life, lower his working ability, or die at an overly early age. Thus, the complex labor already created will not be able to develop its influence normally and this is equivalent to reducing the ability of complex labor.

Compared to the reproduction of simple labor, the reproduction of complex labor has another characteristic. It requires time and expenses for further learning. Based on the statistics of the Chinese Department of Fudan University, in general, each of them subscribes to 2-3 newspapers and 3-4 special magazines, and spends 4-5 yuan more each month. Their science and technology is constantly improved and their knowledge is constantly renewed. Without learning, they would fall behind the development of their time. This requires expenditure. From the standpoint of the entire society, this expenditure is not the ordinary material of consumption. It is an intelligence investment made by the family in the form of individual consumer products. It is a material for development and sooner or later it will transform into a new productive force or a new complex labor ability. Conversely, if money is not available to buy books and newspapers, if material requirements are not sufficient for further learning and research, knowledge will not increase. If expenses to supplement necessary physiological consumption are used to buy books and papers, the body will be affected. The result will be the reduction or destruction of the reproduction ability of complex labor. In addition to material requirements, the maintenance and improvement of complex labor ability also requires time. Complex labor, especially that engaged in mental work, generally requires a relatively quiet space, a definite uninterrupted time, and also a definite time for scientific experiments and investigative research. Most of the complex labor also has the characteristics of accumulation, advancing gradually, and developing suddenly. It requires a definite time and energy to think, evaluate, and study problems in a person's own specialty and to learn knowledge outside his specialty. If a person with a complex labor ability does not have enough time (this requires a definite material foundation as guarantee) to think, evaluate, and study problems, it is then equivalent to a reduction of complex labor of the entire society.

We are now engaged in four modernizations construction. We must not be short of simple labor, not only now but also after the realization of "four modernizations" and until the society is developed to an even higher stage.

Thus, we cannot neglect simple labor. Simple labor and complex labor differ only in the requirement of labor. They do not differ in the sense of higher or lower labor or expensive or cheap labor. However, the base of our country is poor, intellectuals are few, the average cultural and technical standards of workers are low, and what we lack most is still complex labor. Complex labor represents higher intellectual and cultural standards and signals our intelligence, wisdom, and ability in better understanding and control of nature and in understanding society and directing its development. In order that we may accelerate the cause of "four modernizations" construction, cast off our backward and poverty conditions even faster, improve labor productivity to a very large degree, and avoid and reduce mistakes in our work as much as possible, we must fully develop the effects of the intellectuals, further raise the scientific and cultural standards of the entire nation, and make it possible for a greater number of workers who are only capable of performing relatively simple labor to transform into workers who are capable of performing more complex creative labor. A relative increase of complex labor with a relative decrease of simple labor, a relative increase of intelligent labor with a relative decrease of physical labor, and a relative increase of skilled labor with a relative decrease of unskilled labor are the requirements for "four modernizations" construction and the objective rule for social development. When our labor structure has changed, it means that our ability to reconstruct the society will have developed. The "investment" in this area is worthwhile and we should be willing to spend the money.

Some comrade quote the words of Engels that in the capitalist society the cost of training scholarly workers is shouldered by the private individual or his family and, thus, the higher value of the scholarly labor ability first belongs to the private individual. In the socialist society, this cost is shouldered by the society. Consequently, the results created by complex labor should belong totally to the society also and, thus, this labor "does not have the right to enjoy any special labor remuneration greater than the general working people." The problem is that in the current condition of our country, except for a small number of old intellectuals, the very major part of the middle aged senior and middle grade intellectuals have not enjoyed this "special labor remuneration." On the contrary, they have enjoyed remuneration lower than "the general working people." This is irrational and it is not favorable to motivating the enthusiasm of a greater number of workers to engage in complex labor. True, as a result of many years of training and education by the party, the large numbers of middle aged intellectuals of our country ardently love the party, ardently love socialism, and inspite of low income and hard living conditions, they can appreciate the difficulties of the state, work selfishly for the public interest, endure hardship and hard work, and sometimes engage in creative labor and achieve one result after another under the most difficult conditions. We advocate this type of labor attitude and working spirit with no thought on remuneration and we must continue to develop this precious be-his-own-master attitude. However, if it is at all possible for us to create even better conditions for those engaged in creative labor as much as possible so that their labor will receive the deserved return and a parity is gradually achieved between wages and work titles, would not the enthusiasm of the

intellectuals increase even more and would not their contribution to the state be even greater?! We must realize that the current generation of the senior and middle grade intellectuals are mostly professional hard cores and backbones on the various battle fronts grown up after liberation and many are shouldering leading responsibilities. Not only do they shoulder heavy teaching, scientific research, creative, and performing tasks but they must also train and educate the younger generation. Thus, they have the effect of being a connecting link between the top and the bottom and between the past and the future. Today we cannot do without them and within 20 to 30 years they will still remain some of the most learned people in our country. If we do not care for them, show concern for them, and protect their physical condition and enthusiasm, there would be a loss to our country's four modernization work that would be difficult to recoup!

We should realize that a gradual solution to the problem of remuneration for complex labor is not something that is entirely impossible to achieve. We do not have many intellectuals in our country. The total number is not quite 3 percent of the population. The number of senior and middle grade intellectuals is even smaller. Based on the Shanghai statistics, senior intellectuals account for only 1.1 percent and middle grade intellectuals only about 10 percent of the total number of intellectuals. Based on these ratios, the number of senior and middle grade intellectuals is below 0.3 percent of the total population in the country. If we only conserve some expenditures in other areas and reduce some wastes in the production processes, it is entirely possible for us to take out some money to improve the living conditions of the middle aged senior and middle grade intellectuals. Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out: "There are many difficulties in the livelihood of our teachers and scientific workers that require urgent solution. Many of the intellectuals, who are very capable, make only few tens of yuan a month. With slightly better working and living conditions, they can solve many problems and create considerable wealth for the state and the people." ("Current Situation and Tasks") The key to this problem lies in overcoming the pernicious "left" influence of looking down on complex labor and intellectuals and the equalitarianist ideology on distribution that has long existed in the minds of people. If these ideologies are not cleansed, the remuneration problem for complex labor will not receive proper solution.

We must accept the difference in remuneration between complex labor and simple labor. This does not mean that we should create a drastic difference in their income. Our people, including the intellectuals, must continue to develop the revolutionary spirit of hard struggle, giving no consideration to remuneration, working for the state with a single mind, serving the people with a total heart and total mind, and contributing everything to the cause of four modernizations. Only when our socialist fatherland becomes more prosperous and stronger will the livelihood of the people be able to achieve improvement at a faster rate.

5974

CSO: 4005/192

## SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

### SOCIAL FORCE ADVOCATED IN MANAGING EDUCATION

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 9 Nov 82 p 4

[Sa Kongliao [5646 4500 0055], Deputy Secretary General of Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference: "Actively Encourage and Support the Social Force in Managing Education"]

[Text] It is brilliant that the 12th Party Congress has placed education and science as one of the strategical focal points in economic development. Experience at home and abroad has proved that without good education there are no qualified personnel, and without qualified personnel, there is no possibility of construction. Only with concentration on education can there be hope for the vigorous development of China.

To grasp well education, we must address a very important issue, that is, to open all avenues for education, adopting multiple forms of schools. This idea is already expressed in Article 20 of our draft constitution which stipulates that "the state runs and encourages the social force to run all kinds of schools, wipe out illiteracy, make elementary education universal, and develop secondary, vocational and higher education." Comrade Hu Yaobang reiterated, in his speech at the 12th Party Congress, the 1980 decision of the Party Central Committee and State Council: to achieve in the main, prior to 1990, universal elementary education nationwide, by using multiple forms. All these are permeated with a significant idea that the cause of socialism, including the cause of education, is the affair of the masses and must be managed by mobilizing all the social forces. It is impossible and incorrect for the state to run it all by itself. Therefore, currently we need to re-emphasize the principle of "opening all avenues for education," adopting all kinds of educational forms.

A great number of lively facts have shown that managing education by the social force has many advantages and can be an important supplement to state-managed education. There is a lot of work to be done to encourage the social forces in managing education. Here I'll mainly deal with the problem of managing education by democratic parties and organizations.

Since the 3rd plenum of the 11th Party Central Committee, the democratic parties, the All-China Industry and Commerce Federation and the All-China Vocational Education Association have established and reinstated more than 600 schools (mainly spare-time continuation schools) and vocational training courses, with more than 100,000 students, spread over 24 provinces, cities and autonomous areas. All these schools currently have a certain scope, have tried and found some experience, achieved outstanding results and considerable reputation in our society. The main characteristics of these schools are flexibility and variety of forms and methods to meet the real needs. Their slogan is "make good omissions and deficiencies," that is, to meet eagerly the country's urgency, to supplement the society's needs, to run education in direct service of production and work. For example:

The Shanghai municipal and ward chapters of the China Democratic National Construction Association and the Industry and Commerce Federation have managed in three years 396 different vocational training courses and workers' spare-time schools, with accounting, business management and foreign languages as main subjects. On the one hand, these three subjects are the ones in which the former industrial and commercial personnel had superiority; on the other hand, they are "things in short supply" urgently needed in the economic development of Shanghai and "gaps" in regular school curricula.

The Long March Spare-time School under the auspices of the Zhejiang Provincial Revolutionary Committee of the Kuomintang has run communal and brigade correspondence courses in business accounting, keeping abreast of the development of communal, brigade enterprises in rural areas. Some 5000 basic level workers in finance and accounting from 22 counties near Hangzhou enthusiastically applied for participation and, after study, achieved good results.

Beijing Jiu San Society, together with Beijing Judicial Bureau and Department of Law, Beijing University, founded Beijing Evening Law School, suiting the demand of the city's public security, procuratorial organs and people's courts thirsting for learning law theories and raising the level of their work. It has become an important place to train law cadres. Zhongshan Spare-time School founded by the Beijing Revolutionary Committee of the Kuomintang is also well received by all quarters of the society.

All these schools were founded on simple and thrifty basis, through arduous effort. Their structure is simple, their stress is on efficiency, with very few managing personnel. They do not require state investment, but collect some tuition. They have neither their own school building nor equipment. They admit only a small number of unemployed young high school graduates and are not responsible for assigning jobs. The students are employed by employers based on the outcome of their examinations. All this obviously is of benefit to breaking the idea of "iron rice bowl" and to kindling the students' self-consciousness.

Managing schools by democratic parties and organizations has emerged, along with the trends, as the times require, and has developed to meet objective needs. It also reflects that the democratic parties, in the new historic circumstances, have opened new avenues and new areas to contribute to the

realization of the "four modernizations." Democratic parties all have ties with the vast intellectuals; there also has appeared a great number of persons enthusiastic in the cause of socialist education and active in managing education. This is a force not to be ignored.

In our society the general view on managing education by democratic parties and organizations is that it is a good thing, is of benefit to the country and the people and is the way to open all avenues for education and speed up the training of qualified personnel. It has received attention from local party and political leaders. Recently on the forum on managing education by democratic parties, in the speeches of Vice Chairman Liu Lantao [0491 3482 3447] and leading comrades of United Front Work Department, Ministry of Education, and All-China Workers' Education Control Committee, their achievements in managing education were fully affirmed and the schools were encouraged to summarize their experience and sustain their progress.

But, some local authorities and departments have wrong thinkings about managing education by democratic parties. Not only do they not support them, but also place all sorts of restrictions. The puzzling thing is that this kind of situation also takes place in some administrative organizations of education. Some units adopt the attitude of neither nodding nor shaking head, that is, neither approving nor abolishing it; and some even publicly impose restrictions. For example, this year in August, a certain city's Bureau of Education imposed five stipulations on democratic parties in managing schools: 1) It would be best not to organize continuation courses preparing for university or vocational schools. If they wish, they could run vocational courses. 2) Employed teachers cannot teach concurrently at continuation courses. 3) The pension of retired teachers, if teaching at continuation courses, is to be paid entirely by these courses. 4) The continuation courses must pay Bureau of Industry and Commerce school taxes. 5) Continuation courses cannot rent regular school classrooms.

Schools managed by democratic parties, in general, are started on simple and thrifty basis. Many of them have "three no-s:" no school building, no full-time teachers and no state investment. They rely on school building rental, part-time teachers, and "maintain school with school." This is exactly the advantage of the schools run by democratic parties. It is not quite possible to ask spare-time continuation schools, evening schools, etc. to have their own school buildings at present time. Furthermore, to have regular day-time school buildings rented to spare-time schools for their use is moneysaving for the whole country and is full utilization. Why is it not good? Naturally, the rent must not be too high, must not be raised constantly to cause many spare-time schools to complain of hardship. As for part-time teachers, since currently spare-time schools have just been initiated, it is difficult to have a certain amount of full-time teachers, therefore, we can only invite teachers from schools, organizations and enterprises to do part-time teaching.

In short, I hope that everybody can understand that in our present conditions mobilizing social forces to manage education is one of the important avenues to promote education and raise the cultural and scientific standard of our

people. Just as regular school education, it is an indispensable part. The democratic parties and other organizations concerned should develop their own strong points and give their contribution by actively running schools. The local authorities, departments and units must actively encourage and support the social force in managing education. Let the entire nation care about our country's cause of education, let it forge ahead to speed up our country's four modernizations.

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## SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

### BRIEFS

SHAANXI CADRE TRAINING CIRCULAR--The Shaanxi Provincial CPC Committee recently issued a circular approving the holding of its party school's training class for 200 middle-aged and young cadres. Conditions of enrollment are that students must be under 40 years of age, have senior middle school cultural level or above, be leading cadres at the county level who satisfy the conditions for successors, be outstanding commune secretaries and commune heads who have over 3 years' experience in grassroots leadership work, deputy bureau directors or party members and cadres in provincial and prefectural units who shoulder duties equivalent to the above duties and conditions. The purpose of the training class is to train leading cadres at the county level of the party and the government. The period of application for the training class is from 1-20 December 1982. Examinations will be held on 7 and 8 January 1983. [HK221548 Xian Shaanxi Provincial Service in Mandarin 0500 GMT 19 Nov 82 HK]

GANSU MINORITIES WORK GROUP--A visiting group of Gansu cadres doing nationalities work, led by Vice Chairman Ma Dexiang of the Gansu Provincial Nationalities Affairs Commission, arrived in Hangzhou on 7 November. The group's 28 members are all leading cadres in charge of nationalities work at and above the county level. They represent nine nationalities. The group had a meeting with the Zhejiang Provincial and Hangzhou municipal nationalities affairs offices on nationalities affairs work on 8 November. After the meeting, all members of the group were received by the responsible comrades of the provincial and municipal united front work departments. The group is scheduled to leave Hangzhou for Guangzhou on 10 November. [OW080501 Hangzhou ZHEJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 9 Nov 82 p 1 OW]

XIZANG REDUCES TRAFFIC ACCIDENTS--During "safety month" this year, the number of motor accidents of the Xizang regional communications system was 24 percent less than in the corresponding period last year, the number of deaths was 62 percent less and the amount of economic losses was some 193,000 yuan less than in the same period last year. In Xigaze Prefecture, units which have over 10 motor vehicles each must each establish a traffic safety leadership group and select one to two comrades, whose ideology and technology are good and who can observe regulations and laws and fulfill tasks well, for the posts of full-time or part-time safety workers to strengthen leadership and supervision over production safety. [Lhasa Xizang Regional Service in Mandarin 1130 GMT 22 Nov 82 HK]

GUANGDONG SECONDARY EDUCATION--On 22 November, the Guangdong Provincial People's government issued the views of the provincial culture and education office on speeding up restructuring of secondary education. It has been decided that some of the existing general middle schools be changed into middle vocational schools and middle agricultural schools. Vigorous measures must be taken to solve the problems concerning the employment of graduates and education funds and to speed up the development of the middle vocational schools in the province. The document states that the state is not responsible for the allocation of jobs for the graduates of the middle vocational schools. In accordance with the principle formulated by the State Council on recruitment of workers and examination, planning departments, labor departments and personnel departments must regard the graduates of the middle vocational schools as the main source of labor forces and carry out unified management in accordance with the state plan. In the light of their needs, all walks of life and trades must select graduates specialized in their fields who have acquired proficiency in their work and must employ them. [Guangzhou Guangdong Provincial Service in Mandarin 2350 GMT 23 Nov 82 HK]

SHAANXI CONSCRIPTION WORK--The conscription work in Shaanxi Province successfully ended on 24 November. Several tens of thousands of young people have gone to their posts. This work began in October this year. Some 340,000 young people throughout the province applied for enlistment. [HK021034 Xian Shaanxi Provincial Service in Mandarin 0500 GMT 24 Nov 82]

YUNNAN RADIO NEWSPAPERS SYMPOSIUM--The symposium of radio and television newspapers of some provinces, autonomous regions and municipalities was held in Kunming from 11-20 November. Relevant comrades of the Yunnan Provincial Broadcasting Station attended. Others attending were responsible persons and workers of radio and television newspapers of 12 provinces, autonomous regions and municipalities, including Yunnan, Sichuan, Gansu, Shaanxi, Shandong, Shanxi, Hunan, Hubei, Jiangsu, Anhui, Guangxi and Chongqing. Radio and television newspapers announce in advance, publicize on and recommend comment radio and television programs. Through study and exchange of experiences, the participants deepened their understanding of the importance of the publication of radio and television newspapers and resolved to run radio and television newspapers well. [HK061333 Guiyang Guizhou Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 24 Nov 82]

TOPONYMY DICTIONARY--Beijing, 15 Nov (XINHUA)--The work of compiling China's first place names reference book, "Toponymy Dictionary of the People's Republic of China," is under way. According to the plan of the compilation committee, the dictionary, covering China's 30 provinces, autonomous regions and municipalities, consists of 31 volumes and will be completed in 1990. The China Toponymy Committee held a meeting in Beijing from 9 to 14 November to discuss the compilation work. The Compilation Committee noted that toponymy experts in Taiwan are welcome to participate in this work. [Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0718 GMT 15 Nov 82 OW]

EDUCATIONAL BIMONTHLY--The JIAO GONG SHUANG YUE KAN [EDUCATIONAL TRADE UNION BIMONTHLY], edited by the Chinese Educational Trade Union will start nationwide distribution, through post offices from 1983. The tasks of the bimonthly are to publicize the party's principles and policies and reflect the ideology, work, study and life of educational staff members and workers. The bimonthly has enjoyed a welcome from readers since its publication was resumed in 1981. [OW080505 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 0900 GMT 18 Nov 82]

CHINESE DANCE TRENDS DISCUSSION--Beijing, 27 Nov (XINHUA)--All works of art in China should be both entertaining and artistic as well as socialist in ideological content, said Zhao Xun, permanent secretary of the China Federation of Literary and Art Circles. Addressing a 6-day council meeting of the Dancers' Association, which closed here Friday, Zhao advocated different forms and schools of art but, he said. They must be comprehensible to the masses. Commenting on certain artists who favor modernism, he said, in general, he is not against using the techniques of foreign modernistic schools of art, "but the development of literature and art should accord with China's conditions and be guided by Marxist ideology." However, Zhao, who is also a drama critic, said that he is against the "leftist" idea that stresses only ideological content. "In Chinese society, art must be popular and must be imbued with national flavor," he said. An appeal was made at the meeting attended by 90 council members to save certain folk dances from extinction by sending choreographers among people of different nationalities to record folk dances from the aging artists and set up a Chinese dance archives. Some suggested the opening of dance classes in primary schools and others asked that exchanges be increased with dancers of foreign countries. [Text] [Beijing XINHUA in English 0819 GMT 27 Nov 82 OW]

AIR ACADEMY GRADUATES--Beijing, 2 Nov (XINHUA)--A number of students trained for flying service have graduated from various PLA air force academies and received diplomas equivalent to those awarded to graduates of institutions of higher learning. Among these air academy graduates, some 700 have received awards because of their meritorious deeds and more than 200 have joined the Chinese Communist Party. [Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1253 GMT 2 Nov 82 OW]

CSO: 4005/216

## HONG KONG MEDIA ON CHINA

### CENTRAL PARTY SCHOOL TEST PUBLISHED

Hong Kong MING PAO in Chinese 27 Nov 82 p 4

[Report: "Must Reading for Cadres Aspiring to Advancement: Test for Entrance to Central Party School--Includes the Nine Planets, Capitals of All Countries, Names of Various Imperial Dynasties in History, Etc."]

[Text] Young cadres of China planning to serve at high-ranking posts in the party, if they wish to secure advancement in CPC ranks, must from now on possess extensive common knowledge.

The central party school recently underwent a reorganization and restored the practices of giving an entrance examination and issuing a diploma. BANYUETAN has published the 100 questions of a test to which entrants to the school have been subjected. They must be able to point out the nine planets in the solar system, the dynastic names of 14 of China's imperial dynasties, and the 3 largest Communist parties in Europe.

They must write out the names of the capitals of France, Egypt, Canada and Australia as well as the names of the "Four Families" wielding power under the Kuomintang regime (1927-1975).

In the political aspect, questions on the classic works of Marxism-Leninism make up a large percentage; but the magazine says that Chinese history and history of Chinese literature will also occupy an important spot in the curriculum from now on.

Since May, the school has been under the leadership of Wang Zhen [3769 7201], a member of the Political Bureau. He succeeded Hua Guofeng as the school's principal.

The YANGCHENG WANBAO, shipped to Guangzhou from Beijing yesterday, points out it is hoped that all cadres in China will in the future graduate from the central party school, just like the situation in Romania today.

9255

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## HONG KONG MEDIA ON CHINA

### BEIJING TO EXPERIMENT WITH PARTY RECTIFICATION

Hong Kong MING BAO in Chinese 30 Nov 82 p 5

[Report: "Party Members of the Cultural Revolution Period Mostly Recalcitrant-- Beijing to Experiment with Party Rectification at Year's End and to Begin Eliminating Extreme Leftists"]

[Text] Among the goals of struggle put forward by the 12th CPC Congress in striving for the realization of the three fundamental turns for the better in the country's finance and economy, social customs and the CPC's workstyle, what occupies the position of first importance is the question of party workstyle. The CPC maintains that only through party rectification and realization of the fundamental turn for the better in party workstyle can the fundamental turn for the better in social customs be spurred on and the fundamental turn for the better in the country's finance and economy be promoted. At present, the various provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions are just trying to feel out the situation in preparation for the 3-year party rectification that is to begin in the latter half of next year.

This reporter has learned: Beijing Municipality has decided to select during this winter and next spring some units in the municipal party committee organs, the industries, the capital-construction system, the financial and trade system, the countryside and the urban areas as points of experiment in party rectification work; relevant departments of the municipal party committee and the district and bureau party committees will have leading cadres participating in this process and studying the experiences and problems in party rectification.

During the 10 years of the cultural revolution, because in the Beijing Municipality Peng Zhen was designated as the ringleader of the "Peng-Lo (Ruiqing)-Lu (Dingyi)-Yang (Shangkun) dark clique," the party organizations of the whole municipality came to bear the brunt of the impact and suffer the extremely serious destruction and hence have not fully recovered even today. One part of our party organizations and leading groups still harbor not a few problems ideologically, organizationally, and workstyle-wise. According to a survey and analysis made of the 3,658 party branches in Beijing Municipality, "the advanced branches whose line is forthright, whose leading groups are united, and who can play the role of fighting fortresses make up less than one-third; those branches situated in an ordinary condition make up about 60 percent; backward branches make up about 10 percent, of which some are situated even in a paralyzed or semi-paralyzed condition."

Duan Junyi [3008 0689 3015], first secretary of Beijing municipal CPC committee, recently pointed out after trying to find out the real situation that the problems harbored in the backward branches are mainly the following: "(1) lack of unity among leading members who all try to draw a faction of their own to resort to factionalism, struggle for power and pass the buck; (2) lack of a forthright ideological line, an attitude of doubt and resistance toward the policies of the party Central Committee, a low-spirited outlook, and a lack of enthusiasm in grasping necessary work; (3) an inclination to take advantage of one's office and power to obtain personal gains and privileges or even to form partnerships for private profit, resort to devious inroads, violate the law and disrupt discipline; (4) an inclination to resort to decentralization in respect to those above so that each might do whatever he himself thinks is right and to take the posture of whatever I say goes in respect to those below. Similar situations prevail to various degrees also in the party organizations of certain units; in particular, problems such as leading groups appearing feeble and lax and listless in their revolutionary spirit, etc, are still rather serious with some of such units."

Party Members Who Joined the Party During the Cultural Revolution Make up as Much as 40 Percent of the Total; They Acquired Their Fortune as Rebels and Entered the Party Along the Firing Line; They Form Factions, Plot for Private Gains by Taking Advantage of Their Power, and Resist the Party Central Committee

Said Duan Junyi: viewed from the condition of the vast ranks of the party members, there are among the 650,000 party members in Beijing 310,000 who joined the party before the cultural revolution, 250,000 who joined during the cultural revolution, and 90,000 who joined after the collapse of the Jiang Qing clique; thus the main current is fine. But "we must clearly see that some party members choose to resist the line, principles and policies since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee; they are skeptical and wavering toward communism, and some even still adhere to the ideological system of Lin Biao and the gang of four and feel dissatisfied with the party; some party members are extremely irresponsible in their work, their bureaucratism is very serious, or their life has become particularized, taking advantage of their office and power in plotting for private gains; some party members dabble in anarchism or extreme individualism in sabotage against the party organization and discipline; some party members cannot accomplish anything unless they are first entertained, they pursue the bourgeois style of life, or even resort to smuggling and trading in contraband, bribing and taking bribes, and avarice and corruption."

He especailly stressed, "party members who joined the party during the cultural revolution make up nearly 40 percent of the total; among them many lack a basic knowledge about the party Constitution and the party itself and are oblivious as to how to be a qualified party member. Some party members even say: 'Why should party members have to take the lead in pursuing our work and why don't the masses take the lead?' Some have joined the party even while they were part of the rebels' firing line or were drawn into the party; even today they still do not meet the qualifications of a party member. Some old party members also present problems."

9255

CSO: 4005/229

## HONG KONG MEDIA ON CHINA

### CHEN YONGGUI ADMITS MISTAKES

Hong Kong MINGBAO in Chinese 3 Dec 82 p 6

[Report: "Ultra-Left Faction Appears in National People's Congress: Chen Yonggui Acknowledges Having Committed Mistakes, Indicates Determination to Execute New Constitution Well"]

[Text] Chen Yonggui, former member of the CPC Central Committee's Political Bureau and vice premier of the State Council, has attended the Fifth Session of the 5th National People's Congress. When he recently discussed the Draft of the Revised Constitution at a NPC panel, he made a statement and admitted that he had committed ultra-Left mistakes.

In the case of certain responsible cadres of the CPC who have made serious mistakes in the past, because their status as deputies of the NPC has not been deprived, they are all allowed to attend the NPC this time. Included among them are Ji Dengkui, Chen Yonggui, Guo Fenglian [6753 7685 5571] (former secretary of the party branch at Dachai Production Brigade in Xiyang County, Shanxi) and the like who were hot personalities in power during the cultural revolution.

It has been learned that when Chen Yonggui made a statement during a panel discussion the other day, he admitted that he had made mistakes in the past. This upstart of the cultural revolution period who formerly rattled about being "willing to bump my head against the southern wall rather than turning back," now in the face of a situation that overwhelms the individual, can only bow his head and admit his guilt. He said: "In the past, my concept of the legal system was not very strong and I made not a few ultra-Left mistakes; when the new Constitution is passed, I am determined to implement it well."

9255

CSO: 4005/229

## HONG KONG MEDIA ON CHINA

### JINAN PREPARES FOR RECTIFICATION

Hong Kong MING BAO in Chinese 3 Dec 82 p 17

[Special staff report by Liang Dongchu [2733 2639 2806]: "Preparing for 'Rectification' in the Latter Half of Next Year--CPC Convenes Conference on Party Membership Education in Jinan"]

[Text] The CPC recently convened a "Work Conference on Party Membership Education" in Jinan; the participants were gathered jointly by the organization department and the propaganda department of the CPC Central Committee. Wang Zhaohua [3769 3564 5478], deputy chief of the CPC Central Committee organization department and confidant of Hu Yaobang, and Liao Jingdan [1675 0064 0030] of the central propaganda department presided over the conference; Song Renqiong, member of the CPC Central Committee political bureau and chief of the central organization department, and Deng Liqun, secretary of the central secretariat and chief of the central propaganda department, gave speeches at the conference.

#### Systematization and Institutionalization of Party Membership Education

This conference was intended mainly as a preparation for the "party rectification" that is to take place in the latter half of next year to study how to strengthen our party membership education so as to prompt our cadres to "firm up their belief in communism," overcome their defects, and correct their mistakes.

The conference held that in strengthening our party membership education, "our forms and methods may be multifarious, but we must combine rotationary training of concentrated members with education of a regular nature so as to gradually achieve normalization, systematization and institutionalization in our party membership education."

Participating in this conference were secretaries of the various provinces in charge of "party and mass work," responsible persons of their organization departments and propaganda departments, editors-in-chief of journals on party membership education of various localities, numbering 250 altogether; the scale was rather large.

## Workstyle of Cadres Has Been Largely Other Than Forthright

During the early days after the CPC's access to power, the workstyle of its cadres was fairly good; later on, it became worse and worse. They shouted about "serving the people" but in reality wanted the people to serve them. Since the "cultural revolution," the cadres in power have deviated from the masses and placed themselves loftily above them.

Today, what the CPC calls "deviation in workstyle" has mainly to do with the abuse of power. Cadres of counties, communes and production brigades have taken advantage of their office and power to pass disasters on to others, frame the innocent, and create many cases of injustice; this has remained rather common even today.

Corruption and extortion, smuggling and trading in contraband are even more "characteristic" of today's many cadres. When the masses follow the laws and decrees to get things done at party and government departments or follow established procedures in submitting their applications, they find it impossible unless they "burn some incense before the buddhas" or give some presents and enter by the backdoor; all party and government departments seem to take the posture that "you are not to come here if you have no money, even though you may be right."

Among the cases in point, the application for a transfer of residence, for a job transfer, for employment arrangements, and for visit to relatives abroad requires not only the offering of presents to the cadres in charge but even a "dedication of the body." FUJIAN RIBAO, for one, has exposed an incident in which relatives of overseas Chinese were subject to extortion of both property and sex; such incidents have long been "known to everybody." But many evil cadres have not been subject to penal punishment, and even instances of administrative reprimand have been rare.

Since the workstyle of CPC cadres has been largely other than forthright, their "party" naturally enjoys no prestige, and the "crises of conviction, trust and confidence" can only be more and more serious.

9255

CS0: 4005/229

## HONG KONG MEDIA ON CHINA

### WUHAN TEST-RUNS VOCATIONAL UNIVERSITIES

Hong Kong MING PAO in Chinese 6 Dec 82 p 20

[Article on "Beijing Observations" by Yang Jiatong [2799 0857 6639]: "Training Pertinent Talents in Accordance with Social Needs: Wuhan Test-runs 3-Year Vocational Universities"]

[Text] The mainland is carrying out a partial reform of the educational structure right now as it test-runs some vocational schools and short-term vocational universities. When the schools train pertinent professional talents in accordance with social needs, the students would also find things easier after their graduation. This new approach seems to be highly welcomed by the enterprises, factories, and youths and students.

#### Fourteen Hundred Students at Jiangnan University

According to information from the broadcasting media in Hubei, the 3-year vocational university test-run by Wuhan Municipality will have its first batch of graduates next year; it is said that a reputation has already been earned.

This university is run by the Wuhan CPC municipal committee and government; its site is that of a former short-term industrial and agricultural middle school, now named "Jiangnan University." Its teachers come from various universities and colleges and teaching and research units in Wuhan. Today, it has 83 fulltime teachers, 229 concurrent teachers, and more than 1,400 students.

This 3-year vocational college is different from the university run by the Chinese Communist Ministry of Education. First, the students must pay tuition (very cheap, at 20 to 25 yuan per semester); second, all the students are commuters (without dormitories at the school); third, they must pay their own transportation and medical expenses; and fourth, after they graduate they are not assigned to jobs on a uniform basis, but the school would select the superior ones to recommend to Wuhan's employing units.

This school has set up classrooms in Wuchang, Hankou, and Hanyang; the professions it caters to are meant to provide the talents needed by the Wuhan community--talents mainly in the economic category such as finance, commerce, and engineering. The subjects the students take are more suitable for them

to get employed after graduation; they are most useful for students who wish to acquire a particular trade for employment purpose.

#### Stresses Professional Training, Facilitates Employment

Such 3-year vocational universities have their origin from the United States. The ordinary 4-year American universities usually dispense a generalist education and place emphasis on theories and research methodologies; but what is most needed by society is the "practical" talents who can solve problems. Therefore, during the past few years, the 2-year and 3-year colleges in the United States have been developing very rapidly, as their teaching and employment can better coordinate with each other.

The establishment of Jiangnan University has absorbed the experience of the United States; in the long run, schools like this do show vitality.

9255

CSO: 4005/229

## HONG KONG MEDIA ON CHINA

### BEIJING PLANS FOR ADMINISTERING HONG KONG VIEWED

Hong Kong MING PAO in English 3 Dec 82 p 21

[Translation of MING PAO 1 Dec 82 editorial: "'Will Be Gone' and 'Same as Before'"]

[Text]

The National People's Congress and the People's Political Consultative Conference are in session now in Peking, with the new Constitution being the main item in the agenda. Article 31 of the draft Constitution deals with the establishment of special administrative regions. Peking authorities, for the first time, have indicated that Article 31 is meant for Taiwan as well as Hong Kong and Macao. Delegates to the NPC and the PCC from Hong Kong have expressed views on the future of Hong Kong, voicing support for Peking's stand on the matter. Liao Chengzhi spoke a few days ago of "administering Hong Kong by Hong Kong people". The so-called "Hong Kong people" are obviously people who live in Hong Kong. However, the people to administer Hong Kong following recovery of sovereignty by China cannot be ordinary people living in Hong Kong; they must be those who are attending the NPC or PCC meetings in Peking. But fifteen years later these "Hong Kong people" will all be aged and qualified for joining the "Advisory Commission on Hong Kong being administered by Hong Kong people" under the new policy of having "revolutionary and younger" cadres.

China News Agency is an official news agency for Peking. It carried a report on November 30 on the interview given to its reporter by the Chairman of Hong Kong's Chinese General Chamber of Commerce Mr. K. C. Wong. Mr. Wong said: "On this question I wish to say three sentences: The first is: the prevailing status will not change within the next fifteen years. The second: the governor, the British flag and the 'Royal' and 'Queen's' will be gone by 1997. Others will remain unchanged: the social system will not change, the economic system will not change, the lifestyle will not change, etc. The stock exchange will open as usual, horse races will be held as usual, one may dance as usual if he wishes. What is there to be afraid of with Hong Kong being administered by Hong Kong people? The third sentence: Many people have not thought of, yet facts are laid before us, that Hong Kong will certainly prosper within four or five years."

Mr. K. C. Wong has said three sentences, with three "will be gone", three "will not change" and three "same as before."

The three "will be gone" matter little, although this symbolizes the end of the British administration. Mr. Wong meant to say that when China takes back Hong Kong and the British rule comes to an end in fifteen years the system and the lifestyle in Hong Kong will all remain unchanged, and changes, if any, will be confined to what is symbolic only. The British flag with the design that looks like the Chinese character "mei" meaning rice will be replaced by the Chinese flag with

the five stars, the governor will be replaced by a mayor (?) and "Royal" or "Queen's" will be changed to "People's"—a Q.C. will be called "people's counsel," and the "Royal Jockey Club" be called the "People's Jockey Club."

Mr. Wong's political position is hardly comparable to that of Liao Chengzhi or Xi Zhongxun, both being vice-chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress. However, that Wong's talk was reported by the China News Agency showed it was an official act designed to describe, through one of the "Hong Kong people", to all the "Hong Kong people" what will become of Hong Kong fifteen years later when Hong Kong is administered by "Hong Kong people." As the people here do not quite understand the meaning of "the social system will remain unchanged," Mr. Wong took the trouble to tell the people in Hong Kong that "the stock exchange will open as usual, races will be held as usual, one may dance as usual" to satisfy Hong Kong people's three vital needs: to get rich, gamble and indulge in salty wet-Hong Kong jargon meaning indecency.

In fact, to most of the people here, it means little if there is no stock exchange, no jockey club, no dance hall or night club. We are only concerned with this: Are we free to leave and enter Hong Kong as we are now? Will the same principles in law be maintained and rights for individuals be safeguarded?

CSO: 4000/32

ENFORCING NEW CONSTITUTION SEEN AS POTENTIAL PROBLEM

Hong Kong MING PAO in English 7 Dec 82 p 17

[Translation of MING PAO 5 Dec 82 editorial: "Difficulty Is To Enforce the Law"]

[Text]

The 5th plenary session of the 5th National People's Congress approved yesterday, with 3,037 votes for and 3 abstentions, the revised Constitution of the People's Republic of China.

The new Constitution is more enlightened than any of the previous ones mainland China had, and reflects to some extent the wishes of the people for democracy, freedom, personal rights and rule of law. Emphasis given to class struggle and political campaigns in the past has been deleted from the new Constitution, so has tincture of personality cult and superstition. Judged from its wording and on the surface of it, it is a progressive constitution for the nation. The term of office for leaders holding top posts including the chairman and vice-chairman of state, prime minister and vice-premiers is five years in each case, and it is provided in the constitution that the same person cannot hold such a post for more than two terms. This new provision has removed a major fault in the Chinese communist political system—life-long service for senior cadres. Life term is an antonym for systematisation, specialisation, and younger ages for cadres.

Legislation is one thing, law enforcement is another. In a country having the tradition of observing the constitution and the principle of rule of law, once the constitution or a law has been revised the government and its people will accept and follow without any question. In China's mainland, however, political upheavals have been a constant feature over the past few decades. The Constitution just passed is the fourth one in 28 years and the third one in seven years, not counting the Common Outlines and the two draft constitutions which once had the effect of a constitution. The new Constitution is undoubtedly more complete and progressive than any of the previous ones, but the people of the nation have not yet full confidence that each and every article in the Constitution will be strictly adhered to.

It takes time to build up confidence. And confidence has to be supported by facts. Both time and facts are indispensable. Every fact showing that the Constitution is being observed serves to strengthen the Constitution, and every move that goes against the Constitution hurts public confidence and weakens the basic law.

To draft a constitution is not too difficult a job to do, It needs only to recruit a group of specialists to hold discussions that may last several months for the draft to be completed. Constitutions of foreign nations, the conditions, needs, policies and lines of the

nation are to be taken into consideration during the discussions. Less difficult still is to gather public opinions and have them properly assessed, so as to have the draft made and revised again if necessary before going to the final stage of having it approved. What is really difficult is that the leaders of the Chinese Communist Party, leaders of the Chinese government and armed forces, responsible officers of the public security branch, cadres at all levels will during the next 15 or 20 years follow what is laid down in the Constitution seriously and religiously. There may be someone who goes against the Constitution. If it happens it matters little if the one who has violated the Constitution is dealt with in accordance with the law, be he in a high or low position. China has always been in want of the spirit of observing rule of law. The Chinese tend to give too much emphasis to power, friendship, family relations and personal interests. China has yet to have the tradition of sticking to the constitution of the nation. And this is not just confined to the period since the communists came to power.

The nation will not be on the right track until inviolability of the Constitution has been established. For the constitution is the basic law of a nation, on which are built all the rules, systems and principles to be followed. The strength of a constitution derives from its being observed over a long time.

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## HONG KONG MEDIA ON CHINA

### AGREEMENT BETWEEN PRC, UK ON HONG KONG DEEMED NECESSITY

Hong Kong MING PAO In English 24 Nov 82 p 17

[Translation of MING PAO 22 Nov 82 editorial: "Liao Chengzhi on Hong Kong's Future"]

[Text]

According to the China News Agency in a report datelined Peking, November 20, Liao Chengzhi, a vice-chairman of the standing committee of the National People's Congress, told a delegation of the Hong Kong Manufacturers' Union in Peking in the morning of the 20th November that following China's recovery of the sovereignty over Hong Kong not later than 1997 Hong Kong would be administered by the people of Hong Kong. "After the recovery, the stability and prosperity in Hong Kong will be maintained, the prevalent systems in Hong Kong will remain. So will the way of life for its people, its being a free port and a financial centre. We are full of confidence on Hong Kong's future. Liao Chengzhi hoped that friends of Hong Kong's industrial and commercial circles will contribute their efforts to Hong Kong's prosperity."

Recovery of sovereignty, Hong Kong to be administered by the people of Hong Kong, the systems in Hong Kong to remain and stability and prosperity to be maintained. This has been said by quite a few people over the past few months. But Liao Chengzhi spoke specifically for the first time of Peking's thinking on the future of Hong Kong in a concrete manner instead of vaguely or ambiguously. Liao is the highest official in Peking in charge of Hong Kong and Macao affairs. His statement should therefore be treated as authoritative. Xi Chungxun, another vice-chairman of the standing committee of the NPC, told a delegation of Hong Kong's Trade Development Council not long ago that no major change would be done to Hong Kong's status quo within the next fifteen years, to say the least. The implication is that sovereignty over Hong Kong will not be recovered before 1997. One says not earlier than 1997 and the other, not later than 1997. It means Peking's time table calls for recovering the sovereignty over Hong Kong in 1997.

Both China and Britain have indicated that the talks over Hong Kong would be concluded in one or two years. With the negotiations now proceeding, why do Chinese leaders unilaterally speak of their decision to recover Hong Kong in 1997? It is because Britain refuses to make any concession, insisting that the three treaties on Hong Kong are valid. This would mean Britain will have to hand back the New Territories north of Boundary Street to China on June 30, 1997. In fact, Britain will be in no position to keep only 8 per cent of the whole of Hong Kong after June 30, 1997, without having to be pressured into doing it by China. With the airport, the railway, most of the reservoirs, the containers terminal and most of the industries within China's frontiers by then, Hong Kong will certainly not continue to exist as it is now. What is up in Peking's mind is probably this: it would be most ideal if a sound arrangement can be reached whereby the principles involved and interests of all

the parties concerned are taken due care of to maintain Hong Kong's stability and prosperity without causing any infringement on China's sovereignty. If an agreement fails to be reached, preparations for the worst would be made by doing things in accordance with the treaties concerned so as not to cause any serious harm to Sino-British relations. Peking believes Hong Kong's stability and prosperity can still be maintained if its plan is implemented.

The plan outlined by Liao Chengzhi is one which Peking believes to be feasible even if Britain refuses to make concessions. If the talks fail to make any progress in one or two years they will be called off and China will take back the New Territories in 1997, leaving Britain no alternative but to return the whole of Hong Kong to China. It will be much better if an agreement satisfactory to the parties concerned is reached as it will be easier to maintain Hong Kong's stability and prosperity and keep it as a free port and financial centre. That is what the Sino-British talks are aimed at.

CSO: 4000/32

INDEPENDENT HONG KONG JOURNAL COMMENTS ON TAIWAN ISSUE

Hong Kong CHI-SHI NIANDAI [THE SEVENTIES] in Chinese No 10 Oct 82 pp 76-78

[Article by Tu Fan [0960 3972]: "Guo Yuxin [6753 7183 2450] Announces His Visit to Peking"]

[Text] On 11 August [1982] ZHONG BAO, a Chinese newspaper published in New York, alone published the news that Guo Yuxin, formerly one of the non-[Nationalist] party five tiger generals of Taiwan's provincial parliament, had accepted the invitation of the Beijing authorities and was going to visit the Chinese mainland. Only the precise date, as of the writing of this present article, has not yet been announced. Regardless of whether Guo finally makes the trip or not, the fact that he has accepted an invitation to visit Beijing will certainly create immense repercussions among his compatriots in Taiwan and among Taiwan political circles overseas.

[It will] give rise to immense repercussions among the people of Taiwan.

The thing about Guo Yuxin's trend which causes concern is, first of all, the fact that for a long time in the past he participated in nonparty activities in Taiwan, and possessed a substantial political base among the masses; another reason is that, at present while the three-cornered relationship among China, the United States, and the Nationalists is at such a delicate stage, and each side is incessantly scheming, playing all manner of "cards," and making use of every opportunity to consolidate their own positions, considering his former position as a leader among the people of Taiwan, the significance of his accepting, while in America, an invitation to go to China for a visit seems even more unusual.

Before leaving Taiwan in 1977, Guo Yuxin played an important role in Taiwan's nonparty movement. From the "Taiwan Provincial Legislature," as it was called at that time, to the "Taiwan Provincial Parliament" of today, he was elected to and held the post of provincial assemblyman seven times running, was in office for 25 years and, along with Li Wanju [2621 5502 1446] and Guo Guoji [6753 0948 1015] of that time, was equally referred to as one of the nonparty "five tiger generals." In 1975 Guo ran for the post of member of the Legislative Yuan, and the Nationalist Party employed the measure of printing additional ballots, causing over 30,000 ballots cast for him to be invalidated in Ilan District, so that he lost the election. When the people heard of this, they were incensed, and a crowd of 60,000 surrounded the Nationalist Party's local

courthouse in Ilan, nearly creating an incident. From this one can see the solid popular support that Guo had in Taiwan.

After going to America in 1977 Guo was held up there, and while abroad soon founded the "Overseas Alliance of the Taiwan Democratic Movement." After the occurrence of the Gaoxiong incident in 1979 this alliance was also one of the members of the "Taiwan Nation-founding United Front," yet owing to the fact that the thinking of the "Front's" various groups of members was so different, it was disbanded not long after it was formed, before achieving any result. After this, Guo in 1978, announced his intention to return to Taiwan to run for president, and afterwards it was also given out that he had run about among his friends from the same area of Taiwan trying to organize them against the Nationalists, etc.--all sorts of unexpected actions that served to bring him into prominence while causing people to be unable to figure out the various "moves" of his political movement. His going to visit Beijing on this occasion is also a strange move, and his causing the overseas Taiwanese political movement to reach out towards the Chinese Mainland causes a good many Taiwanese political groups, which are accustomed to thinking of as having their base in North America, to feel that this is extremely unaccustomed and inappropriate. For example, New York's TAIWAN GONGLUN BAO, which advertises itself as the "newspaper of Taiwanese abroad," in reporting the news of Guo Yuxin's trend, used the following headlines: "Guo Yuxin Has Accepted Chai Zemin's [2693 3419 3046] Banquet Invitation, and Says That Before Selecting a Day He Will Go to Beijing To Pay His Respects"; "Guo Yuxin Wishes To Work Together With China; the People of Taiwan Are All Hoping That He Will Not Lose His Integrity in His Later Years," etc., the language overflowing with satire and indignation.

Actually, Guo is not a superhuman personage, and at present also does not have any actual, solid political clout, and to say that his going to Beijing would serve to bring about a "working together" on anything with the government of China is simply to exaggerate his individual capability and position. However, it cannot be denied that, considering Guo's previous career in Taiwan, whatever action he takes after arriving in China will obviously constitute a considerable assault on the overseas Taiwanese political movement.

To speak of the present cold war between the Nationalists and the CPC, Taiwan is the prize that both parties are struggling for; the former wants to do its utmost to entrench itself and defend Taiwan tenaciously, and safeguard its vested political interests; the latter has the aim of obtaining nominal sovereignty over Taiwan, in order to cause Taiwan in the future to "return to the motherland," and complete the great enterprise of unification. The people of Taiwan, then, are caught in the narrow space in between, and have all along been a piece in the chessboard war between the two parties. Kang Ningxiang [1660 1380 4382], one of Taiwan's nonparty personages, though he boasts a lot, in Taiwan has, outside the (Nationalist) party, the support of 30 percent of the voters (see SHEN GENG magazine, Vol 14, p 33); overseas, there are also at least a dozen groups representing the Taiwanese political movement, though the voice representing the advantage of the people of Taiwan is nevertheless extremely "feeble" (to borrow the expression used by the nonparty personage Huang Huangxiong [7806 3552 7160] at the welcoming banquet of the association of fellow provincials in New York on 15 August) and, moreover, is scattered

over many places so that its full force cannot be concentrated. For this reason, in this struggle between the Nationalist and Communist Parties, which has the greatest bearing on the vital interests of the people of Taiwan, it goes without saying that the Taiwanese cannot yet participate actively and, at times, even become the tool of the two parties to the struggle.

The nonparty people visit America while Guo Yuxin visits China.

The visit to America in July this year of four of Taiwan's nonparty personages is a good example. As soon as Kang Ningxiang, Zhang Deming [1728 1795 6900], Huang Huangxiong, and You Qingdeng [1429 3237 4583] reached San Francisco, they boasted that Taiwan's nonparty politics had already advanced upon the international stage and yet, examining carefully the opportunity the nonparty personages took to visit America, one notices that it was precisely at the moment when the consultations between China and the United States on the "New Shanghai Communique" had reached a critical juncture, the Nationalist Party was apprehensive that the United States would yield to pressure by the Chinese communists, cease the supply of weapons and, hence, they would lose American political support; and yet, aside from the Nationalist Party there is no other strong, effective voice to express views on this matter. On this occasion, the timely approval of a visit to the United States by the nonparty personages, on the basis of their position as out-of-office "leaders" among the people of Taiwan, they were able to see a number of State Department officials whom none of the Nationalist officials stationed in the United States had seen for several years, and express a number of opinions which the Nationalists wanted to express but which would have had little credulity if spoken by themselves, such as the general concept of the crisis of the "threat of the communist bandits" which the Nationalists have been inculcating the people of Taiwan with for over 30 years. This kind of concept, expressed through the agency of the nonparty personages, appeared more forceful.

As was to be expected, Kang Ningxiang and the others did not fail to perform the function that the Nationalists had entrusted them with; on the eve of leaving the United States, and also after returning to Taiwan, they issued statements approving America's sale of weapons to the Nationalist authorities. Of course, the nonparty personages also achieved a major success in having the voice of the people of Taiwan magnified and disseminated abroad; but at the same time it is also a fact that they performed a stinking service for the Nationalists.

Guo Yuxin's announcement of wanting to go to Beijing, having the same kind of background, may very possibly allow the CPC's propaganda to form it into a symbol of the movement of the hearts of the people of Taiwan towards the "motherland." Over the last 3 years, the CPC has not spared any extra efforts in its peaceful united front to win Taiwan. In 1979 they issued for the first time the "Announcement to Our Compatriots on Taiwan," calling for the mainland and Taiwan to engage in commercial, travel, and postal relations; last year they also issued the "Nine-Point Peace Program," guaranteeing that after Taiwan returned to the "motherland" it would be able to retain its army and its original political and economic system. On 24 July this year, Liao Chengzhi, vice chairman of the Standing Committee of China's People's Congress, sent a letter

to Jiang Qingguo expressing his wish to go to Taipei first for negotiations on the question of unity.

This succession of documents all regard the Nationalist Party as the objective in starting relations, and although the CPC at the same time is actively striving to win over the people of Taiwan, and last year established in Beijing a "National Taiwan Compatriots' Friendship Association," with the responsibility of planning to receive people from Taiwan going to the mainland, nevertheless over the past few years it has yielded very small results, and one can say that no overseas political figures of Taiwan nationality at all have gone for a public visit. The causes of this are naturally many, but the most obvious and apparent one is that the CPC, in order to strive for unity at least in name, did not grudge the effort of going out of their way to curry favor with the Nationalist authorities. In its policy towards Taiwan, the CPC seems to consider the political authority of the Nationalists and the people of Taiwan as one and the same; as for the matter of unity, they seem to think it can be successfully accomplished if only the Nationalists nod approval, and are completely unaware of the deep contradictions existing between the people of Taiwan and the Nationalist political authorities--contradictions which, moreover, are deepening steadily. For this reason, the more magnanimous the conditions for peace talks proposed to the Nationalists by the CPC, the more they arouse the antipathy and indignation of the Taiwanese, especially overseas Taiwanese.

In this kind of atmosphere, it is not hard to comprehend why Guo's announcement of his trip to Beijing has aroused a negative reaction in Taiwanese circles abroad, and on this level the TAIWAN GONGLUN BAO has pretty much reflected the mood of the majority of overseas Taiwanese.

Seen from another angle, Guo's visit to Beijing is precisely the same kind of situation as the visit of the nonparty personages to America in the sense that on the one hand it is certainly difficult to avoid falling into the trap of being used by people but, on the other hand, matters depend upon how people engage in them, and perhaps it may also produce some positive effects.

The four nonparty personages reside in Taiwan, and though they have the backing of the masses, nevertheless with respect to the views they express they must still to a definite degree go through the motions of appearing loyal to the Nationalists; even if they go to America their speech must still be kept within strict limits, and a good many of their opinions cannot be clearly expressed; and so, it is easy for them to be used by the Nationalists.

Guo Yuxin resides in the United States, and as far as the matter of his visiting China is concerned, aside from the possibility that his property in Taiwan might be confiscated by the Nationalists, with regard to himself as an individual he ought to be able to come and go as he pleases, and say whatever he wants. When Guo accepted the banquet invitation of Chai Zemin, Chinese Ambassador to the United States, he issued a statement indicating that the purpose of this trip was to open up a dialogue with persons from all quarters who are concerned about the Taiwan question; and that peace negotiations between the Nationalist and Communist Parties were definitely not tantamount to solving all the problems of Taiwan. At the same time, he indicated that the solution

of the Taiwan question must be based upon the wishes of the 18 million people of Taiwan. When he accepted an interview by the above-mentioned New York newspaper, he said that the future of Taiwan involves many complex factors, and that eliminating the factor of the Chinese mainland was not consistent with reality.

It is to be hoped that Guo will adhere to these principles.

If Guo is able to adhere to the above-mentioned principles in opening up a dialogue with the Chinese communist authorities, then his trip to Beijing will not cause any great harm. Those persons engaged in the Taiwanese political movement should have a broad field of vision and breadth of spirit, and not be afraid of opening up relations with any country or government in the world that is concerned with the future of Taiwan. Not to mention the fact that Guo, in announcing this trip, has also, invisibly, led a whole army of the Nationalists. We have watched Taiwan's two large newspapers, the LIANHE BAO and the ZHONGGUO SHIBAO, spare no space in slandering Guo Yuxin, and from this one can know just how dumbfounded and at a loss the Nationalist authorities are over this affair. According to the wishful thinking of the Nationalists, playing the "nonparty card," aside from enabling them to have the group of nonparty personages including Kang Ningxiang go to America and express for them the importance of their purchasing weapons, also enables them to create a false image of the Nationalist party. However, Guo Yuxin also played an important role in nonparty affairs during those years, and had a considerable base among the masses; his not being able to return to Taiwan, and going to Beijing instead, has doubtless destroyed the image that the Nationalists have built up through enduring considerable sacrifices.

To retreat one step in our argument, at present Guo, with respect to the tide and trend of the overseas Taiwanese political movement, definitely does not possess a decisive position, and the assault which his trip to China may bring, whether it is destructive or constructive, will not be serious enough to influence the course of the Taiwanese political movement. In view of this, Guo's trip to Beijing is definitely not an affair that is difficult to tolerate. The people of Taiwan should be broadminded about it, and be optimistic about his trip.

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