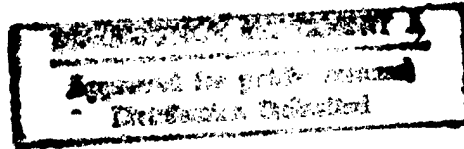


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10 June 1982



# China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 307

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## PARTY AND STATE

### DETERMINED STRUGGLE URGED AGAINST ECONOMIC CRIMES

Shanghai MINZHU YU FAZHI [DEMOCRACY AND LEGAL SYSTEM] in Chinese No 3, 25 Mar 82 pp 2-3

[Commentary: "Energetically Publicize the Resolution of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress and Firmly Crack Down on Crime in the Economic Realm"]

[Text] The "Resolution on Severe Punishment for Serious, Destructive Economic Crimes" passed by the 22d session of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress is a major resolution for safeguarding our nation's socialist system. It supplements and amends some relevant articles in the "Penal Code of the People's Republic of China" and is a potent weapon for cracking down on crime in the economic realm. We must earnestly study it, give it wide publicity, and make it known to all. We must firmly put it into effect, fully wield this powerful weapon, and wage a determined struggle against criminal behavior in the economic realm.

In recent years, our nation's implementation of the correct principles and policies of lifting foreign restrictions and enlivening the domestic economy, along with the step-by-step correction of "leftist" erroneous tendencies in economic work, have caused our socialist economy to take on a flourishing and vital look and have effectively pushed forward the construction of our nation's socialist modernization. These practices prove that the lines, principles, and policies formulated by the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee were entirely correct and that they must also be unswervingly adhered to in the future.

In the meantime we must also soberly notice that in the 10-year period of domestic upheaval, everyone was deeply hurt in some way by the anarchistic and out-and-out individualistic ideological trends instigated by the Lin Biao-Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques, and that during that time while the policies of lifting foreign restrictions and enlivening the domestic economy were put into effect, our ideological and political work and administrative measures did not keep pace, with the result that within the country there was a gradual increase in the effects of decadent capitalist ideology and bourgeois ways of life, and rather serious bourgeois liberalization tendencies appeared in the many spheres of socialist life. The smuggling and peddling, speculation and fraud, graft and bribery, and pilfering of huge amounts of

state and collective property in the economic realm have already reached a stage of serious criminal activity that is much more serious than the "three-anti" and "five-anti" periods of 1952. From within and without they conspire to sabotage the socialist modernization construction. Even though this kind of criminal activity within our party and nation is carried out by only a handful of people and is a minor countercurrent, nevertheless, if it does not draw immediate attention and is not firmly attacked, it will spread unchecked and surely will further contaminate the body of our party, our nation, and our people. It will poison people's thinking, pollute the socialist atmosphere, disrupt economic construction, affect stability and unity, and will endanger the socialist system.

The appearance of these phenomena is a significant manifestation of the current class struggle in our nation's socialist society under new historical conditions, and is a reflection of the class enemies from within and without the state corrupting and damaging us with decadent capitalist ideology. This is a struggle to oppose the corruption of the capitalist ideology and to safeguard the socialist system. This struggle will have a bearing on the success or failure of our nation's socialist modernization construction and on the rise or fall of our party and state, and certainly cannot be treated lightly. So, we must now carry out a concentrated and resolute attack against these kinds of criminal activities. It should also be noted, however, that due to the class struggle still existing within certain spheres, this struggle will inevitably be protracted and surely will be waged over and over. We must be fully aware and highly vigilant and at no time can we relent in this struggle.

The crackdown on crime in the economic realm is a most complex struggle. Thus, we need to strengthen party leadership and the correct understanding of principles and policies, and it is essential that this struggle be carried through to the end in an orderly, measured, and unflinching manner under the guidance of the party. Resolve must be great, policies must be correct, methods must be sound, and the attack must be accurate.

There are three key points in the "Resolution" of the People's Standing Committee: one is the provision that for severe penalties for economic crimes and particularly grave cases, the sentence can be life imprisonment and the death penalty, respectively. The second is that the illegality of severe punishment for state personnel must be investigated. The third is the practice of leniency to those who confess their crimes and severity to those who do not. In the "Resolution" is the provision that for past criminal activities, offenders can, before 1 May, turn themselves in to the judicial department, make a full confession, actively denounce and expose offenses, and all will be dealt with in accordance with past relevant legal clauses; otherwise they will be regarded as continual offenders and will be dealt with firmly in accordance with the new provisions. This, then, embodies the spirit of leniency in severity and it provides offenders with the opportunity to mend their ways promptly. Time is short, so all offenders who hope to be treated leniently should clearly understand the situation, seize the opportunity, promptly turn themselves in, and make factual confessions. This is the only way out.

In the course of cracking down on crime in the economic realm it is also essential that we pay attention to increasing ideological and political work, promptly resolve and correct every kind of erroneous ideology and muddled thinking that arises in the struggle, and correctly understand policies. For example, some people believe that the policies of this struggle are not clear, the range of people is too vast, and that it is being poorly handled. Some fear criminals, fear retribution, and fear once more stirring up misjudged cases that must be set right, etc. All of these ideas and inclinations are wrong and they must be corrected.

It must be made clear to our cadres and masses that smuggling and peddling, speculation and fraud, graft and bribery, etc. are criminal actions, that there are explicit stipulations in our country's constitution and laws and in our party's constitutions and "Guiding Principles," and that the dividing lines for major issues of principle are quite clear. Of course there are some specific policies that also need to be clarified, such as the boundary lines between work errors and illegal offenses, between ordinary and serious mistakes, between making a mistake and committing a crime, between normal economic dealings and specific policies and smuggling and peddling, speculation and fraud, graft and bribery, and so on. Moreover, the stress should be on evidence, investigation, and study; obtaining confessions by compulsion and then giving them credence must be forbidden. In light of different circumstances and conditions, each case should be dealt with on its own merits and should be handled realistically. However, we certainly cannot allow using as any excuse the indulging, pampering, and shielding of those criminals and acts.

At the same time we must also state explicitly that in view of past "leftist" errors, the method of mass movements will not be used in this struggle, so as to avoid creating new misjudged cases. Nevertheless, it definitely will fully follow the mass line. By means of this struggle, not only will crime in the economic realm be firmly, accurately, and vigorously attacked, it will also save and educate people, and will enable the vast party members, cadres, and masses to learn the profound lessons of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and the teachings of the fine traditions of the party and socialism to further strengthen immunity.

This struggle is one of this year's key tasks and we must earnestly get a good handle on it. This thus requires that propaganda and education work be strengthened. Closely unite with reality, adopt various forms, use model cases, give wide publicity to the severity, perniciousness, and perilous nature of crime in the economic realm, publicize the importance, protracted nature and complexity of the struggle to oppose the corruption of capitalist ideology, and publicize the party's principles, policies, and measures for successfully carrying out this struggle. In order to heighten the political awareness of party members, cadres and masses, enhance the ability to distinguish and resist the decadent ideologies of capitalism and the remnants of feudalism, as well as bourgeois ways of life, and consciously wage a determined struggle against all unhealthy trends. In the midst of struggle, meanwhile, revolutionary vigilance must be heightened and every kind of

destructive activity must be forestalled. We must protect and praise all good people and good deeds in courageously and tenaciously carrying out this struggle. Unite in this struggle, further attack unhealthy trends and foster healthy ones, do well each and every bit of work, promote stability and unity, and propel unendingly forward the construction of the material and spiritual civilization of socialism.

9926

CSO: 4005/779

PARTY AND STATE

HISTORICAL EFFORTS TO ELIMINATE BUREAUCRATISM ENUMERATED

Beijing LIAOWANG [OBSERVATION POST] in Chinese No 3, 20 Mar 82 p 2

[Commentary by Hua Ding [5478 0002]: "Cleansing Bureaucratism 10 Times, 100 Times"]

[Text] As the new year began, the Party Central Committee issued a call for us to reform our administrative structure, overcome our bureaucratism, and improve our work efficiency.

This call caused many recollections to flash across my mind.

I thought of--

The period of 1941-1942, when the various anti-Japanese bases experienced the most difficult moments because of the large-scale attack by the Japanese imperialists and the siege by the Kuomintang troops. Accepting Mr Li Dingming's advice, the Party Central Committee carried out an extremely important policy of streamlining the military units and simplifying the administrative agencies. That policy had as its goals streamlining and simplification, unification, efficiency, economy and antibureaucratism. At the time, Comrade Mao Zedong cited the story about the Monkey King changing himself into a tiny insect and making his way into the stomach of the Princess of the Iron Fan in order to overpower her, and also the fable about "The Donkey in Guizhou Who Found Itself at the End of Its Wits," as described by Liu Zongyuan, in order to profoundly and vividly illustrate how, if we "make ourselves become smaller," "we should become invincible."

The year 1953, when the country had just concluded the period of national economic recovery and had gradually begun the march of its construction under the First Five-Year Plan: On 5 January, the Party Central Committee issued the instruction to oppose bureaucratism, commandism and violations of law and discipline, pointing out that these were reflections in our party and government ranks of the reactionary workstyle of the reactionary ruling class in dealing with the people, and that they "not only constitute a great problem today but will remain a great problem for a long time to come."

Today, our party is leading the people of the whole country to carry out the construction of our socialist modernization and has started a great new march. In repeatedly proposing the strategic policy of streamlining our administrative

structure, overcoming our bureaucratism, and improving our work efficiency, the party is determined to handle this matter well. It is a big matter relating to the rise or fall of our party and state in the new historical period.

I thought of--

The period between 1919 and 1922, following the success of the Russian Socialist Revolution, when Lenin repeatedly cried out his urgent appeal for assiduous struggle against bureaucratism: In her "Memoirs of Lenin," Krupskaya wrote: "To uproot all kinds and forms of bureaucratism from Soviet soil--this was Ilyich's long-cherished wish." In order to understand the actual working conditions at the People's Commissariat of Transportation, Lenin not only rode a railroad car incognito so as to carry out an on-the-spot investigation, but also abruptly sent out personnel to inspect the work of this department. He also specifically intervened in a case in which the People's Commissariat of Food was dragging its feet in running things--a bureau chief of this people's commissariat, after having received appeals for a reduction of agricultural taxes from two districts which had suffered hail damage, had suppressed them in his drawer for 3 months. Lenin firmly requested the Moscow Revolutionary Tribunal to finish trying this "rather educational" case in the shortest possible time and to inform him of its adjudication. Lenin even personally drafted a sentence in the public trial of a case of bureaucratism.

Why did Lenin pay so much attention to struggling against bureaucratism? In his article "To the People's Commissariat of Finance," he said: If anything can destroy us, it is bureaucratism. More than once he pointed out that the struggle against bureaucratism "requires a long time. We must persistently and assiduously carry out this struggle"; "we must cure it and cleanse it 10 times, 100 times." The key to the problem lies in our having practitioners as well as practice, so that we can discover select and able talent by choosing 1 from every 100, 1 from every 1,000 communists.

I also thought of--

The prosperous reign of Zhenguan in our history, which carried out the reform of reducing and merging central and local administrative institutions and solving the shortcoming of "officials not being properly appointed" and "officials outnumbering the people." Emperor Taizong of the Tang Dynasty Li Shimin suggested: "The foundation of governing lies in prudence. Offices should be granted according to the qualifications of the recipients, and officials and personnel should be appointed as sparingly as possible." Such reforms in the early years of the reign of Zhenguan actually achieved quite some results in terms of "establishing all the offices in the empire, none being granted superficially; appropriating all the wealth of the empire, little being spent unjustly." Because of class and historical limitations, however, this kind of reform was no longer heard of by the time the period of Zhenguan rule had reached its peak.

History is a mirror. History can provide us with enlightenment:

In order to make sure that our people's political power maintains the closest possible link with the vast ranks of the masses of the people and forever retains its youth, we must cleanse away the dust of bureaucratism.

Cleansing away bureaucratism is not something that one can accomplish once and for all; it requires long, assiduous struggle.

To cleanse away bureaucratism, we must not only streamline and simplify our administrative structure but, more importantly, also select the virtuous and talented and pick hundreds and thousands of men of action who are loyal to the party's cause.

9255

CSO: 4005/772

## PARTY AND STATE

### LENIN QUOTED TO URGE GREATER EFFICIENCY

Jinan DAZHONG RIBAO in Chinese 25 Mar 82 p 3

[Article by Chi Xinzhi [6688 1800 1807]: "Lenin Stressed Improving Agency Work Efficiency"]

[Text] After the victory in the October Revolution, the Soviet national economy and the lives of the people were in extremely difficult circumstances because of the destruction wrought by the war. In order to more effectively consolidate the newborn political power of the revolution, to better implement the new economic policies and to speed the recovery of industry, transportation and agriculture, Lenin specially emphasized improving bureaucratic efficiency in all areas in party and state agencies. Lenin believed that, after seizing revolutionary political power, the continued improvement of state agencies remained a basic problem. He said: "If we do not wage a systematic and tenacious struggle to improve state agencies, then we will certainly perish before our socialist foundation is completely established." ("The Complete Works of Lenin," vol 32, p 311) To do this, Lenin firmly proceeded to promote the work of streamlining organs. In "A Letter to the Leaders of Every Agency of the Central Soviet" he pointed out: "I request that you carry out immediate reforms. Soviet administrative organs must work methodically, accurately and quickly. Because laxity and disorder not only damage the individual interests of some, but also insure that all management work fails to live up to its name, being mere substanceless form." ("Writings of Lenin," vol 9, p 783)

Lenin believed that in order to improve state agencies and work efficiency, it was necessary to eradicate bureaucratism, dilatory workstyles, red tape and other corrupt practices in state agencies. He said: "Any dilatory workstyles or bureaucratism that obstructs lively functioning should be mercilessly punished." He demanded that "the people's courts be more attentive to applying legal sanctions against those engaging in bureaucratism, dilatory workstyles and dereliction of duty in economic areas." ("The Complete Works of Lenin," vol 33, pp 151-52) Lenin also clearly noted the standard for judging agency work efficiency. He said: Judge "the true measurement of the labor productivity of each agency first in the extent to which it truly and promptly completes the matters it handles. I request that from now on, without exception, you should make the most

prompt and detailed reply to each item of work and inquiry handed you. If you merely limit yourselves to hollow and perfunctory responses to matters, or send them on to other agencies, then you similarly foster dilatory workstyles and waste paper." ("Writings of Lenin," vol 9, p 783)

Lenin felt that one effective way to combat dilatory workstyles, bureaucratism and various elements of disorder was to establish systems of responsibility. He said: "We must stipulate with extreme clarity the responsibility for carrying out specific tasks and actual work to be shouldered by each person working for the Soviet." ("The Complete Works of Lenin," vol 28, p 329) Lenin believed that only in this way could they instill a sense of responsibility in people and oppose the bad things that are presently difficult to eliminate, could they focus the attention of the peasant and worker masses on this important problem and could they reach their actual goals: to achieve greater economic results.

When the heart of the work of the Bolshevik Party turned from war to economic construction, Lenin again pointed out that only by selecting personnel with management capabilities who are deeply concerned about economic recovery and about improving labor productivity to work in agencies, could they effectively carry out production and construction. He said: "The key to all present problems lies in having those who practice and in practice itself. Discover talented people--astute and hardworking people," for only then can "our orders (good orders and bad orders alike) be transformed from dirty wastepaper into vital practice--this is the key." ("The Complete Works of Lenin," vol 33, p 447) At the same time, Lenin took aim at the situation in which large numbers of Communist Party members did not have a basic knowledge of economics or management, and raised the matter of agency cadres needing to get a tighter hold on study. He said: "First is study; second is study; and third is also study--and then examination to see to it that our learning truly penetrates our being, truly becomes a part of our lives, and that it does not become ossified dogma or fashionable rhetoric." ("The Complete Works of Lenin," vol 33, p 443) Lenin further noted: "Use the methods of inspecting personnel and examining actual work to combat the swampland of bureaucratism and dilatory workstyles; mercilessly remove excess personnel, reduce staffs, and remove from office those Communist Party members who do not seriously study management work." ("The Complete Works of Lenin," vol 35, p 545) Lenin believed that only in this way could they raise the quality of personnel and agency work; unite more closely with the masses; and see that agency work was more methodical and dependable. He said: "Only by means of such work can we arrive at our goal, and, moreover, only by reaching our goal can we construct" a true model state agency "of a Soviet socialist republic that is worthy of its name." ("The Complete Works of Lenin," vol 33, p 444)

At present, overstaffing resulting in extremely low work efficiency is quite serious. Because of this, we should seriously study the teachings of Lenin, work hard to streamline agencies and improve work efficiency so as to guarantee the smooth progress of socialist modernization construction.

9705

CSO: 4005/787

PARTY AND STATE

'RENMIN RIBAO' ON MARX'S RESEARCH STYLE, SPIRIT

HK251326 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 18 May 82 p 5

[Article by Wang Qianyu [3769 6197 1342] and Chen Hanchu [7115 3352 2806]:  
"'At The Entrance to Hell'--Learning From Marx's Spirit and Style of Doing  
Theoretical Research"]

[Text] //We should learn from Marx's spirit and style of doing theoretical  
research. They are: The dauntless revolutionary spirit of daring to  
criticize, to explore and to fight for truth; the scientific approach which  
is characterized by making honest inquiries and being meticulous about  
every detail; and the devotional spirit of defying difficulties and hard-  
ships and of being firm and indomitable.// [Slantlines denote boldface  
as published]

In his "Preface to the Critique of Political Economy" written in 1859,  
Marx likened the entrance to science to the entrance to hell and quoted  
the following verses from Dante:

"Here all mistrust must be abandoned  
And here must perish every craven thought."

In the preface to the first volume of his monumental work "Das Kapital"  
published in 1867, Marx said: "Every opinion based on scientific criticism  
I welcome. As to the prejudices of so-called public opinion, to which I  
have never made concessions, now as in the past the maxim of the great  
Florentine poet (Dante) is mine: "Follow your own course, and let people  
talk!" The fact that this world-famous proletarian great master in science  
quoted Dante's well-known sayings in the prefaces to his two monumental  
works is not accidental. This is because the verses from Dante give the  
best expression to Marx's spirit and style of doing theoretical research:  
the dauntless revolutionary style, the scientific approach which is char-  
acterized by making honest inquiries, and the devotional spirit of being  
firm and indomitable.

The spirit of daring to criticize, the explore and to fight for truth is a  
characteristic of Marx's style of doing theoretical research. When Marx  
rose to prominence in society in the 1840's in the capacity of a revolu-  
tionary activist and a theoretical fighter, he announced that his task was

not to dogmatically predict the future. He hoped to "discover a new world while criticizing the old one." In 1844, he cooperated with Engels in writing their first work "The Holy Family--A Critique of the Critique--Refuting Bruno Bauer and His Partners." This work criticized the young Hegelians and all philosophical works by Hegel on idealism. At that time, Bauer and his followers advocated a critique which surpassed reality, transcended political parties and politics and engaged all practical activities. This type of critique just "critically" and quietly observes things around the world. They described the proletariat as a group of people without the ability to discriminate, described themselves as thinking philosophers who were capable of practicing criticism, and also described themselves as the only active force in the history of social development. To counter this view, "The Holy Family" proposed that "historical activities should be regarded as undertakings of the masses," and that the proletariat must be capable of criticizing the old world and building a new one.

At that time, bourgeois and petit bourgeois socialist schools of every hue occupied dominant positions within the European labor movement. They looked down on the forces of the masses of people, spread among the workers illusions about the ruling class and attempted to reconcile social contradictions. Marx held that without exposing and criticizing these erroneous theories, the working class would not be able to find the correct road to liberation. He disregarded ridicule and attacks from other people, did not place blind faith in authoritative conclusions, and resolutely and determinedly carried out merciless criticisms of all types of erroneous trends of thought. He wrote "The Poverty of Philosophy" to criticize Proudhon's anarchism and reformism. During his various debates with Grun and Weitling, he criticized "the true socialism." After this, in "The German Ideology" and "The Communist Manifesto" which he wrote in collaboration with Engels, he thoroughly exposed and criticized their erroneous views on the theoretical plane.

In his speech entitled "The Tasks of the Youth Leagues," Lenin said: Marx critically reshaped everything that had been created by human society. He reshaped and criticized everything that had been created by human thought. The theory of scientific socialism was born out of the criticism of Europe's three major progressive ideological trends. Marx and Engels jointly criticized Feuerbach's philosophy and Hegel's philosophy, implemented materialism and dialectics through to the end, and founded historical materialism. They also critically inherited the classical political economy and discovered the law of surplus value. The founding of historical materialism and the discovery of the law of surplus value turned utopian socialism into scientific socialism. With regard to ancient things and with regard to all valuable bourgeois creations, Marx never treated them in an oversimplified or absolute way, did not totally and uncritically accept them and did not completely discard or negate them in a nihilistic way. In fact, Marx criticized and analyzed these things, discarded the dross and kept the essential. Marx's historical materialistic attitude toward cultural heritage is still of practical significance to our adoption of a correct attitude toward ancient and foreign things during the current building of our socialist spiritual civilization.

Marx's revolutionary spirit of daring to criticize was born of his spirit of fighting for truth. William Liebknecht said: "Marx is a person of thoroughgoing integrity. With the exception of worshipping truth, he does not know what else to worship." He can discard without the least hesitation his precious theories which he gained through hardships as long as he thinks that these theories are wrong. Although Marx was once a member of the young Hegelians and although he once highly praised Hegel's idealistic philosophy, he made unceasing efforts to seek truth, discarded all erroneous ideas, and turned himself from a revolutionary democrat into an outstanding communist fighter. He dared to boldly explore in the theoretical field, dared to bring forth new ideas and dared to take paths never trodden before. He showed the greatest courage in doing theoretical research. To hold firmly to the truth, he had no fear of the bourgeois boycott and objection and did not bow to the prejudices of public opinion in society. He waged irreconcilable struggles against any trends which broke away from and debased the basic theory of scientific socialism, and damaged the communist ideological system. He declared time and again: I have never made concessions at the expense of the truth. We can clearly see this point if we recall the time when Marx founded the new world outlook. At that time, he disregarded the clamors and unrestrained abuses from the representative figures of the whole old world and all types of socialists, persisted in taking his own road, and criticized the German Social Democratic Party's Gotha program in defiance of all kinds of obstructions. It has all along been necessary for theoretical workers to learn from Marx's spirit of submitting oneself to the truth only and of holding firmly to the truth.

Other characteristics of Marx's theoretical research work style are conscientious investigation and scientific approach. In his preface to "The Critique of Political Economy," Marx said: "This is to show that my views, however they may be judged and over little they coincide with the interested prejudices of the ruling classes, are the result of conscientious investigation lasting many years." He was telling the truth. Even to develop materialist viewpoints on the basis of a single historical example, one must also spend many years in carrying out objective and intensive scientific work; one cannot rely on hollow words but can only rely on a vast amount of historical data which have been criticized, examined and completely mastered.

Marx's approach to theoretical research work was always a conscientious and meticulous approach. He always worked conscientiously and prudently. In recalling the past, Lafargue said: Any facts or figures which Marx quoted or cited as proof or evidence have been confirmed by the most prestigious authoritative people. He was never satisfied with secondhand material. No matter how much trouble or how inconvenient it was, he always wanted to find original works so as to get to the bottom of things. He made a special visit to the British museum just to verify an unimportant fact.

"Das Kapital" took Marx 40 years to finish. It can be described as a paragon of his meticulous scholarship. "Das Kapital" is a monumental work which contains nearly 3 million words. The final draft of the first volume of

"Das Kapital" was made and published after Marx completed three volumes in manuscript. And "the final polishing prior to making a final draft and sending it to the compositor" actually took more than 4 years to finish. To write "Das Kapital," Marx pored over more than 1,500 types of books and read material and data written in various languages. To write an article of more than 20 pages on the British labor law, he studied all the blue books written by British and Scottish commissions of inquiry and factory inspectors in the library. However, these blue books were just used by many members of the House of Lords and the House of Commons as targets for their pistol-shooting practice. They tested the power of their pistols by measuring the number of pages which their bullets pierced. After the death of Marx, Engels collated Marx's manuscripts. When he saw that Marx's manuscripts had been repeatedly revised, he felt deeply touched about this and said: "Marx's handwritten material and data for the second volume can prove that prior to announcing his great discovery in the economic field, he adopted a tremendously conscientious approach and implemented the spirit of vigorously practicing self-criticism in order to perfect the great discovery."

With regard to the approach which distorts and vulgarizes facts, we can say that no one detests this approach more utterly than Marx. Marx had studied practically every type of knowledge, loved every type of art, and was charmed by every type of natural beauty. He bitterly detested all lies, hollow words, boasts and shams. Marx bitterly detested Lassalle for his nauseating self-glorification and pretentiousness. In 1858, Lassalle published his philosophic work "The Philosophy of Heraclitus, an Obscure Philosopher of Ephesus," praised his own work as a "masterpiece by a genius," and was immensely proud of himself after winning official approval and after his work had been well received by sordid bourgeois merchants. Marx seriously noted: This kind of psychology of seeking vanity is directly antagonistic to a scientific approach. In the light of Lassalle's activities of pretending to be a theoretical authority, of parading his learning among the workers and of worming his way into the workers' confidence, Marx noted: Using science as a tool to seek personal fame and gain and to realize personal wild ambition is a very mean action. Later, Marx and Engels jointly launched a merciless criticism of Duhring, a swindler. Marx and Engels not only criticized Duhring's erroneous viewpoint but also made a most telling exposure of his trick of trying to please the public with claptrap. Marx said: "We are not adopting a pose of using empty talk and we are not going to shout the following words to the world with a set of ready-made new principles in our hands: The truth is here. Prostrate yourself before it! We are just elucidating new principles for the world on the basis of original principles in this world." This is a matter of principle which all theoretical workers should pay attention to. Using it for reference is still worthwhile.

Why is it that Marx's style of study possesses the fearless revolutionary style and the scientific approach characterized by conscientious investigation? Judging from Marx's lifework of carrying out theoretical and practical activities, we can see that he possessed the devotional spirit of having no

fear of difficulties and hardships. All the people including scholars and workers who had come into contact with Marx unanimously praised his spirit of being firm and indomitable. Although Marx had fought for the 8-hour working system for the working class, his own daily working time far exceeded 8 hours. He always worked late into the night. Sometimes he lay awake all night. In a letter to Engels in 1857, Marx said: "I am madly summing up my research on economics throughout the night."

The value created by Marx's industrious labor cannot be estimated. What did capitalist society repay him for his work? When he was 31 years old, he had already been expelled from the country 4 times and had also been detained, arrested and brought to trial. However, Marx did not care about these things, did not yield to pressure and did not vacillate. According to Engels' description, both the autocratic and republican governments expelled Marx from their countries and both conservative and radical capitalists smeared and cursed him. However, Marx did not yield to pressure. He showed contempt for all these things and gently wiped them out just like wiping out spiders' webs. To Marx, difficulties and hardships are not just persecution by the ruling classes. They also include financial difficulties, living in poverty and sufferings caused by lingering illness. Lenin said: "Poverty almost killed Marx and his whole family." Financial difficulties took the lives of several of Marx's children. Due to financial difficulties, his own health seriously deteriorated and he died an early death.

Marx devoted almost all his energies to theoretical research. Just as he himself said: "For its sake, I have already sacrificed my health, happiness and family." To Marx, theoretical work is not a personal cause. Theoretical research is aimed at producing revolutionary weapons for emancipating the oppressed proletariat. The failure of the Paris commune made Marx think more deeply: The labor movement urgently needs the guidance of the theory of scientific socialism. If the struggle of the working class departs from the guidance of theory, it will grope in the dark. Just because of this, Marx felt that if he failed to finish writing "Das Kapital" prior to the arrival of a new revolutionary storm in Europe, he was not fulfilling his bounded duty. Marx had seriously criticized long ago all trends that ignore theory. He had a debate with Weitling in the 1840's. During the debate, Weitling publicly attacked the scientific theory, saying: Ordinary preparatory work is more conducive to our common cause than theoretical analysis. Marx jumped with anger and said: "Ignorance has never been conducive to anybody."

With the development of the times and socialist practice, our theoretical work must promote Marxism. To enable our theoretical work to suit the needs of the new situation and to have new creations, we must learn from Marx's tremendous courage, scientific approach and devotional spirit.

CSO: 4005/875

PARTY AND STATE

'BEIJING RIBAO' COMPARES WARRING STATES' COMMANDERS

HK241003 Beijing BEIJING RIBAO in Chinese 18 May 82 p 3

["Jottings" by Xu Zhonghua [1776 0112 5478]: "Lang Shen and Wei Qi"]

[Text] Lang Shen and Wei Qi were both warriors of the state of Jin. They were both dissatisfied with the higher authorities, but their methods of dealing with the matter were arbitrarily different.

In 627 BC, the army of Jin laid an ambush for the army of Qin at Yaoshan and dealt the troops of Qin a crushing defeat. For his valor in battle Lang Shen was promoted deputy commander in chief by Duke Xiang of Jin.

This incident surprisingly infuriated Marshal Xian Zhen. During the "Battle of Ji," Lang Shen was dismissed from his post without any justification. Lang Shen's friends were indignant and they urged him to create a disturbance and kill Xian Zhen in order to avenge himself. However, Lang Shen would not agree to do so. He said: "Courage without a sense of righteousness is not genuine courage. I have won recognition and become deputy commander in chief because of my courage and have again been accused of lacking in courage and relieved of the post of deputy commander in chief. If I make trouble now, people will say instead that the King of Jin had obviously made a mistake when he promoted me deputy commander in chief and that Xian Zhen is therefore correct in dismissing me. We must wait for an opportunity to serve the country and then use our lives to prove our courage."

Two years later, the state of Jin and the state of Qin were again engaged in battle at Pengya. Lang Shen and his friends, together with their men, bravely stormed the enemy's line. The army of Jin charged after them and routed the troops of Qin. Lang Shen and his friends all died for their country in the battle. The people praised Lang Shen for his loyalty and courage and said that he was a noble-minded person: "Instead of rebelling in anger, he submitted himself to command. He was indeed a man of noble character."

Wei Qi was the son of a meritorious official of the state of Jin. Relying on the meritorious record of his father, he tried to apply for the post of senior official. When his request was unsuccessful, he became highly

dissatisfied with the government. In 597 BC a dispute broke out between the state of Jin and the state of Chu, and both sides were ready to resort to arms. Far-sighted people on both sides tried to proceed cautiously and to avert the conflict. At that time, the state of Jin and the state of Chu were both major military powers and equally matched. When two major powers battle, one is bound to get hurt. The one which should be unfortunately defeated would not only damage the prestige of the country but would also weaken its effective strength. However there were also people who, because of various personal motives, hoped for the early commencement of hostility between the two armies, and Wei Qi was one of them.

To give vent to personal spite, Wei Qi wanted the state of Jin to suffer a serious defeat. He requested and obtained approval to go over to the camp of the Chu army to hurl the gauntlet. He also requested and obtained permission to go as an envoy to the Chu army to carry out friendly activities. Therefore, he visited the Chu army in the capacity of an envoy of the Jin army. Wei Qi was playing a double-dealing game at that time. He not only was not acting as a peace envoy but was also carrying out provocative activities in the Chu army. "Either fight or turn back" was actually the delivery of a challenge to war. When the troops of Chu attacked, the army of Jin was caught unprepared and suffered a crushing defeat. This was the famous battle of Bi in history.

Lang Shen was undaunted in the face of perils and courageous in battle. The position of deputy commander in chief was not of his own seeking and his dismissal was purely caused by prejudice on the part of his superior. However, he still managed to take the interests of the state to heart, patiently waited for an opportunity to gloriously sacrifice himself for the country and proved his valor. For the sake of personal fame and gain and seeking an important post and because he was unable to satisfy his personal desire, Wei Qi would not hesitate to sacrifice national prestige and cause loss of officers and men to the state of Jin in order to give vent to personal spite. Lang Shen's pure and lofty ideological and moral character formed a vivid contrast with the despicable sordidness of the inner recess of Wei Qi's soul.

In a song verse of the Song Dynasty, there are the words "carefully applying makeup with eyes brimming with tears." This means that although a beautiful woman might be suffering from humiliation and sorrow, she must still carefully apply makeup for fear that some insignificant flaws might impair her personal image. The writer had used these words to picturesquely praise this solemn attitude toward life. I have always associated Lang Shen with the words of this song verse.

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## PARTY AND STATE

### 'BA YI' RADIO STRESSES PLA ROLE IN POLITICAL LIFE

OW210149 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1330 GMT 19 May 82

[Text] In the course of various discussions on the draft revised constitution, many commanders and fighters unanimously suggested that it should be stipulated that the tasks of our army are to consolidate national defense, defend the motherland, participate in national construction and work in the interests of the people at all times and in all places. In other words, our army should shoulder certain responsibilities, not only militarily but also politically. In this connection, the new constitution of the People's Republic of China should clearly stipulate that the broad masses of commanders and fighters of the people's liberation army of China should play an active role in the political life of the party and the state.

It is currently of great significance to stress this traditional mission of the people's liberation army, because Comrade Deng Xiaoping has recently been saying, once again, that the army should pay more attention to military training and concern itself less with political affairs. He simply wants to put the army's role in the political life of the party and the state in a secondary place and confine the role of the broad masses of commanders and fighters within the narrow sphere of military life. [Words indistinct] this line runs entirely counter to the revolutionary tradition of our party, our army and our people.

Since the very day our army was founded, it has been the most conscientious and best-organized political force during the Chinese revolution. During every stage of the revolution, the broad masses of commanders and fighters have played important roles in political life. They have been one of the most active forces in the political life of the party and the state. Our army's commanders and fighters have taken pride in the fact that, for a long period leading comrades of our army were always the first to stand up to reactionary forces which brought calamity to the country and the people.

For example, it was none other than Marshal Peng Dehuai and Comrade Huang Kecheng--who was chief of the general staff at that time--who dared to go against their superiors and stood up to point out the dangers that the three red banners [of general life for socialist construction, the great leap forward and the people's communes] might impose on the state and the people. During the decade of turmoil, it was again none other than the army

which first dealt resolute blows at those making a practice of beating, smashing and looting. And as early as 1968, comrades Yang Chengwu [words indistinct] followed Lin Biao's instructions and resolutely counterattacked Jiang Qing and her lackeys who were insufferably arrogant at that time. Again in October 1976, it was due to the resolute actions by the leaders of our army that the gang of four and their sworn followers were [words indistinct] arrested. Furthermore, it was due to the firm support from the leading comrades of our army that a large number of veteran comrades, including Comrade Deng Xiaoping, were able to return and take up principal leading posts.

Why is it that Comrade Deng Xiaoping ignores the active role played by the army at every critical moment in the past concerning the destiny of the country and the people and wants the army to bother less with political affairs? We cannot but notice that it was exactly due to the restriction imposed by comrade Deng Xiaoping that the number of armymen admitted into the party has been greatly reduced and it has been decided that the members of the 12th CCP Central Committee to be elected from the army will be reduced to a minimum.

In short, imposing limitations on the political role of the army and reducing the army's role in the political life of the party and the state to a secondary place [words indistinct] is to strengthen the dominant position of a certain individual in the central authorities. It is suggested that imposing limitation on the army's political role artificially will certainly fail to build up the political prestige of the party and the state. In this connection, the new constitution should clearly stipulate the army's role, duties and responsibilities in the political life of the state and this stipulation should be resolutely implemented. Only in this way, can the broad masses of commanders and fighters make greater contributions to the motherland and the people.

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## PARTY AND STATE

### PRC CONSTITUTION NEVER FAITHFULLY IMPLEMENTED

OW232331 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1330 GMT 21 May 82

[Text] The draft of the revised constitution, although discussed for several months, has generated a new upsurge of discussion since it was officially published. In the course of discussing it, many new viewpoints and opinions were made known by the National Defense Scientific and Technological Commission, organs directly under the PLA General Political Department, the PLA's three academies and two schools and organs directly under Beijing PLA units.

The crux of their viewpoints and opinions can be summed up in the following three points:

1. Since the founding of our country, we have been busy drawing up the constitution and discussing, revising and studying it; but we have never faithfully implemented it.
2. The constitution has never become the supreme law of the country having the supreme power of the law. This was due to the party's top leader being put higher than the party and the status of the party higher than the government and the law.
3. The NPC and its Standing Committee have existed in name only since their very establishment. NPC deputies and members of the NPC Standing Committee cannot perform their duties and play their true role of people's representative. All resolutions, and especially personnel appointments, were adopted and approved by deputies or the Standing Committee members who, following faithfully the documents and namelists prepared well in advance, raised their hands to give approval.

The constitution is the cardinal law of the land, the supreme status which must be adhered to and implemented at all times. Over the past 30 years, our country has had four constitutions. This is something rarely seen at home or abroad since ancient times. During these 30 years or so, we were quite busy drawing up a constitution, discussing, revising and studying it. Then we helplessly watched dictators wantonly violate and trample it underfoot. The background of this situation was that the constitution was regarded by party and state leaders at all levels as a trick of democracy, a golden

shop signboard with which they could cover up their totalitarian dictatorship and paternalism. Because of this, the constitution was regarded as a scrap of paper.

Those in power randomly changed the policies of the state and arbitrarily dismissed leaders of the government and members, chairman and vice chairmen of the NPC Standing Committee. In the 1950's, they launched the anti-rightist and Great Leap forward campaigns and, later in the 1960's, initiated the (?notorious) Cultural Revolution. It was not that we did not have a constitution. In the few years following the downfall of the gang of four, a massive purge was carried out throughout the army and country. Military cadres were repeatedly purged under the pretext of the "13 September" incident. The country's foreign policy has since been one of one-sidedness. It was not that this country did not have its constitution. The problem was that our constitution did not have power and prestige. The people only knew that they had leaders, while knowing nothing about the existence of the constitution.

When it came to questions of domestic and foreign policies, no consideration was given to these policies conforming to the constitution. The only thing taken into account was if these policies were formulated in accordance with the wishes of the top leaders.

More recently, drastic policy changes in the national economy, the big scale restructuring of the leading party, government and army organizations and the overall reshuffle of the principal leading cadres were carried out so that they have become accomplished facts before the next NPC is convened to officially adopt the constitution. All these took place prior to the adoption of the constitution which we should observe in electing the government of the country [words indistinct] but designed to request the NPC (?to act in accordance with the new constitution) to approve, in legal form, the principles and policies being pursued by the present central leaders and to approve the appointments of state, government and army leaders.

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PARTY AND STATE

'BA YI' RAPS CCP NEGLECT OF PEOPLE'S LIVELIHOOD

OW202343 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1330 GMT 19 May 82

[Text] Over the past 20 years and more, our party has done many things detrimental to the people's interests and has told many lies to deceive them. Consequently, it has lost faith with the people and has caused a crisis of confidence among the masses. That is why the principle of seeking truth from facts was repeatedly stressed by a resolution adopted at a CCP Central Committee conference held in the wake of the third plenary session. The party's obscurantist policy can no longer be followed.

However, recently a certain person of the central authorities, deviating from the principle of seeking truth from facts, has vigorously publicized the CCP Central Committee's and the government's concern for the people's livelihood, in an attempt to divert the people's attention from the series of economic failures. In less than a month, the propaganda department of the CCP Central Committee has instructed the major newspapers in China to publish four articles on the important measures adopted by the state for insuring a stable livelihood for the people. For instance, the articles cited huge state subsidies for grain, edible oil and vegetables over the past 3 years. However, such measures are unwise and can give rise to adverse effects. Rampant inflation in the past few years shows that the government's current policy of giving subsidies has its defects. Last year, government subsidies on vegetables failed to keep up with price hikes. Besides, government subsidies are but the people's money earned through hard toil. The people's livelihood can be improved to a certain degree if the government outlays more funds to increase vegetable production, which helps to lower vegetable prices. In this way, cadres and the people can surely understand the central leaders' concern for the people's well-being.

Every citizen and every worker and staff are fully aware whether the government and the central leading comrades care for their livelihood and whether their living standard has improved? Propaganda is to no avail. What is more imperative is that effective measures must be adopted to lower commodity prices, particularly the prices on nonstaple food, and to thoroughly implement the third plenary session's principle of seeking truth from facts. The party, the army and the people of the whole country must always be told the truth and must never be kept in ignorance.

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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

ARTICLE DESCRIBES UNIVERSITY TRAINING FOR ENGINEERS

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 8 Apr 82 p 3

[Article by Zhang Guangdou [1728 0342 2435]: "Implement Party Educational Policy and Run Science and Engineering Universities Well"]

Text] Summary: Our science and engineering universities must undergo reform and improvement, but these actions must not imitate foreign experience. The training goal of the science and engineering universities is to produce engineers, and there must be a change in the emphasis on producing scientists and teachers and a change from the lack of interest in producing engineers. Science and engineering university students must persevere in all-round development of intelligence and moral character and become both red and expert. Education should join theory with reality, at present there is a tendency toward emphasizing theory and neglecting practice and this must be rectified. The industrial enterprises must provide support in properly operating the science and engineering universities. Science and engineering universities must energetically develop scientific research, but scientific research and education must complement each other and moreover must serve the purpose of building production in China. The professional courses in the science and engineering colleges must suit the requirements of national construction, and the current practice of emphasizing professions in new technology and slighting professions in basic industry must be overcome. The professions should be expanded and their intellectual scope should be increased. Investigation and research should be carried out to make scientific predictions concerning the requirements for human talent, and we should formulate a plan for training human talent based on these requirements and the existing potential. At the same time that the science and engineering universities are put into operation there should be a major effort to develop technical colleges, technical middle schools and technical schools in order to create a more favorable ratio of engineers, technicians and skilled workers.

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Education in engineering is the foundation for developing the people's economy and for building national defense. The key link for developing the people's economy and building national defense is proper operation of the science and engineering universities in training highly qualified engineers and technicians. All countries throughout the world place great emphasis on science and engineering universities. After the founding of New China, the party and the government highly valued education in engineering, greatly developed science and engineering universities and achieved major success in training great numbers of highly qualified engineers and technicians. They became the core for our present endeavors in production, scientific research and education. However, in comparison with developed nations, China's engineering sciences and technology fall rather short. In order to accelerate implementation of the four modernizations and catch up to advanced international standards, China's science and engineering universities must place emphasis on reforms and improvements. During the last three years, I have had opportunities to visit the advanced countries of the United States, France and Japan, and the developing nations Mexico and Argentina where I visited science and engineering universities and participated in international conferences on engineering education. I felt that the foreign science and engineering universities have considerable experience but also have many problems and are worthy of our study. Of course, China's science and engineering universities also have many good points and superior features. Because of the different social systems, differing populations and raw material conditions and because of different levels of development our science and engineering universities ought to be Chinese in style, with their own special features which suit our needs for socialist construction. It will not do to ignore our own actual conditions and imitate foreign experience. The following presents some of my views on the key issues in the proper operation of the science and engineering universities.

## 1. Training Goals and the Educational System

The training goal of the science and engineering universities is to produce engineers. Engineers must have a strong theoretical foundation and abundant practical experience, be able to resolve complex engineering problems, create and renovate engineering science and technology and develop the scope, standards and methodology of engineering. Everyday tasks in engineering are primarily performed by various levels of technicians according to the operational methods determined by the scope, standards and handbooks. Science and engineering universities train both undergraduate and graduate students who receive the bachelor, master or doctoral degree upon graduation and then participate in production, research or education. After a training period they acquire substantial theoretical knowledge and accumulate practical experience, thus becoming engineers, of course they can also

become researchers or teachers in the field of engineering. The graduate of a science and engineering university is not yet a finished product and does not immediately become an engineer on graduation. Because the holders of the undergraduate, masters and doctoral degrees have differing levels of theoretical capabilities, after becoming engineers they also have differing capabilities so a different emphasis is attached to their work assignments. All levels of technicians who take supplemental university courses will have similar levels of educational attainment and after a period of training may also become engineers.

In developed nations the science and engineering universities train the engineers. They place great emphasis on the engineers, whose compensation equals and sometimes surpasses that of scientists and professors. For example, the salaries of engineers are from 30 percent to 100 percent higher than that of scientists and professors. Our current national need for engineers has not been clarified. Society still has a tendency to value scientists and teachers and neglect engineers. This is not advantageous for developing engineering sciences and technology and for accelerating construction of the four modernizations.

There is but one problem in the educational system in formulating the training goal of the science and engineering universities, and that is how much time should be taken to attain the training goal. Because engineering sciences and technology are international in nature, so if we wish to be capable of competing on the international level the issue of making international comparisons then arises. In addition, the quality of training of the science and engineering universities and the level of the students being admitted is of importance, so it is necessary to give some consideration to the educational systems of primary and middle schools. In America and Japan the science and engineering universities have four year programs and the primary and middle schools have twelve year programs. The science and engineering universities in such countries emphasize basic study courses and basic technology courses, and seldom if ever have any professional courses or practical experience. They believe that professional knowledge and practical knowledge are more effectively learned at the work sentry post and generally require that approximately two more years of learning are necessary to actually begin work. Consequently, their educational program in science and engineering colleges actually is about six years rather than four years. In France and other countries the science and engineering universities have five year programs with twelve or thirteen years of primary and middle school, the science and engineering universities teach basic courses, basic technology courses and professional courses, they also do not have any practical experience.

In China the present educational program in science and engineering universities is four years, and the primary and middle school system will be changed to twelve years. The science and

engineering universities teach basic courses, basic technology courses and professional courses and they also have practical experience. Science and engineering universities in China plan their education so that it is easy to match suitable people in the right positions. There are close links between the universities and the enterprises and industries. This is an advantage for us. However, our students must spend more time in the study of foreign languages and their practical experience away from the university is relatively minor. Moreover, in China the faculty, pedagogy and other conditions are inferior to those of developed nations and the students' study and livelihood conditions are also inferior. Our middle and primary school education is comparable to that of other countries, but our science and engineering education on the university level compares unfavorably to that of the developed nations. This of course weakens our curriculum and the practical experience is less meaningful. Our science and engineering universities generally find that a five year program is most suitable.

## 2. Overall Moral and Intellectual Development

The party's educational policy is that those receiving education should have moral, intellectual and physical development to become workers having socialist enlightenment and culture. The science and engineering universities must implement this policy and train engineers who are both red and expert and who will become the successors in the revolutionary cause and the builders of socialism.

Moral education requires the study of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, history, law, economics, literature and sociology. In carrying out ideological and political education students should attain socialist enlightenment, establish a communist world view, become patriotic, willingly accept the state assignment and serve the people. Study of the humanities and social sciences can broaden the students' intellectual horizons, improve the capacity for thought, develop concern for social progress and provide an economic viewpoint.

We must make a conscious break with feudalistic and capitalistic ideology and there must be emphasis on moral education and ideological and political education in the science and engineering universities. We have done so in the past and should do so more strongly in the future. Our pedagogical plans should gradually increase political, humanities and social science classes to about 15 percent of the curriculum; and there also should be emphasis on extra-curricular ideological and political education.

Intellectual education should place emphasis on teaching students to acquire the ability to analyze and solve problems and should encourage students to develop a creative, innovative spirit.

Engineers must solve complex engineering problems and must create and rennovate engineering science and technology, so training students to have such capability and such spirit is extremely important.

Science and engineering universities in America, France and Japan place great emphasis on developing ability and in France they also evaluate achievement according to a student's creative spirit. Their curricula call for less than 20 classroom hours per week, lectures emphasize the heuristic method, students are encouraged to engage in individual studies and advanced students also attend seminars.

Chinese science and engineering universites also place emphasis on developing two skills, but this is not done enough. The curricula call for too many classroom hours, course content is too heavy, lectures are not sufficiently heuristic, students are not encouraged to develop a creative spirit and students are accustomed to booklearning rather than being creative or innovative. We should strive to make progress.

Physical education should place emphasis on perseverance in physical training. Our science and engineering universities have physical education classes and require that students participate in physical activity for one hour each day. This good system should be firmly maintained and there ought to be improvement of physical education conditions.

### 3. Integration of Theory with Practice

Understanding is derived from practice, but in learning knowledge, students cannot always start with practice and must first grasp theory. In order to truly understand theory there must be certain perceptual knowledge such as experience, production practice or participation. In a university one must study how to apply theory in solving actual engineering problems and learn to use scientific research methodology to search for new theories. In a university students cannot learn concrete methods for solving a great variety of engineering problems but must learn the basic theories and methodologies for solving engineering problems.

The guiding ideology of Chinese science and engineering universities values the integration of theory with experience and requires that the curriculum have basic courses for study of the fundamental theories of mathematics, physics and chemistry. There are basic courses in technology to learn the fundamental theories of all engineering professions. There are professional courses for the study of professional theory, i.e., the theoretical foundation to be used in the profession and to make further development there is the study of the practical knowledge of the profession. There are engineering skills courses such as drafting, surveying and computer applications. There is actual practice such

as experience, production training and curriculum planning. Finally, there is the graduation project or the dissertation, which apply the theories that have been learned to the solution of engineering problems or to the development of scientific and technological theories. This sums up university learning and provides a transition to the tasks assumed upon graduation. Prior to the "Great Cultural Revolution," science and engineering universities in China had basically correct curricula, even though there were too many classes and class sessions so that the students were overburdened. The basic courses and basic technology courses imparted too much information and still need to be redone. There were too many professional courses and an overemphasis on practical knowledge. There was no emphasis on the application of fundamental theory in the solution of engineering problems or in developing professional theory; the professional courses were divorced from the basic courses and the basic technology courses and their content was outdated. In practice the heuristic method was seldom used and the efficiency rate was comparatively low. The graduation project was too burdensome a task, with overemphasis on results and insufficient attention to pedagogical links.

French science and engineering universities place emphasis on linking theory with practice, their course planning is generally the same as that found in our science and engineering universities. They also place value on connections and cooperation between universities and industry, but there are certain difficulties because of the need to protect industrial secrets. In addition, there is too much basic theory in their curricula, and they also believe that too much study of mathematics will result in a separation of theory from reality. Their links with practice lean towards theory. Their professional courses teach professional theory with relatively less practical knowledge. They have one half year for the graduation project or the dissertation, and this also emphasises theory. It is said that West German science and engineering universities are more successful than the French in linking theory with reality.

American and Japanese science and engineering universities do not mention the links between theory and actual practice. They concentrate on basic theory and seldom if ever have engineering skills courses, professional courses or links with practice. They do not have graduation projects or dissertations. The basic courses emphasize experiments and there is insufficient emphasis on experiments in the basic technology courses. They believe that engineering skills, professional knowledge and practice are more effectively learned on the job and that it doesn't pay to learn them in college. There are objective reasons for this point of view: First, the people they train do not have specific plans for the future, so that studying professional courses might not suit their future work and therefore be of no use; second, their company or enterprise schools are excellent and have an abundance of

highly skilled engineering teachers, there are well-equipped laboratories and professional training classes to teach the newly arrived graduates; third, industries and enterprises also have the problem of protecting technical secrets and cannot make them known to universities. American science and engineering institutions together with the various industries and enterprises believe that American science and engineering universities are in danger, primarily because of the weak links between theory and practice and the lack of a close relationship between universities and factories. Consequently, the course content of science and engineering universities cannot meet the needs of industry. The same conditions exist for the same groups in Japan. All concerned hope that the science and engineering universities and industry and the enterprises can work together to solve this problem.

Chinese science and engineering universities must firmly maintain the links between theory and practice, strengthen basic theory courses, teach professional courses, train engineering skills, and firmly uphold practice, the graduation project and the dissertation. There must be suitable ratios of all courses in the educational plan and course content must be revised. Theory is studied in order to solve actual engineering problems so that practical training is a necessity. Such a course of action will improve the quality of education and strengthen links with the production departments. Our industrial enterprises do not now have training courses for new graduates, middle and small enterprises are relatively weak in technology and are hard put to establish training classes, so it is mandatory for science and engineering universities to have professional courses and provide practice. The training of graduate students must also institute a policy of linking theory with practice. Of course, the primary task of graduate students is to perform research work and develop scientific research skills; they must also study advanced theory and broaden their professional knowledge. The dissertation must be creative and innovative, and the doctoral dissertation should make a significant contribution to knowledge. There is now a tendency for our science and engineering universities to emphasize theory and de-emphasize actual practice, there has been a reduction of course planning and production practice, and the industrial enterprises always are unwilling to have students engage in production practice. Courses on theory always are too burdensome and too profound and the students are generally overburdened so that there is less time available to engage in training, experiments and investigation of reference works. This is not beneficial in training a capable and creative attitude. There are more graduation dissertations than graduation projects and this is not helpful in the overall solution of engineering problems. To solve these various issues we must ask the industrial enterprises to provide help in properly operating the science and engineering universities.

#### 4. Emphasizing Scientific Research Work

Science and engineering universities must make a great effort to develop research. Research and teaching are mutually complementary, help make mutual progress, share the goal of training human talent and simultaneously produce scientific results. It is necessary to develop the universities into both teaching centers and research centers, with the emphasis on teaching.

If teachers conduct scientific research this can elevate the level of learning, develop engineering science and technology and improve the quality of education. Students engage in scientific research in order to develop their research skills, and to develop the ability to analyse and solve problems. Undergraduate students should engage in certain scientific research work while graduate students ought to emphasize research work. If professors are to direct students in scientific research they themselves must be engaged in such research.

If the science and engineering universities conduct scientific research and strengthen their links with industrial enterprises this will benefit teaching, research and production. If scientific research is to improve the quality of education and recapture the expenses incurred it must improve the quality of scientific research results. A de-emphasis on achieving scientific research results or overemphasis on achieving scientific research results are both wrong as they do not support or improve teaching.

In carrying out scientific research the science and engineering universities must integrate theory with practice in order to carry out production construction responsibilities and to develop engineering science and technology. Of course, it is important for teachers of basic courses to conduct some basic scientific research. Our scientific research must solve the problems we encounter in our industrial development rather than carry out a piecemeal pursuit of the levels achieved by advanced nations. Scientific research serves industry and the development of our industry will cause the level of our engineering science and technology to gradually overtake advanced international standards.

In order to bring about mutual help and accomplishments in teaching and research, the direction of scientific research and the direction of teaching in science and engineering universities must be basically consistent. It is incorrect for scientific research and teaching to sever links and unilaterally determine the directions of their scientific research.

It must be noted that in the content of a given curriculum the required courses have general knowledge while the scientific research is relatively specialized and narrow. In order to improve the quality of teaching it is necessary to have wide reading in the domestic and foreign publications in a given discipline, digest these works and then include them in the teaching materials. Reliance on one's own scientific research work is inadequate. In France and Japan the teaching levels in basic coursework of science and engineering universities is relatively high. The teachers of their basic courses are widely read in foreign and domestic scientific journals. They absorb new theories and new results, continually update their teaching materials and at the same time study pedagogy and take note of teaching results. They seldom engage in scientific research work. We do not believe that the relative lack of scientific research experience of French and Japanese teachers of basic courses suits our needs, however we should note the importance of being widely and deeply read in foreign and domestic publications. In the past, our teachers of basic courses in science and engineering universities seldom engaged in scientific research work a therefore need training in scientific research work.

Well-known American science and engineering universities place all emphasis on scientific research. Their scientific research tends toward basic theory and there are no close links with industrial enterprises so that the results of scientific research cannot satisfy the needs of industrial enterprises. There are differences of opinion on this between American engineering and scientific communities. Because of competition the industrial enterprises establish their own research laboratories which surpass those of the science and engineering universities in scope, instrumentation and equipment, personnel and funding. The science and engineering universities are therefore hard put to compete with the industrial enterprises in applied research.

The scientific research conditions in well-known science and engineering universities approximates those in the United States. The scientific research results of the faculty and students are hard put to compete with the industrial enterprises and can only turn toward theoretical research. The Japanese science and engineering universities and engineering science community are dissatisfied with these conditions.

French science and engineering universities and French industrial enterprises are closely integrated and engage in personnel exchanges and in joint research. But because of the capitalist system and the need to protect scientific and technological secrets the industrial enterprises still place value on developing their own scientific and technological strengths. The research equipment and research funding of the science and engineering universities are greatly inferior to that of the industries and they face the same problems as those found in America and Japan.

Although the science and engineering universities of some developing nations also place value upon scientific research work there nonetheless are great difficulties. The main industries in these countries are monopolized by transnational corporations which are under the control of the advanced nations. It is difficult for the scientists and technicians of these countries to participate in the key engineering science and technology work taking place and this has a negative influence on the teaching and scientific research taking place in the science and engineering universities.

Although scientific research has had a relatively long history in our science and engineering universities, a genuine emphasis on developing scientific research work has only just begun. The main problems we now face are difficulties in scientific research funding and inadequate or outmoded scientific instruments. In order to properly operate our science and engineering universities we must strengthen scientific research work to enable the universities to truly become centers of both teaching and scientific research. It is necessary to locate funding sources for scientific research and provide experimental laboratories with scientific research equipment. Scientific research in our science and engineering universities must serve our current national economic construction and make these universities an organizational component in the vanguard of our nation's scientific and technological strength. This can be completely accomplished in our socialist nation.

Our science and engineering universities are now successful in developing scientific research work, however there is insufficient mutual support between scientific research and teaching, in some areas the links are broken between scientific research and teaching with each determining an independent course so that there even seems to be a tendency to emphasize scientific research and de-emphasize teaching. Some teachers delight only in scientific research and are unwilling to perform teaching duties. In scientific research work there is a one-sided pursuit of producing dissertations and a neglect of improving the level of domestic technology and of solving domestic production problems and a neglect of economic results. The evaluation of the results of scientific research places too much emphasis on obtaining the good opinion of foreign experts rather than placing value on serving domestic economic construction. Scientific research lacks a spirit of cooperation, units do not cooperate correctly and even individuals fail to do so, which is harmful to concentrating our forces in concerted efforts. All such problems must be thoroughly rectified.

## 5. Planning for Professional Specialized Institutions and for Human Talent

The establishment of specialized institutions in the science and engineering universities must match national requirements. Development of national construction must first occur in the basic industries, such as mining, smelting, materials, civil engineering, irrigation, energy, machinery, electric power and chemical engineering. The development of new technology to a great extent serves basic industry. In advanced nations science and engineering universities all value the basic industries along with their associated professions. At the same time they develop professions in new technology in order to develop their industry. The newly developed technology is applied in the basic industry. Because the professions in the new technology have been recently established are in a developmental state they easily elicit the people's interest. Nonetheless, they still are in the vanguard of the professions in the basic industries.

In our science and engineering universities the professions of the basic industries have relatively long histories, but because we began to construct basic industries only after Liberation the professions of the basic industries in our science and engineering communities also are relatively weak, the scientific instruments found in the laboratories are inadequate and need to be greatly augmented. The development of the professions in the newly established technologies should be accelerated. However, at present the science and engineering universities have a tendency to emphasize professions in the new technology and neglect professions in the basic industries. It is relatively difficult to construct basic industries and at present students are unwilling to study the professions in the basic industries. Such conditions are unfavorable for the four modernizations and changes must be made.

Progress in modern technology and science promotes industrial development. Because of this the science and engineering universities have increased the courses and the course content in science and technology and have established new professions and departments in some areas of science and technology. For example, in America the Massachusetts Institute of Technology not only established a college of engineering but also established a college of science. The college of engineering also added courses in science and technology. However, the college of science serves industry and the curriculum emphasizes science and technology and also has engineering courses. The basic science found in a college such as this differs from that of a college of science in a general university. American universities such as Columbia have colleges of science and colleges of engineering. The college of science handles basic science and departments in the college of engineering also have courses in science and technology.

They also have new departments of science and technology, such as the department of applied physics, however, American industry and American engineering science feel that too heavy a burden of science and technology courses will weaken the links between engineering courses and practical experience and will weaken the integration of theory and practice.

In recent years Chinese science and engineering universities have acted correctly to increase technology and science curricula and establish more departments and specializations in science and technology. These departments and specializations serve industry and have engineering courses. They are different from the basic science taught in the science colleges of general universities. The addition of technological and scientific curricula in science and engineering universities should not affect engineering training and the departments of technology and science must also link theory with practice. Sometimes the expression "science and engineering on the same campus" is interpreted to mean that the basic science taught in a science college shares the same campus as an engineering college, but this is incorrect.

The professional establishment in our science and engineering universities must suit the needs of national construction. Our stage of industrial development is different from that of the advanced nations and the social needs and capital resources also are different. The professional establishment must suit our national condition and cannot imitate those of foreign science and engineering universities. If foreign science and engineering universities have some new professions which we do not urgently need at this time then we should do without.

China is a socialist nation and ought to train people according to plan as this will effectively strengthen the professional establishment in our science and engineering universities. Nonetheless, the professions in our science and engineering universities are too narrow. The plan for training people was based on predictions made several years ago with the professions too narrowly defined so that it is difficult to correctly assign people upon graduation. The universities lay a foundation and simply cannot teach all of the concrete engineering technology, they grasp basic theory and the methodology of solving engineering problems. The professions therefore must be enlarged and the range of knowledge must be expanded.

The training of people according to plan must be in accord with needs and our capabilities. We must predict five years and ten years in the future how many people will be needed in engineering to suit the needs of national construction. We must also consider the potential, the teaching resources, classrooms, laboratories and equipment and must exert all effort to create the correct conditions. If we truly lack the capability to

fulfill the plan then we must assess our strengths and plan accordingly. There now are differing views on expanding student enrollment in science and engineering universities. Those who advocate expanded enrollment believe that we have too few students in our science and engineering universities. Their conclusions are based on population ratios, but they haven't performed deep analysis to predict how many people will be needed for national construction in the future. Those who advocate maintaining the current enrollment level of students believe that we face difficult conditions and they also have not predicted how many people will be needed in future national construction. It can be seen that the plans made for training people are incomplete.

In America, Japan and France the government and colleges of engineering science all engage in prodigious investigations and calculate developmental trends of the past to make five, ten and even fifteen year predictions on the number of professionals that will be needed and then use these figures for reference in enrolling students. Of course, capitalist nations cannot train people according to a plan. China has a superior socialist system and is thoroughly capable of training people according to plan. The State Planning Commission, Ministry of Education and the Chinese Academy of Sciences should make extensive investigations to determine the number of people needed in the future. At the same time they should formulate a plan for training people according to our capabilities. Not enough work of this sort is being done at present.

The proper operation of the science and engineering universities is closely related to the proportional training of research students, undergraduate students and of vocational college students, technical middle school students and skilled workers. The science and engineering universities train engineers, the vocational colleges train highly skilled technicians, the middle technical schools train technicians and the technical schools train skilled workers. All these have different educational systems, course planning and course content. According to statistics from advanced nations a single engineer requires five technicians and over 20 skilled workers. If there are not enough technicians then the engineer must perform technical work and he will not be able to give full use to the knowledge he acquired in the science and engineering university and this has a definite influence on university teaching. More serious is the fact that if the engineer is unable to solve complex engineering problems and create and renovate engineering science and technology this will have serious consequences for the development of national construction. At the same time that we exert great effort to train engineers we must also exert ourselves to train skilled technicians, technicians and skilled workers in a ratio which is to be determined by our national conditions.

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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

CALL ISSUED FOR UNITY OF NATIONALITIES

Kunming YUNNAN RIBAO in Chinese 28 Mar 82 p 2

[Article by Dao Guodong [0430 0948 2767]: "Strengthen Unity, Work Together To Realize the Task of Building the Four Socialist Modernizations and Bringing About Prosperity for All Nationalities"]

[Text] Last year while receiving an all China minorities visiting group on National Day, Comrade Hu Yaobang [5170 5069 6721] strongly emphasized: at no time can we forget the unity of all nationalities. The relationship between the Han nationalist and minority nationalities is one of interdependence and mutual help, neither separate from the other. This further clarified the direction in which we must move to improve and develop the relationships between socialist nationalities.

Each of our nationalities in Yunnan Province have, from remote antiquity, labored, lived and multiplied on the frontiers of our nation and, together with the people of the entire nation, created a magnificent culture. In the long history of development, differing political, economic and cultural relations were formed between the various nationalities and, in learning from each other and supplying each others needs, we hastened economic and cultural development. Up to the early period of liberation, many of the minority peoples of our province did not know how to smelt copper and iron, but had already used copper and iron tools; several hundred years ago, the Thais of the Xishuangbanna area [now an administrative area at the southern tip of Yunnan Province] learned how to process rice flour, bean curd and soy bean cheese, and even today they call these foods by the Han names. For the majority of the nationalities, such relationships have reached the point of intimacy at which they cannot be severed.

After liberation, the Central Committee of the party and the State Council established and thoroughly implemented a complete set of Marxist-Leninist racial principles, abolishing the system of racial oppression and carrying out the principle of racial equality. This enable the minority races that went unrecognized by the KMT in the old society and were without rights to step onto the political stage and become an equal members of the loving, cooperative family of our nation. Since then, on the foundation of common basic interests, the Han people and all of the minority peoples have shared mutual respect, mutual trust, mutual concern and support, and mutual assistance

and jointly worked to preserve and build our socialist nation and create beautiful and prosperous lives.

For 32 years, in order to aid the development of every nationality, the party and the government have adopted such methods as opening schools and sending cadres of the Han race to pass on their experience, give help and set examples of actual struggle in order to train a large number of cadres from among the fraternal nationalities of our province--a large number of which have already taken on leadership work in party and government agencies at the provincial, prefectural and county levels; and, in order to create a large number of expert technical personnel of each nationality, have seen to it that the fraternal nationalities who in the early period of liberation were still recording events by tying knots in ropes and carving notches on trees have their own teachers, doctors, and engineers and technicians. They are more and more exercising their rights as masters of the house and doing a good job in every item of construction in their own areas. In order to aid the regions of each nationality in doing well in economic and cultural construction, the party and the government have given them priority care economically and technologically, supplying a large amount of special funds and equipment every year and continually sending out skilled personnel from the interior. According to statistics from 1953 to 1978, our nation's investment in basic construction in the minority areas of our province was more than 5.3 billion yuan, and with the help of Han workers and technical personnel each area used the funds for construction in such areas as industry, handicrafts and rural water conservancy. Prior to liberation, some of the minorities in our province had only a small handicraft industry, and some had no handicraft industry at all; now there are more than 3,000 handicraft and industrial enterprises. A large number of roads have been repaired and, by 1981, throughout the province there were more than 45,800 kilometers of roads carrying traffic, connecting 96 percent of the communes and 64 percent of the brigades. Before liberation, the Xishuangbanna Thai Autonomous Prefecture did not have a single kilometer of road. At that time, the minister "Na Luo" [4780 5012] in charge of communications under the Pacification Commissioner only had charge of one ox cart; now all 3 counties and 29 communes throughout the prefecture are connected by roads; moreover, most communes have bus service and peasants of all nationalities can ride vehicles when they take to the roads; almost all villages and outposts have tractors, forcefully hastening transportation between town and country, the frontier areas and the interior and mountainous areas and flatlands, and hastening economic development. Culture and education have also been developed, starting from scratch. Statistics from the end of 1981 show that the number of minority students in all types of schools at all levels had reached 1.29 million, a 3.6 fold increase over 1952. With the exceptions of the Pai-lang, Na-hsi, Moslem and Yi peoples, very few of the nationalities of our province in the early period of liberation had some of their own in college; but by 1981, there were 2,860 minority students among the college student population, and 22 minorities throughout the province had some of their own in college. Prior to liberation, there were no hospitals in the minority areas of our province, only Chinese herbal medicine that was practiced among a small number of people, and therefore it was very difficult for the masses to find medical help. If pestilence became widespread, large numbers of the population would die, towns and outposts would become wastelands. Prior to 1929, the Puwen

[2528 2429] Plain of Jing Hong [2529 3163] County had a minority population of more than 30,000. By the time of liberation their numbers had fallen to just more than 3,000 because of the spread of pernicious malaria and other diseases. The Puwen case is not an isolated one in the minority areas on the frontiers. After liberation, the party and the government continuously sent large numbers of medical workers--while at the same time actively helping to train medical workers of each nationality--to build hospitals in every region, prefecture and county, to build health institutes (clinics) on communes, and to build brigade health offices. Some very dangerous contagious diseases have already been eliminated and the masses who have fallen sick have received treatment. The period of rampant pestilence and the decline of entire nationalities has passed forever.

Recalling the developments in the minority areas of our province over the last 32 years gives people a feeling of elation. The accomplishments are the result of the correct leadership of the party and of the unity and mutual assistance of all nationalities, especially the tremendous support and help given the minorities by the Han people. History and reality both prove: the Han people and the minorities are inseparable. The Han race and the minority races are especially bound together at the common basic interest of constructing socialism and realizing prosperity for all nationalities, the relationship increasingly being one of interdependence and inseparability.

In order to strengthen unity, improve and develop the socialist relations between nationalities, and do well together in carrying out the four modernizations construction and bringing about prosperity for all nationalities, the cadres of every nationality--especially comrades who are Communist Party members and those shouldering leadership work--must seriously study the basic concepts of Marxism regarding problems between nationalities, firmly establish a proletarian outlook toward nationalities, continually improve and strengthen the unity of the nationalities, maintain an awareness of state unity, and strengthen the concept of viewing conditions as a whole--thinking of the more than 50 nationalities throughout the nation as a single unit in speaking and in handling matters. From the lofty perspective of a single large socialist family of 1 billion people and more than 50 nationalities, it is easy to see clearly the ambitious goals of realizing the socialist four modernizations construction and bringing about prosperity for all nationalities, and to handle correctly relations between the whole and the parts, between the Han people and the minorities, and between one minority and another. When the interest of the part and that of the whole come into conflict, we must consciously and happily serve the interest of the whole. In our work, we must combine and unite the four fundamental principles and special ethnic characteristics and, starting from the specific conditions of each people and area, adopt serious principles that will lead to steady progress, seeing to it that every construction task in minority areas has an increasingly healthy development.

The more than 20 minorities in our Yunnan Province and we Han people have, for a long time now, jointly opened and protected the vast frontiers of the motherland and created her magnificent culture. Especially during the last 100 years, we have jointly launched the patriotic struggle to protect the

nation against the encroachment of imperialism and carried out the national democratic revolution, the socialist revolution and socialist construction. We have a glorious tradition of mutual help, mutual concern and unified struggle. In the new period of socialism, the Central Committee of the party has clearly indicated the great goal for all the people of the nation of realizing the four modernizations, which is also the goal of bringing about prosperity for all nationalities. Realizing this task is the common basic interest of the people of every nationality. In order to complete this glorious and arduous task, the cadres and masses of all our nationalities must, in accordance with the requirements of the new situation and the new task, more deeply, more broadly and on a larger scale strengthen unified cooperation and make concerted efforts to carry out the four modernizations construction with mutual study, mutual aid and mutual efforts to utilize strengths and remedy weaknesses. If we can just do so, even though we still face various difficulties, we can overcome them. Let us unite even more closely under the leadership of the Central Committee of the party, strengthen our unity, work hard for the prosperity of the country, and struggle hard together to realize the tasks of socialist four modernization construction and prosperity for all nationalities.

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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

'BA YI' RAPS DENG'S VIEWS ON LITERATURE, ART

OW242325 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1330 GMT 23 May 82

[Text] At various times, there have been a few in our party who arbitrarily interfere with normal literary and artistic creation in a high-handed manner. Whenever a thriving situation appears in the field of literature and art, these people become panic-stricken, fearing that literature and art may break through restrictions and shake off their control. So they start persecuting writers and artists in a big way and high-handedly control literary and artistic creations.

The "Talks at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art," published 40 years ago, was the theoretical basis prescribed precisely for the purpose of controlling the thinking of literary and art workers and arbitrarily interfering with literary and artistic creations.

We might well recall that in the 40 years since the publication of the "Talks," our country has seen very few outstanding writers and works which can stand the test of time. The few which did appear were criticized and repudiated in recurring political movements because they went beyond the bounds of dogmatism.

Why is it that, since the 1940's, our country has failed to produce writers like Lu Xun, [name indistinct], Ba Jin, Lao She, [name indistinct] and Tian Han, theatrical performers like Mei Lanfang, Zhou Xinfang, Ma Lianliang and Gai Jiaotian, and painters like Zhang Daqian, Qi Baishi, Guan Shanyue, Xu Beihong and Pan Tianshou? To put it bluntly, it is mainly because the policy on literature and art pursued by the party since comrade Mao Zedong published his "Talks at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art" has hindered the appearance of outstanding writers, artists and works of literature and art.

For example, from the repudiation of Wang Shiwei's "Wild Lily" in Yanan until 1945, almost all literary and art workers followed the same pattern in portraying images of workers, peasants and soldiers. This was what the Kuomintang termed the so-called "Yangge" literature and art to ridicule our literary and art creations.

In 1954, when literature and art began to revive, the movement was launched to oppose the rightists, again putting literature and art under the restrictions of the "Talks." During the Cultural Revolution, the 900 million people in the country could see only 8 so-called model theatrical works.

After the downfall of the gang of four, a springtime appeared in literature and art, but the good times did not last long. Some leaders were mortally afraid of the creative freedom of literary and art workers and promptly launched a disguised rectification campaign in the field of literature and art, attacking and persecuting thousands of literary and art workers, represented by Bai Hua, (Sun Dingxuan), (Gu Wenhua) and so forth.

In a report summing up creative works of literature and art in the army in 1981, comrade Deng Xiaoping wrote this instruction: Literary and artistic creations are not controlled too tightly, but are allowed to drift. From now on, it is necessary to increasingly study the "Talks at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art."

This instruction of comrade Deng Xiaoping has again virtually put literary and artistic creation under the old conventions of dogmatism and formalism.

On this question, comrade Chen Yun, in his letter to the political bureau dated 12 May 1981, put forward a brilliant view: It is impossible for works of literature and art to be absolutely correct. What is incorrect can be freely debated by writers and readers. We need not oppress people with an "imperial edict."

Comrade Bai Hua was more specific. He said: For a long time, our literary and art workers have lost self-confidence. The rule that literature and art must serve politics has replaced the laws governing literature and art, even to the extent where literature and art are serving reactionary politics. Therefore, the continued dissemination of the "Talks at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art" is tantamount to throwing our literary and artistic creation back into the dark years of the past.

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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

YOUTH PAPER ON STUDYING MODERN CHINESE HISTORY

HK251140 Beijing ZHONGGUO QINGNIAN BAO in Chinese 18 May 82 p 1

[Editorial: "Let All Young People Be Well Versed in the Modern History of the Motherland"]

[Text] In recent years, CYL branches in many localities have organized young people to study the modern history of China to enhance their education and promote their love of the motherland, socialism and the party. Grati-fying results have been achieved in this respect. The experience provided by the CYL branch of the Tianjin Caustic Soda Factory is a good and vivid example.

Our motherland is a great country with a long culture of more than 5,000 years. It had a large number of creations and inventions in history, which were great contributions to mankind. However, at the time when Europe was gradually stepping into the capitalist stage, China was still under the shackles of feudalism. We Chinese lagged behind. Thus, we were subjected to humiliation and aggression, and we were in danger of being subjugated. Starting from the Opium War, almost all imperialist countries in the world, big and small, came one after another to China to carry out invasion. They wantonly and excessively sucked the blood of the Chinese people. From the "Nanjing Treaty," the first restraint the imperialists imposed on the Chinese people, to the large invasion by the Japanese imperialism, the governments of Old China was forced to have signed more than 1,000 unequal treaties with the imperialist countries. Large quantities of China's wealth were stolen by the imperialists, vast pieces of land were occupied and nearly half of our land were trodden upon. China was on the brink of extinction.

The modern history of China is a history of shame and disgrace, but is also a history of glorious struggles in which the Chinese people bravely fought for national salvation and resisted foreign aggression. From the Opium War in 1840 in which the Chinese people severely punished the British invaders at Sanyuanli in Guangzhou, up to 1949 when the new democratic revolution led by the CCP and Mao Zedong removed the weight of the three big mountains on the backs of the Chinese people and founded the PRC, during this time, we heard of the endless stirring strains of the magnificent feats and we saw numerous warriors dying heroes deaths for the cause of national salvation.

Thousands and millions of the Chinese people waged struggle wave upon wave and shed their blood in battles to save their motherland from subjugation.

The CYL must assume the responsibility of educating young people in the history of their motherland, in particular the modern history of China. This will serve to fill them with patriotism and with national confidence and pride. Some comrades said: "Studying history and carrying out education in loving the motherland, socialism and the party is as useful as if distant water can quench one's thirst. We had better educate them in loving the factories and enterprises they work in and the products they turn out. This education is more practical." As a matter of fact, the two things are not contradictory. The former serves as the basis of the latter. Today's China is the culmination of the developments of what China was yesterday and the day before yesterday. One can hardly well understand today's China without knowing what China was in the past. Lenin pointed out: "Patriotism is the deepest affection for one's motherland which has been fostered for thousands of years." Nowadays, a certain number of young people cherish no affection for the party and the motherland and lack sufficient understanding of socialism. This is for no other reason that they have no knowledge of history, especially the modern history of China. In their study of the modern history of China, the young workers of the Tianjin Caustic Soda Factory became very upset when they read the passage on a series of unequal treaties concluded between the governments of Old China and the imperialist aggressors. Their bodies welled up with all sorts of feelings. They said: "In the past, China was a land which all could trample upon. Now, China has risen to its feet, refusing to bow to hegemonism. What a reason for being proud for every real Chinese!" This tells us that only when young people know the history of their motherland as well as the national calamities it suffered from and the zigzags it traversed for salvation, will they understand well the truth of socialism alone being able to save China, and will they be more resolute to follow the party and socialism. And only with this correct thinking, will they have a sense of responsibility of being the masters of the country, and will they go into action to love the factories and enterprises they work in and the products they turn out. Therefore, education in patriotism is a course which young people should take, and also is a long-term and basic course for every youth to take.

In organizing young people to study the modern history of China, some comrades worry that the study will become insipid and not impressive. In fact the content of the modern history of China is very rich. It itself is an attractive and vivid teaching material. If we use our brains and rely on the masses, we can surely arrange to make the study more lively. The experience provided by the Tianjin Caustic Soda Factory tell us:

First and foremost, they did not arrange the study according to the rule of thumb. They selected some passages aimed at solving the problems in the minds of young workers. They arranged discussions on some historical materials which touched the young people to their very souls, such as the unequal treaties of national betrayal and humiliation, the brutal conduct of the imperialists in China as well as some biographical sketches and

stories of key historical figures who fought to save the nation from extinction. This is a way of study which combines ideological education with factual knowledge.

Second, their study was not only concentrated on history books, the sitting and reading of them but also on the historical sites and relics in local places. In the past century, from the southeast coastal areas of our country to the northwest remote boundaries, and from the Sanjiang Plain in northeast China to the Xizang Plateau, all had been trodden on by the imperialist iron heels. Therefore, we can easily find historical sites and relics bearing marks of national humiliation in all these places and use them as vivid teaching materials for educating young people.

Third, their study was no lecturing in a classroom. They organize young workers to teach themselves by arranging visits to historical sites and holding exhibitions and evening poetry recitals. Through these attractive activities, young people can be greatly enlightened.

The modern history of China which is of magnificent sweep, is a good textbook for us to carry out the education in the three loves--love of the motherland, socialism and the party. A universal law is in the experience provided by the Tianjin Caustic Soda Factory. CYL branches in all localities should take effective measures to gain a good grasp of this study. If we can do so, the affection shown by the young people of our country for their motherland, socialism and the party will be further enhanced. This will help in the building of socialist spiritual and material civilizations. And our cause will flourish even more.

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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

SHANGHAI BANS 'UNHEALTHY' BOOKS FROM HONG KONG

OW211443 Shanghai Domestic Service in Mandarin 1130 GMT 20 May 82

[Text] In an interview with this station's reporter today, a responsible person of the Municipal Public Security Bureau said that the renting out of picture-story books, periodicals and books published in Hong Kong, Macao and Taiwan shall be strictly prohibited. He pointed out that effective immediately, all book-renting establishments and stalls shall not be permitted to rent out or sell books, periodicals and picture-story books published in Hong Kong, Macao and Taiwan. The picture-story books published in Hong Kong, Macao and Taiwan shall not be imported as trade items and sold. All departments concerned should work in coordination with the Industrial and Commercial Administration in checking all picture-story books, periodicals and books published in Hong Kong, Macao and Taiwan in the possession of book-renting establishments and stalls. Those of a reactionary and obscene nature and those featuring violence and fantasy shall be confiscated and destroyed.

The Municipal Public Security Bureau called on other departments concerned to strengthen control over book-renting establishments and stalls and ensure that they rent out only healthy books, periodicals and picture-story books. Those who are found renting out books, periodicals and picture-story books published in Hong Kong and Taiwan again in future shall be punished in accordance with the Public Security Control regulations in the form of a fine or detention according to the gravity of each case. Those who commit serious offense and refuse to mend their ways despite repeated admonition, their business permits shall be suspended.

CSO: 4005/873

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

HENAN OFFICIAL REPORTS ON IMPROVING SOCIAL ORDER

HK120805 Zhengzhou Henan Provincial Service in Mandarin 1130 GMT 10 May 82

[Summary] On 9 May, (Bai Jin), director of the Henan Provincial Public Security Bureau, made a report on the public security front in the whole province at the Congress of Advanced Collectives and Advanced Figures. The report was entitled: "Sum Up Experience, Advance on the Crest of a Victory and Struggle Hard to Achieve a Greater Improvement in Social Order."

In his report, (Bai Jin) first dealt with the achievements in social order in the province over the past 2 years and the important role of advanced model figures. He pointed out: "However, we must realize that the class struggle will still exist within a certain scope for a long time, all kinds of unsolved problems still exist and we still have a complicated struggle and arduous tasks before us. Therefore, public security personnel throughout the province must clearly understand this and maintain a high degree of vigilance. Our future main tasks are that under the leadership of the Provincial CCP Committee, the provincial government and the Ministry of Public Security, we must seriously implement the important instruction of the central authorities on strengthening political, legal and public security work, continue to implement the spirit of the national forum of five big cities on social order, adhere to the principle of comprehensive control, wage a general war and continue to grasp well the struggle to improve social order."

He said: "At present, we must firmly grasp well the struggle against serious crimes in the economic field. We must work hard to create excellent social order, consolidate and develop the political situation of stability and unity, consolidate the people's democratic dictatorship and defend the smooth progress of the four modernizations."

In conclusion, he said: "With determination to complete the above-mentioned tasks, we must do a great deal of work. However, the most fundamental and decisive work is to fully inspire the revolutionary enthusiasm of the tens of thousands of our cadres and policemen and the hundreds of thousands of our public security workers, whip up an upsurge in learning from and striving to become progressives on the public security front throughout the province and build a public security force which resolutely implements the line, principles and policies of the party, has professional knowledge and work skills, is closely integrated with the masses and is both red and expert. With such a force, we can overcome all difficulties and complete the glorious mission entrusted to us by the party and the people."

CSO: 4005/873

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

XIZANG HOLDS FORUM ON BANNING PORNOGRAPHIC TAPES

HK171021 Lhasa Xizang Regional Service in Mandarin 1130 GMT 15 May 82

[Summary] In order to further implement the ban issued by the CCPCC and the State Council on importing, duplicating, selling and playing the reactionary, pornographic and obscene cassettes and videotapes, the propaganda department of the Xizang Regional CCP Committee on 13 May held a forum for responsible comrades of departments concerned.

Participants at the forum held that under the leadership of the Regional CCP Committee, initial success has been scored in the work of banning these tapes, but the work is not thoroughly done yet. They pointed out that it is necessary to resolutely carry out the ban issued by the CCPCC and the State Council, to stop duplicating and playing obscene cassettes and videotapes and to ferret out pornographic books and photos with a view to clearing the minds of spiritual pollution. All this is essential in building up socialist spiritual civilization. CCP committees at various levels should, therefore, attach great importance to this work by making thorough investigations and should not work perfunctorily. They should grasp it as an important educational work politically and ideologically. The following must be done accordingly: 1. The ban issued by the CCPCC and the State Council must be fully conveyed to all cadres and the masses so as to make it known to every household. In the light of the ban, we must educate politically cadres and the masses, especially the young people, so that a powerful public opinion can be created to supervise one other. 2. All banned recording and videotapes which have been uncovered in offices, organizations and schools must be cleared under the supervision of the relevant CCP committees or leading groups. As for private cassettes, we must persuade the people to hand them over or to clear the tapes on their own accord. 3. CCP committees at various levels must strengthen their leadership over the work so as to thoroughly carry out the decision made by the central authorities.

The forum also emphatically pointed out that all party members, CYL members, cadres, especially leading cadres at all levels, must take the lead in implementing the decision of the central authorities and consciously handle their private tapes of that sort. Those who go against the decision must be educated and criticized. Those who refuse education and create a bad influence because of their behavior must be severely dealt with according to party, CYL and administrative discipline.

CSO: 4005/873

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

STUDY OF CONSTITUTION REAFFIRMS SOCIALIST SYSTEM

HK200057 Changsha Hunan Provincial Service in Mandarin 2310 GMT 18 May 82

[Text] (Jinlong) District of Pingjiang County conscientiously organized cadres of communes and production brigades and commune members to study and discuss draft of revised constitution and properly guided them so that they correctly understood stipulations concerning the delimitation of work and responsibility between the governments and communes and the establishment of village administration. In so doing, muddled views were expeditiously clarified and some problems of harming the interests of the collectives, which occurred in a small number of places, were properly solved.

(Jinlong) District is located in a remote mountain area of Pingjiang County. After the promulgation of the draft of the revised constitution, the district committee immediately held a meeting attended by cadres of communes and production brigades. They studied the draft of the revised constitution and comrade Peng Zhen's explanations on the draft. After the study, it was clear to all the participants that the socialist system is a fundamental system of our country and that the system of public ownership of the means of production must be persisted in and the basis of the collective economy should not be shaken. They also realized that the delimitation of work and responsibility between the governments and communes and the establishment of village administration were for the purpose of strengthening the building of grassroots political authority. People's communes as organizations of the collective economy should be retained. The property ownership of communes, production brigades and production teams should remain unchanged. After the meeting, responsible comrades of the district committee led 523 commune and brigade cadres and to go right to 677 production teams throughout the district to explain and publicize the draft of the revised constitution to the masses and organize them to study and discuss it. Through publicizing and studying the draft of the revised constitution, cadres and the masses raised their understanding. They corrected their misunderstandings and promptly solved problems which had occurred. Cadres of communes and production brigades are now shouldering their tasks and boldly grasping their work and carrying out criticism. The area under early rice throughout the province is more than 3 percent larger than originally planned.

CSO: 4005/873

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

MINORITY WOMEN'S WORK FORUM CLOSES IN BEIJING

OW231425 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1448 GMT 21 May 82

[Text] Beijing, 21 May (XINHUA)--Luo Qiong, vice chairman of the All-China Women's Federation, said today at the forum on work regarding women in minority nationality areas that the main task in this work should deal with the youth and children, and that this should be done by proceeding from the actual conditions of the local nationalities according to the needs and capabilities of the masses in the course of economic development and by carrying out moral character education among families well so as to make the children understand from childhood the need to love the motherland and the people.

Luo Qiong said: Since the beginning of last year, the party and government departments in the minority nationality areas have strengthened their leadership over and support for women's work, thereby creating an excellent situation for this work. Fearing neither high mountains nor long journeys, many minority nationality women cadres have carried out arduous struggle and done a great deal of work in arousing the enthusiasm of minority nationality women and in promoting the development of agriculture, livestock breeding, sideline occupations and other undertakings. Some of them have even carried out cultural and scientific studies and "five-good family" activities. They have done a great deal of work in opposing remnant feudal ideas and old and unhealthy customs and ways and in protecting the rights of women and children.

Luo Qiong called on women's organizations in the minority nationality areas to attach importance to training minority nationality women cadres into cadres with both virtue and talent, that is, women cadres who faithfully implement the party's policies and possess modern cultural and scientific knowledge and various professional skills.

Yang Jingren, director of the CCP Central Committee's United Front Work Department and minister in charge of the State Nationalities Affairs Commission, and other responsible comrades described the conditions of nationalities work to the participants and answered to questions they asked. Yang Jingren said: To speed up the training of minority nationality women cadres, the institute for nationalities should set a definite proportion of women cadres in enrolling students. Besides, classes should be set up for training minority nationality women cadres, and minority nationality women should be organized to go to the interior for visits and study.

He said: We usually have few women cadres and even fewer minority nationality women cadres. Therefore, it is necessary to give them special concern and attention, to provide them with conscientious training and to continuously raise their capabilities.

Yang Jingren urged everyone to strengthen the unity among all fraternal nationalities and to bring into play the women's role as "half the sky" in the four modernizations.

The forum, convened by the All-China Women's Federation, began on 18 May and ended today.

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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

'BEIJING RADIO' COMMENTS ON THEORETICAL EDUCATION

OW221430 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 2230 GMT 20 May 82

[Station commentary: "Successfully Conduct Education in Marxist Theory for Cadres to Meet the Needs of Socialist Modernization"]

[Text] Our cadres are the organizers and leaders in building a highly developed socialist materialist and spiritual civilization. Paying close attention to the systematic education in Marxist theory for cadres, enhancing their consciousness in implementing the party's principles and policies and improving their ability in solving the new problems in the new period so as to uphold the socialist road is an important strategic task that will determine the success or failure of our great undertaking--the four modernizations.

The history of our party shows some good experiences in organizing the cadres in the study of Marxist theory. For example, our party carried out comparatively systematic theoretical education among cadres from shortly after the founding of New China until 1957, which was significant in helping cadres to foster communist world outlook and raise their leadership proficiency. This systematic theoretical education among cadres, however, was discontinued in the late 1950's, especially during the decade of chaos when this work was again seriously undermined by Lin Biao and the gang of four.

Investigation shows that about 80 percent of the cadres presently lack a systematic and basic knowledge of Marxism. This is particularly true of the middle-aged and young cadres who constitute more than 50 percent of the total number of cadres. Most of these cadres started their careers in the late 1950's. Many of them are weak in Marxist theory, but they are the backbone for promoting our cause. Therefore, in the future, we should place the emphasis on the middle-aged and young cadres when we carry out theoretical education for cadres. We also need a well-established system to ensure that the theoretical education for cadres is institutionalized. We believe that as long as we are doing a good job of the systematic education on Marxist theory, we will certainly improve the quality of the contingent of cadres to meet the needs of the four modernizations.

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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

CYL'S HAN YING ON TEACHING CHILDREN COMMUNISM

OW270351 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1518 GMT 27 May 82

[Text] Beijing, 26 May (XINHUA)--To commemorate "1 June," international children's day, the CYL Central Committee this morning invited some of the young pioneers' instructors and instructors on extracurricular activities in Beijing to a forum, calling on society, parents and schools to educate children and youth in communist ideology.

At the forum, Han Ying and Zhou Pengcheng, first secretary and secretary of the CYL Central Committee extended regards on behalf of the CYL Central Committee to young pioneers' instructors on the first line. They said: It is admirable that many instructors, who maintained a firm political orientation and correct thinking and work style, had worked diligently in boycotting the contamination of bourgeois ideology in order to protect the healthy growth of the next generation. They hoped that the young pioneers' instructors would set their minds on opening a new phase in training and educating young pioneers. The young pioneers' instructors attending the forum said: The party central committee has paid great attention to child and youth work and adopted a series of important measures. People in all walks of life have shown concern and supported child and youth work and made great efforts in that direction. They said: In order to bring up children into a new generation with morality, ideals and culture, loving the party, the people and socialism, it is necessary to strengthen ideological work and carry out activities that cope with the characteristics of children.

The instructors also said: Child and youth work should be done by everyone. Comrades engaged in film television and literary and art work should provide more exquisite food for thought for the children.

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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

SHAANXI'S MA WENRUI ATTENDS FILM-AWARD MEETING

OW261156 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 1200 GMT 23 May 82

[Excerpts] On the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the publication of Comrade Mao Zedong's "Talks at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art," the Chinese Film Artists Association held a meeting in Xian Municipality this evening to present Golden-Cock Awards for Chinese films for the second time and Hundred-Flower Awards for popular films for the fifth time.

(Lin Shang), member of the secretariat of the Chinese Film Artists Association and chief editor of Dazhong Dianying [popular film], presided over the meeting.

At the meeting, Bai Yang, vice chairman of the Chinese Film Artists Association, announced the namelists of Golden-Cock and Hundred-Flower Awards winners. On behalf of his ministry, vice minister of culture Ding Qiao made a speech at the meeting.

On behalf of the Chinese Film Artists Association, Yuan Wenshu, vice chairman of the association, addressed the meeting. He hoped that large number of film workers would set an example to build socialist ethics, assiduously study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, delve into real life by integrating themselves with the masses in the new epoch, guide their playwriting with communist ideology and contribute to the development of socialist film industry.

Vice Chairman Chen Huangmei of the Chinese Film Artists Association and First Secretary Ma Wenrui of the Shaanxi Provincial CCP Committee presented awards to the winners.

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## SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

### BRIEFS

GANSU PEOPLE'S CONGRESS MEETING--The 12th meeting of the standing committee of the 5th Provincial People's Congress was held in Lanzhou on 5 May. The meeting adopted a resolution on unfolding discussions on the draft of the revision of the PRC constitution, calling on the masses of the people in the province to engage in the discussions. Wang Shitai, chairman of the standing committee of the Provincial People's Congress, presided over the meeting. Vice chairmen of the standing committee of the Provincial People's Congress attending the meeting were Gao Jinchun, Qiang Zixiu, Wu Hongbin, Li Shenghua, Wu Zhiguo, He Jianshan, (Qu Zhengting), Li Peifu, Li Keru, Sun Runhua, Liu Lanting and Yang Fuxing. [SK061400 Lanzhou Gansu Provincial Service in Mandarin 1125 GMT 6 May 82 SK]

GUIZHOU CYL COMMITTEE--With the approval of the secretariat of the CYL Central Committee and the Guizhou Provincial CCP Committee, the seventh Guizhou Provincial CYL Committee is composed of 85 persons, with (Zhao Antang) as the secretary and (Liu Yinxiang), (Long Guiying), (Gou Huajing), (Hou Xingyuan) and (Wang Wanxiong) as deputy secretaries. [HK200700 Guiyang Guizhou Provincial Service in Mandarin 2315 GMT 10 May 82 HK]

HUNAN CADRE RALLY--On 11 May, the Hunan Provincial CCP Committee held a rally of responsible cadres of organs at the provincial level to make arrangements for the discussion of the draft of the revised constitution. Sun Guozhi, Provincial CCP Committee secretary and governor; and Luo Qiuyue, Provincial CCP Committee standing committee member and Provincial People's Congress standing committee vice chairman, spoke at the rally. In his speech, Sun Guozhi demanded that CCP committees at all levels and government organs attach importance to the discussion of the draft of the revised constitution and do well in publicity and educational work. Leading cadres must take the lead in studying and explaining the constitution. In the course of discussing the draft of the revised constitution, it is essential to grasp the major issues and the basic spirit, give full play to democracy, pool the wisdom of the masses and allow people of all nationalities and various circles to speak without any inhibitions. Rural areas are required to complete discussion by the end of June and urban areas are required to complete discussion by the end of July. All prefectures, autonomous prefectures, municipalities and counties and all fronts at the provincial level must collect all views on revision put forth by the masses during the discussion and submit them to the Provincial People's Congress standing committee. [Changsha Hunan Provincial Service in Mandarin 2310 GMT 12 May 82 HK]

OPERA TROUPE PERFORMANCE--Responsible comrades of Guangdong Province including Ren Zhongyi, Liu Tianfu, Liang Lingguang and Chen Yueping watched a preview performance given by the Guangdong Cantonese Opera Troup in Guangzhou on 18 May. The troupe is about to tour Canada and the United States. [HK190201 Guangzhou Guangdong Provincial Service in Mandarin 2350 GMT 18 May 82]

CHILD WORKERS RALLY--The Urumqi Municipal Federation of Women, Education Bureau, Public Health Bureau, Nursery Office and Planned Parenthood Office held a rally on 21 May to commend 35 progressive units and 275 progressive individuals who have worked hard in nursery work and promoted the healthy growth of children. Leading comrades of the regional CCP committee including Wang Enmao, Ismail Amat, Zhang Shigong, and Tomur Dawamat and leading comrades of Urumqi Municipality attended the rally. Ismail Amat made a commendation speech. [HK220239 Urumqi Xinjiang Regional Service in Mandarin 1300 GMT 21 May 82]

LIAONING EDUCATION SOCIETY--A meeting to mark the establishment of the Liaoning Provincial Society of Higher Education and its first academic convention were held from 18 to 21 May in Shenyang Municipality. Deputy Governors Chen Beichen and Zhang Zhiyuan were elected honorable directors, and (Li Di), chief of the Provincial Higher Education Bureau, was elected director of the society. The main purpose of the society is to organize academic exchanges and sum up achievements of education and scientific research. [SK220922 Shenyang Liaoning Provincial Service in Mandarin 2200 GMT 21 May 82 SK]

LIAONING CHILDCARE UNDERTAKINGS--Thanks to the concern of the CCP Central Committee, childcare undertakings have been well developed in Liaoning Province over the past few years. In 1981 some 700 nurseries and kindergartens were built or expanded. The province now has 25,200 nurseries, kindergartens and infant schools, accepting over 892,700 children and employing 75,200 childcare personnel. [SK252207 Shenyang Liaoning Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 24 May 82 SK]

HUBEI OVERSEAS CHINESE RALLY--The Hubei provincial rally to commend advanced producers and advanced workers who are returned overseas Chinese, dependents of overseas Chinese or overseas Chinese affairs workers opened in Wuchang yesterday. This rally is being attended by 220 representatives of returned overseas Chinese, dependents of overseas Chinese and overseas Chinese affairs workers on all fronts throughout the province. Huang Zhizhen, provincial CCP Committee secretary and vice governor, made a report at the rally, demanding that all returned overseas Chinese and dependents of overseas Chinese continue to plunge into the building of spiritual and material civilization. [Wuhan Hubei Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 25 May 82 HK]

BEIJING CHORUS FESTIVAL--Beijing, 26 May (XINHUA)--The first "Beijing Chorus Festival," which is the first grand gathering of chorus groups in the capital city, opened at the Erqi [7 February] Theater on the afternoon

of 26 May. The Beijing Chorus Festival is sponsored by the Ministry of Culture, the Chinese Musicians Association, the Cultural Department of the Chinese PLA General Political Department and the Beijing Municipal Cultural Bureau. Participating in the festival are 37 professional and amateur groups with more than 3,000 members. They will present some 260 classic, modern, Chinese and foreign programs. The first "Beijing Chorus Festival" will end on 10 June. In addition to the festival performances, there will be academic discussion meetings. Present at today's opening ceremony were Zhou Yang, Zhou Weizhi, Liu Daosheng, Li Wei, Song Kanfu, Nie Dapeng, Zhao Dingxin and Chen Mo. [Excerpts] [OW270801 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1523 GMT 26 May 82]

CSO: 4005/873

## TIAN AN MEN INCIDENT AFTERMATH EXAMINED

Hong Kong CHENG MING [CONTENDING] in Chinese No 4, 1982 pp 41-43

[Article by Xu Xing [6079 5887]: "Six Years After the Tian An Men Incident"]

[Text] I

The Tian An Men Incident took place only 6 years ago; the rectification of this incident was also only 4 years away. In the long river of history this has been but a ripple, yet China has in the meantime undergone very great changes--it has advanced from the Hua Guofeng transitional stage into the Deng Xiaoping era. This is an era in which the country has inclined toward liberalization economically, emphasized ideological unity politically, carried out self-reform, so as to consolidate its political power.

After the elapse of 6 years, the Tian An Men Incident has gradually turned into a historical event far removed from present reality. The "camera of the times" has already pushed back its focus on the Tian An Men Incident--pushing it from a current one farther away, although not yet far removed.

When the incident was current, many things tended to be affected by social emotions of the time which weakened people's ability to perceive it in any profound, rational manner. Such social emotions contained too many sentimental elements and easily led people to certain illusions. Only when the focus on the incident is pushed farther away separating people's vision from the social atmosphere of the time can such illusions gradually disappear from people's minds and make it possible for people to perceive better the approximate essence of things.

Today, when we come anew to examine the Tian An Men Incident, our feelings are necessarily different.

II

As everyone knows, the direct fuse leading to the outbreak of the Tian An Men Incident was the mourning of Zhou Enlai. At the time, the feelings of the people of the whole country toward Zhou Enlai were incomparably

profound. "Flowers in front of the Tian An Men are like a sheet of snow; under the monument people shed their tears like rainfall." This scene had to do of course with the lofty image of Zhou Enlai in the mind of the people, but more important was because the people realized that Zhou Enlai was the last giant Mao Zedong and the gang of four wanted to attack. Thus the people poured all their feelings onto the activity of mourning him, so as to vent their fierce wrath toward the fascist tyranny of the time.

Author Deng Youmei [6772 0645 2734] puts it very well in an article of his in commemoration of the Tian An Men Incident, entitled "Meteoric Rise Toward Heaven": "Focus of the struggle superficially seemed to be centered on what attitude people should have in treating Premier Zhou Enlai's lifetime career, but in reality it was a life-and-death struggle between Marxism and fascism, socialist reform and feudalism restoration, and the two forces of democracy and autocracy."

Because the Tian An Men Incident was one during which the people exploded with their antifeudalist, antifascist, and antiautocratic struggles as a facet of their mourning for Zhou Enlai, the people's feelings toward Zhou Enlai and his real role in Chinese history may not altogether correspond to each other as to reputation and substance.

If these words had been uttered in 1976 when the Tian An Men Incident exploded, they definitely would not have been accepted with understanding by the masses, or they might even have been taken as a vicious slander. But at the time, after the fanatic mourning of Zhou Enlai passed away, people gradually began to perceive clearly that if Zhou Enlai was compared to Peng Dehuai, the latter apparently had been even more righteous and courageous, even more willing to shoulder his responsibility toward history and toward the people.

Recently, BEIJING YINYUEBAO [BEIJING MUSICAL JOURNAL] revealed an unusual incident: Guo Lanying [6753 5695 5391], a vocalist well known for her singing of songs in praise of Zhou Enlai was singing at a concert in Jinan, Shandong, on the evening of 20 January of this year. When the concert drew toward a close, the announcer declared that Guo Lanying's third song was to be "Thinking of Premier Zhou Turning the Spinning Wheel," shouts and whistling immediately exploded in the hall. This so enraged her that she immediately withdrew; hence the concert came to a close in a rather unpleasant manner.

Some people interpreted this incident as remnant cronies of the gang of four making trouble; but I feel that this reflected a change in the social psychology of the masses. The masses usually resent very much the worshiping of any individual, and they felt tired of excessive praise of even such a personality as Zhou Enlai. Naturally, there were others whose perception of Zhou Enlai had become much clearer and more profound. In their minds, Zhou Enlai was no longer a deity, nor a perfect man without blemish. This illustrates that time can help deepen people's thinking. Of course, the shouts and whistling at that concert cannot be regarded as civilized conduct.

### III

A fact similarly known to everyone is : The Tian An Men Incident was connected to the same attack to which Deng Xiaoping was subjected. Mao Zedong especially charged that the responsibility for this revolutionary storm on the part of the masses at the Tian An Men Incident belonged to Deng Xiaoping, taking him as the dark behind-the-scene manipulator of the Tian An Men Incident, and thus dismissing him from all of his posts inside as well as outside the party.

After Mao Zedong's death, appeals for Deng Xiaoping's comeback immediately broke out. People venerated Deng as a reform leader who dared to take action and hoped that he would come forward to sweep clean all blemishes of the Mao dynasty. This was the flame of hope that sprang forth from the mourning in the Tian An Men Incident. It was precisely this kind of flame of hope that represented the real wish of the masses in the Tian An Men Incident.

When Hua Guofeng first acceded to power, he was afraid of Deng Xiaoping's return to the political arena and thereby becoming his powerful rival; hence he did all he could to delay the matter, suppressing both the rectification of Deng Xiaoping's case and the rectification of the Tian An Men Incident itself.

But this perverse conduct against the wish of the masses on his part was subject to strong pressure within as well as without the party. Facts prove that the struggle between the Hua and Deng factions started at that time. But the devious cannot possibly overcome the forthright, and the fact is that Hua Guofeng's prestige was in no way any match for Deng's. Deng Xiaoping was ultimately vindicated at the 3rd Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee held in October 1977, but the Tian An Men Incident itself was not rectified until December 1978.

It makes good sense to recall again today the fanatic appeals for Deng Xiaoping's reinstatement at the time. These appeals, I think, came from three sources: first was the momentum of those victims of the Cultural Revolution in the party who demanded rectification and "return to court"; second was the reformist force in the party disposed against the Cultural Revolution; and third was the momentum among the people demanding democratization of the political regime.

The above mentioned two inclinations may occur in the same person or the same group of persons, but strictly speaking, the demands they made on the party and on society regarding reform were still some distance apart. Some people rejected the Cultural Revolution and placed emphasis on rectification of their individual cases rather than on social reform; what they hoped for was cleansing the record of their "criminal cases" and reinstatement. As for the reform they expected of the party and society, that remained limited to the prevention of a comeback of the gang of four. Such a low-key attitude on the part of the backlash faction

could never foster any great ambition. But in the case of some other people, apart from demanding a rectification of their own personal cases they deeply felt the grave injuries the inflictions of the Cultural Revolution had wrought on society and were determined to reform the social roots which produced Mao Zedong's personal dictatorship and the fascist autocracy of the gang of four. Certain elements in the higher stratum of these people have today already become members of the braintrust of Deng Xiaoping and Hu Yaobang. Other expressive personalities among these people have failed to secure important offices for themselves because their thinking and their utterances already exceed the limits allowable by the reform endorsed by Deng and Hu, so that even to this day they are still put away in the cold storage with their frustrations. As for the third force, namely, the democratic force among the people, it is now, following the Democracy Wall movement of the winter of 1978 and the spring of 1979, and the subsequent people-published journals movement and through the student movement, worker movement, the local election movements of 1980, subject to total suppression. Wei Jingsheng was sentenced to heavy punishment because of his utterances; the right to issue big-character posters was formally canceled in the Constitution; publication of civilian journals was declared an illegal activity; and elements associated with underground journals across the country were arrested by large numbers.

The wishes expressed by people 4 or 5 years ago for Deng Xiaoping's reinstatement and facts emerging before people today should cause people to compare and have some deep thoughts. These facts may be summarized as follows:

--The gang of four have been overthrown, unjust cases of litigation have been rectified, Mao Zedong's mistaken policies during the Cultural Revolution have been negated, but Mao Zedong is still appraised as having greater merits than faults and Mao Zedong Thought is still applauded as the guiding ideology for the Chinese society.

--Political discussions in conversation among the people have been rather free; those who have said the "wrong things" are generally no longer subject to scrutiny. But the people's democracy has not been genuinely realized. The people still do not have their electoral right, their right to recall officials and their freedom of expression, the press, and assembly.

--A series of economic reforms has been entirely pressed downwards from above in its implementation and of this the most important ones include: opening up relations with foreign countries, resuscitating the peasants' enthusiasm in production, paying attention to market adjustment, and looking after production of the people's necessities. But the people even to this day still lack the right to economic management.

--The peasants' livelihood has been improved; while wages of urban people have increased somewhat, they still cannot catch up with rising commodity prices.

—The trumpeting for ideological liberation was vociferous for a while, but it soon stopped. After a thriving development in 1979 and 1980, literary creation is now encountering obstacles again. Under this premise of people losing their social ideals, selfish desires spread, "looking up to money" becomes the common social attitude, the "art of cultivating connections" permeates every corner of society. Corruption, bribing, speculation, and smuggling prevail everywhere; they have seriously eroded the organic body of the whole CCP and ruined its reputation.

This has been an era of reform from above; compared to the period of the Cultural Revolution, it is of course far better, or it is in certain aspects —such as economic liberalization, rough stoppage of political movements, diminished direct control over the people's life by the party, etc., even better than the days prior to the Cultural Revolution. But the structure of society has not changed; power is still wielded in the hand of the party leadership; the party and its leaders are still the masters of society; the people have remained consistently the ruled; the state of "the people being the masters" by no means exists in this society.

These are the results the people have reaped since they hoped for a change in their country's destiny 4 or 5 years ago.

Such a state of affairs merits people's reflection and efforts to sum it up.

#### IV

The Tian An Men Incident is a revolutionary storm the people spontaneously raised. It came about in the darkness of highhanded oppression by Mao Zedong and the gang of four, and it was in substance a struggle against Mao Zedong's autocracy. This is why in the sea of poems in the Tian An Men Square appeared this famous one:

"China is no longer the China of the past,  
Nor are the people matchlessly stupid;  
The feudal society of the emperor of Qin has passed  
away and will never return,  
We believe in Marxism-Leninism.  
....."

This was an immortal poem that conveyed the spiritual substance of the Tian An Men Incident.

Because of various reasons the leading strata of the CCP, while proceeding to effect a rectification of the Tian An Men Incident, somehow purposely concealed the anti-Mao significance implicit in the Tian An Men Incident and turned it into a movement against the corrupt officials but not against the emperor himself.

Yet, as a movement the Tian An Men may well have become a broken-away kite, but in terms of the revolutionary spirit evidenced by the Tian An Men Incident, it will remain forever in China's history and in the people's memory. I believe that it will still play a stimulating role in moving history forward.

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## PRC'S MOVE TO STREAMLINE ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE ANALYZED

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[Article by Mu Fu [3668 1133]: "Communist China Moves To Cut Its Deadwood"]

[Text] The problem caused by the bureaucratic growth and structural overlapping in China dates back to long ago. In the winter of 1955, the CCP Central Committee issued a directive on streamlining the state organs and pointed out: "The phenomenon characterized by structural overlapping and bureaucratic overstaffing has reached serious proportions." Contrary to the expectations of improvement, the situation has been deteriorating with each passing day until it becomes "intolerable," despite a series of movements to streamline the administrative structure and send cadres down to lower levels and despite the calls for struggling against the bureaucracy that were issued year after year. Since his rise to power, Deng Xiaoping has found that unless this unwieldy bureaucratic structure is reformed, the modernization program will become a joke. In 1980, he delivered an important speech on this matter at a Politburo meeting. As soon as the power center headed by Hu and Zhao came into being, he decided to perform a sweeping surgery on that extremely unwieldy structure in coordination with a move to deal blows to the corrupt tigers. These two events reflect a single concern about the quality and quantity of government service. As long as he is determined to bring order out of chaos, he can certainly shoot two birds with a single stone.

### Irresistible Parkinson's Law

British scholar Parkinson came up with a thesis on bureaucratic structure, later dubbed "Parkinson's Law," theorizing that bureaucracy tends to grow and swell naturally and represents a tendency independent of man's control. It has been said that this theory has aroused communist China's great interest. What is the true picture of bureaucratic growth in China? An answer to this question can be found in a roughly tabulated statistical table on the senior cadres of the State Council, as shown here.

No year	Vice Premiers	Ministers	Vice Ministers
1952	4	42	180-240
1956	12	85	487
1964	16	81	451
1975	12	29	nearly 200
1979	18	83	700-800
1982	13	99	nearly 900
Planned reduction	2	52	nearly 200

This table shows that except for the period of the Cultural Revolution in which bureaucratic organizations were either paralyzed or semi-paralyzed under the impact of the ultraleftist anarchistic trend of thought, the swelling tendency is noticeable. This tendency reached a peak shortly after the downfall of the gang of four, when the number of vice premiers increased to 18, and when many absolutely unnecessary directly affiliated agencies such as the "Chairman Mao Memorial Hall Administration," the "General Drug Control Bureau," the "Foreign Languages Publishing Administration," and the "Administration of Government Operations" were added to the original administrative structure, and each ministry or commission, or office and bureau increased its deputy heads to more than 10. These added staff members are old, incompetent in handling the affairs of the state, and sluggish in action, and therefore, can do only harm to the nation. This cancerous structural growth clearly results from considerations for equitable distribution of power, and competition for special privileges between the new dignitaries of the Cultural Revolution and reinstated officials.

Although U.S. Government agencies are also being overstaffed, specific ceilings have been imposed on the number of their senior officials. Under the Federal Government are only 13 ministries and 20 "independent agencies." In the 1950's, the Soviet Union had only 25 union ministries. As far as the number of provinces is concerned, China's 25 provinces are a cross between the 50 states of the United States and 16 republics of the Soviet Union. But the size of central organization in China is many times greater than in the United States and the Soviet Union. It is undeniable that this is connected with the feudal Chinese tradition of concentrating power in the central government.

Although Japan is a great economic power with a population of over 100 million, it has only 24 ministries, general agencies, and commissions under the Office of the Prime Minister, and 68 ministers and vice ministers.

#### Historical Reform

Last March, in a report to the session of the Standing Committee of the Fifth National People's Congress, Premier Zhao Ziyang set forth proposals, principles, and policies for streamlining agencies under the State Council, and reported moves that have been made in this respect.

The general proposal consists of plans to reduce the number of vice premiers from the present 13 to 2, and to create the positions of ministers without portfolio with ranks equivalent to vice premiership, who can act concurrently as ministers and chairmen of various commissions or on behalf of the premier in his absence. But Zhao shed no light on the number of ministers without portfolio to be created. To "strengthen the centralized leadership," the State Council will set up a standing conference normally attended by the premier, vice premiers, ministers without portfolio, and secretary general.

The present plan is to reduce, by means of "dismantling," disintegration and merging, the number of agencies and offices under the direct jurisdiction of ministries and commissions from 98 to approximately 52, and the staff size by one-third from the present 49,000 to 32,000.

Under the general proposal, the primary task of the State Council is to "direct the economic construction program," to do a good job of developing the planned economy, to strengthen the State Planning Commission, to rebuild the State Economic Commission, and to abolish the State Agricultural Commission and the State Capital Construction Commission.

Zhao Ziyang also set forth the following policies for streamlining the administrative structure:

- 1) The division of responsibility must be clearly defined and effective regulations and rules must be drafted and put into effect by all agencies, so that employment of additional work force will be tied to work to be done, two persons will not be used to do the job that can be done by one person, and buck passing can be avoided.
- 2) Persons of integrity and competence should be selected to form leading groups composed of revolutionaries, youths, intellectuals, and experts. The staff size must be cut down to the minimum and should include the minister and vice ministers numbering no less than 3 and no more than 5 for each ministry, and the director and deputy directors numbering no less than 2 and no more than 3 for each bureau or department. Ministers must be aged less than 65, and vice ministers and bureau chiefs and their deputies less than 60.
- 3) The following categories of persons cannot be employed: rebels who were followers of the Lin and Jiang cliques; ideologues obsessed with factionalism; elements engaged in vandalism and robbery; serious violators of law and discipline. Such of those who are still employed must be dismissed.
- 4) Attention must be paid to the training and recruiting of women cadres and cadres of minority nationalities.
- 5) Political status and costs of living entitlements will remain unchanged for old cadres who plan to retire or resign. Those who are experienced in work and are in good health may retire to the second line of duty as

counselors so that they can involve themselves in consultations, investigations and supervisory work, and can take a proper place in the operation of the government.

6) The training of cadres on a rotational basis must be strengthened in an effort to improve their qualities. (This training reportedly involves mainly cadres aged 40 or less.) They will be organized to study culture on a rotational basis and acquire professional knowledge. Their work and study can be scheduled alternately.

7) This emphasis on reform is a revolution whose targets are systems but not people.

8) Various provinces, municipalities, and autonomous regions will begin to reform their administrative structure in 1983.

Using the State Council as a model, Zhao Ziyang has come up with an exemplary plan to cut the size of bureaucratic organization with a grand ax. This most sweeping action ever taken since the founding of the PRC demonstrates courage and determination on the part of reformers to struggle against "Parkinson's Law." But is it possible for those deeply entrenched occupants of key positions created by 30 years of power struggle in China to step down from the political stage?

#### Speculation From Beijing

As has been the case in the past, this well-orchestrated campaign to streamline the administrative structure has aroused the concern of cadres throughout the country, and has touched off a debate among them, who consider this a matter that will have a bearing on the future of their country, their careers and direct interests.

It was said that the current structural streamlining campaign will take the form of an "across-the-board cut" in the number of "officials" in a "businesslike fashion" rather than the form of a movement to send them down from one level to another. The people hope that this campaign will deal a telling blow to corrupt officials and bureaucrats. What concerns the intellectuals most is who should be retained. To them, this is a question of choice between political consciousness and professional competence. In the past, upon hearing the two-character term downward movement, everyone would be scared; those whose working relationships with their bosses were not cordial would have no alternative but to prepare to go, because their stay or departure was basically not decided by qualifications of political consciousness and professional competence. Today, this feeling is gone. Now the unanimous view among the people is that during the current streamlining campaign, qualifications of professional competence will be considered to be an important factor in deciding who should remain and who should go, because the Central Committee has unequivocally promised to shift the focus of its work from the intermittent political movement to economic construction, and because every unit needs

"those truly competent professionals." It is believed that "those politically conscious but not professionally competent persons" will end up being losers during this campaign. I learned that some of the elderly senior cadres with excellent qualifications of professional experiences who are "indispensable" to the nation may be asked to stay but are subjected to approval by the Political Bureau.

It was said that with regard to the problem of the overall streamlining of the three major systems of "the party, government and army," the party has shown faith in the daring spirit of Hu Yaobang to do the job, although the armed forces have not yet made clear their attitude. The vastness of the Chinese armed forces is probably second to none in the world. They are maintaining organizations and installations comparable to local governments. Among them are political, economic, technical and cultural departments. The size of staff at the headquarters, political, logistics and staff departments of every PLA service and branch of arms plus personnel working for the civil air defense and militia organizations is as staggering as their expenditures. For the time being, the military staff size is also swelling, with each company level unit maintaining more "cadres" than it really needs. This has caused the ratio of officers to men in arms to rise remarkably. Particularly noteworthy is an increase in the number of army cadres hating and opposing the political line adopted by the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee. Such cadres are now estimated at over 90 percent of the total. These are cadres who have benefitted from the implementation of the Mao Zedong line, and who were seldom touched during the Cultural Revolution. Even Deng Xiaoping is afraid of offending them, and hesitant to talk about the "reductions in force" in their presence. These are also cadres who have loudly complained about the recently adopted proposal for transformation of the intellectual aspect of officers. Among the senior officers are many persons who once belonged to the Lin and Jiang factions, including deputy commanders of a certain military region, who were reportedly promoted to their present positions by Huang Yongsheng [7806 3057 0524], and who still continue to make frequent appearances before the public. How the military staff is to be cut back is a big problem that needs to be solved. Unless the problem concerning the armed forces is solved, the Hu-Zhao group will never feel secure.

How a large number of elderly cadres are treated has also aroused the public's great attention. So far, one thing is believed to be certain, that is, they will still eat three meals a day, will still have jobs to do, and will receive the same pay; they will not be treated like those layoffs in the capitalist countries who will have to hunt for new jobs. Many people hail this as the "superiority of socialism." Otherwise, if they were not taken care of after being laid off, it would spell trouble for the world.

The existence of resistance to reductions in force and structural reform is also evident if we take note of the fact that 2 years ago, a number of useless old cadres refused to retire in accordance with a plan, despite a promise to increase their pay by one grade (which means tens of yuan

for senior cadres). The reason is that if they agreed to retire, they would lose popular support and special privileges. To them, "power means everything." It is certain that these cadres will pose an obstacle to the structural streamlining. But since this structural reform takes the form of a movement which will compel the majority of senior cadres to retire, and which is allowed to retain a small number of them, they will have no alternative but to follow the irresistible main trend for retirement.

### A Good Beginning

The initial plan is to streamline the administrative structures of 12 ministries on a trial basis, two of which--the Ministry of Water Conservancy and the Ministry of Electric Power Industry--have been merged into the Ministry of Water Conservancy and Electric Power Industry. These two closely related sister ministries were twice merged and twice separated before. But each still went its own righteous way by expanding its organization until many of its professional projects overlapped that of the other at the expense of the state.

This merging and reorganization "was successfully completed" in a matter of 1 and a half months. Qian Zhengying [6929 2973 5391] former 59-year-old minister of the Ministry of Water Conservancy, has been renamed minister of the newly merged ministry, which retains only 4 of 26 vice ministers, 16 of 35 bureaus and departments, 48 or one-fourth of 192 directors of bureaus and departments of the two defunct ministries, and 50 percent of their personnel.

The average age of the new minister and vice ministers and of new bureau chiefs is 60 and 54, or 5 and 6 years younger than their predecessors respectively. College graduates make up 60 percent of cadres at bureau chief and higher levels, who are experienced in directing and designing the hydroelectric power engineering projects. The more than 200 elderly leading cadres at bureau chief and departmental director levels who were on the staff of the two defunct ministries are being asked to resign or retire, except for those who are in good health and who can be renamed counselors. Seven of the former vice ministers have been transferred to work at basic levels with the same pay. Former vice minister of personnel Jian Xianfo [6456 0341 0154] has joined her husband Xiao Ke [5135 0344], vice minister of the Ministry of National Defense, in applying for "leave from office for health reasons" so that they can open up their positions to "younger successors."

There are a large number of ordinary cadres who cannot be accommodated under the new system. In this connection, new Vice Minister Li Peng [2621 7720] said: they will take leave from office, and will take turns to attend study classes. They will receive the same pay and are in no danger of losing jobs.

The remaining 10 ministries have also come up with plans to streamline their administrative structures. The Standing Committee of the National

People's Congress has approved appointments to the positions of ministers of the four new ministries. What deserves attention is 61-year-old Chen Muhua [7115 1970 5478], who has been named minister of the Ministry of Economic Relations with Foreign Countries and Foreign Trade, an amalgamation of four defunct ministries including ministries of economic relations with foreign countries and of foreign trade.

The proverb says: a good beginning is a guarantee for success. This structural reform represents a realistic step in the direction of modernizing a country. I believe that with popular support, the Chinese communist reformers will be able to overcome all difficulties in fulfilling their already set streamlining plans.

But as far as the grand objective of structural reform is concerned, what has been done for the time being can be viewed as only the first round of battle during the 10,000 li long march. If it is not accompanied with urgent measures to solve relevant problems, the structural reform can hardly be expected to produce positive results or to consolidate what it has already achieved. Historical lessons in this respect are too numerous to mention here. In my opinion, the following problems cannot be ignored.

#### The Party Needs To Be Unhesitatingly Liquidated

In the history of Communist China, there was the "rectification of the party's workstyle" almost every year. But the "liquidation of the party" was never mentioned. Today, it seems necessary to liquidate the party.

The Chinese Communist Party is now the only ruling party in China enjoying a supreme power of control over 1 billion people. Not only can it exercise its leadership over the state organs through its members but can also dictate orders to the nation directly by means of resolutions. For a long time, it has got "the party mixed up with the government, and allowed the party to take the place of the government" so that it could exercise the "centralized leadership" of the party. It has also made the head of the state a figurehead, and has placed the party committees and their secretaries in a position to decide everything, both important and less important, on matters involving the Central Committee or production teams. It is believed that this phenomenon remains to be eliminated. For this reason, in the course of discussing loopholes in the state organs, the party should not avoid mentioning its own loopholes. The CCP now claims 39 million members, equivalent to twice the population of Yugoslavia. Of these party members, 60 percent joined the party during the Cultural Revolution. In other words, the majority of party members are faithful followers of the ultraleftist line. Among them are bad elements and violators of law and discipline. Even among those who joined the party before the Cultural Revolution, many are yes men and sycophants who cannot deserve to be called party members with communist consciousness. Exactly to what degree has the party purified its organization as a result of so many rectifications of its workstyle? How many bad elements have been expelled from the party, which now claims millions of members, as a result of that

10-year dynamic and disastrous Cultural Revolution? Some of those who have been jailed for years are now still allowed to maintain party membership for the reason of "exercising caution in dealing with persons whose political life is at stake." It is no wonder that speculators and opportunists want to join the party at any price so that they can reap profits 10,000 times greater than their investment. It is no wonder that the country is filled with so many party members and officials who have been proved unresponsive and insensitive to criticism voiced by the masses. The people have detected a sharp drop in the prestige of the party. A representative of the masses running for public office recently was warmly applauded by his audience for declaring that "none of my family members is a party member!" Does this indicate that the party has become a haven for corrupt officials? How can these thieves and embezzlers be expelled from the party without subjecting them to the tests of a resolute liquidation movement? It must be noted that in the 1920's, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union counted on the working class to clean itself up. Although the CCP fully understands that it has admitted as members a variety of persons obsessed with privileges, it has never attempted to punish them for fear of losing face.

The party itself in China is a vast and comprehensive system under which there are units comparable to their local administrative counterparts. In view of its leading position, the people have the right to know how its structural streamlining plan is faring. A mere observation of the organization of the Party Central Committee shows that the Central Committee founded on the Leninist principle of building the party functions as "fighting headquarters" for the entire party membership, as had been the case of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) of Lenin's time, whose Central Committee members were outstanding revolutionaries and Marxist theoreticians whose number was naturally limited. Before its Eighth Congress, the CCP followed the same basic rule in organizing its Central Committee. When the Eighth Party Congress was held, the Central Committee had only 170 members (including alternate members) as opposed to the 355 members it has today. Among them are "representatives of workers, peasants and soldiers" who have never read the "Communist Manifesto." Can they participate in the formulation of policies? They are nothing more than a bunch of persons who can constitute the majority for the Central Committee and who can easily be exploited at will by careerists. As has been the case in the past, they could be persuaded into following not only Mao Zedong but also Lin Biao and Jiang Qing. What credentials do they have in deciding the future of China? Why are they still allowed to remain with the Central Committee, and not be expelled from it?

If the party can take the lead in streamlining and liquidating its structure, and set an example for the state organs to follow, it can certainly clear the way and create a more favorable condition for this purpose.

Hold High the Banner of Letting Experts Run the Country

I welcome the introduction to the structural streamlining campaign of the requirements that cadres be armed with "knowledge," "professional skills"

and "college diplomas." Since the Chinese communist leaders have endorsed the viewpoint that "nonprofessionals cannot lead professionals," it appears that they have come to understand that it is necessary to "let experts run the country." But this does not indicate that they are wholeheartedly committed to this viewpoint.

As modern civilization is developing at high speed, it is unthinkable for any nation to fail to count on the wisdom and professional skills of experts in running the affairs of the state. Letting experts run the country is a principle not only widely adopted by the Western countries but also accepted by the Soviet Union and its Eastern European bloc. Nixon invited college professors to offer their views before proceeding to formulate his U.S. policy toward China. Some people have called the Soviet Union a country "dominated by three engineers." Meanwhile, the number of Third World leaders with famous English and American college diplomas is on the increase. In a nutshell, the "dictatorship exercised by country bumpkins" is a very painful lesson to China. If the CCP leadership were an intelligent leading group with access to the high levels of knowledge, it would not have allowed so many barbaric, stupid and ugly criminal farces to occur in the 1970's. Mao Zedong's inclination to despise, reject and ruin culture and science was neither shared by Stalin nor anticipated by Hitler.

Although the statesmen of the younger generation in Communist China have made invaluable contributions to saving their nation, they appear unaware of the serious consequences left by Mao. This ignorance can be verified by Zhao Ziyang's move to "train cadres on a rotational basis." Although the motivation to improve the qualities of cadres cannot be questioned, can China's problem of cadres be solved by training the existing cadres? In Premier Zhao's view, this is an "intellectual investment" of strategic significance. But it is certain that this investment will not yield its intended results. I regret that I must point out that this bunch of cadres "whose cultural and technical levels need to be improved" have been stamped with a brand which is out of tune with modernization. It is sad to see China pin its hopes for modernization on those people whose ideas should have been buried with things that belonged to the bygone "Ma Zedong era." Why can't we pin our hopes for modernization on the intellectuals of the younger generation?

Those children who started school after liberation, and graduated from college in 1965 are now middle-aged men and women with 16 years of working experiences to their credit. These college graduates who reached maturity under the red banner are estimated at no less than 1 million. Do you think that it is difficult to select 100 from among them as new ministers? Deng Xiaoping said: "Since liberation China has produced 7 or 8 million college and middle school graduates who have survived more than 10 years of tests." Allowing such an enormous intellectual human resource to be wasted while trying to train culturally and technically handicapped cadres on a rotational basis is an approach which will certainly lead people to suspect that the belief that "nonprofessionals can lead professionals" remains alive. This approach will become incomprehensible, if anyone

argues that is not the case. Of course, letting experts run the country is a general idea that refers to leaders with specific educational qualifications who know how to use experts. It is not necessarily a reference to leaders with college diplomas.

#### China Is in Need of Specific Method of Recruiting

How to recruit talent is a problem that needs to be solved in China. In his report, Zhao Ziyang gave no detailed instructions on this matter except to say that "attention must be paid to the recruiting of younger cadres of both political integrity and professional competence." The past practice was to "allow responsible leaders to select, and party committees to decide candidates." Actually, this was a way of recruiting cadres in which responsible leaders' subjective views and their personal relationships with candidates were allowed to play a decisive role. Now the Ministry of Water Conservancy and Electric Power Industry has adopted a new recruiting process in which candidates must be first recommended by its leading groups, then discussed by the masses and "interviewed by those at the top and those at the bottom" three times before a decision can be made. Although this democratic method is good, it appears designed to serve only one specific purpose of a movement. Whether it can be implemented as a regular system, I am afraid, remains a problem. The reason is that this approach is far from effective in recruiting talent, in broadening the dimension of exploration and in recruiting talent from all over the country. For this reason, consideration must be given to other methods of nomination, recruitment through advertisement, and examination. If cadres are allowed to freely choose their employers and occupations, they may be able to enjoy greater opportunity of employment. If this idea is acceptable, it may involve basic reform in the current unified systems of distribution, organization, transfer of manpower, individual choice, food rationing based on individual households, and other social institutions in communist China.

#### Problems Concerning Tenure, Dismissals of Cadres

As a part of structural reform, a limit has been imposed on the age of senior cadres qualified for public office. This should be called an important revolutionary step in the direction of abolishing the life tenure system for cadres. But there is no indication as to their tenure. Nor is there any mention of provisions for dismissing cadres from office in case of incompetence and dereliction of duty. The problem concerning the dismissal of cadres from office should be viewed as an important aspect of structural reform that no one can ignore. The past practices in which cadres could only be promoted but not demoted, could be protected from prosecution in case of wrongdoing, and could be criticized and transferred without their positions and pay being affected constitute a major factor that has caused many cadres to look upon themselves as "heroes," to look down on others, and to grow arrogant until they degenerated into overlords sitting on the backs of the people. The most prominent feature of democracy is that the people are entitled to impeach and censure officials, including the head of the state, when they are found guilty of

violating the laws. What has irritated the Chinese people most is the cadre system which has turned upside down the relationship between public servants and their masters, and has rendered the former powerless to punish the latter after they are found guilty of wrongdoing. If no guarantee is provided with regard to this point, the structural reform can hardly be expected to produce any good results. The corrosive nature of political power is a starting point in formulating the Western legal system. It is also a point verified by crimes committed by Mao Zedong and Wang Shouxin [3769 1343 0207]. Who can guarantee that officials can become saints immune to corruption following the structural streamlining?

I hope to see a most effective way of overseeing officials gradually evolve in China. This is a method by which the people can oversee the government through the mass media, including the press, radio and television stations which will be allowed to express public opinions by seeking truth from facts, to question and raise charges against government officials, and to press the officials for answers to those questions, without their having the benefit of protection by the government. Once they are found guilty of wrongdoing, they should resign while awaiting prosecution.

But so far, the Chinese government has demonstrated an undemocratic attitude toward criticism from the people. Its policy is to criticize junior officials and protect senior ones. If anyone subjects a senior official to criticism, he will do the nation no good, because he must prepare to face a variety of visible and invisible retaliatory attacks.

#### The Recruiting of Female Cadres Deserves Attention

Of the six recently announced new ministers, three are women. Certainly, the Chinese women should take pride in their appointments, because it proves that "women can take care of one half of the world." This writer neither wants to shower any obtrusive opinions nor wants to heap any unnecessary praise on them. It can be said that the people understand Qian Zhengying relatively well while they know too little about Chen Muhua and Hao Jianxiu [6787 1696 4423]. I believe that Minister Chen's rise to prominence is entirely due to her outstanding performance as minister of the Ministry of Economic Relations with Foreign Countries, in which talented people abound.

But the practice of reserving specific positions for women cadres will not merit endorsement from the public. If women cadres are not awarded positions in a rational way in recognition of their outstanding performances, but are awarded positions in accordance with a man-made arrangement, the structural streamlining whose aim is to cut the size of staff to the minimum will become meaningless. In my opinion, the preservation of women's status in this manner is not necessary at a time when the national interests should take precedence over personal interests.

#### Prevent the Overcentralization and Abuse of Power

Decentralization of power, or transfer of power down to lower levels in Chinese language, is an important factor that has led many countries to streamline their administrative systems. In other words, officials should

refrain from poking their nose into the affairs of others, which are none of their business. The Chinese bureaucracy is a centuries-old tradition based on the "patriarchal system." Its purpose is to tighten government control over the people. In short, the government seems always concerned with their well-being. Even those officials of integrity prefer to be called "officials loving the people as if they were their own children," and prefer to be fathers rather than children. Co-munist China has treated the people in much the same way, seemingly telling them that without the government's control, they would die. But that is not the case in the United States where the government has no intention of extending its tentacles into the affairs of private citizens. For example, it has no intention of setting up the "Ministry of Culture." If the government wants too much control, certainly, "Parkinson's Law" will gain momentum. On the other hand, reductions in force will certainly lead to the concentration of power. Under such new circumstances, attention must be paid to preventing the abuse of power and the revival of the patriarchal system.

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