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POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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CHINA REPORT  
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

REAGAN'S ECONOMIC RECOVERY PLAN ANALYZED

Changchun JININ DAXUE SHEHUI KEXUE XUEBAO [JININ UNIVERSITY JOURNAL SOCIAL SCIENCES EDITION] in Chinese No 3, 1982 pp 51-57

[Article by Liu Chuanyan [0491 0278 3508]: "On the Reagan Government's Economic Recovery Plan"]

[Excerpted from a 5600-word article] In February of last year, not long after Reagan became President, he presented to Congress an economic recovery plan which evoked fierce reverberations. Many newspapers and magazines dubbed this plan "Reaganomics," "supply-side economics in action," and "the new economics." Some periodicals ridiculed this plan and its theoretical basis--supply side economics--as "voodoo economics." From proposal of the plan to discussion and revision by both houses of Congress to final implementation has taken already a year, and the contradictions in the plan have begun to be revealed. This article is an attempt to conduct a preliminary analysis and critique of the essence and actual results of this plan.

In terms of theory, Reagan's economic recovery plan is based on supply-side economics and monetarism, with the emphasis on the former. Supply-side economics advocates the analysis and adjustment of an economy from the perspective of supply rather than the perspective of demand; it holds that the driving force and source of economic development is the initiative of the single individual and opposes state intervention in the economy, particularly high progressive taxation; it emphasizes the importance of saving, investment, production and supply, and opposes welfare policies of stimulating consumer demand and redistribution of national income; it advocates using long-term economic strategy to raise labor productivity and latent production ability instead of short-term managerial policies to counter cyclical waves. Monetarism advocates adopting a monetary policy centered on stable monetary growth rate and opposes Keynesian monetary policy which is centered around stable interest rates. The Reagan government's economic recovery plan is the concretization of the economic viewpoint of supply-side economics and monetarism.

The four points of Reagan's economic recovery plan are actually four pillars of his promotion of the U.S. economy, and we will analyze them one by one below.

The First Pillar of Reagan's Economic Recovery Plan--Reduce Taxes, This Is the Heart of Reagan's Economic Recovery Plan.

First of all, it is not the reduction of the absolute level of taxes, but reducing the proportion of taxes as a part of the GNP. In terms of the burden on the taxpayer, it has increased year after year.

Second, the focus of this tax cut is the capitalist and the wealthy. According to the theory of supply-side economics, the aim of tax reduction is not to increase consumption, but to increase investment. Poor people have low incomes, so the extra income they receive from tax reduction will be used for consumption; the wealthy have large incomes, so the extra income they receive from tax reduction will be used for savings and investment. This is why they advocate reducing taxes for the wealthy. Reagan's tax reduction proposal is based on just this theory and stipulates tax reductions mainly for households with incomes of over \$50,000. According to statistics of the Census Bureau of the U.S. Department of Commerce, in 1978 households with incomes of over \$50,000 per year made up 3.6 percent of all the households in the United States, thus 96.4 percent of the households are not the main object of the tax reduction. After this proposal was approved, Democratic House Leader O'Neill said angrily that Reagan's tax cut proposal was "a disguised proposal to transfer wealth from the poor to the rich." Early last year in his State of the Nation address to Congress, Reagan said that government taxation "cannot be used to regulate the economy or provoke a social revolution." The sense of this is the same as the supply-side economics' contention that taxes cannot be used as a means to redistribute national income. Actually, Reagan's tax cut proposal is an out-and-out redistribution method which is favorable to the rich and unfavorable to the poor.

The Second Pillar of Reagan's Economic Recovery Plan--Reducing Government Expenditures

First of all, it is not a reduction in the absolute value of government expenditures, but a reduction in government expenditures as a proportion of the GNP, i.e., dropping from 23.4 percent in 1981 to 19.3 percent in 1984, but as far as the absolute value of government expenditures is concerned it will increase year by year: total increase from 1982 to 1985 will be \$1893 billion.

In the midst of the clamor over large-scale reductions in government expenditures, the Reagan government is continuing to increase government expenditures on a large scale.

Second, the Reagan government originally planned to achieve a balanced budget by 1984. However, the United States entered a new economic recession in August of last year, and according to official figures that 1982 budget deficit will be \$98.2 billion and for 1983 will be \$91.5 billion, for a 2-year total of \$189.7 billion, or more than the total deficit of \$181 billion of the 4-year period when Carter was in office. With regard to this point, although the fiscal policies promoted by Reagan carry the supply-side label, in actuality they are Keynesian debit (deficit) expenditure policies.

Third, the Reagan government originally planned to reduce budget expenditures by \$49.1 billion, \$68.5 and \$85.9 billion in 1982, 1983, and 1984 respectively for a total reduction of \$203.5 billion. Where will Reagan's budget reduction axe fall?

It struck first of all in expenditures for the "Comprehensive Employment and Training Act." This act was implemented in 1974 with an annual expenditure of \$4 billion. The Reagan government said that this act had to be greatly reduced on the grounds that it lowered labor productivity and was a form of income redistribution. They planned to retain expenditures for labor education, but lopped off expenditures for directly creating jobs. Thus although it saved \$3 billion a year, it added 300,000 unemployed to the public service sector.

Fourth, large-scale and continued increases in defense expenditures. Defense expenditures are the highest priority item in the Reagan government's budget expenditures. According to U.S. Defense Department figures, at an annual growth rate of 7 percent, in 1982-1987 defense expenditures will reach \$1,560,000,000. This is the largest peace-time military expenditure, equal to 3.2 times the \$699.256 billion in direct military expenditures of the U.S. intervention in Vietnam (1961-1971) and equal to 7.1 times the \$253.8 billion in direct military expenditures of the period of World War II (1939-1945).

The Reagan government is on the one hand slashing social welfare expenditures, creating enormous difficulties for the people, and on the other is greatly increasing military outlays, creating monopolist profits for the armament industry, and provoking violent dissatisfaction among the people. When testifying before Congress, [Wayne] Kirkland, president of the AFL-CIO, the United States' largest labor organization, pointed out sharply that Reagan's economic recovery plan was "unequal, unfair and short-sighted," "transferring income from the poor to the rich." Edward Gelan [2706 5695] the responsible person of a United Auto Worker's local in New Jersey, attacked the Reagan economic policy as not a war on poverty, but "a war on the poor."

At the same time, we also see that on the one hand the Reagan government is vocally opposed to big government and wants to restore economic freedom, but on the other hand with its expansion of military expenditures on an unprecedentedly large scale it has intensified state interference in capitalist production, circulation and distribution and promoted the development of the military-industrial complex and state monopolistic capitalism.

#### The Third Pillar of the Reagan Government's Economic Recovery Plan--Eliminate State Controls on the Economy

Supply side economics believes in the 19th century laissez-faire theory that under conditions of free competition, the goods needed by the consumer can be efficiently produced and distributed. They also think that at present the U.S. Government's controls on the economy are too many and this restricts the initiative for capitalist investment and savings, and that this is an important reason for high prices, high unemployment and low rate of labor productivity in the United States. The Reagan government's proposals to reform and eliminate government controls on the economy which are unnecessary and even counter-productive are based on supply-side economics. The main points are:

First, eliminating voluntary restrictions on wages and prices, particularly lifting controls on gasoline and natural gas, which was moved up by 8 months, causing a rise in prices. Natural gas prices increased by at least 35 percent, so that natural gas cost for each household increased \$667 and workers' actual wages gradually decreased.

Next, the head of the Department of Justice took personal charge, whipping up public opinion that "big isn't really bad," relaxing anti-trust enforcement, giving tacit approval to alliances and amalgamations, giving the green light to frenzied annexation by monopoly capital. According to statistics, the gross value of annexations in the first half of last year was \$71.4 billion, \$44.3 billion more than the year before last, or an increase of 60 percent, a new high tide of take-overs is on the rise.

Third, relax enforcement of regulations on labor, environmental and transportation safety. For example, to rescue the automobile industry which had fallen on hard times, 34 regulations on pollution and vehicle safety were relaxed or abolished, lowering the cost of each automobile by \$150 and saving the automobile industry and customers \$9.3 billion. However, on the other hand it increased air pollution and traffic accidents.

Also, because federal textile industry dust standards were relaxed, 500,000 textile workers were forced to work in dust-polluted environments and according to estimates, 50,000 textile workers will contract brown lung disease.

Fourth, the Reagan government has criticized Conrail for losses year after year and plans to sell it to a profit-making privately-owned railroad company. If these plans are realized, the privately-owned railroad company will reduce service lines, not only creating difficulties for 500,000 commuters who go to New York and Philadelphia daily but also will cause great unemployment among railway workers, and railway workers who are still employed will be forced to yield \$1 billion in wages and benefits in the next 5 years.

Fifth, because they feel that the minimum wage is blocking employment for minority young people, the Reagan government plans to set an even lower minimum wage for young people. The present minimum wage is \$3.35 an hour, so that even if the head of a family of four works full time his annual income is only \$6,432, which is \$1,918 less than the officially set poverty level of \$8,450. There are now 5.6 million workers who are paid at the minimum wage level, and if a lower minimum wage is set for young people, capitalists will hire young people to take the place of mature people, not only creating widespread unemployment among mature workers, but also causing a further decline in wage levels, and thus encountering the violent opposition of the workers.

Sixth, the Reagan government has criticized the Equal Employment [Opportunity] Act as a kind of "reverse discrimination" (i.e., discrimination against whites) and has called for revision of the act. If this is realized, then blacks and other minorities will be in danger of losing the equal employment rights which they fought so hard to gain, and racial discrimination in employment will intensify.

The above analysis shows the true nature of the Reagan government's policies to eliminate government controls and restore economic freedom. What they eliminate and abolish are the limited economic rights and interests won by the masses through long struggle, and what is being restored is but the freedom for monopoly capital to depress wages, raise prices, lower working conditions, pollute the environment, swallow up other enterprises and discriminate against minorities.

## The Fourth Pillar of the Reagan Government's Economic Recovery Plan--Uphold a Stable Monetary Policy

According to the monetarist viewpoint, in order to bring inflation under control it is necessary to go through a difficult period of 1 or 2 years, during which unemployment will be high, and growth will be rather slow. Then, in 3 or 4 years, with the dropping of the inflation rate, there will be rapid economic growth. To realize this goal, the federal government has adopted a monetary policy which will make the monetary growth rate steadily decline. Reagan's economic plan's monetary policy is based on the formulations of monetarist theory.

Based on the theory of Reagan's economic recovery plan and the practice of the past year, Reagan's strategy to revive the U.S. economy seems to be that in the first and second years to rely mainly on a tight money policy, using a lowering of the growth rate of money and high interest rates to create artificial economic stagnation and high unemployment to force wages and prices down; then in the next few years to rely mainly on the supply-side economic policies of large-scale tax cuts, elimination of state controls on the economy and developing market mechanisms and on the Keynesian expansionist fiscal and monetary policies of large-scale military outlays and deficit financing and low interest rates to give impetus to the revival, and thus eliminate economic stagflation and realize the strategic goal of stable growth with low inflation.

Can this strategic goal of the Reagan government be realized? We think there are many difficulties:

First, the actual conditions of U.S. economic stagflation make it very difficult for the Reagan government's strategy to get rid of stagflation to be realized. Early last year, Reagan adopted a tight money policy in an attempt to make the inflation rate drop from double-digits to single-digits. The inflation rate dropped only to 9.5 percent (inflation rate of consumer goods in the first half of 1981) and under the pressure of high interest rates, the U.S. economy sank into a new economic crisis starting in August of last year. To guard against a worsening of the crisis and increasing unemployment, it was necessary to adopt a policy of lowering interest rates. It can be said categorically that if the economy is not allowed to begin to upsurge [after lowering interest rates], the inflation rate can rapidly increase to an even higher level. Thus stagflation is better than the seesaw: reduce stagnation (large-scale unemployment) and inflation (rising prices) increases, reduce inflation and stagnation increases. What is worse is that putting pressure on inflation does not decrease it, but stagnation does, creating an interrelation of high rate of inflation and high rate of unemployment. This is the history of failure of adopting the Keynesian prescription for stagflation and the effectiveness of the Reagan government's adoption of the dual prescription of supply-side economics and monetarism will not be much better.

Second, the contradiction of the Reagan government's fiscal policy and monetary policy has made the problem of "stagflation" even harder to resolve. The fiscal policies of large-scale tax cuts and military expenditures must lead to deficits and thus cause and intensify inflation; and a monetary policy of lowering the rate of growth of money must lead to an increase in interest rates, thus causing

a slowdown and stagnation of economic growth. It is obvious that the Reagan government's mutually contradictory fiscal policies and monetary policies are factors intensifying stagflation.

This is not all. The large deficits caused by Reagan's fiscal policies and the high interest rates caused by his monetary policies are mutually aggravating. High interest rates increase the national debt, state revenues are reduced due to the recession caused by high interest rates, expenditures grow due to growth in unemployment, and all this gives rise to an increase in the deficit; on the other side, large deficits often give rise to increases in the demand for money and increase in interest rates. This creates a vicious cycle between high interest rates and high deficits, and will make the interaction of economic stagnation and rising prices even worse.

Third, the internal contradictions of Reagan's economic recovery plan have created difficulties which cannot be overcome. Reagan's plan, on the one hand, tries its best, through large-scale tax cuts and increasing military outlays, to expand investment, raise labor productivity, increase production and the supply of goods, to make productive ability expand as much as possible, and on the other hand, through reducing taxes for the rich, accelerating depreciation, reducing social welfare benefits for the poor, and artificially creating unemployment and lowering wages and benefits for workers with jobs, tries to reduce the demand of the masses with the ability to pay. This must intensify the contradiction between the two and create the conditions for an even more serious economic crisis.

And this is not all. The policies in the Reagan economic recovery plan of large-scale reductions of civil outlays and the expansion of military outlays on an unprecedented scale over several years must cause serious imbalance between the two areas and lead to a drop in labor productivity and economic growth rate, a rise in inflation which will further aggravate economic stagflation and economic crisis.

Through the above analysis we have the following conclusions:

First, theoretically speaking, the Reagan government's economic recovery plan is based on supply-side economics and monetarism, with supply-side economics being the more important. However, in practice, up to now it seems to be the monetarist policies which have played the important role, and the role of supply-side economics has not been evident, though Keynesian deficit financing has been employed on a large scale under the guise of supply-side economics. It is clear that Reagan has not let himself be bound by certain abstract theories, using whatever is available: he is a pragmatist.

Second, the Reagan government has emphasized removing state controls on the economy, and preached economic freedom, but this does not mean that the Reagan government has adopted policies which will turn the country's monopoly capital economy into a 19th century capitalist economy of free competition. He has not reduced state intervention in the economy, but has changed the emphasis, styles and methods of economic intervention. For example, using government intervention in the demand side of the economy; using long-range economic development policies which focus on raising labor productivity in place of short-range economic

policies focused on countering cyclical activity; using more intervention in the economy by state and local governments and the development of the military-industrial complex and the intensifying of the militarization of the national economy stimulated by large-scale military outlays over successive years, etc., with the result that it has not weakened, but promoted the development of state monopoly capitalism.

Third, Keynesianism which is characterized by regulating demand to a certain degree saw the contradiction between capitalist production and consumption and advocated adopting a series of policies to limit the tendency for unlimited expansion of production and contraction of the ability to pay and to a certain degree mitigated the contradiction between production and consumption and between the first and the second categories. The postwar United States has not had an economic crisis as serious as the great crisis of 1929-1932, and it cannot be said that the promotion of these policies has not been related to this. Reagan's economic recovery plan, which is characterized by regulating supply, ignores the contradiction between production and consumption and is attempting to adopt a series of policies which will further aggravate the contradiction between unlimited expansion of production and the necessary relative contraction of the ability to pay, with the result that it intensifies the contradiction between the first and second categories, so that economic stagflation and economic crisis become more serious.

Fourth, the essence of the Reagan government's economic recovery plan is a counterattack on the limited economic benefits which the U.S. people have won through long struggle in the past 50 years since Roosevelt's New Deal and an ultraconservative line which is unabashedly close to monopoly capital and antilabor, thus the violent opposition from the U.S. people, particularly minorities. Class and racial contradictions in U.S. society are intensifying. Last 19 September, 200,000 angry Americans marched on Washington to protest Reagan's economic policies, and this is only a prelude to the struggle of contradictions.

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PARTY AND STATE

REGIONAL COMMENTARY ON REVISED CONSTITUTION

View From Fuzhou

Fuzhou FUJIAN RIBAO in Chinese 4 Jun 82 p 3

[Article by Lo Shirun [5012 2514 3387]: "Why Must the Current Constitution Be Revised?"]

[Text] Since the founding of New China, we have formulated three constitutions. The third of these, namely the current one, was revised in 1978. Does not a law require stability? Why, after only such a short interval, is an effort again being made to revise this fundamental law?

Our current Constitution was passed by the First Session of the Fifth National People's Congress in March 1978. That was only slightly more than a year after the smashing of the "gang of four" and, because of a limitation by historical conditions at that time, there was no time to sum up in an overall manner the experience and lessons of our socialist revolution and construction since the founding of our state, nor was there time to sort out thoroughly and cleanse away the influence of certain "leftist" ideas on the constitutional provisions during the 10 years of turmoil; the result was that provisions based on certain out-dated political and theoretical views and situations no longer corresponding to reality still remain in this Constitution. More importantly, since the 1st Session of the 5th NPC, and especially since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, our political life, economic life and cultural life have all undergone tremendous changes and development; in many aspects our current Constitution can no longer adapt to the needs of our realistic situation and the construction of our socialist construction. In addition, its many textual provisions are in complete, and not strict, concrete, or clear enough. We all know that a constitution is the concentrated reflection of the proportionate relationship between class forces in class struggle which mirrors the status and mutual relationship of the various classes in society. And the number of objects of our dictatorship is in an inverse ratio to the breadth of the foundation of our democracy. After the completion of our three great transformations, the exploitative system was eliminated, and exploitative classes of the past became gradually transformed into laborers living on their own labor. Ordinarily, the number of objectives of our dictatorship should have progressively diminished. But in the past, political movements were frequent and every time "a small handful" [of such objectives] would be seized; and such "handfuls"

together eventually became a large contingent. As the number of these objectives of our dictatorship increased, the foundation of our democracy shrank; this was very abnormal. During the past few years, through the process of returning to order from disorder, the implementation of the party Central Committee's series of correct principles and policies, the rectification of unjust, false and erroneous cases of litigation, and the removal of labels from transformed landlords, rich peasants and counterrevolutionaries, people with the right to vote, according to statistics during the last year's general election, now make up 99.9 percent of all citizens over 18 years of age, the foundation of our democracy has thus expanded in an unprecedented manner. Such important change in the relationship between classes inside the country and the tremendous changes our political and economic situation has undergone make it all the more necessary for us to carry out an overall revision of the current Constitution.

Next, giving scope to socialist democracy and strengthening our socialist legal system have constituted an unswerving principle for a long period to come determined by the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee. During these past few years, we have achieved considerable results in the implementation of this principle. But certain important principles of our socialist democracy and legal system have not yet been realized in the provisions of our Constitution. For instance, "all citizens are equal before the law," this was provided in the 1954 constitution but later branded as a "bourgeois legal principle" and subject to roughshod criticism. Provisions on independent trials and independent prosecution were also regarded as "claiming independence from the party" and "resisting the party by way of the law" and thereby thrown into the cold storage. This served to eradicate the difference and link between the principles of proletarian democracy and legal system and bourgeois democracy and legal system. Consequently, acknowledging anew these principles in our new constitution is a prerequisite for further strengthening our socialist democracy and legal system.

Furthermore, our current Constitution merely provides ownership by all the people and collective ownership insofar as our economic system is concerned. For a long time, individual economy was regarded as an intolerable hotbed of capitalism which, like a superfluous tail, had to be cut without reservation. This was by no means beneficial to the consolidation and development of our socialist economy or to the rapid improvement and elevation of the living standards of our people. As for cooperation with foreign capitalism, no one even dared to think about this. After returning to order from disorder, there is no doubt of the need to affirm the status and function of this individual economy in our fundamental law. The "draft of the revised constitution" clearly provides that "the individual economies of urban and rural workers within the limits of the law are a supplement to our economy of socialist public ownership"; it also restores the provision of the 1954 constitution in protecting citizens rights to ownership of private property as well as inheritance of such property. Thus people have started to feel calm in their mind. On absorbing foreign capital and carrying out cooperation, there is also need to have clear provisions in the constitution.

Besides, our state leadership system and national economic system are both undergoing, and will undergo, important reforms; clear provisions on regional

autonomy for the various nationalities, etc., also need to be explicitly specified in the new constitution. After an effort of 1-1/2 years, the draft of the revised constitution has already been promulgated and turned over to the whole nation for discussion; this is a big event in the political life of our people and also an important indicator that our socialist democracy and legal system are developing forward.

#### View From Hangzhou

Hangzhou ZH JIANG RIBAO in Chinese 28 May 82 p 4

[Article by Wang Xiang [3769 6343 6253]: "All Power Belongs to the People"]

[Text] Whether or not a constitution really represents the fundamental interests of the vast ranks of the people, the will of the vast ranks of the people, or accords with the wishes of the vast ranks of the people, a very important aspect in this regard is whether or not it confers all power to the people and lets the people become really masters of the state. The draft of the revised constitution turned over to the whole nation for discussion this time clearly provides: "All power of the People's Republic of China belongs to the people." This fully indicates that the constitution adheres to the socialist principle that the people are masters in their own house; it demonstrates the superiority of the socialist system, and it is a very popular fundamental law.

If we leaf through history, we can see that in a slave society the slaves were regarded as draft animals who could talk and they did not even enjoy the elementary right to life. In a feudal society, one word of the ruler determines all things under heaven, while levies and services demanded of the common people are endless." Through such vicissitudes and earth-shaking changes, through the flames of war, the masses of the people battled in blood, time and again, in their struggle for liberation and for the establishment of their own political power, but each time they ended up with nothing. In China's modern history, the bourgeois revolution led by Sun Zhongshan followed the three people's principles of nationalism, democracy and people's livelihood; but, apart from driving away a feudal emperor, where was democracy? Power remained a mirage and edifice in the air to the people. The dark rule of the Jiang family dynasty put the vast ranks of the Chinese people even further in the inferno of exploitation, oppression, and devastation; where could the people speak of their power?

History has already clearly told us, in a society of private ownership, the vast ranks of the people always remained in a powerless position and subject to cruel oppression by a minority of rulers and exploiters. This has been an extremely savage historical phenomenon.

Not until the five-star red flag slowly rose atop the tower of the Gate of Heavenly Peace upon the proclamation of the People's Republic of China did this phenomena come to an end. The Chinese people for the first time won their status as masters and began to act as such in their own house by exercising their own power. During the 30-odd years since then, the party and the state have endeavored to protect the people's status as masters and also led the people to struggle resolutely against various illegal conduct in violation of

this fundamental interest on the part of the people. From the 1954 constitution to this draft of the revised constitution, this provision that "All power in the People's Republic of China belongs to the people" has always been incorporated in an important article.

All power belonging to the people is in our socialist China, led by our party, no longer is empty talk or merely a good natured wish; it has become a right which the people can really exercise. The draft clearly provides that "The people have the right to administer the affairs of the country and its economic, cultural and social affairs, according to provisions of the law, through various channels and in various forms." This provision, insofar as the relationship between state organs and the people is concerned, constitutes a guarantee to the right of the people to administer state affairs. In order to assure the realization of the people's rights, the draft further clearly determines that the state chairman and chairman of the military commission must be installed through election by the National People's Congress; the premier of the State Council must be nominated by the state chairman and decided by the National People's Congress. These offices not only can be recalled, but a strict term is also provided for them. The combination of this election, appointment, limited term, and supervision enables the people to enjoy real power. Meanwhile, the draft of the revised constitution guarantees that the people enjoy extensive democratic freedoms and rights. For instance, it restores the article, first included in the 1954 constitution, that all citizens are equal before the law. In response to the serious lessons learned during the "Cultural Revolution," it also adds the provision that "The personal dignity of citizens of the People's Republic of China is inviolable. Insult or slander against citizens in any form is prohibited." Instances like these illustrate that this constitution is unmatched by any bourgeois constitution in the world today, nor has any other country's constitution provided such careful protection for citizens' rights and interests.

Some people feel that they cannot understand why the constitution firmly eliminates those provisions which accord with neither our state interests nor with the people's interests, such as "freedom to strike," and they thereby think that the constitution by no means provides the people with "substantive power." This view is obviously wrong. Strike, as a means by the workers to carry out struggle against capitalists, is of course plausible. In the early period after the liberation of the country and in a situation where years of turmoil had not yet long been over, permission for workers to struggle against the bureaucrats in management organs in such a form is also above reproach. But today, the work on various fronts has already embarked gradually upon a normal course, various management systems have also become considerably improved, forms like trade unions, staff and workers congresses, and democratic elections are likewise far more extensively employed, and the relationship between leaders and the masses of the workers has also become increasingly close. Measures and demands for improvement in respect to management can generally be solved also through multifarious channels. There is no longer the necessity to adopt such a means as strikes, whose degree of confrontation is serious, for their solution. Furthermore, practice has likewise enabled us to see that a strike causes the interests of the state to suffer damage, which is equivalent to causing every citizen's interests to suffer damage. Why should we long for such an approach, which benefits neither the state nor ourselves? Many worker comrades have put it well: "We of the working class have no need to be hard on ourselves."

All power belonging to the people by no means denies party leadership. Historical facts tell us, in our country it would have been impossible to have won revolutionary victory without the leadership of a CCP armed by Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, nor could we have adhered to socialism. The leadership activities of the Communist Party in our state life are all carried out within the limits of the Constitution and the law. The party leads the people in the formulation of the Constitution and the law; the party also leads the people in abiding by the Constitution and the law. In our country, the Constitution and the law represent the unity of the party's policies and the people's will. Adherence to party leadership and the people exercising all power also constitute a unity.

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CSO: 4005/938

## PARTY AND STATE

### DRIVE AGAINST IDEOLOGICAL CORROSION BY CAPITALISM SPOTLIGHTED

#### Commending Exemplary Conduct

Fuzhou FUJIAN RIBAO in Chinese 14 Jun 82 p 1

["CCP Fujian Provincial Committee Circular on the Commendation of the Party Branches (General Branches) of the Four Advanced Production Brigades of Meilin, Dongsheng, Xinghai, and Shima"]

[Text] Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, the party's fine traditions and work style, under the leadership of party committees at various levels and through the process of returning to order from disorder, have gradually been restored and given scope. In the building of the "two civilizations," there have emerged a contingent of advanced party branches and fine communists. The Jinjiang County Meilin Production Brigade party branch, Lianjiang County Dongsheng Production Brigade party branch, Changle County Xinghai Production Brigade party branch, and Youhai County Shima Production Brigade party branch on the fishery front are precisely some of the outstanding representatives of our province's advanced party organizations. The provincial party committee has decided to issue this circular to commend them.

During the past few years, the reason the Meilin, Dongsheng, Xinghai and Shima production brigades were able to score conspicuous results in production, construction, and antismuggling and struggle against corrosion was basically because they have had a firm leadership core. They united together, conscientiously carried out the party's line, principles and policies, adhered to the basic principles, and consciously maintained consistency in politics with the party Central Committee. When the unhealthy practice of smuggling and trading in contraband goods along the seacoast prevailed, they kept their clear thinking at all times, and led the masses to fight smuggling, resist corrosion, and adhere to the socialist path. They were good at proceeding from reality; they penetratingly and persistently carried out patriotic, collectivist, and communist education among the party members and masses, continued to elevate the political consciousness of the party members and masses, clearly delineated the boundary between acquiring wealth through labor and profiteering through smuggling, firmly established the concept of fulfilling the state plans, correctly handled the relationship between the state, the collective and individuals, and thereby ideologically built a "great wall of steel" against smuggling and corrosion. They set examples by their personal conduct in maintaining good party work style; while they had power in their hands, they refrained from

seeking private gains, placed emphasis on principles, and handled matters impartially. With respect to the undisciplined conduct of individual party members, they played no favoritism but launched necessary criticism and struggle always in time, in order to dispose the cases solemnly and seriously and thereby give scope to the vanguard and model roles of the vast ranks of the party members. They were good at uniting the vast ranks of the masses and correctly handling the relationship between the "two civilizations" being built. While closely involved in launching the crackdown on serious criminal activities in the economic sphere, they at the same time insisted on our policy of enlivening the economy, seriously implemented the production responsibility system in fishery undertakings, mobilized enthusiasm in production on the part of the vast ranks of the masses, which resulted in the rapid development of production in these fishery undertakings, the state plans were fulfilled year after year, collective accumulations expanded time and again, and living standards of the commune members greatly improved. They regularly engaged themselves in the propagation and education on our principles and policies toward Taiwan and in promoting with practical action the kinship feelings between the brethren on either shore of the Strait. All of this makes the vast ranks of the masses feel deeply the superiority of the socialist system and see the great motherland's boundless bright prospects and thereby consciously unite themselves and fight under the radiant banner of the party.

The provincial party committee is of the opinion that launching at this time at various levels of the province's party organizations pertinent activities to learn from the advanced stories of the party branches (general branches) of the Meilin, Dongsheng, Xinghai, and Shima production brigades will be of great, realistic significance in doing a good job in handling our party's ideological and organizational construction, unswervingly implementing our policies of opening to the outside world and enlivening our domestic economy, pushing forward our present crackdown on serious criminal activities in the economic sphere, promoting the building of the "two civilizations," and bringing to fruition the great cause of the motherland's reunification.

The province's party organizations and all communists at various levels should learn the lofty ideas in maintaining the purity of communism and steadfast faith in the cause of socialism and communism, learn from their revolutionary spirit of daring to struggle, being good at struggle, dauntless, and with forward-looking drive; learn from the noble qualities of singleminded devotion to public interests, disinclination toward making private gains, resistance to corrosion, and immunity from contamination; and learn from their experience in uniting to fight together, setting personal examples, strengthening the building of their party branches, conscientiously implementing the "Guiding Principles," and unswervingly carrying out political and ideological education among the party members and masses. We should take them as our examples, closely ally with reality, and examine whether or not our own party branch leadership core is firm and strong, united together, and conscientiously implementing the party's line, principles and policies. In our present struggle against serious criminal activities in the economic sphere, is it able to adhere to principles, not play favoritism, and take up the struggle? We should think whether every party member has maintained communist purity? Can he demonstrate the vanguard and model roles in the building of the "two civilizations?" We

should, through matching the advanced units, finding out the gaps, formulating relevant measures, and practically solving certain existing problems, stimulate the party members' revolutionary spirit and build every basic-level organization in our province into a strong fighting stronghold.

Things always follow the rule of one dividing into two; no advanced model can be perfect. The provincial party committee hopes that the party branches (general branches) of the Meilin, Dongsheng, Xinghai, and Shima production brigades would, in the face of achievements and honor, continue to maintain their humble, prudent, nonarrogant and nonimpetuous work style, adhere to the one-dividing-into-two method, advance still a step further, and make even greater contributions in the building of our material civilization and spiritual civilization.

12 June 1982

#### Editorial on Ideological Implications

Fuzhou FUJIAN RIBAO in Chinese 14 Jun 82 p 1

[Editorial: "Fighting Stronghold Against Ideological Corrosion by Capitalism--Learn From the Party Branches (General Branches) of the Four Advanced Production Brigades of Meilin, Dongsheng, Xinghai, and Shima"]

[Text] In our province's struggle against smuggling and corrosion, the radiant names of four production brigades are passed long in praise: Meilin, Dongsheng, Xinghai and Shima.

Under the new historical conditions of implementing our policies of opening to the outside world and enlivening our domestic economy, these four old advanced units have withstood new tests and achieved new results. When the vicious storm of smuggling and trading in contraband goods invaded us, they stood their grounds; when the bourgeois "sugar-coated bullets" exploded toward us, they successfully shielded against them. Seeing "a windfall," they did not show avarice; encountering unhealthy practices, they dared to struggle by resolutely opposing illegal and criminal activities in the economic sphere and consciously resisting ideological corrosion by capitalism. They are the examples in maintaining communist purity, the vanguards in building the "two civilizations." The party organizations and several hundred party members of these four production brigades have led the masses to overcome ideological corrosion by capitalism, and won double rich harvests in opposing smuggling and in fishery production. Their experience merits popularization in various localities in the province.

The principal experience of these four production brigades of Meilin, Dongsheng, etc., is that they have successfully adhered to the following four points:

One is adherence to the firm faith in socialism. These four production brigades are situated along our provincial coast and engaged in fishing on the high seas all year around. When the vicious wind of smuggling and trading in contraband goods started to blow and the socialist economy encountered a serious challenge, were the fishing fleets that had grown strong and big by

following the socialist path to serve further the development of socialist production or to be used in smuggling and trading in contraband goods, speculation and double-dealing? Were the fish loads caught from the sea to be sold to the state or to be exchanged for contraband goods and sold to second-hand merchants? Realistic questions like these were sharply laid before the party branches of these four production brigades. Their stand proved to be firm and unshakable; they adhered to the four basic principles, and proceeded to launch a struggle against the unhealthy trend of smuggling and trading in contraband goods in a clear-cut manner. Time and again the smuggling elements, with big money wanted to rent their boats to transport those contraband goods, but they were sternly declined. Second-hand merchants also time and again wanted to buy their fish loads at a high price, but they likewise obtained nothing each time. Despite the fact that smuggling activities had become quite rampant, they continued to bring the fishing district's glorious tradition into full play, did their usual good job in production, adhered to the "three simultaneous attentions" to all state, collective and individual interests, sold more fish to the state, and year after year overfulfilled the state's assigned purchasing tasks in support of the construction of the four modernizations. They remained people of socialism; their boats remained boats devoted to socialism; the various tools and televisions, electric fans, etc., in their fishing boats were all products of the state. Their honor as an advanced collective continued to shine brilliantly. Amidst the singing of "Socialism Is Fine," they continued vigorously to advance along the broad path to socialism.

The second is unswerving strengthening of ideological and political work. During the past few years, our province has been implementing special policies and flexible measures and expanded our intercourse with the outside world; this inevitably tended to bring in the influence of bourgeois ideas and the capitalist lifestyle. Hence, it was extremely important to continue to strengthen our ideological and political education among the vast ranks of our party members, cadres, and masses in order to build an antismuggling and anticorrosion "great wall of steel" ideologically. During the past year or two, serious economic criminal activities have taken place in some localities; subjectively speaking, one important reason was that, while those localities and units were implementing our policies of opening to the outside world and enlivening our domestic economy, the ideological and political work of our party failed to catch up with them, and what is precious about the party organizations of the four production brigades of Meilin, Dongsheng, etc., lies in their ability on the basis of the needs in the new situation to put ideological and political work in an important place. Through chatting in the boats, paying visits to households, running social education exhibition centers, inviting old fishermen to give lectures especially on family histories, village histories, brigade histories, and pioneering histories and similar approaches, they connected these to the current illegal and criminal activities in the economic sphere and thereby carried out vivid, flexible socialist and patriotic education among the vast ranks of the cadres, masses, and especially young fishermen, in order to heighten everybody's consciousness, dissipate everybody's doubts, eliminate "pollution," resist corrosion, and strengthen beliefs. On this basis, they further mobilized everybody to discuss and formulate district rule and civic covenants for common compliance and mutual surveillance; this made it possible not only for everybody to refrain from smuggling and trading in contraband goods

by resisting the attack of bourgeois "sugar-coated bullets," themselves, but also to resolutely struggle against various other unhealthy practices.

The third is the insistence that "the squad" of the party branch itself do a good job in serving as leaders. This was the key to a party branch being able to demonstrate its role as a fighting stronghold. Leading members of the party branches of the production brigades of Meilin, Dongsheng, etc., strictly demanded of themselves according to communist criteria, consistently maintained clear thinking, guarded against the "sugar-coated bullets" at all times, stayed away from smuggling, and also took the initiative in struggling against illegal and criminal activities in the economic sphere. They steadfastly kept in mind the party's purpose and adhered to working for the interests of the greatest majority; with power in their hands, they refrained from making private gains but, instead, stressed principles, ran things impartially, refrained from establishing "connections, and dared to break "the sentimental passes." Whether by their own children or uncles or other relatives by blood or by marriage, whenever criminal conduct was involved, their impartial attitude was the same as they handled them solemnly without playing any favoritism at the expense of the law of placating or appeasing anyone. They refrained from seeking privileges. For the sake of developing the collective economy, some took the initiatives in undertaking the heavier tasks in production and making greater contributions while willingly accepting lesser rewards. In doing so, they succeeded in establishing examples for the vast ranks of the party members, cadres and masses.

The fourth is adherence to acquiring wealth through labor and through the collective. These four production brigades are the ones where the collective economy has always done fairly well and where the cadres and masses have already tasted the sweetness of acquiring wealth by relying on collective labor. But, when the vicious wind of smuggling and trading in contraband goods blew hard, some cadres and commune members also "caught cold." In response to this situation, the brigade party branches undertook repeatedly to explain relevant directives and policies from the party Central Committee to the cadres and masses and also make use of typical cases to illustrate how smuggling and trading in contraband goods was a devious path detrimental to the state, the people and to oneself which must not be followed, and how acquiring wealth first must follow a forthright path, how the principle of acquiring wealth through labor must be followed, and how the main entity of collective economy must be maintained. In the meantime, they also actively guided them from various angles, opened up multiple avenues of production, resorted to both fishing and raising fish resources, and also ran some processing industries in accordance with local conditions, followed the path of comprehensively developing fishing, industry, and auxiliary enterprises, and thereby made it possible for the collective and commune members to increase their income year after year. With the eloquent fact of their own brigades and commune members having acquired wealth first, they demonstrated to others: only insistence on acquiring wealth through labor and through the collective by not following any devious path and not coveting any "windfall" can make one really rich and justifiably and honorably so; this is a bright, broad path, the broader it becomes, the more one follows it.

Let us wholeheartedly respond to the call of the provincial party committee, extensively develop activities in party organizations at various levels and mass groups in the province to learn from the advanced stories of the party branches (general branches) of the four production brigades of Meilin, Dongsheng, Xinghai and Shima, look at ourselves in their "mirrors," find out the gaps, formulate measures, further do a good job in the party's ideological construction and organizational construction, consciously protect our communist purity, strive to be the vanguards in the building of the "two civilizations," and strive for the appearance of still more advanced party branches.

9255

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PARTY AND STATE

VIGILANCE AGAINST IDEOLOGICAL CORROSION BY CAPITALISM URGED

Guangzhou NANFANG RIBAO in Chinese 14 Jun 82 p 1

[Article: "In the Ideological and Cultural Realm We Must Guard Against Ideological Corrosion by Capitalism"]

[Text] The struggle to crackdown on serious criminal activities in the economic sphere is now being penetratingly launched across the province; this is a serious struggle against corruption and change in our character. The practice of this struggle tells us: while resolutely cracking down on economic criminal activities, we must at the same time grasp well the struggle against corrosion in the ideological and cultural sphere and administer the education among the cadres and masses on vigilance against the attack of the spiritual sugar-coated bullets of capitalism.

Since the 3D Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, along with the continued advance of economic construction in our province, the situation in the ideological and cultural sphere has also become better and better as the "five points of emphasis and four points of beauty" activities unfolded progressively. The socialist culture has developed exuberantly, the literary and artistic garden has become gradually prosperous, and the cultural life of the masses has continued to improve. During these past few years, our province has been implementing special policies and flexible measures; in the importation of science and technology from the capitalist advanced countries and carrying out of cultural exchanges with the people of those countries, we have already achieved considerable results. This is a fact not subject to skepticism. But, we also need not avoid saying that some corrupt ideas of capitalism have also been imported, and some comrades on our ideological and cultural front, because of the influence of the anarchist trend instigated by the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary clique to which they were subjected during the 10 years of internal turmoil, have failed to distinguish what is fragrant and what is foul. They have taken the attack of the spiritual sugar-coated bullets of capitalism lightly, not only being unable to resist consciously the encroachment of the corrupt ideology and culture of capitalism but even wavering in their proletarian stand and consciously or unconsciously becoming voluntary propagandists. This is mainly manifested in the following aspects:

One is the tendency of bourgeois liberalization. Since our effort to study and implement the relevant central directives last year, we have already

achieved some results in opposing the tendency of bourgeois liberalization in our province. Some units have strengthened party leadership, adhered to the four basic principles, achieved pleasing results, and earned the praise of the masses. But our estimate in this regard cannot be very high. Some units have hardly gained any improvement even to this day, and the tendency of bourgeois liberalization there continues to exist. For instance, some journals publish works of a conspicuously corrosive character pertaining to the capitalist ideology; some small newspapers during an earlier period violated central and provincial regulations by publishing in a series of picture stories adapted from foreign movies, and these movies were never inspected by the concerned departments nor publicly exhibited in the country. The theatrical groups in some localities have ignored directives from their superior level by continuing to stage plays that propagate feudalism and sex; etc.

A second is blind worship of foreign things. Insofar as the good things in the cultures of the capitalist countries are concerned, we have always advocated borrowing; this is beneficial to the development of our socialist culture. But, today there are some people who make no concrete analysis of the novels, songs, movies, television programs, etc., from Hong Kong and the capitalist countries, pay no attention to their quality, but proceed to imitate them from content to form. Some have extensively "imported" adventure, detective and romance novels that embellish violence, horror and explicit love, making filth as novelty and thereby spreading the poison.

A third is the commercialization tendency of capitalism. The production of spiritual products in a socialist society must have as its fundamental goal the satisfaction of the spiritual needs of all the people. Hence, our own departments of spiritual production must stress product quality and endeavor to see that every product has its patriotic, revolutionary, healthy ideological content so that it can really provide the people with spiritually esthetic enjoyment and uplifting, inspiring strength. Even though most spiritual products also need to be issued and distributed through the circulation channels, they must not be commercialized and "all looking out for money." Yet, today some comrades have somehow become contaminated by the idea of all for profit as pertaining to capitalism; in order to make more money or win a greater prize, they would extensively publish in the press, adventure, detective novels, and introduce the lives and trivial news about domestic and foreign stars to fool readers, or broadcast yellow, base music and songs at musical tea shops and dance halls in order to lure customers.

All of these have created a bad impact, polluted our social customs, poisoned our cadres and masses, especially youths and children, and affected the building of our socialist spiritual civilization.

There are two kinds of bourgeois sugar-coated bullets: one is material sugar-coated bullets, which seek to induce people to follow the capitalist road with money and objects and thereby bog them down in the pit of corruption, degeneration and character change. The other is spiritual sugar-bullets, which promulgate through the corrupt ideas and culture of capitalism

the corrupt and obsolete world view, philosophy of life, and lifestyle of capitalism in order to loosen our fighting will, disturb our thinking, shake our political stand and belief, and thereby spiritually proceed to infiltrate, corrupt, and disintegrate our ranks. We must remain clearheaded, fully recognize the seriousness of the corrosiveness of capitalist ideas prevailing in the ideological and cultural sphere of our province, and thereby assiduously and purposefully carry out an educational vigilance against the attack of sugar-coated bullets from the bourgeoisie among the cadres and masses. Undertaking to do this will benefit both the promotion of the penetrating development of our struggle against corruption and character change in the economic sphere and the strengthening of the building of our socialist spiritual vicilzation.

For this reason, we must reinforce our ideological education on patriotism and communism on the ideological and cultural front, especially such an education among the party members and cadres. We must organize everybody to study anew the relevant works of Marx, Lenin and Comrdde Mao Zedong, study the "CCP Central Committee and State Council Resolution on Cracking Down on Serious Criminal Activities in the Economic Sphere," in order to heighten our socialist consciousness, strengthen our ability to distinguish, resist the corrupt ideological influence of capitalism. Communists must reinforce their party character, maintain their Communist purity, and be clearheaded revolutionaries.

We must sum up the experience since the 3D Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, especially since the central forum on questions of the ideological front last year, inspect the condition of our implementation of the spirit of the central directives, link with reality in summing up our experience and lessons, explore and accumulate our experience in doing a good job in handling our ideological and cultural work in the new era, earnestly adhere to the orientation of serving the people, serving socialism, further implement the double-hundred principle, adhere to the four basic principles, so as to make our ideological and cultural work serve the four modernizations even better.

We must strengthen and improve party leadership at various levels on the ideological and cultural front. Party leadership is the fundamental guarantee to doing a good job in our ideological and cultural work in the new era; we must earnestly strengthen and improve it. In our work, we must oppose both simplistic approaches and crudeness and laissez-faire approaches and self-abandonment; we must promote the fine work style of getting closely involved with the masses, penetrating reality, and solving problems in a down-to-earth manner. We must strengthen our ideological and political work, commend the good people, good things and good ideas in our own units, and dare to look into and handle bad ideas and tendencies correspondingly. We must reinforce our control over the importation, manufacture, broadcast, and sale of audio and visual recording products and newspapers, journals, books, pictures, movies, and television programs and reinforce our control over the repertoires and advertisement of theatrical groups. In our control work, we must oppose both the tendency of liberalization and simplification; it would be wrong to let all go or prohibit all, irrespective of their quality. We must treat them with discrimination according to different situations. We should know that our purpose in strengthening our control is to make our ideological and cultural work more healthy, more prosperous, and more lively, not to render it lifeless.

## PARTY AND STATE

### STUDY OF ZHOU ENLAI'S UNITED FRONT VIEWS URGED

Nanjing XINHUA RIBAO in Chinese 7 Jun 82 p 4

[Article by Zheng Xie [6774 6168]: "Learn From Comrade Zhou Enlai, Work Hard On the United Front"]

[Text] The problem of the united front concerns how the proletariat and the party in power is to organize to lead the allied forces. It is one of the primary weapons of revolution and construction and is an important science. Comrade Mao Zedong and others of the older generation of proletarian revolutionaries, including Comrades Zhou Enlai, Liu Shaoqi, and Ju De, all made important contributions toward the establishment and practice of united front policies. Especially Comrade Zhou Enlai, from the time the party was established, was an outstanding model in working on the united front. He contributed tremendously to the development of united front work and was the person in our party with the most united front work experience. Studying Comrade Zhou Enlai's contributions to united front theory can have tremendous significance in our united front work in the new period.

It is very important in studying Comrade Zhou Enlai's theories about the united front to study the great vision and broad revolutionary spirit of his firm belief that the proletariat would eventually liberate all mankind and to eliminate the pernicious influence of the "left."

The "Communist Manifesto" points out that the proletarians have only their chains to lose in the revolution, while they will gain the entire world. Marx pointed out that only by liberating all of mankind can the proletariat at last liberate itself. Comrade Zhou Enlai was truly a revolutionary possessing this great Marxist vision and broad Marxist spirit. He applied this great depth of vision and breadth of revolutionary spirit to all practical work he undertook, which, of course, included united front work. Therefore, he didn't draw "small circles," enclosing himself within, but rather he "drew the largest possible circle, uniting the billions of the masses," "causing the comrades of the entire party to unite in a single struggle in the Bolshevik spirit." He adamantly opposed using the "various despicable, foul political bureaucratic methods of the bourgeoisie" that would cause insoluble personal animosities to appear within the party, creating endless disputes. This type of behavior is "absolutely incompatible with a proletarian party." At the time, he said that "the Chinese proletariat numbers only several millions, less than 1 percent of China's entire population.

How can a communist party representing this one class achieve revolutionary victory: Chairman Mao's focus is on applying proletarian Marxist thought in China to unite the broadest range of the masses within the bounds of the proletariat in order to obtain victory in revolution, and is not on contracting ourselves into the smallest possible circle to merely talk of revolution." And this truly hit the nail on the head. The previous victory of the democratic revolution was not achieved by relying on empty talk within "a small circle," and empty talk within "a small circle" is even less acceptable in today's task of the "four modernizations." No comrade who works earnestly at the "four modernizations" should draw a "small circle," nor can he neglect united front work.

But the main tendency in united front work at present is not to the right, but to the "left"--the pernicious influence of the "left" still runs deep. Some of our comrades are accustomed to a "leftist" framework, their thinking having become ossified or semiossified; organizationally, they like "uniformity"; in work, they are used to running the whole show; in interpreting policies, they tend to be cautious and literal, not daring to seek the truth in facts; in workstyle, they cannot treat people equally and tend not to respect those outside of the party; and in life, they do not of their own accord concern themselves with or try to be considerate of those outside the party. These various "leftist" matters are serious obstacles to our achieving breakthroughs in our united front work. In order to achieve breakthroughs in our united front work and to thoroughly eliminate the obstruction of the "left," it is absolutely necessary that we emulate the breadth of vision and the vast tolerance of Comrade Zhou Enlai. From the Guangzhou Conference in 1962 to the Hangzhou Conference of 1963, Comrade Zhou Enlai made several important speeches, the central thrust of which was to correct "leftist" tendencies. His closing address to the Political Consultative Congress in 1962 dealt with the "leftist" influences on the united front situation, based on the reflections of persons both inside and outside the party during the congress. This speech is excellent medication for curing "leftism" and is an important historical document dealing with the united front. In order to eliminate the pernicious influence of the "left," it would not hurt to review this important document, because it would not hurt to review this important document, because it will help us sweep away serious obstacles we are facing, providing a new breakthrough in united front work and arming us with potent ideological weapons.

Studying Comrade Zhou Enlai's ideas on strengthening party leadership in united front work and actually strengthening party leadership is the key to united front work.

The condition of our united front work is very much related to the leadership of the party committees at every level. "The numerous historical successes of our party through several periods have all been possible because of carrying out the ideas and the line of Comrade Mao Zedong concerning the matter of leadership." In 1982, united front work must see decisive development, the key being the strengthening of the leadership in united front work by party committees at every level. United front work has historically been the work of the entire party and an important component of party committee work

at every level. Doing well in united front work is an important responsibility of party committees at every level, especially those above the county level. United front work has historically relied on partywide effort and especially, in certain important matters, has required the personal attention of those in charge of party committees at every level. Of course, this has not reduced the burden on united front departments, which must serve as assistant and advisory units to the party committees.

The united front requires that we work with "all corners of the land." "Members" of party committees must take the lead in fostering democracy and be good at cooperating with friends outside the party. "Uniformity," closed-doorism and the mentality of attacking the isolated in the world are destined to fail. At present the scope of the united front is even more extensive. The components of the united front at present include: all democratic parties, well-known figures with no party affiliation, intellectual nonparty cadres, former KMT military and political personnel who have seen the light, former industrialists and businessmen, upper level minority figures, patriotic religious leaders, relatives and friends of those who fled to Taiwan, friends from Hong Kong and Macao, overseas Chinese who have returned to the motherland and Chinese still living abroad. Their primary characteristics include being relatively knowledgeable, having relatively wide social contacts, and having an intense desire to work for the motherland. These are the major aspects. We must estimate their political progress and patriotic enthusiasm and fully foster their initiative.

In order to meet the breakthrough in united front work that is coming, we should take Comrade Zhou Enli as our model, extensively unite all friends inside and outside the party, mobilize all forces, form vast, mighty troops, and struggle together to achieve the four modernizations and the unification of the motherland and to oppose international hegemonism.

9705

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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

PARTY SPIRIT OF ARTISTS, WRITERS VIEWED

HK041016 Beijing WENYI BAO in Chinese No. 7, 7 Jul 82

[Article by Xi Yan [3305 3533]: "On the Party Spirit of Communist Party-Member Writers"]

[Text] In the recent study of the letters of Comrade Mao Zedong addressed to literary and art circles, and the speech made by Comrade Chen Yun concerning the problems in literature and art, the literary and art circles put forward the question of enhancing the party spirit and strengthening the party nature of party-member writers. This is a very important question.

This reminds the party members in literary and art circles not to forget their own responsibility, not to lose or have a muddled understanding of their own party nature, and not to forget or abandon their own communist faith or goal. This is in fact self-evident and unalterable. Party members engaged in the cause of literature and art possess a double status, that is, as writers or artists, they should fulfill their social responsibility as a writer or artist. As members of the communist party, they should fulfill their responsibility and duty as a member of a proletarian vanguard organization. They voluntarily and unconditionally promised this when submitting their application form for party membership and they vowed the same during the party admittance ceremony. Participation in the party organization means that every party member has decided to devote everything, without reservation, including their own lives, to the grand and noble proletarian cause. It means that he should carry out his social activity as a party member, and adhere to party decisions as well as to party discipline. It signifies that he should not pursue personal interests but serve the people wholeheartedly. As a party member engaged in literary and art work, he, first of all, is a party member, a communist fighter, and finally he can be a writer or artist. For writers and artists, the work of literature and art constitutes a concrete fighting post in the communist cause in which they are engaged. The literary and art profession in which they are engaged is a specific division of labor. Their status as a writer or artist and their party member status should be unified, not separated, on this basis.

The 10 years of internal strife caused damage to the political, economic and cultural life of the country and left a serious remnant influence. It also caused serious damage to the party and harmed the lofty image of the party and its members among the masses of people. The basic party organizations ceased activity and were destroyed. The party's basic theory of Marxism-Leninism was distorted and altered. Many party members only knew about "factions" and not about party. Apart from a cruel struggle and suffering merciless blows, the usual ideological and political work of the party was paralyzed. In this extremely unusual situation, the bad style of anarchism, ultraindividualism and other gravely bad styles which were actively encouraged and used by the "gang of four," inevitably attacked and corroded the party members, including party members in literary and art circles. Naturally, and overall, in this acute and complicated struggle the majority of the party members showed their dissatisfaction with and opposition to the perversity of the "gang of four," who went against the historical trend, and displayed their ability to make political distinctions and their firm faith in communism. However, the undeniable fact was that after this chaos, it was certain that there were some party members in the literary and art circles who did not have firm faith in communism. Their communist faith became blunt. And some of them even reached the serious point where they "knew nothing of the proletarian ideology, communism and the party."

Therefore, to raise now the question and emphasize the party spirit and nature of party members in the literary and art circles is the logical continuation and deepening development of bringing order out of chaos, initiated by the 3rd plenary session of the 11th CCP Central Committee and of healing the after-effects in the party body caused by the 10 years of internal strife.

That is not the end of the question.

The country has entered a new historical era, and it is at the crucial point of bringing order out of chaos. The CCP Central Committee has set a great target of building a powerful socialist modern state with high levels of democracy and civilization. In order to realize this objective, the CCP Central Committee has set forth the foresightful policy of emancipating the mind, letting a hundred flowers bloom and opening up to the world on the basis of persisting in the four principles. This marks the end of the closed, confined and ossified historical period and represents the healthy and progressive ideology and historical trend. The remarkable characteristics of this historical period are: order and disorder, the new and the old, transformation and conservation, awakening and perplexity, ideological activity and confusion, development of revolutionary spirit so as to work with a will to make the country strong and to rouse oneself for vigorous efforts to make the country prosperous, the ideological remnant influence caused by the 10 years of internal strife, the great development of Marxism-Leninism and the attacks and

proliferation of bourgeois and petty bourgeois ideological fashionable trends....all these aspects exist simultaneously. They fight against each other and are mingled, and either one perishes or the other survives. A complicated situation has appeared. Marxism can only develop through the struggle against non-Marxism and anti-Marxism. Socialist spiritual civilization can be created only through struggle against feudal, bourgeois and petty bourgeois spiritual pollution. This struggle is inevitably reflected in literary and art creation and movement, the most sensitive of ideological fields. This has posed a new problem to party members engaged in literary and art work.

While setting forth the policy of emancipating the mind, letting a hundred flowers bloom and opening to the world, the CCP Central Committee has made a clearheaded appraisal of the possibility that all erroneous things will seize the chance to appear, including in the CCP Central Committee itself. By proposing the above slogan, the CCP Central Committee reiterates the four basic principles. When some bourgeois corrosion has emerged in the political, economic and literary and art fields, the CCP Central Committee has duly reminded the whole party to launch a correct struggle against it. This is good proof. It is absolutely wrong to ignore the historical characteristics and demand of the new era or fundamentally doubt the policy of emancipating the mind, letting a hundred flowers bloom and opening up to the world due to the presence of erroneous things. Similarly, under the new situation, if a party member forgets his own responsibility and the demarcation line between Marxism and non-Marxism, and between proletarian and non-proletarian, is muddleheaded, drifts with the tide and chimes in with others, he will probably be defeated by the bourgeois fashionable ideological trend which is rising like waves and will be washed away and drowned. The most dangerous thing is not that certain negative things have appeared but that party members cannot keep clear heads on Marxism, cannot clearly distinguish the communist flag and lose political judgment and party nature. Under these circumstances, to put forward the demand that a party member should maintain his own party spirit and keep a clear Marxist mind is particularly important.

Writers have the liberty to write. However, should a communist writer or artist set against each other the liberty to write and the responsibility and duty of a party member? A party member fully enjoys democracy in the party. The party has given its members the full right to express their will in the party organizations, even up to the central committee. Hence, communist writers or artists have no right to remain outside the party organization, or to make public declarations against party principles, line, policy and guiding principles.

Communist writers or artists should carry out the policy of "let a hundred flowers bloom and a hundred schools of thought contend," but he should not forget their responsibility to propagate, safeguard and develop Marxism and to extend the ideological field of Marxism through the

above-mentioned policy. Any intention or step taken to set strengthening party spirit and party nature of the party members in literary and art circles against the "double hundred" policy is wrong. A real communist will never regard maintaining political unity with the central committee and adhering to party discipline as a restriction to the liberty of his own creative work and as a tie onto the "double hundred" policy, because he joined the party voluntarily to uphold Marxism, and communism is the firm faith which he has chosen of his free will.

Communist writers and artists make up a large proportion in the literature and art front. Their political and ideological nature greatly affects the healthy development of the socialist literary and art movement. Many of them have acquired rich experiences in literary and art work as well as in literary and art creation. They have made important contributions to the socialist literary and art development of the country. They have maintained good relations with non-communist writers and artists. Although most of the communist writers or artists are good or relatively good, there indeed exists a weak spirit and an impure party nature among the party members in the literary and art circles and some cannot even clearly distinguish the communist flag. Some party members have forgotten that they are working for communism, not for their own interest, that they are serving the people, not themselves, and that they are working for Marxism-Leninism, not for capitalism. Decadent and philistine ways such as bourgeois individualism, anarchism, looking for money and reputation, boasting and toadying have developed among some of the communist literary and art workers. Some of these actions have been going on openly.

It is worthy of note that a few party members in literary and art circles cannot properly arrange their relations with the party, in particular, with the CCP Central Committee. This kind of person opposes the "savior" by definition, but actually, they consider themselves a "savior." They only like to hear praise and dislike any criticism, including criticism and advice from the CCP Central Committee. They recognize that they should keep political unity with the CCP Central Committee but actually they do not do so when writing articles or making declarations. They do not study, investigate and propagate the important proposals concerning literature and art put forward by the CCP Central Committee but consider themselves always in the right and stubbornly propagate their erroneous stands. Comrade Chen Yun criticizes the "particular" and "self-important" tendencies reflected in some persons in the literary and art circles. Although this occurred 40 years ago, does it not have realistic and important significance today?

In order to strengthen party spirit and character, it is necessary to wage struggle between two lines. "Left" is not in line with the central committee and right is also not in line with the central committee. Both "left" and right are signs of an impure party spirit. Bourgeois individualism and anarchism always adopt left or right forms of manifestation. We must not lower our guard against the damage they caused to the party's literary and art work.

Under the new historical conditions, we must again study Marxism, study society, be clear about the new situation, study new problems and make criticism and self-criticism, strengthen party character and abandon evil practice. As party members, we must also begin to learn the ABC's of Marxism. New situations in the new era of literature and art, new problems and other complicated and confused arguments, and the complicated problems of the ideological front must in the final analysis be resolved by Marxism-Leninism, not by bourgeois ideology and theory (no matter how fashionable it might be). Our socialist literary and art work will smoothly develop whenever party members in the literary and art circles strengthen their party nature, adopt correct style and maintain good relations with non-communist literary and art workers.

CSO: 4005/1164

## SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

### XIAO WANGDONG TALKS TO YOUTHS ON IDEALS

HK281105 Jinan DAZHONG RIBAO in Chinese 19 Jul 82 p 3

[Article by Xiao Wangdong [5135 2598 2639]: "A Talk to Young Comrades on the Question of Ideals"]

[Text] Youths are like the spring in our motherland and like the sun at 8 to 9 o'clock in the morning. They are the people on whom the hope for achieving the party's cause lies. The main task of building up our army relies ultimately on our youths. What is the most important thing for our youths? It is the establishment of the lofty revolutionary ideal in their minds. The establishment of this ideal is the key task in building spiritual civilization. This ideal is a revolutionary's political soul and spiritual support and is the goal toward which a revolutionary is marching forward.

#### Ideals and Social Existence

Social existence determines people's social consciousness. Ideals originate from people's dissatisfaction with social reality and are what people yearn for and seek to obtain in the future. In the final analysis, it is the outcome of social contradictions. After the human race developed to the stage of civilized society, every class or stratum and every person in any historical period have their respective ideals. Annexing more land and leading a life "with an excessive amount of meat and wine in a magnificent house:" This is the ideal of the feudal landlord class. "Living in luxury and dissipation and earning money quickly:" This is the ideal of the bourgeoisie. Slaves yearn for personal freedom and peasants have a thirst for owning the land they till. Whatever ideal a person entertains in his mind, it bears the brand of his times and class and is restricted by the level of development of the social productive force and the level of civilization of his times.

The ideal that we mean is the most progressive, the noblest and the most beautiful ideal of human society--communism. This ideal is not something that has come out of a void and it is impossible for it to take shape unless there is development of large-scale industry and a mature proletariat. Communism is the inevitable highest stage of the development of human society according to the inexorable law. For a youth of noble aspirations in our times, his correct ideal can only be fighting for communism all his life.

At the mere mentioning of the communist ideal, some youths may say that it is the repetition of "old stuff." Do they know that it was after more than a decade of arduous groping and bloody fighting that the Chinese people and a large number of people with lofty aspirations at last found this ideal? Do they know that it was only when this ideal was found that they began to embark on a route to prosperity. After the Opium War, China gradually became a semifeudal and semicolonial country and meant to be cut into pieces at the mercy of other people. In order to rescue the country and the people from tremendous disasters, people ranging from Hong Xiuquan to Sun Yat-sen time and again carried out extremely hard struggle and tried to find various schemes to save the country, but all their efforts resulted in defeat. What prospects did China have and what was the way out for China? What was the key to the solution of the social problems in China? The roaring of the guns of the October Revolution brought us Marxism-Leninism, which pointed out to the Chinese Revolution a bright path. At that time, there were three kinds of people who became communists and accepted, propagated and practiced the communist ideal: First, the revolutionary intellectuals represented by Li Dazhao, Mao Zedong, Zhou Enlai and other comrades who had had the aspiration to reform China since their youth and who were the first to believe in communism; second, comrades like Zhu De, Peng Dehuai, He Long and Peng Pai who, under the influence of Marxism-Leninism, gave away their official posts or betrayed their feudal families and thus chose the revolutionary path in order to seek truth; and third and most numerous, old comrades like me, most of whom came from poor families, were always short of food and clothes and had nothing to depend on for their living or had suffered wrongs and could not find ways to take revenge and who joined the revolutionary ranks in order to find a way out. After the education of the party, these people accepted Marxism, began to have a firm confidence in the communist ideal and fought for this ideal continuously and some of them even sacrificed their lives. It is impossible to calculate how many people have died and how much has been paid in achieving the victory of the Chinese Revolution. For example, at the end of the 1920's when I joined the revolution, my home village in Jian, Jiangxi, was a big village of 200 to 300 households, but after the upsurge of peasants and the repeated revolutionary struggles, only 104 households were left in 1953 when I returned there for a visit. It is because millions of revolutionary martyrs have shed their blood and given their lives that we have won the present state of our motherland. Now, many of the old generation of revolutionaries like Comrade Mao Zedong have already died and comrades like me are all nearly 70 years old, the task of realizing the communist ideal should be handed down to you, the younger generation. Taking over the task of the revolution and continuing the struggle for the revolution is the unshirkable historical duty of our youths and is also where the old comrades' greatest expectation lies. We should realize that the general goal of communism cannot be achieved at a single stroke and can only be achieved through the combined efforts of several generations. However, each specific goal of communism should be achieved by the generation concerned. Only by the sustained efforts of generation after

generation of people and by the realization of one specific after another can our society finally develop to the lofty realm of communism. When we were fighting arduously in the dark during the 1920's and the 1930's, we regarded communism as the light house that pointed out our route, and forged ahead with full confidence. Today, we have already entered the initial stage of communism--socialist society--the bright future of communism is waiting for us and is in sight. Therefore, we should forge ahead even more arduously.

#### Ideal and Personal Aspiration and Interest

A prominent characteristic of our youths is their diversified personal aspirations and interests. To a certain degree, what kind of aspirations and interests a man has reflects what ideal he seeks and cherishes, and has a direct or indirect impact on the orientation and speed of his progress. All people are members of the society and are closely related with the development of the society. Some of our youths yearn to learn some skills, to become college students or to achieve merits in building up the army and in the future battles in defense of our motherland. Others want to develop in the political field. Still others love drawing, calligraphy, literature, art or sports and wish to become some kind of professionals such as painters, writers, and so on. We should regard it as a positive factor and encourage him if a youth wishes to work hard and achieve some merits and is not willing to remain ordinary. At the same time, we should also point out that personal aspiration and interest is not equivalent to ideal and we should raise the personal aspiration and interest to a higher plane and make it conform to the reality and to the interests and needs of the whole situation.

A clearly defined aspiration and a strong interest is what motivates people to carry out exploration, investigation and study. However, if a person's aspiration and interest is divorced from reality or from the general goal of the revolution, he will be disappointed and full of pessimism as soon as he runs into some obstacles or is held back by others. On the other hand, he will feel satisfied and will not wish to make any further progress as soon as his personal wish is realized. This proves that if a person's aspiration and interest is not combined with the revolutionary ideal, it often can only play a positive role for an interim period and in doing a certain thing, but in some cases, it may even lead the person astray. On the other hand, the revolutionary ideal is the most fundamental motive force that stimulates our youths and plays a decisive role throughout the lives of our youths. Of course, we can find some positive factors for realizing social ideals in the aspirations and interests of individuals and can utilize these aspirations and interests to knock open the door of ideals. The assembled strength of the healthy aspirations and interests of millions of people is precisely the tremendous motive force for realizing the social ideal. For many people at home and abroad and in the past and at present who have greatly contributed to society, the establishment of their lofty ideals

often could not be separated from their lofty aspirations and interests. Around 1938, a large number of young students and cultural personalities came to Yanan because of their indignation against the reactionary rule of the Kuomintang Government and because of their enthusiasm in resisting Japan and saving the motherland. Quite a large number of these people came to Yanan in order to find a way to develop their personal aspirations and interests. In the practice of struggle, most of them have not only become firm revolutionaries and the backbone cadres of our party in various fields, but quite a few of them have become talented writers and artists. Now we are building and defending our socialist motherland and need millions of statesmen, generals, economists, writers, artists and other professionals who have real knowledge and deep insight and who are really competent at their jobs. Therefore, it is good that our youths have diversified aspirations and interests. The problem is that we should not stop at merely having the aspirations and interests and should moreover raise these aspirations and interests and combine and fuse them closely with the revolutionary ideal. Only by so doing can we lead the personal aspirations and interests onto a correct path and make them fuller and nobler.

By subordinating personal aspirations and interests to serve the ideal, we mean the problem of training and developing them in accordance with the needs of the revolution. Aspirations and interests are not innate and they take shape in people's postnatal practice. The fact that the great communist fighter Lu Xun gave up medicine and took up literature and shifted from being an evolutionist to being a materialist is very good evidence. Many of our old generation of revolutionaries were originally men of letters, but because of the needs of the revolution they gave up literature and joined the armed struggle and have become general. Some of them were originally without any education, but because of the needs of the revolution, they have become economists and writers. During the past few years, our infantry institutions recruited a few batches of students from various areas. At first, quite a few of the students were full of disappointment and remorse but they were learning things they were not interested in, but after receiving education and undergone practice, they not only have a strong interest in military affairs, but also have a deep love of life in an army barracks and have achieved good results in their study.

#### Ideals and Morality and Sentiments

All the people who cherish great aspirations and lofty ideals, whether in the past or at present, are people of noble morality and sentiments. Compared with those in the past, our proletarian revolutionaries have even nobler virtues and sentiments. The fine virtues that our forefathers praised in the past, such as the virtue that "wealth and honor cannot corrupt, poverty and humility cannot change and force cannot bend," and the virtue of "planning and worrying ahead of the people and enjoying the fruits after the people," have not only been concentratedly embodied in

the revolutionary practice of our communists, but have also been greatly developed and imbued with new content.

"The force of the wind tests the strength of the grass and crises and disasters test the loyalty of officials." Because of the specific social conditions in China, the revolutionary struggle under the leadership of our party underwent several low tides, run into many obstacles and sometimes suffered heavy losses which caused the revolution to be on the verge of total collapse. The more dangerous the situation, the more many of our old generation of proletarian revolutionaries showed their loyalty to communism. In 1927, Chiang Kai-shek betrayed the revolution and carried out the bloody policy of "better killing 1,000 wrong persons rather than letting 1 communist escape." In this way, he attempted to kill all revolutionaries. In the cruel white terror, a large number of communists were killed. At that time, a small number of people in the revolutionary ranks waived and flinched or even betrayed the revolution. However, a much larger number of people buried the bodies of their comrades, wiped the bloodstains off their own bodies and continued to fight for their ideal. What was especially commendable was that some comrades even joined the revolutionary ranks at that time. Comrade Xu Teli, one of the five comrades who were respectfully called the "elders," joined the party precisely at the time when the great revolution was lost. At that time, he was already 51 years old. When he recalled the history of that period, he said, "Joining the communist party means devoting oneself to the revolution unconditionally and without reserve. It is not an act that is aimed at achieving some personal ends or seeking personal position, remuneration or pleasure. If one comes when the revolution succeeds and leaves when it fails, if one comes when it is profitable to take part in the revolution and leaves when it is unprofitable and if one is only willing to share joys and is not willing to share hardships, how can one be called a revolutionary." In 1941, the Kuomintang created the southern Anhui incident that shocked people both at home and abroad, Ye Ting, commander of the new fourth army was captured when the army was making a break-out. In order to buy him over, Chiang Kai-shek organized a solemn ceremony to welcome him and had made a set of general's uniform for him, but Comrade Ye Ting disdained even to look at the uniform. He always wore the uniform of the new fourth army during the 4 years when he was in prison. Moreover, he wrote a poem called "A Song in Prison" to express his lofty aspiration. When he was released in 1946, the first thing he did was to send a cable to the CCP Central Committee applying for party membership. The victory of the Chinese revolution would have been impossible, if our party had not had a large number of resolute fighters who were loyal to the communist ideal. Recently, a book called "An Account in Peng Dehuai's Own Words" was published and I suggest that our young comrades carefully read this book. Comrade Peng Dehuai took part in hundreds of battles and achieved brilliant merits. He was a man who made magnificent contributions to the Chinese revolution. After 1959, and especially during the decade of turmoil, in spite of the persecution and imprisonment he suffered, he did not say anything against

the party and the people and was always concerned about the destiny of the party and the state. He acted in the same manner as Liu Shaoqi, He Long, Chen Yi, Tao Zhu and other comrades, adhered to the principles and persisted in carrying out the struggle under the despotic rule of Lin Biao and the "gang of four." This showed his noble virtues as a proletarian revolutionary.

The practice of the old generation of revolutionaries has shown us that noble morality and sentiments are very important in achieving the victory of revolution and realizing the communist ideal. In order to continue the revolutionary cause of the old generations, a youth with ideals should pay attention to cultivating his morality and sentiments in the practice of struggle. At present, although we do not have to undergo the danger of death or imprisonment or the hardship of travelling in the grassland or on the snow-covered mountains, the new long march for realizing the four modernization program is also a great revolutionary practice and it needs loyal confidence and indomitable fighting spirit just the same.

#### Ideals and Concrete Practice

Turning the lofty communist ideal into social reality demands the concrete revolutionary practice of generation after generation of people. If we treat the ideal as a mere potted landscape and only admire and praise it, but do not carefully water and look after it or are not willing to do the hard labor in taking care of it, the flower of the ideal will fade away. Some youths say that fruit is delicious but fruit trees are hard to cultivate and that the beautiful future of the four modernizations will not come on its own and it has to be brought about by our hands. These words are well said.

Since its third plenary session, the CCP Central Committee has put forth the magnificent goal of realizing the four modernizations and formulated a set of correct line, principles and policies, thus opening up a broad path for us to realize the lofty ideal. The problem now is to carry out concrete practice and activities. For our youths, the first thing they should do is to study hard and master knowledge. As Lenin said, "A man can become a communist only by enriching his mind with all the wealth of knowledge that has been created by the human race." We will never achieve this, if we do not have a hardworking spirit. Some youths think that since they wasted their time and neglected their study because of the decade of turmoil and have failed to build up a sound foundation for their study, it is too late for them to study now. Here an old saying is useful. It goes, "It is not too late to mend the fold when some sheep have been lost." In history, there were, or course, people who achieved academic merits when they were young, but there were also quite a few people who achieved academic merits later on in life. Moreover, do not forget you are at life's full flowering! Have there not been many youths over the past years who have not been utterly disheartened

by the waste of time caused by the decade of turmoil, but who, with a strong desire to study and the spirit to make days and nights count, have intensively and arduously studied and achieved fine results in their study? When a man is young, he has a keen mind, great energy and a strong memory. This is the best time in a man's life for study. If we lose it, it will never come back again. We should seize the opportunity and "study, study and again study."

"A journey of a thousand li begins from where one stands." The way that leads to the ideal is very long, but it begins from where we stand and, from our ordinary posts. If a youth only has the ambition to make a thousand-li journey, but does not have the spirit to begin from where he stands, and if he is only willing to be the one who receives benefits, but is not willing to be the one who works hard to bring about the benefits; however fine his ideal is, it is only a castle built of playing cards. Therefore, a youth who cherishes a lofty ideal should at the same time be a pragmatist who does his own job well. Recently, people have been moved by the report about the deeds of the young geographer Yang Liankang. During the "Great Cultural Revolution," Yang was sentenced to 10 years' imprisonment. After he was rehabilitated and released, in order to gain first-hand materials about the Huanghe River he traveled on foot in the open along the Huanghe River at his own expense and made an investigation of the river. He traveled 10,000 li on foot and spent 1 year and thus walked the whole length of the Huanghe River for the first time in the history of our country. During the past few years, many combat heroes, model workers, spiritual civilization pacesetters and crackerjacks at technical renovation have emerged in our troops and in various areas. They have set good examples in combining their ideals with practice. The socialist epoch is an epoch when a large number of heroes are emerging one by one. In this epoch, if only a person works soundly, steadily and hard, they will be able to become a model worker, become a "paragon" and make contributions no matter what their job is. In a fragrant forest, the new leaves promote the growth of the old ones and in the Changjiang River, the waves push one another forward. I am confident that our young comrades will surely be able to grow up and become a generation of new people who cherish the revolutionary ideal, are moral and educated and observe discipline.

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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

XIZANG RESETTLES PERSONNEL IMPRISONED IN 1959

HK300933 Lhasa Xizang Regional Service in Mandarin 0000 GMT 30 Jul 82

[Text] According to a XIZANG RIBAO report, in accordance with the spirit of the directive of the CCP Central Committee and the State Council on releasing and resettling former KMT party, government and military personnel at and below county and regimental levels, the Xizang Regional People's Government made a decision in June this year on resettling and transferring 182 former Xizang local government personnel at and above (Genbu) level, military personnel at and above (Dingban) level and other personnel who were imprisoned in 1959 for committing rebellious and historical crimes and who remained and worked in the labor reform units after being released.

In November 1978 and March 1979, with the approval of the CCP Central Committee, Xizang region released two batches of rebellious back-bone elements and criminals who were convicted in 1959 by the former Xizang Regional Government. Also, military personnel of the former Xizang Regional Government who were sentenced according to law in 1959 for rebellions and historical crimes have also been released and resettled.

After being released, it was arranged that most of these personnel stay and work at the labor reform units. The region supported the livelihood of those personnel who had lost their working capacity. Some of these personnel have returned home or depended on their relatives and friends. It was arranged for some to work in the mass and collective units. This has fully demonstrated the party's and the government's leniency toward personnel who have reformed themselves and has exerted good influences in various areas throughout the country.

Currently, the region is arranging resettlement for former Xizang Regional Government and military personnel who stayed and worked in the labor reform units. This is conducive to further consolidating and developing the situation of stability and unity in the region, mobilizing all positive factors, accelerating work of enriching the poor and building a united, rich and civilized new Xizang.

Regarding resettlement of personnel, the decision of the regional people's government pointed out: Those who request to return home or depend on

their relatives and friends will be allowed to do so, and the local government, communes and brigades and relatives and friends should welcome them and do a good job of receiving them. According to labor reform and production demands, those who want to stay and work in the original unit and who have production skills and labor capacity can change into official workers or peasant workers. Those old, weak, ill and handicapped personnel who have lost their production capacity and have nowhere to go, can stay in the labor reform units and their livelihoods will be looked after by the relevant units. A small number of people who have religious beliefs, specific skills or who have certain influence in the society can go back to the monasteries and it can be arranged for them to work in appropriate units, thus ensuring that they have a role to play and that their strong points will be brought into play.

The decision also pointed out that it is forbidden to politically discriminate against these personnel who have been resettled and it is necessary to ensure that they are paid at an equal rate for work. Those who only have ragged clothes and are unable to buy new ones will be given a clothing allowance. Sufficient travel allowance and grain coupons will be issued to those who have decided to return home or depend on their relatives and friends. They will also be given living allowances and family allowances in accordance with the stipulated standard. This again fully demonstrates the party's and the government's concern for personnel who have been resettled.

In order to implement the regional people's government's decision, the regional public security department and other departments concerned are currently making preparations for resettling personnel and are determined to do a good job of this. Various labor reform units have begun to carry out education on the situation and the policies among the personnel involved in resettlement, sought their opinions on this and have contacted various units and communes and brigades in order to make proper arrangements. Personnel involved in resettlement expressed their wish to participate in the work of building a united, rich and civilized new Xizang as the masters of the society and to contribute to the four modernizations drive of the motherland.

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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

IMPROVEMENT IN FAMILY PLANNING URGED

HK150759 Shenyang LIAONING RIBAO in Chinese 9 Jul 82 p 1

[Commentator's article: "Areas Where Planned Parenthood Work Is Weak Must Catch Up"]

[Text] Liaoning made new progress in planned parenthood work from January to May this year. The percentage of people practicing planned parenthood and of couples having only one child increased over the same period last year, while the percentage of couples having more than one child declined. However, 70,000 more babies were born in the province than in the same period last year. If this growth is maintained, the plan to keep population growth below 15 percent in the province this year will be in danger of failing. Although this situation reflects the reality of the continual increase in numbers of people reaching the age of marriage and child-bearing, the crux of the problem actually lies in the subjective, not in the objective. According to statistics compiled in investigations by departments concerned, from January to May, 39,000 babies in the province were born outside the plan, and one third of these births were concentrated in counties where planned parenthood work is weak. The percentage of people practicing planned parenthood is very low in certain places. Whether or not these areas can rapidly catch up with the rest will have a very great bearing on whether or not the province's population plan for this year can be fulfilled.

There are many reasons why planned parenthood work has not been done well in certain places, but the most fundamental one is that the leading comrades there lack a sense of urgency over population control. We must realize the serious consequences that will ensue for the country's four modernizations drive and the happiness of posterity if population control is lost. Areas and units where planned parenthood work is temporarily backward must not feel discouraged, nor should they be afraid of difficulties. They must face reality and uphold the concept of one dividing into two. On the one hand they must see the deficiencies in their work and work hard to catch up with others; on the other they must boost their confidence and see that the backward can turn progressive, under certain conditions. The decisive factor is the thinking, attitude and resolve of the leading comrades. A few years ago Yingkou County's planned parenthood work was consistently backward, but having got a sound grasp of

things for 3 years, they have now taken 3 great strides and joined the ranks of the province's progressive units. Evidently, it all depends on human effort, and the key lies in the leadership.

The present is a favorable moment for getting a further grasp on planned parenthood work. We hope that all municipalities and counties will do well in this work and grasp it unwearingly. Areas that are temporarily backward must all the more go deep into reality, carry out investigations and studies and adopt practical and effective measures to promote planned parenthood work. We must hurry to carry out work on those whose pregnancies are not covered by the plan and do everything possible to reduce such pregnancies to the minimum; the birth rate and the population growth rate will then be able to decline.

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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

BRIEFS

GUANGDONG SOCIAL ORDER--Social order in the urban and rural areas of Guangdong turned for the better in the first half of the year, and July has shown further improvement. The incidence of crime has declined by 22.3 percent compared with the same period last year, and there has been a notable fall in major crimes such as murder, theft and thuggery. The crime detection rate in the first half of the year was 10 percent higher than in the same period last year. Some 1,100 criminals turned themselves in during the period. [HK260711 Guangzhou Guangdong Provincial Service in Mandarin 2350 GMT 22 Jul 82 HK]

NEI MONGGOL DEMOCRATIC LEAGUE--The 6-day meeting of the members of the China Democratic League in Nei Monggol successfully concluded in Hohhot on 1 August. The meeting approved a report on the work of the preparatory committee for the Nei Monggol Autonomous Regional Democratic League. The meeting stressed that its major task in 1982 was to help the party and the government implement the policies on intellectuals. Bu He, deputy secretary of the regional CCP Committee, addressed the meeting. [SK030630 Hohhot Nei Monggol Regional Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 2 Aug 82 SK]

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## NEW START OF TAIWAN'S EXTRAPARTY ELEMENTS

Hong Kong CH'I-SHIH NIEN-TAI [THE SEVENTIES] in Chinese No 6, Jun 82  
pp 70-71

[Article by Ch'en Jo-hsi [7115 5387 2569]]

[Text] Upon my return to Taiwan in March, what gladdened me most was the confidence and vitality of the extraparty figures, like the azaleas in full bloom on the treasure island, imparting a sense of "the boundless beauty of springtime."

I recall my first return to Taiwan in early 1980. A large group of brilliant extraparty elements was lost in the Kao-hsiung incident, while those lucky enough to survive were fearful and apprehensive, not knowing in the morning what might happen in the evening and finding the situation hopeless. When I returned again in July after the military trial in May, there were some changes. By then, the right and wrong were roughly clarified, and the hearts of the people again had their inclinations. The extraparty elements began to lick the wounds and recuperate their spirit, preparing for a comeback. The three elections have indeed proved that there are successors to the continuation of democracy. The extraparty elements who prepared themselves for a new start have indeed lived up to the trust of the voters.

Legislative member Huang Huang-hsiung [7806 3552 7160] said: "The extraparty group making a new start can only take a moderate stroll. Like a patient recovering from surgery, he first needs sunshine, and moderate strolls." Indeed, one's impression of the New Age representatives of the popular will, as a whole, is moderation and reason, and sincerity in serving the people. After practice, the moderate and steady line firmly followed by K'ang Ning-hsiang [1660 1380 4382] has proved that Taiwan's political environment today is relatively realistic, and it has become the guiding line of the extraparty elements at the present stage.

## A Galaxy of Extraparty Talents

When the Kao-hsiung incident first occurred, the people were extremely distressed over the loss of extraparty political commentator Chang Chun-hung [1728 0193 1347] and constitution lawyers Lin I-hsiung [2651 5030 7160] and Yao Chia-wen [1202 0857 2429]. Nevertheless, their imprisonment has propelled more scholars and lawyers into democratic politics. Currently, there is a galaxy of extraparty talents. Though there is a great disparity in number compared with Kuomintang, the party in power, the quality is far superior.

Just the determination and courage of those like Ch'en Shui-pien [7115 3055 2078], Hsieh Ch'ang-t'ing [6200 7022 1694] and Chang Te-ming [1728 1795 6900], who gave up the opportunities to pursue advanced studies abroad and to engage in profitable enterprises to serve as representatives of the popular will with the low pay and difficult prospect, inspire one with a new respect. Yu Ch'ing's [1429 3237] outstanding eloquence and selflessness have made him the unprecedented first extraparty Control member to be elected without spending a penny. His manifestations in the Control Yuan in the past year or more are commendable. Just by the number of the people's petitions received daily, constituting 45 percent of those on file in the entire Yuan, one can see the people's trust in him. After the resignation of T'ao Pai-chuan [7118 4102 1557], he has become the "just magistrate" of Control Yuan.

What particularly impressed this writer is Yu Ch'ing's idea on organizing a party. Everyone knows that, in former years, Lei Chen [7191 7201] spent the second half of his life in jail because of his idea to organize a party, and that MEI-LI TAO [BEAUTIFUL ISLAND] periodical was vigorously suppressed because of its embryonic form as a political party. Yet Yu Ch'ing openly declared that, "today, there is no legal obstacle to organizing a party!" "One day," he said, "when the political and social conditions are ripe, we should be able to openly organize a political party outside the [Kuomintang] party. We are not afraid of any cracking down." Such spirit of fearlessness, stepping into the breach as others fall, is a continual extraparty strength.

Huang Huang-hsiung is the representative of extraparty scholars and theoreticians. Known in the academic circle for his work on the history of the governing of Taiwan, he once devoted himself to the rehabilitation of anti-Japanese leader Chiang Wei-shui [5592 3262 3055], and he thoroughly overhauled the concept of "Taiwanese." Now he advocates the "extraparty edition" of the Three People's Principles--the extraparty elements possess the natural qualifications to fulfill the Three People's Principles. The impression he gives one is total composure and pure reason.

Not just the extraparty representatives of the popular will in office who cite authoritative works at every turn, but even Huang Shun-hsing [7806 7311 5281], unemployed and raising hogs at home, always gives attention to the facts when discussing current politics. In addition, he studies

behind closed doors, fulfilling an intellectual's duty of envisioning the world while working in the hog pen. Today the extraparty elements have completely wiped out the primitive style of their initial period 30 years ago.

I made special trips to interview Magistrate Huang Shih-ch'eng [7806 4258 1004] of Chang-hua county and Magistrate Ch'iu Lien-hui [6726 6647 6540] of P'ing-tung county who had not been long in office. The impression they gave was busy, busy, busy! Huang Shih-ch'eng set up the "Center for Immediate Handling," and the country people are no longer afraid of the phenomenon of "I don't know" to every question. The staff of the P'ing-tung county office informed this writer that, ever since Ch'iu Lien-hui came to office, "everyone has been very busy."

The staff are busy, and the magistrates are even more so. I stayed in the Huang residence while in Chang-hua county. When I got up at 7 the next morning for breakfast, the magistrate was nowhere to be seen. I discovered that he had left for the office at 6:30 am. The day I visited Ch'iu Lien-hui happened to be his wedding anniversary of several decades. Busy with official affairs all day long, he does not eat any of his meals home. When in the evening Mrs Ch'iu could not help mentioning the occasion, everyone toasted the couple with a cup of wine, which was considered a celebration.

The magistrates serve the people with their whole hearts. Though only 6 months in office, good comments are often heard. Throughout my trip, I frequently heard people mention how Ch'iu Lien-hui and others unconditionally voted for Yu Ch'ing, indicating that the people's eyes are discerning.

#### Dressing the Wounds with Willpower

The extraparty elements in Taiwan, according to my observation, have emerged from the wounds of the Kao-hsiung incident and cast off the image of the politically persecuted. They aim to be political activists and a political counterbalance. The families of the two torture victims are the best illustrations.

As everyone knows, one major reason for the elections of Hsu Jung-shu [6079 2837 3219] and Chou Ch'ing-yu [0719 3237 3768] by wide margins was the people's sympathy for Chang Chun-hung and Yao Chia-wen. Hsu Jung-shu's and Chou Ch'ing-yu's growths and manifestations in the past year or more have not only given confidence to the voters, but also made the voters proud.

I still remember that, during my second return to Taiwan in the summer of 1980, I met the families of the torture victims of the Kao-hsiung incident. Among them, Chou Ch'ing-yu was the most heartbreaking. The mere mention of Yao Chia-wen would redden her eyes and choke her voice. When she heard my remark that "a special pardon doesn't appear likely in the

next few years," her tears flowed like a spring, as if the earth would stop revolving if Yao Chia-wen did not return home. I was extremely distressed, worrying about how she would spend the 12 long years.

At the moment, Hsu Jung-shu only nodded slightly, appearing to accept my view. I saw no tears, nor heard sighs.

The facts as they turned out have proved my worries superfluous. When I saw Chou Ch'ing-yu again this time, she was a completely different person. She appears to be strong and steady, having long emerged from the family and walked into society and showing her concern for the current situation and national affairs with the breadth of vision of a social worker. Though the post of a representative to the National People's Congress is undemanding, she refuses to live a life of leisure, and has created KUAN-HUAI [CONCERN], the first social welfare periodical in Taiwan. She writes articles, edits, takes pictures.... All these were firsts for her, yet she has been successful. During local elections last year, she shuttled back and forth between the north and the south, untiringly campaigning for the extraparty elements, and her work was very outstanding.

We took a 2-day trip to the south. Several times she said: "I am afraid, afraid to make mistakes, afraid to fail to live up to the voters."

With representatives of the popular will of such modesty, the people of Taiwan can set their minds at ease.

The person I admire most is Hsu Jung-shu. Of slight built but inexhaustible energy, she is warm and brave and never feels discouraged. "Not that I am not discouraged," she said, "but I do not become discouraged in vain. I have many tears, but they are all swallowed inside."

I have not seen a representative of the popular will busier than her. Besides mothering her four children, she prepares for hearings in the Legislative Yuan. (Every session is exciting. Whenever hearings of extraparty elements are scheduled, the public gallery always overflows. People from far away charter sight-seeing vehicles to attend, knowing that the round trip fare is well spent.) Every week she visits Chang Chun-hung in jail (making preparations to report on major domestic and foreign affairs before the trip), goes to Nan-t'ou to comfort her parents-in-law and sees the voters in the electoral district and solves their problems and disputes. The pay of a Legislative member is very low, and she has to worry about the seven things when opening the door everyday.

According to her, the most difficult to overcome is the complications brought by the political terror. Around the time after the arrest of her husband until her election as a Legislative member, she was unable to hire a servant to help with household chores for a whole year, as people were afraid to associate with the families of political prisoners. That she has been able to persevere in her long single-handed struggle is because of her confidence in democracy and the support of the populace.

She recalled the days of campaigning, sleeping only 2 or 3 hours a day, or even staying up all night. "Sometimes I slept standing up, and my complexion was terribly pale. I couldn't bear to let the voters see me the way I was, and had to learn to use powder and paint."

She always greets people with a smile and is ready at all times to render a helping hand to her friends and the voters.

Hsu Jung-shu's complexion, glowing with health with cosmetics, made me see the embodiment of the extraparty group. Long in an adverse environment beset with difficulties and getting no serious attention from the people, the extraparty group, in its present stage, is like a patient recovering from a major illness. Nevertheless, feeling no self-pity, it dresses its wounds with reason and willpower, hoping to meet the challenges with a smile. It is tenacious, and it will be victorious.

#### New Image of the New Age

One may say that today's extraparty group belongs mostly to the young. Many college students and new graduates resolutely join its camp, turning it into a place where the intellectuals congregate. It is unprecedented in the history of Taiwan's democracy movement.

The young intellectuals' interest in politics is a trend which started in the sixties. By the eighties, it has truly developed to the stage where "no prairie fire can destroy the grass; it grows again when the spring breeze blows," not only flourishing, but gaining in vitality. During the elections, they charged and destroyed the enemy lines; afterward, their many political periodicals serve as the garden to store and cultivate talents. They inject new blood into the extraparty group and raise its ideological and theoretical levels. The vitality of the New Age is a characteristic of Taiwan's democracy movement today.

What impresses me most in my contact with the young extraparty figures is their sober enthusiasm in politics. I said "sober" because they go into politics with an ideal, free of any personal ambitions, without fear of the possible consequences. They entrust their political ideal, namely, democracy and the rule of law, to the campaign and installation of the extraparty representatives of the popular will. During the campaign, they gladly served as the "laborers;" after the representatives have taken office, they are happy to work as aides. That hearings of the extraparty representatives are exciting is because they symbolize the convergence of their painstaking labor.

Another new image of the New Age is the transcendence over family politics. They advocate love for Taiwan and the native soil above the family. Kao-hsiung's Yu [0151] family is a rare survival, while Yun-lin's Su [5685] family has vaulted clear of the confinement. Su Chih-fen [5685 3112 5358], instead of soliciting votes for her own sister, campaigned for Chou Ch'ing-yu in 1980.

The New Age has also broken down the provincial boundaries for the extra-party group. In other words, the extraparty group belongs not just to the native Taiwan people, but to all those seeking democracy and the rule of law. Lin Cheng-chieh's [2651 2973 2638] election to the T'ai-pei municipal congress is the best illustration.

"The extra-party group stresses the native soil concept of treasuring Taiwan and settling one's roots here," said Lin Cheng-chieh, "not the narrow regional concept which excludes those from the interior."

As shown by the facts, the populace makes no distinction of the provincial origins of the extraparty elements. When the periodical SHEN-KENG [DEEP PLOWING] jointly run by Lin Cheng-chieh and Hsu Jung-shu opened its branch in Kao-hsiung in late March, the reception was packed, and people from all areas coming for the occasion were so crowded that not even a needle could be pushed through. One can thus see the popular support of the two persons.

When I went with Hsu Jung-shu to T'ai-chung to visit Chang Chun-hung's parents, an old veteran rushed up to present a horizontal inscription to Hsu Jung-shu. Getting nowhere in his appeal to redress a wrong after several tries, this old man of mainland origin finally came to Hsu Jung-shu. After trying everywhere, Hsu Jung-shu eventually solved his problem. Grateful, he presented her a horizontal inscription to show his appreciation. The extraparty group makes no distinction of provincial origins when serving the populace.

The word extraparty has not only broken down the provincial boundaries, but also transcended party origins. Those like Fei Hsi-p'ing [6316 1585 1627] and Chi Cheng [4764 2398], Legislative members of Kuomintang membership, speak out from a sense of justice and truly represent the common people. I heard with my own ears people's praises of them: "Their manifestations are truly extraparty!"

To be sure, only when the promising Kuomintang figures and the idealistic extraparty figures can cooperate hand in hand and strive together for democracy will there be hope for Taiwan's further reform. It is my impression and hope from my visit to Taiwan.

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