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JPRS 81253

12 July 1982

# China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 316

19981202 120

DISSEMINATION STATEMENT A  
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CHINA REPORT  
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### POLICY DEBATE IN WEST GERMANY NOTED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 27 Apr 82 p 7

[Article by Jiang Jianguo [3068 1696 0948]: "A Round of Contention Inside West Germany's Social Democratic Party"]

[Text] The main agenda of the recently closed Congress of the Social Democratic Party, West Germany's main party in power, was to solve the problem of unemployment but, in reality, the question of supplementary armament became the question which was most vehemently debated. The Congress ultimately rejected the proposal by the party's "leftwing" concerning temporary delay of the deployment in Western Europe of U.S. nuclear missiles; this enabled the Schmidt administration to win some breathing space.

As far back as early March, about 70 leftwing delegates, including some members of the high-ranking leadership of the Social Democratic Party, had already convened a meeting and planned to write the proposal on a "nuclear-free zone in Europe" and the proposal to overthrow the NATO resolution to deploy missiles in Western Europe into the proposal to be submitted by the executive committee of the Social Democratic Party. Besides, among the more than 300 draft resolutions sponsored by basic organizations on foreign relations, peace and security policy, a large number of them expressed dissension with respect to the policies of the Schmidt administration. But, it was at the Congress of December 1979 in West Berlin that the Social Democratic Party of West Germany formally accepted the NATO resolution on supplementary armament; the Schmidt administration insisted on carrying out this resolution. Thus, this already suggested that a vehement contention at this Congress was inevitable.

The essence of the discrepancy between those within the Social Democratic Party who are opposed to the deployment of the nuclear missiles and the Schmidt administration is what, above all, is the effective means to maintain West Germany's peace and security.

Schmidt insists on the "balance of power theory," thinking that only by reaching a balance in nuclear arms in Europe between the two military camps through the deployment of U.S. nuclear missiles in Western Europe will it be possible to force the Soviet Union to sit down and negotiate seriously and to reach any agreement on the reduction of nuclear arms between the two sides,

and thereby keep armament in Europe under control and carry out disarmament measures. The leftwing people do not necessarily have a consistent opinion among themselves; some suggest waiting for a while and refraining from discussing the issue until some results of the negotiations are seen; some think "unilateral disarmament is the only way to break the vicious circle of nuclear competition"; and some advocate the realization of a "nuclear-free zone in Europe" right now.

Schmidt's position on this question was at one time rather isolated. Blame cast from various circles greatly damaged the image of the Schmidt administration and at the same time caused dissatisfaction and apprehension on the part of the Free Democrats in coalition with the Social Democratic Party. In order to reverse this situation, Schmidt did his best to urge the United States to carry out talks with the Soviet Union on the question of medium-range nuclear weapons in Europe, and also persuaded the United States to participate in the hopeless follow-up session of the European Security Conference in Madrid in order to mollify feelings of intra-party confrontation on the one hand; on the other hand, Schmidt repeatedly indicated his readiness to stay with the NATO resolution on the deployment of nuclear missiles and criticized the peace movement which objectively helps the Soviet Union to preserve its military superiority.

Internal dissension in the Social Democratic Party of West Germany has attracted great interest on the part of Moscow. During the past year and more, the Soviet Union activated its propaganda machine to launch repeated attacks on Schmidt. Right after Schmidt issued his statement at this Congress, TASS hurriedly attacked his statement as "very contradictory," "rudely and ignominiously critical of the Soviet Union." On the other hand, the Soviet Union showed exceptional enthusiasm toward those in the leadership apparatus of the Social Democratic Party who disagreed with Schmidt. Last year, prominent figures among them were time and again invited to visit the Soviet Union in an attempt to drive a wedge inside the Social Democratic Party and influence the administration's policy. But, the upshot of this Congress amounts to pouring cold water over such an attempt on the part of the Soviet Union.

The Munich Congress of the Social Democratic Party has rejected the proposal to temporarily delay the deployment of U.S. medium-range nuclear missiles and postponed the question to 1983 before making any decision; this is a temporary compromise between the two factions within the party. But, this result more or less reflects the fact that the majority of people in West Germany are maintaining vigilance in the face of the Soviet Union's increasing military threat. In the meantime, during the most recent period, because such serious internal dissension within the Social Democratic Party had already seriously affected the position of the Social Democratic Party as the party in power, the various factions inside the party also began to attempt to find harmony and consistency in order to support the Schmidt administration. No doubt, the result of this Party Congress will have a positive influence on NATO's reinforcement of its military forces vis-a-vis the Soviet Union and the strengthening of the joint effort to cope with the Soviet Union by the various West European countries. Likewise, through this

Party Congress, internal contradictions within the Social Democratic Party are now mitigated; this, too, should serve to improve the position of the Schmidt coalition government and the stability of the political situation in West Germany.

Naturally, the "leftwing" people of the Social Democratic Party will not lightly abandon their original stand; the impact of the peace movement on the political situation in West Germany and the NATO resolution still cannot be overlooked. This contention inside the Social Democratic Party will still continue.

9255

CSO: 4005/839

## PARTY AND STATE

### COMMENTARY GIVEN ON THE DRAFT CONSTITUTION

Hangzhou ZHEJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 17 May 82 p 1

[Article: "Conscientious Discussion of the Draft Constitution in the Attitude of Masters of Our Own Affairs"]

[Text] Based on the resolution of the Standing Committee of the NPC, the Standing Committee of the Provincial People's Congress drew up a "Resolution on the Conscientious Study and Discussion Throughout the Entire Province of the 'Draft of the Revised PRC Constitution,'" which shall stir all the people of the province into vigorous action in the exercise of their democratic rights as masters of their own affairs and have them conscientiously study and discuss the draft of the revised constitution in this attitude of masters and with great political enthusiasm.

The constitution is the great fundamental law of the country. It is an important event in the political life of the whole nation that the draft of the revised constitution is now being submitted to all the people for discussion. This act fully expresses the people's democracy under the socialist system, and is also a vivid manifestation of the entire nation exercising its rights as master of its own affairs. Since its publication, the draft of the revised constitution has been studied and discussed enthusiastically by the broad masses of cadres and people. Everyone aired his own views and spoke out frankly. It was a one-time lesson in the workings of socialist democracy and its legal system, stimulating one step further the socialist zeal and giving impetus to present production and work. However, there also still exist some muddled ideas that must be overcome.

Some comrades are of the opinion that drawing up the constitution is a matter to be handled by those high up, and a discussion of the draft of the revised constitution is "none of my business." As everyone knows, ours is a state led by the working class; it is a socialist state with a people's democratic dictatorship based on the worker-peasant alliance. The people are the masters of the country, and all powers belong to the people. "Every single common person has a share of responsibility for the fate of his country." Discussion of the draft of the revised constitution is indeed a sacred right bestowed on every single citizen. Through the discussion of the draft of the revised constitution the people involve themselves in a concrete way in the important affairs of the state, participate in the important affairs of the state and

exercise their rights as masters of their own affairs. We must cherish our democratic rights, and in reality as well as in name must assume the role of masters of the state. We must also realize that our participation in the discussion of the revision of the constitution will provide us with yet another practical and profound lesson in the workings of socialist democracy and its legal system. During the 10 years of turmoil, the great fundamental law of our country was wantonly trampled underfoot by Lin Biao, Jiang Qing and their followers, and the people were deprived of their basic rights. There were no guarantees for ordinary labor, work or study conditions or for life and property of the people, and the Chinese nation suffered an extremely serious calamity. We must keep this painful lesson of history firmly in our minds. If the laws are strict, the country is well governed, and only if the country is prosperous, will the people live in peace. By participating in the discussion on the great fundamental law, we can strengthen our sense of responsibility as masters of our own affairs, raise our awareness of being protectors and faithful observers of the constitution, gain further understanding of the basic spirit and content of the constitution, gain courage to struggle against all acts that violate the constitution, and ensure the thorough implementation of our constitution. This is not something that is "none of my business," but rather a matter where "everybody is bound together by the common cause."

There are still other comrades who believe that we cannot attend to the discussion of the draft for the revision of the constitution at the present time when we are taking strong measures against serious crimes in the economic field and are taking a general census of our population, in addition to attending to production and other work in industry and agriculture, all involving manifold duties and heavy tasks, truly a multitude of things to attend to. This idea is also erroneous. We contend that although it is true that our workload is heavy and our tasks manifold, the study and discussion of the draft for a revised constitution concerns the great undertaking of further perfecting the great fundamental law of the country. If we take this important task firmly in hand, we can arouse the revolutionary spirit of the people, mobilize the enthusiasm of the cadres and the masses and thereby promote all other kinds of work. The party committees and government organs at all levels must place this important matter on their agendas and must strengthen their guidance. In concrete arrangements, one must of course start out from the actual situation, suit measures to local conditions and make the most appropriate arrangements. Party and government organs, industrial and mining enterprises, schools, etc., must from now on concentrate a certain period of their time to organize studies and discussions in groups and stages. In the villages, the studies and discussions must be organized between the busy times of spring plowing and the summer harvest and summer sowing.

For effective guidance and an effective organization of the discussion of the draft for the revision of the constitution, the leading comrades in the party and government at all levels must take the lead in studying and in participating in discussions, make great efforts in studying more and to study better, and must set an example for the masses in studying and discussing. Party committees and government organs at all levels must actively train a core contingent, effectively organize contingents for propaganda and explanation work, and bring into full play the effectiveness of work by all propaganda and

lecturing personnel in the various organizations, so that the fundamental spirit and basic content of the revision of the constitution be known and understood by every single person. Propaganda tools of all kinds must be closely attuned to the present study and discussions of the entire people, and propaganda activities must be launched in a great variety of forms and in a vivid and vigorous manner. A vigorous and genuine mass campaign for the study and discussion of the draft for the revision of the constitution shall be unfolded throughout the entire province.

9808

CSO: 4005/881

PARTY AND STATE

REGIONAL COMMENTARY ON CHINESE HISTORY

Li Zicheng, Ming Rebel

Shenyang LIAONING RIBAO in Chinese 5 May 82 p 4

[Article: "Late Ming Peasant Rebellion Leader, Li Zicheng"]

[Text] Li Zicheng [2621 5261 2052], originally named Li Hongji [2621 7703 1015] was from Mizhi in Shenxi. He was born in A.D. 1606 and died in A.D. 1645. While a child he tended sheep for his landlord; later he became a courier in Yinchuan. He was an outstanding peasant insurrection leader during the late Ming Dynasty.

At a time when the rule of the Ming court was becoming increasingly ruthless, natural and man-made disasters were constantly occurring, and the suffering of the people was becoming deeper and more severe by the day, Li Zicheng joined the uprising forces of Gao Yingxiang [7559 6601 4382] in 1629 and (the 2d years of the Ming Zong Zhen period), assuming the title of "the charging general."

In the year 1635 the Ming Dynasty dispatched troops to attack the insurrection forces from 2 sides. Leaders of the 13 homes and 72 camps from all routes of the army of justice met in Xingyang County, Henan to discuss among themselves policies to punish the enemy. During the meetings Li Zicheng suggested a plan to unite forces and launch separate attacks, and obtained support from all present. A year later Gao Yingziang was captured and put to death. Li Zicheng thereupon inherited the title "Charging King" and, leading the insurrection forces to battle in many areas, time and again established meritorious service.

Not only was Li Zicheng valiant and skillful in battle, but he was also very good at unifying the masses, and was courteous and judicious towards his subordinates and had the courage to do what he thought was right. In daily life he eschewed excess of wine and women, wore coarse clothing, ate simple foods, and shared the comforts and hardships with his followers, with the result that he enjoyed high prestige among the soldiers of justice.

In 1638, after encountering setbacks at Tongguan, Li Zicheng did not lose heart; leading 18 horsemen he broke through the encirclement. He entered Shanluo Mountain and, summing up the lessons, rallied his forces and continued to fight. In the 5th month of the following year, taking advantage of the

opportunity afforded when Zhang Xianzhong again raised the banner of justice, he dashed out of Shangluo, called together his old forces and launched a life-or-death struggle with the enemy. Because Li Zicheng adopted the correct military policies, the revolutionary forces overtook a series of important towns, attained successive victories, the ranks gradually grew in strength, and representative figures from various levels of life continuously joined the revolutionary tide contributing plans and policies to the army of justice. In 1640 Li Zicheng led his troops on a new campaign in Henan. He adopted the proposal of Li Yan [2621.1484] and others "to gain the world, scheme great deeds," formulated policies such as "land equalization," "tax exemption," and "fair trade" and instilled a strict and clear rule that "wherever the great army camps, there will not be the slightest offense committed against the civilians." For these reasons, he was able to win the hearts of the people. A folk song "Welcome to the Charging King; He Asks for No Grain" became popular among the populace, and the troops rapidly increased to several hundred thousand men. In 1643 Li Zicheng led the troops on a northern expedition from Xiangyang, Hubei and, routing the central forces of the Ming army, occupied Xian. Later he set up the Da Zun regime in Xian. By this time the insurrection army had grown to 1 million soliders and comprised the central force of the peasant rebellion army of all China. In the 3rd month of the Xia Li period, troops of the main force attacked and entered Beijing from Khanxi. The Zong Zhen Emperor committed suicide and the Ming regime was overthrown. However, later the insurrection force leaders made the mistake of arrogance in victory, to which was added the collusion of the Ming General Wu Sangui with the nobles of the Qing tribes in their entering the city gate and launching a joint attack against the peasant troops. Charging King Li suffered defeat in countering the enemy, withdrew from Beijing and led his forces to Henan and Shenxi to resist attack. In 1645 Li Zicheng encountered an armed assault with the landlord forces in Jiuguan Mountain, Tongshan County, Hubei and unfortunately was killed.

Although the peasant rebellion led by Zi Zicheng failed, its great historical merits and achievements will be recorded forever in the history books. The peasant wars of the late Ming comprise an immortal chapter in the revolutionary struggle of our people.

#### Zheng He, Famous Mariner

Shengyang LIAONING RIBAO in Chinese 12 May 82 p 4

[Article by Wan Hengxian [5502 1854 7359]: "A Famous Mariner of Our Country--Zheng He"]

[Text] Zheng He [6774 0735], originally surnamed Ma [7456], was given the nickname San Bao [0005 1405] ("Three Treasures"--one historian makes it "Triple Protector." ). He was a Muslim from Kunyang County, Yunnan Province. He was born in A.D. 1371 (Ming, Hung Wu period, 4th year) and died in 1435. He was a famous mariner of ancient times in our country.

Zheng He was born into a poor family. His father died when Zheng He was a child. At the beginning of the Ming Dynasty he entered court services as a Eunuch. Later, he followed the king of Yen into battle. The king of Yen

showed great favor to Zheng He and bestowed on him the surname Zheng and appointed him Supervisor of Eunuchs of the Inner Palace. In 1405 (Yong Le period, 3rd year) Emperor Zhu Di (former king of Yen) decided to dispatch Zheng He as ambassador to the Western World--"to construct a huge fleet and cross the seas and visit all the countries." Zheng He was appointed chief envoy and Wang Jinghong [3769 2529 1738] deputy envoy, to lead 27,800 men and take with them large quantities of gold and silver, silks and handicrafts such as porcelain and iron utensils, even including translators, physicians and artisans. Sixty-two ocean-going ships were to make up an armada of the high seas. They set sail from Liu Jia Harbor in Suzhou (modern Jiangsu, Taicang County, East Liuhe Township) to begin the first voyage famous in history as "Zheng He sails to the Western World." In 2 years and 3 months, the countries he reached included Zhan Cheng (southern part of Vietnam) Jua Wa (Java island of Indonesia), Sumatra, Ceylon and the west coast of the Indian Ocean, etc. Later, he led six expeditions for the emperor. For 28 years, from 1405 to 1433, 7th month, Zheng He sailed on 7 voyages; south to Java, north to the Persian Gulf and Mecca on the Red Sea, east to Taiwan, west to the east coast of Africa. The countries he reached included Zhan Cheng (Vietnam), Zhenla (Cambodia), Xianluo (Thailand), and the kingdoms of Sumatra, Jiugang, Java (Indonesia), Ceylon (Srilanka) of the South China Sea archipelago, and even kingdoms of the Indian Peninsula, Guli (India), Hulu Mosi (part of Iran), Adan (Aden) at the mouth of the Red Sea, Mugu Dulai of Africa (Mogadiscio of Somalia) etc., establishing friendly relations with 17 large and small countries.

As Zheng He reached each country in the West, besides declaring the correspondence of the Ming emperor, he also sent gifts and established friendly trade relations with the countries. The large quantities of goods that he brought along such as silks, porcelains, tea leaves, medicines and gold and silver and such things were exchanged for various kinds of unusual and exotic animals and things such as lions, leopards, western birds, unicorns etc. At the same time, he purchased from these countries spices, medicinal herbs, pearls and gems, and ivory and such treasures. He established extraordinary accomplishments in the history of communication between the East and the West.

Zheng He's sea expedition activities not only reveal the bravery and wisdom of the working people of ancient times in our country, but also make clear the advanced development of maritime navigation technology of the time. From the organization of the maritime navigation ranks to the training and utilization of various kinds of talents, from the grandness of scale, length of time, expansiveness of territories reached, to the great achievements obtained from each voyage, we find no precedent in the history of maritime navigation throughout the world. Zheng He discovered Africa's Cape of Good Hope 70 or 80 years earlier than the Portuguese [Bartolomeo] Diaz, and he was at least half a century ahead of the famous western mariner Columbus in the discovery of the New World and of [Vasco da] Gama in the search for a new navigational route [between Europe and the Far East]. Zheng He's voyages not only promoted exchange of friendly visits and economic and cultural interchange between China and the various countries of the Indonesian archipelago, Asia, and Africa, but also played an important role in developing Indonesia and promoting the development of Indonesian society and economy. Because of this, all of the

countries that Zheng He visited unceasingly dispatched envoys to China to arrange for friendly trading relations. For example, the kings of Borneo (modern Jiali Mandan), the Philippines, Malaysia and such countries even made personal friendly visits to China. These countries all showed their admiration for Zheng He by building San Bao pagodas and San Bao cities. Dr Jeseeph Needham of the Royal Academy of Science in England praised Zheng He, saying he was a great forerunner in the history of world navigation.

9519

CSO: 4005/879

PARTY AND STATE

STRUGGLE AGAINST ECONOMIC CRIMES EMPHASIZED

Beijing BAN YUE TAN [SEMIMONTHLY TALKS] in Chinese No 6, 25 Mar 82 pp 6-7

[Article by a commentator in the column "State and Personal Affairs":  
"Several Problems That Demand To Be Kept in Mind at All Times"]

[Text] At present, a struggle is waging in China against criminal activities in economic circles. This struggle is neither an isolated one nor a temporary one. This struggle is a protracted concern involving our party's and our nation's socialist endeavor as to whether it will succeed or fail, prosper or decline. Since the 3rd Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, under the unified leadership and planned guidance of the state, the open-door policy toward the world and the policy of stimulating the domestic economy are being carried out. This policy points to a correct direction manifested in its achievement. The present situation will not improve without these reforms. However, during the 10 years of internal strife, the movements of the time such as anarchism and extreme individualism stirred up by the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary bloc have profoundly poisoned the thinking of some people. In addition, in recent years while the open-door policy and the stimulation of the domestic economy were carried out, our ideological political work and some essential administrative measures were not coordinated; there are mounting influences in China from the capitalist rotten ideology and the capitalist life style. In the economic circles, there are serious criminal activities, such as smuggling and selling goods, speculation and swindling, corruption, and acceptance of bribes to steal large amounts of state and collective properties for private gains. These activities are quite rampant in a few places. The occurrence of this serious phenomenon is an important manifestation of class struggle in China's new historical condition; this is the manifestation that the class enemies both domestic and abroad use the capitalist ideology to damage and corrupt our society.

Of course, this is only an adverse current in the incessant progress of our party and nation; therefore, this problem can be completely controlled by us. However, if the entire party and military forces do not pay serious attention to this current from now on, and if no resolute and serious struggle is waged against the adverse current with all our strength, this current will more seriously corrupt our cadre ranks and damage the body of our party, government and armed forces to poison the people's ideology, to pollute

social customs, to damage economic construction, and to effect stability and unity, severely damaging the prospects of China's socialist construction.

During the struggle of smashing criminal activities in the economic circles, we must clarify that the policy of an open door toward the world and the stimulation of the domestic economy is the firm policy that our party adopts according to the demands of the socialist modernization construction and the international developments. We should be courageous to utilize the current advantageous international conditions and to firmly support this correct policy. In addition, we should clearly acknowledge that in carrying out this policy, unavoidably the capitalist ideology will corrupt our ranks; therefore, we should wage a counter-corruption struggle. We should not neglect, loosen or lose our courage to wage the counter-corruption struggle because of the execution of the open-door policy and the stimulation of the domestic economy. Also, we should not waver against the party's economic policy, because the struggle has to be waged. Conversely, only with clearcut banners can a serious and firm struggle against the corrupting capitalist ideology be developed to correctly and wholesomely carry out the policy of open door to the world and the stimulation of the domestic economy.

Facing the current new situation and new mission, all our party members and revolutionary cadres should firmly remember two points: one is to firmly keep in mind that our basic aim is to serve the people with all our hearts; the other point is to firmly remember that our final goal is to carry out the far-reaching ideal of communism. We should struggle for carrying out communism in all our lives. All of our party members and revolutionary cadres should also insist on two points: one is to insist on the party's open-door policy to the world and the stimulation of the domestic economy in order to speed up China's socialist modernization construction; the other point is to insist on waging the struggle against the corrupting capitalist ideology to forever maintain our party's glorious revolutionary tradition. One who wavers from this basic standpoint is corrupted by the capitalist ideology. If such a person refused to repent, he is not qualified to be a party member and is not qualified to be a revolutionary cadre. Thus, he betrays the socialist line and should be severely punished by party discipline, military discipline and state laws.

A new situation and new mission bring with them a new and serious examination. We believe in our heart that most comrades will pass this examination and achieve victory in the anti-corruption struggle. Through this struggle, we will certainly greatly elevate class and political awareness to more correctly and actively execute the party's policy of open door to the world and the stimulation of the domestic economy to better achieve the socialist modernization construction.

10424

CSO: 4005/811

PARTY AND STATE

'DECEIVED,' 'HOOKED' SAID NO EXCUSE FOR CRIMINAL ACTS

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 16 Apr 82 p 8

[Article by Dan Chi [0030 6375]: "Deceived and Hooked"]

[Text] Being deceived is not the same as being hooked. Due to ideological or logical vagueness, one is swindled into acting or saying something wrong; this is called "deceiving someone." While seeking one's private interests, the person commits a wrong act from material inducement; this is called "hooking someone," just like a fish is hooked when it snaps a bait.

While dealing with different economic cases at present, often there are self-proclaimed or so-called deceived persons; many are party members and leadership cadres. Thus, the problem of deception deserves our analysis. It is true that in the past, with its violent class struggle and complex situation, some comrades were unavoidably deceived and swindled. However, in today's struggle in economic circles, what they face are "sugar-coated cannon shells." The so-called "sugar-coating" is a sweet composed of money and materials. Therefore, this is not ideological vagueness or logical blurring; a person will not be deceived if he is not selfish, covetous, gluttonous, or greedy. So the comrades or cadres hit by sugar-coated bullets are hooked, but not deceived.

Some of our cadres and party members are hit and damaged by new "hand-grenades" (such as wine and cigarettes) and "bombs" (such as tape recorders); it is all very simple since this concerns their own interests. As mentioned in an old saying, "A housefly is not attracted by an uncracked egg."

We stress the difference between "deceived" and "hooked" for more equitable dealing out of punishment for criminal activities in the economic circles. Why are some persons' criminal activities in the economic circles growing so rampant, from petty to big crimes? One important cause is that some persons in our ranks are induced with material interests and thus are hooked; these persons act as a "protective umbrella." Once provided with a "protective umbrella," different criminal elements become bolder and bolder to do what they wish with impunity. In a recently revealed bribery and swindling case investigated and solved by the Tiefa Mining Bureau in Liaoning Province, an individual named Ma Xiguang [7456 0823 0342] committed this kind of large-scale, astounding crime. This is because 33 cadres ranked section chief and

higher and 45 party members provided protection and acted as Ma Xiguang's vanguards. If every cadre Ma met had acted according to the party's Guiding Principles with checks and approvals at each level, Ma could have done nothing, notwithstanding his sky-high "ability." We are sorry to say that in the past, while dealing with this kind of case, cadres who were bribed and acted wrong were mostly considered as having been deceived, so as to minimize and eventually to overlook a big crime. It is apparent that this is the case of a protective umbrella covering up evil elements and wrong doings; when the matter is exposed, forgiving and lenient treatment are the order of the day in the name of "a case of deception and swindling." Thus, the cheater is regarded as someone who has been "deceived"; this distortion hinders the smashing of criminal activities in the economic circles.

Whether it is a case of being deceived or being hooked, it should be treated as the same; otherwise, from all this talk of deception, eventually the national interests will suffer and our citizens will be deceived.

10424

CSO: 4005/811

## PARTY AND STATE

### PRESENT CLASS STRUGGLE EXAMINED

Xi'an SHAANXI RIBAO in Chinese 21 Apr 82 p 3

[Article by Lin Mu [2651 3668] and Yang Caiyu [2799 2088 3768]: "A Tentative Essay on Our Country's Present Class Struggle"]

[Text] The "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of Our State" points out: in our country (not including Taiwan, Hong Kong and Macao), "the exploitative classes as classes have already been eliminated," "class struggle is no longer our principal contradiction. Because of internal factors and external influences, class struggle will continue to exist in certain realms and, under certain conditions, may still become aggravated. We must oppose both the view about an expansion of this class struggle and the view that regards class struggle as having died out." This scientific dictum is the theoretical basis for us to correctly understand and handle class struggle under the new historical conditions.

#### (I) Class Struggle Will Exist for a Long Time in Certain Realms

We are opposed to any expansion of class struggle, do not recognize that there is any bourgeois class inside the party, nor recognize that in our country's interior, after the exploitative classes and conditions for exploitation are assuredly eliminated, there could still emerge a new bourgeoisie or some other exploitative class. But, class struggle has existed for a long time and will continue to exist in the future in certain realms. This is reflected: In the political realm, the authorities of some foreign countries and Taiwan are sending special agents to our interior to carry out spying activities; in our interior, too, there are some enemy and special elements who connive with foreign reactionary forces and Taiwan special affairs agencies in order to leak and sell secrets of the party and the state; some counter-revolutionary elements have written reactionary posters, distributed reactionary handbills, passed on reactionary letters, published anti-party and anti-socialist statements, and engaged in counter-revolutionary activities of sabotage. In the economic realm, some state working personnel, including certain responsible cadres, are hit by the sugar-coated bullets of the bourgeoisie; through various means, they resort to corruption and stealing, speculation and double-dealing, offering and taking of bribes, smuggling and trading in contraband goods, encroachment on state properties, and even become metamorphosed and degenerated elements and new exploitative elements and seriously sabotage the

socialist economy and damage the organic body of the party and the state. In the ideological and cultural realm, some reactionary yellow publications and audio and visual cassettes have begun to spread in society through various channels and corrode and poison the cadres and the masses, especially youths and children, and pollute social customs. In social order and security, various criminal elements are quite supercilious; they kill and burn, create explosions, rob and exude violence, rape and group-rape, hoodwink women and sell the, and hawk drugs, and hence seriously hamper social order. These hostile elements all have as their purpose the sabotaging of our political situation of unity and stability, the sabotaging of our political system of people's democratic dictatorship, and the sabotaging of the construction of our socialist modernization; the contradiction between them and the vast ranks of the people is a conflict of their fundamental interests and a remnant form of class struggle.

Why is class struggle still to exist for a long time in certain realms? This is because: First, after the exploitative class as a class is eliminated, their remnant forces and ideological influences still remain, and their ideological influences are going to exist even for a long time. Through various ways, these remnant forces and their ideological influences corrode our cadres and masses and pollute our social customs. Except for a few people who are but the residue of the old society, most of today's enemy and special elements, counter-revolutionary elements, criminal elements, metamorphosed and degenerated elements and new exploitative elements are differentiated from our workers, peasants, cadres, intellectuals and basic masses of the like; they have already reneged on their own classes and become the "new poisonous germs" emanating from the filth left by the old society. Second, although the exploitative class in our interior as a class is already eliminated, we still have Hong Kong and Macao, we still have Taiwan, the Pescadores, Quemoy and Matsu. There, exploitative classes and the exploitative system are still preserved intact; they have struck up all kinds of connections with our interior, and such connections are going to multiply even more and more from now on. Third, our domestic class struggle is not isolated by any means; it is always connected to the international class struggle. At present, in our north the social-imperialists of the Soviet Union are stationing 1 million soldiers whose covetous eyes are set upon us; in our south, the Vietnamese regional hegemonists have been madly engaged in their anti-China activities; there are also some other countries where certain reactionary forces remain hostile to socialist China even though these countries have developed economic and cultural relations and politically friendly ties. These situations illustrate that we are still surrounded by international class struggles.

What merits to be especially pointed out is that, because of the establishment of our socialist political system and economic system, because of the strengthening of our people's democratic dictatorship, and because of the deepening development of the construction of our modernization, the main effort exerted by the capitalist forces toward us is not to carry out open subversion and sabotage but to engage in infiltration and corrosion in the economic, political, ideological and cultural aspects. Without any doubt, the policy of opening to the outside world and internally enlivening our

economy implemented by our party since the Third Plenary Session of its 11th Party Central Committee is a correct strategic decision; we should clearly see that some capitalists are doing business with us by legitimate means, but some are using such illegal means as smuggling, offering of bribes, deception, and stealing in order to earn illegitimate profits. Under such circumstances, the rotten ideas of capitalism, corruption, smuggling, and bribing and other acts aimed at making profits at other people's expense and the bourgeois way of life are able to take advantage of the opportunity of our carrying out the policy of opening to the outside world and internally enlivening our economy and thereby to infiltrate our ranks and corrode us. Certain hostile elements deeply affected by the ideology of the exploitative classes in the country, in order to engage themselves in exploitative activities such as corruption and stealing, speculation and double-dealing, also make use of sugar-coated bullets such as dinner, money, and expensive articles to buy and corrode the few weak-minded in the ranks of our cadres. Under the attack of these sugar-coated bullets of the bourgeoisie, some people become partly or completely corrupted and degenerate; they relish carrying out economic criminal activities by means of conniving with those above and those below, with people inside and outside of an enterprise or agency, between the interior and Hong Kong and Taiwan, and between those inside and outside of the country. A serious struggle between capitalist ideological corrosion and socialist ideological anti-corrosion is a great matter relating to the conversion of party workstyle and social customs, the success or failure of the construction of our socialist modernization, and the rise or fall of the party and state.

Far back in the days prior to the nation's liberation, Comrade Mao Zedong already admonished the whole party that, while the enemy's weapons failed to conquer us, sugar-coated bullets of the bourgeoisie would be able to conquer those weak-minded in our ranks. More than 30 years have elapsed, and the attack by sugar-coated bullets of the bourgeoisie is still a real problem today. What we encountered in the past was the domestic bourgeoisie; our party is rich in the experience of both uniting with, and struggling against, the bourgeoisie. Today, what we encounter is the international capitalism with which we have never had any contact in the past; they are far more powerful and far richer in "experience" than the domestic bourgeoisie. During the past few years, some of our comrades--including a very small number of comrades who were neither conquered by the enemy's weapons nor deterred by the abusive power of Lin Biao and the "gang of four"--have become the captives of the bourgeoisie in their intercourse with the capitalists of Hong Kong and Macao and turned into renegades of the communist cause. Today, illegal and criminal activities in the economic realm are far more serious than those of the "three-anti" and "five-anti" period; in the ideological and cultural realm, the corrosion by the rotten ideas of capitalism and remnant ideas of feudalism is also rather serious. The cruel reality that under new historical conditions class struggle has developed somewhat tells us that with respect to our party and state and our socialist cause there is, apart from the danger of external aggression, also the danger of "peaceful evolution"; we must maintain a high degree of vigilance.

(II) This Class Struggle Is Not the Principal Contradiction of the Present Stage

We must guard both against the failure of not seeing the existence of class struggle under new historical conditions and thereby causing the mistake of believing in the theory of the dying out of class struggle, and also against becoming wavering with respect to the new dictum of our party on the question of class struggle just because class struggle has developed somewhat in certain realms at present and thereby falling victim anew to the mistake of expanding our class struggle.

Can we think that since the "tigers" are now rather fat and big the situation with class struggle may therefore be considered as having undergone a fundamental change? No. Indeed, criminal activities in the economic realm such as corruption and bribing, smuggling and trading in contraband goods, speculation and double-dealing have become rather supercilious; a case is easily perpetrated with 10,000 yuan, 100,000 yuan, several hundred thousand yuan, or even 1 million yuan involved. What a startling sight! Yet, the reason that these "tigers" have become so fat and so big is rather multifarious: In the first place, this naturally has to do with the fact that, after more than 30 years of efforts on socialist construction, our economic foundation has become far more solid than in the past; but what is even more important is that the 10 years of internal disturbance ruined our party workstyle and social customs, messed up our still not yet perfect financial and economic systems and other systems of work, and thereby provided the criminal elements with the environment and conditions which can be utilized. Secondly, for many years, we have failed to concentrate on cracking down on criminal activities in the economic realm; the loopholes and piled up cases in this regard have been numerous, and the appetite of some criminal elements has become bigger and bigger, and their guts have become further and further inflated. We must both see the serious harm of these "tigers" and yet not exaggerate our present class struggle because these "tigers" have become fatter and bigger.

At present, can remnant forces of the old exploitative classes and the new exploitative elements form a new exploitative class? Unlikely. An exploitative class is made up of course of exploitative elements; but there must be given conditions before exploitative elements can become an exploitative class. Engels pointed out: "A social class is at all times a product of production relations and exchange relations; in a word, it is always a product of economic relations of its own time" ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 3, p 423). Lenin also said: "The basic indicator of class differences between people is their relative position in social production, and hence their relationship with the means of production" ("Complete Works of Lenin," Vol 6. p 233). This explains that the foundation of the formation of an exploitative class is the private ownership of the means of production. In our interior, the exploitative system has already been eliminated and the socialist public ownership of the means of production has already been established; this serves to cut the economic cord by which exploitative elements can become an exploitative class. The cause of the emergence and existence of hostile elements in our interior today is different; there is no common relationship of possession of the means of production which binds them

together. Take just the "new exploitative elements" for example: the greatest difference between them and the old exploitative elements is that they do not own the means of production; where there is no land to rent to others and no employees to exploit, they can only seek to encroach upon properties of the state and the people in the realms of distribution and circulation by turning public properties into private ones, by smuggling and trading in contraband goods, corruption and stealing, speculation and double-dealing and illegitimate methods of the like. While they have the characteristic of exploiting other people's labor, they are small in number and are situated in a state of being subject to division and in the process of becoming gradually eliminated, and they do not have any internal economic relations between them. They can form small "partnerships" and "cliques," but it would be impossible for them to form a new exploitative class.

From this, we can see that while class struggle in certain realms will exist for a long time and is developing somewhat at present, it is not the principal contradiction in the interior of our country. Just as the Resolution of the Sixth Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee points out: "The principal contradiction we need to resolve is the contradiction between the people's increasing material and cultural needs and our backward social production. The focus of work of our party and state must be shifted to the construction of our socialist modernization centered on economic construction, so that we can greatly develop our social forces of production and gradually improve the people's material and cultural life on this basis." This dictum completely accords with the objective reality of our social development. One of the greatest lessons we have learned in the past is that, after socialist transformation of the private ownership of the means of production was basically completed and after exploitative classes as classes were eliminated, we failed to unswervingly shift the party's focus of work to the construction of our socialist modernization but, instead, erroneously took class struggle as the principal contradiction of the whole historical period of socialism. This profound historical lesson we must never forget.

### (III) Understand Clearly the Characteristics of the Struggle and Adopt Correct Policies

Class struggle under new historical conditions is different both from the one in the war years, which was a struggle we carried out to seize power against the opposition of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism, and from the one in the period of the three great transformations, which was a struggle in which we carried out reforms against the opposition by the whole bourgeoisie; it is class struggle of a special form which we are carrying out against domestic remnant forces of the exploitative classes and the corrosion and infiltration of the foreign bourgeoisie. We must fully understand the characteristics of this struggle and adopt correct policies to cope with it.

First, class struggle is currently reflected mainly in the economic realm. Complex and complicated struggles also exist in the political realm and ideological and cultural realms, but these struggles are nearly all carried

out around the struggle in the economic realm. Therefore, we must take the crackdown on criminal activities in the economic realm as the entry of our breakthrough, and then gradually launch an overall anti-corrosion struggle in the political, ideological and cultural realms.

Second, this class struggle exists only in certain realms. At present, myriad contradictions exist in our society; apart from some of these contradictions which are of the nature of a class struggle, most of them are contradictions of a non-class struggle nature. With respect to these contradictions, we should adopt methods different from those of class struggle to solve them, and cannot attach a "class struggle" label at random. With respect to illegal and criminal activities in the economic realm, we must both see the seriousness of the problem and at the same time not "mistake all grass and woods as soldiers" by trying to forcibly find problems of this kind in units where they are absent. We must adhere to the principle of proceeding from the actual situation in all cases by opposing whatever there is and however many there are.

Third, class struggle does not exist among the people, but there is also the reflection and influence of class struggle there. The concept of the people is a historical category. Before the realization of the socialist transformation of the private ownership of our means of production, the concept of the people included workers, peasants, the petty bourgeoisie and national bourgeoisie. At that time, in response to the condition that our national bourgeoisie was of a dual character, our party took the contradictions between the proletariat and the national bourgeoisie as a contradiction among the people. In that sense, Comrade Mao Zedong used the proposition of contradiction among the people. Today, the national bourgeoisie as a class has already been eliminated, the structure of the people in our interior is made of all socialist laborers and patriots. Although among the people there still exists class differences and this and that kind of contradictions, these class differences and contradictions are no longer a conflict of fundamental interests. Under such circumstances, if we should say that class struggle still exists among the people, that would not tally with the actual situation in our society on the one hand and easily confuse the distinction between the question of right and wrong among the people and the question of class struggle, and easily lead to expansion of class struggle on the other hand. But, because of domestic and international factors, such as extreme individualism, anarchism, bourgeois liberalization and remnant feudal ideas, etc. Such influence and reflection still partakes of the nature of class struggle, but is by no means equivalent to class struggle itself.

Fourth, because the relationship and relative strength between the classes have undergone a fundamental change, when we carry out a special form of class struggle we need not, nor should, adopt the mass movement approach in the manner of a strong gale and a torrential downpour as in the past, but should, as we bring into play socialist democracy, at the same time strengthen our socialist legal system, use our legal weapon, and carry out our struggle against the counter-revolutionary elements and various criminal elements. With respect to activities of sabotage by hostile elements, we must exercise

our dictatorship according to law; with respect to illegal and criminal activities in the economic realm, especially economic cases involving working personnel of the state, we must mete out punishments as strictly and as heavily as possible; with respect to general cases of violation of the law pertaining to contradictions among the people, we must both handle them solemnly on the basis of facts and the law as our norm and do a good job in carrying out education and remedies. With respect to contradictions arising within the party and among the people between proletarian ideas and workstyle and non-proletarian ideas and workstyle, we are limited even more to the adoption of democratic methods, methods of education and persuasion, and methods of criticism and self-criticism in solving them.

As for the infiltration and corrosion carried out against us by Hong Kong, Macao, Taiwan, and foreign capitalist forces, we can use neither the method of "one class overthrowing another class" to solve them, nor the method we have employed in treating our domestic national bourgeoisie in the past to solve them. But we must adopt a correct policy while continuing to communicate with them. We must educate our party members, cadres, and all the people and maintain the purity of our proletariat and socialist system, and never become corroded by capitalist forces.

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CSO: 4005/844

## SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

### GUIDELINES FOR THIRD CENSUS EXPLAINED

Beijing TONG JI [STATISTICS] in Chinese No 2, 17 Apr 82 pp 7-9

[Talk by Li Chengrui [2621 2052 3843], deputy head of the Census Leading Group of the State Council and head of the Census Office, at the Third Nationwide Census Work Conference, 12 January 1982: "Explanation on the Guidelines for the Third Nationwide Census and Suggestions on How To Carry Out the Work on Census"

[Text] I fully agree with Vice Premier Chen Muhua's talk. I have been asked by the Census Leading Group of the State Council to make a few explanations on the Draft Guidelines for the Third Census (hereinafter referred to as Guidelines for the Third Census (hereinafter referred to as Guidelines) and to say a few words about the suggestions on how to carry out the work of the census.

#### Explanations on the Guidelines for the Third Census

The Guidelines have been formulated according to the principles issued by the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and the State Council, and after conducting repeated experimental census taking and soliciting the views of people on all sides.

The Party Central Committee and the State Council direct us to carry out the third census with a view to ascertaining accurate figures of China's population, the geographical distribution and socioeconomic composition of the population, and other important conditions, so as to provide reliable data for planned socialist modernization, overall arrangements for the people's material and cultural life, and the formulation of population policies and plans. For this purpose the present census contains many more items than the two previous ones, and a large amount of data collected will be processed by computers.

Based on these instructions, the Census Leading Group of the State Council drafted the First Draft of the Guidelines for the Third Census in early 1980 and tried it out in Wuxi City and Wuxi County, Jiangsu Province, in an area containing 950,000 people. The experience of the Wuxi experiment was put to discussion by the conference of the heads of census offices of the provinces, municipalities, and autonomous regions in March 1981. The First Draft was revised and a Second Draft of the Guidelines of the Third Nationwide Census

was drawn up. During March-August 1981, 24 provinces, municipalities, and autonomous regions conducted experiments according to the Second Draft. The experiments covered urban, rural, pastoral, and national minority areas containing a total of some 2,200,000 people. In September 1981, the Census Leading Group of the State Council again called a conference of the heads of census offices of the provinces, municipalities, and autonomous regions. Then it revised the Second Draft and produced a Third draft of the Guidelines for the Third Nationwide Census. Apart from the three major revisions, the Guidelines have also been revised over a dozen times on a smaller scale. Each time, opinions were also solicited from the various departments of the Party Central Committee and the State Council, also from Chinese specialists and scholars and specialists from the United Nations. The Third Draft was examined by the State Council at its regular session on 8 Jan 1982 and was approved in principle.

The Guidelines contain 28 articles. Following are explanations on several major questions.

1. Leadership of the census. Article 2 of Guidelines provides that "the census work shall be carried out under the leadership of the State Council and the local people's governments at all levels." It is also provided that census agencies should be set up at the central, provincial, prefectural, country, commune (urban neighborhood), and brigade (urban residents' committee) levels to take charge of organizing and implementing census taking. Census taking is an important undertaking that concerns everyone, and must be carried out under the unified leadership of the State Council and the people's governments at all levels in order to organize the forces of all related departments and mobilize the masses to complete this undertaking with concerted efforts. This is the successful experience of the last two censuses; it is so provided this time.

2. Objects of the census. Article 3 of Guidelines provides that "people holding the citizenship of the People's Republic of China and residing within the People's Republic of China shall be the objects of the census." This census, as was the case in the last two censuses, will not include as its objects foreigners residing in China. Chinese who have gone abroad to work or study, though out of the country for the time being and having temporarily cancelled their residence registration, still have their permanent residence in China and are therefore still included as objects of the census.

3. Standard time of the census. The standard time of both the 1953 and the 1964 census was 24:00 hours 30 June. Article 7 of Guidelines provides that "the standard time of the nationwide census shall be 00:00 hours 1 July (i.e., 24:00 hours 30 June), 1982". This time has been selected mainly because it is a time when population movement is at a minimum, which makes it easier to take the census, and also because the data will provide a basis for historical comparisons. Although this is a rather busy time for farm work, it is not the busiest farming season for the greater part of the country. Judged from the experience of the first two censuses, choosing 24:00 hours 30 June as the standard time is appropriate and feasible.

4. "Spatial standard" of the census, i.e., who should be registered where. Article 5 of Guidelines provides that "the census shall practice the principle of registration at the place of permanent residence. Every person should register at his or her place of permanent residence. Each person must register only in one place." Based on this principle, it is also provided in Guidelines that those who have left their place of registered residence should have their census taken at their place of actual residence. This way, the census will reflect the actual situation of the local population, thus providing the people's governments at all levels with the necessary data to formulate plans for economic construction and the people's livelihood.

Based on the principle of registration at the place of permanent residence, Article 5 also makes specific provisions for population under five different circumstances. These provisions facilitate the verification of the population at the time of census-taking against the population in residence registrations, thus providing greater accuracy of the census.

5. Census items. Article 6 of Guidelines lists 19 items for the census, 13 to be filled by the individual and 6 to be filled by the household. It means 10 more items than the last census. They comprise items mainly in the following four categories.

(1) Resident registration at places of permanent residence. This helps prevent duplication and omission of registered population and provides more information on the residence and movement of the population.

(2) Economic characteristics. This includes the trades and occupations of the employed population (whether placed by labor departments, or working in collective organizations people formed themselves, or self-employed), the unemployed population (students in school, homemakers, people retired or resigned from work). There has never been a survey of the population's trades and occupations since the founding of the people's republic. The second census listed an item on occupation but no provision was made on classification standards and no itemized report was required. This is important in getting an overall picture of the country's labor power, utilizing our wealth of labor power as rationally as possible, and promoting planned and proportionate economic growth.

(3) Characteristics concerning child-bearing. These include the total number of children a woman has given birth to, the number of children who have survived, and the number of births each woman had in 1981. This is important for studying and formulating China's population policies and plans.

(4) An additional item is the number of births and deaths in the year before the census (1981). This is for the purpose of verifying China's birth and death rates and calculating the average life expectancy of the population.

I wish to point out here that the scope of the census survey and current policies are two different things. For example, the lower age limit (starting age) for marriage and child-bearing listed in the survey is age 15, much lower than the lower age limit of current policies. Marriage and child-bearing information should be recorded as they actually exist; no information on

marriages entered below legal age limit shall be withheld. This is the only way to ascertain actual situations and on that basis to examine, study, and formulate policies. To be sure, the scope of the census survey is solely for the purpose of obtaining data. It will not affect the implementation of current policies or any of the rights and duties of the masses.

6. Methods of census taking. As in the case of the two previous censuses, two methods will be used: setting up census-taking stations and conducting door-to-door registration. Article 10 of Guidelines provides that, according to the principle of convenience for the masses, a census area will be divided into districts, each to have a census station to which, in response to the call of grass-roots cadres, heads of households or informed members of households designated by the heads of households shall go and register. Or, information can be obtained through visits to households by census takers. This applies in particular to people who are elderly, weak, ill, or disabled, and in sparsely-populated areas. Whatever the method, census-takers should ask all the questions as listed in the form and obtain clear answers regarding each household and each person and fill out every item. Census-respondents should answer the questions truthfully. There must be no duplications and no omissions to ensure accuracy.

7. Census re-check and census quality sample check. A high degree of accuracy is the target of the current census. Thus Article 15 of Guidelines provides for a comprehensive re-check and methods to correct mistakes. Comprehensive re-check is important in reducing mistakes and improving census quality. This has been proved repeatedly by the two previous censuses and the recent experimental census taking. To inspect census quality after census registration, Article 16 of Guidelines provides for sample checks after form-filling and re-checking have been completed, evaluation of the quality of the census, and compilation reports to higher authorities. It also provides that sample checkers shall not take part in quality sample checks in units where they originally took the census.

8. Compilation and publication of data. The census data collected will be compiled by computers. As compilation involves a tremendous amount of work and statistical forms, it will take a long time. So some of the more important figures such as total number of households, population, males and females, and population of different nationalities will be computed manually first (Article 18) so that they can be published 3 months after the standard time of the census. Machine computation will be in two steps. The first step is to select a certain percentage of samples for compilation first, as reference to leading organizations in formulating policy. The second step is to compile all the data and submit them to the State Council for approval and publication (Article 22).

In a word, the Guidelines as we have formulated them this time have taken into consideration both the requirements of the four modernizations program and the financial, material and technical resources available in the country at present. The document is based on the successful experience of the previous two censuses as well as some good experience of other countries. It has been formulated by a common effort on the basis of proven experiments. One might say that

Guidelines are basically in conformity with the present realities of our country and are better and more carefully formulated than methods in the past.

#### Suggestions on How To Carry Out Census-Taking

We must make careful plans for implementing the Guidelines for the Third Nationwide Census. The census shall be conducted in three stages.

1. Preparation stage. Two and a half years, from the end of 1979 when the Census Leading Group of the State Council was formed to the beginning of census registration at the end of June 1982. This period can be divided into two phases. The first phase was from the beginning of preparation up to this conference. In the past 2 years, we have established census agencies at the central and provincial levels and in some of the prefectures, counties, and municipalities. We have conducted experimental census taking in selected areas, formulated and revised many times the Guidelines for census taking. We have reorganized residence registration in the majority of the parts of the country. We have purchased electronic computers and set up computing stations in some of the provinces, municipalities, and autonomous regions, and put them into operation. The rest of the provinces, municipalities, and autonomous regions have also done a great deal of preparation for setting up their computing stations. All this has laid a good foundation for the third nationwide census.

The 6 months from this conference to the end of June 1982 will be the second phase of preparation. It will be a busy period. Twelve major tasks will be carried out in this phase under the unified leadership of the people's governments at different levels.

(1) Establish and strengthen census leading bodies and working bodies in the people's governments at different levels, and effectively strengthen the offices of census leading groups of the provincial, prefectural, and county people's governments.

(2) Do a comprehensive job of public information of census-taking. June 1982 will be made the Census Information Month to bring about an upsurge in publicity.

(3) Call conferences at every level to transmit the spirit of the Third Conference of Nationwide Census and implement specific requirements.

(4) Prepare and print census documents, forms, detailed rules, and training materials, and promptly issue them to every level down to the basic levels.

(5) Complete the reorganization of the residence registrations.

(6) Complete address coding at different levels.

(7) In accordance with the nationally uniform work rules for use in various stages of the census, and based on local conditions, training shall be given to core census workers in the provinces, prefectures, and counties, so that they will master the knowledge and methods of the entire process of census-taking.

- (8) On the basis of the summing-up of the experimental census-taking at the provincial level, experiments will be conducted in prefectures and counties group by group and in stages.
- (9) Do a good job of selecting and training census-takers, directors, coders, and coding directors.
- (10) Prepare budgets, packaging materials, and other materials.
- (11) Establish census data banks in the provinces, municipalities, and autonomous regions to be ready for us.
- (12) Establish computing stations in provinces, municipalities, and autonomous regions, including installing and testing the machines, selecting and training software and hardware technicians, processing data collected from provincial experimental areas, and making other preparations, to ensure the proper use of the computers we bought ourselves and the computers supplied by the United Nations.

In short, we will enter the census registration stage only when the masses are informed and mobilized, the experiments have been successful in the provinces, prefectures, and counties, the address codes have been prepared, the 4 million census-takers, 100,000 coders, and thousands of computer software and hardware technicians have been organized and trained, and other support work has been completed.

2. Census registration, manual compilation and coding stage. In the 5 months between 1 July 1982 and the end of November, the following 7 tasks shall be carried out under the unified leadership of the people's governments at different levels:

- (1) Census registration; (2) re-checking and verifying the registration;
- (3) sample checking of census quality; (4) manual compilation of the more important figures; (5) sampling work required by advance sample compilation and the coding of census forms selected as samples; (6) Coding the census forms; and (7) shipping the census forms from the grass-roots units to census data banks in provinces, municipalities, and autonomous regions.

All seven tasks must be completed within required time limits.

Registration is the central task in the entire process of census-taking. Census-takers must use the "Model Questions in Census-Taking" and ask questions of the registrant item by item and fill out the form item by item. They must always ask the registrants to clarify doubtful information and must not copy the information from the residence registration booklets without asking questions. They must not hurry through the procedure work in a slapdash manner. The census directors' main duties are to guide the census-takers, check their work promptly and help solve problems as they arise, not to fill the forms for them. For half a month starting from the end of June, the people's governments at different levels are called upon to follow the directive of the State Council and making sure that production is not affected, make the census the central task and go all out to carry it out. The previous

two censuses were conducted in this way with good results. We will do it the same way this time.

It should be pointed out that we must not slack off after the registration. Although there will no longer be a need at this time to mobilize the masses to make the census a central task, the people's governments of the counties and municipalities should carry on by organizing special task forces to sample check census quality, code the census forms item by item, and compile the important figures manually. Among these tasks, coding is especially important. Coding is a general check of the information registered during census taking; it is the basis for computers to process the data. It involves a massive amount of work and very strict requirements. The work must be concentrated in the counties and municipalities. Where possible, it can be concentrated in the provinces, municipalities, autonomous regions, or prefectures.

In short, starting from now, all county and municipal governments should concentrate their effort without stop for 11 months. The task is basically completed only when they have reported the manually compiled figures, sent the coded census forms (advanced samples first) to the census banks of the provinces, municipalities, and autonomous regions, and fulfilled all other tasks according to quality requirements.

3. Computer compilation and reporting stage. In the 3 years from the beginning of December 1982 to the end of November 1985, 5 tasks need to be completed:

(1) Data processing by computers on advance samples; (2) Data processing by computers on all census data (including data entry, logical check, and formatting and printout of all data); (3) Sorting out and analyzing the data; (4) Summing up the work of the third nationwide census; and (5) printing of national, provincial, municipal, and autonomous region census data.

Selection, training and management of the 4,000 data entry staff is an important task. People's governments of the provinces, municipalities, and autonomous regions should carry it out well in accordance with the directives of the State Council. Census offices and computing stations must work in close cooperation, solving problems of data entries as they arise, and forming quality-control groups to complete the data processing.

In short, people's governments of the provinces, municipalities, and autonomous regions must take firm hold of this task all the way to 1985. The task is completed only when they have reported the manually-compiled figures, carried their part of the advance sample compilation, reported and printed all the compiled materials and distributed them to the users, and have proven by sample checks that all their work has measured up to standards.

These are the 24 main tasks for the 3 stages of the census. They show that the present census is broad in scope and complex in nature, that the methods used and the standards set must be uniform, and that all links of the task must meet stringent requirements. The census is a large-scale "system engineering" involving 1 billion people and several million staff workers, requiring many types of operations and multi-staged tasks. The various links of this task

are closely interrelated, mutually complementary and mutually restricting. A whole series of scientific methods is needed to avoid each going his own way. We must make careful plans and arrangements, work in an orderly manner, and complete our tasks according to time schedules and quality requirements. For this purpose, we have drawn up census work schedules, charts for overall arrangement, and the flow chart of the main work procedures (omitted), so as to facilitate work arrangements, control work schedules, enhance coordination, and facilitate inspection and supervision.

All our work should center on one thing, and that is: We must institute strict quality control, increasing the accuracy of census data and reducing mistakes to a minimum. The experiments in Wuxi and in the provinces, municipalities, and autonomous regions show that so long as we work carefully, it is entirely possible to achieve a high degree of accuracy. But we must not be complacent. We must be clearly aware that there are still many problems in our work, which is not solved, may result in major loopholes when the census begins nationwide. Every link and every item will have a direct or indirect bearing on the accuracy of the census. Only when we schedule our work carefully, giving due consideration to every link, especially the vital links, will we be able to achieve a high degree of accuracy.

The work load of this census is heavy and the requirements high. It will involve massive efforts and a long time period. But diligent work will bring fruitful results. So long as we complete the tasks according to schedule and quality requirements, we will be able to acquire materials as scheduled: first, the figure on total population and the sex and nationality composition of the population; then a great amount of the compiled sample materials on the sex, age, educational level, trade, occupation, marital status, and child-bearing status of the population; and finally all the materials collected from the census about the whole population and cross comparisons between different items, totaling several tens of thousands of pages. The materials will include detailed items for the country as a whole and for the provinces; rather detailed items for the counties and municipalities; and main items for the communes (urban neighborhoods). Much of these materials are incomplete or lacking in regular statistics. They will be very important information for a better understanding of our country as a whole, of the provinces, municipalities, and counties. We believe that with the strong leadership of the party and government at all levels and with the concerted effort of the masses of cadres and the support and cooperation of the broad masses, we will successfully complete the present census.

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CSO: 4005/846

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

FINDINGS FROM SURVEY OF UNEMPLOYED YOUTHS MADE PUBLIC

Beijing LIAOWANG [OBSERVATION POST] in Chinese No 3, 20 Mar 82, pp 18-19

[Article by Kiu Jiaonong [0491 7003 6593] and Fei Huiyu [6316 4482 1342]:  
"Strive To Turn Those Who Passively Wait for Jobs Into Active Participants  
in the Job Training Program"]

[Text] Since March 1981, the Youth Research Institute of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences has organized forces to conduct a survey of problems resulting from placement of youths in jobs in Shanghai and Beijing as well as 11 other cities in Jiangsu, Liaoning, Jilin, Heilongjiang, Gansu, and Shaanxi. In late August 1981, it invited responsible comrades on the staff of the State Labor Bureau, Ministry of Education, the CYL Central Committee, the National Federation of Women, and academies (institutes) of social sciences, CYL organizations, and institutions of higher learning in 19 provinces and municipalities to a planning conference on studying problems from placement of youths in jobs, held in Harbin, a conference designed to analyze and discuss the present status of youth employment and the contradictions that youths face.

An Important Problem in Placement of Youths in Jobs

During the investigation, we found that remarkable successes have been scored in placing youths in jobs in many cities through the implementation of the Party Central Committee's policy aimed at "broadening the prospect of employment through the development of the economy of collective ownership" and "coordinating labor departments' job placement service with voluntary and individual efforts to organize businesses and seek employment." Another finding is that more and more provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions have claimed success in placing in jobs almost all the unemployed youths they registered before 1979; successful efforts have been made by some cities, counties and townships to basically solve their youth employment problem. It is particularly gratifying to note that we have watched a large number of youths strive to turn themselves into a dynamic force in our national economic life after they were employed.

Because ours is a populous country, new and young workers in large numbers will continue to stream into society daily. As the readjustment of the national economy is underway, the task of placing urban youths in jobs remains a

matter that commands our great attention. At present, apart from the failure of some localities to pay enough attention to the broadening of the prospect of employment because they are still preoccupied with placing youths with state-run enterprises and establishments, a tendency which has exacerbated the problem of structural overlapping in a number of units, another prominent problem is that many localities have regarded the placement of youths as merely an attempt to find jobs or positions for youths rather than a long-range plan for effective exploitation and utilization of the most valuable resource of labor force. In the end, they have ignored the fact that jobs can be created by training in a well-planned way.

A series of bad consequences have resulted from being contented only with perfunctory placement of jobs and ignorance of training:

(1) Before being placed in jobs, a large number of junior and senior middle school graduates have wasted their time at their homes, or kept looking for odd jobs everywhere. With a wide range of interests in things and with a strong desire to learn, these energetic youths should have spent such critical moments of their lives charting a correct course for themselves, acquiring work skills, and should have devoted time to arming themselves with a revolutionary world outlook and revolutionary philosophy of life. Of these youths, some are keeping a passive wait-and-see attitude toward the world, and lingering at crossroads with depressed hearts, because they lack an objective for which they can struggle. In a letter to the Taiyuan Municipal CYL Committee, a youth said: "I have spent springs and autumns depending on my old parents for a living, sometimes wandering to the east and sometimes to the west. When can I put an end to this wandering? Youth is dying, time is flying, years pass away just like the spring waters down the river. One can hardly make youth stay!" It is not difficult to imagine that under such circumstances, youths are apt to become unstable factors in society.

(2) Because we have spared no effort to place youths in jobs, the unreasonable years-old "replacement" regulations remain untouched. Recently added to this was a "contractual authorization" act, which has made jobs "hereditary positions," thus rendering the principle of "appointing the outstanding to appropriate positions" empty talk. Although the "replacement" regulations and the "contractual authorization" act have proved instrumental in alleviating unemployment, their negative effect on society has become more apparent than ever. Since work-skills are no longer counted as qualifications for employment, and since the untrained can also get jobs, an absurd phenomenon of allowing some parents "to fill vacancies with persons of poor quality" has appeared. Some of them have even relied on their authority, personal connections and backdoor dealings, and have done everything possible to make "iron rice bowls" available to their children in a practice of unhealthy workstyles. This has prompted some middle school students to contend that "competition for three good students is a waste of time; what does count is good parents." This contention has a serious dampening effect on their enthusiasm for study. The result is the resurgence of the "theory that book-reading is useless" which disappeared in the wake of the smashing of the "gang of four." This practice may end up cutting off the flow of qualified workers to all fronts and shaking our secondary education to its foundation.

(3) Because training is ignored, a large number of youths will enter labor markets without being armed with professional knowledge or work-skills. Under such circumstances, they will find themselves unable to meet the desired professional requirements. Once they have won hard-earned job opportunities, many youths have found themselves unprepared to get anything done, while viewing them as merely positions to earn bread. The result is the appearance of laxity of labor discipline, poor quality services performed by them, rising factory accidents, and a drop in the level of labor productivity. What is worse, it may adversely affect the quality of the new generation of the working class in our country.

For this reason, whether youths should be allowed to wait passively for placement, or plan and arrange their future through the launching of an active training program will have a bearing on the development of the four modernizations and the growth of youths in our country. To solve this problem, we must first make clear the following guiding ideology: Youths, which make up a large percentage of our population, cannot be viewed as merely a "population" to be fed; they should be regarded as "talents" capable of creating values, and the most valuable wealth that needs to be tapped for the benefit of the four modernizations program.

#### An Important Measure To Reform the Labor Hiring System

Each year, a large number of primary, junior and senior school graduates are seen streaming into society rather than going to colleges. A very urgent and important task that lies ahead is how to organize them to participate in the well-planned job training program. We must actively develop the training program for youths, work out plans to place them in jobs, and roundly exploit this intellectual resource. We must consider this an important measure to implement the "three-in-one" labor hiring policy and to reform the labor hiring system in our country. The practice of training in work-skills by some cities over the past several years has made this point very convincing to us.

First, a successful job training program is significant in that it can create a favorable condition for youths to acquire employable skills, and for us to implement the policy calling for "placement of jobs by labor departments, and for efforts by youths to organize their own businesses and to rely on their own efforts to look for jobs." Over a long period of time, as a result of sabotage by the "gang of four," the lack of coordination between the institution of secondary education and the requirements for economic development has become more serious than ever. It seems unlikely that this contradiction can be resolved on short notice. For this reason, a measure must be adopted to train unemployed middle school graduates in work-skills. Such measures are particularly significant in that they can help resolve current contradictions caused by a lack of coordination between education and labor, open up a channel for employment, and speed up the pace of placement. Since its establishment, the Sian Municipal Labor Training Center has spent the past year graduating more than 18,000 students. They have quickly put their newly acquired skills to good use after they were employed by enterprises, establishments and other units on the basis of merit, or joined one another in organizing their own businesses and/or undertook to engage in individual

farming. In the past, some youths often felt depressed due to their lack of skills and technical know-how on finding jobs. After undergoing training, they are now in high spirits, and are determined to create some "gold rice bowls" and pool their wisdom and talent for the benefit of their motherland.

Second, the launching of the job training program is an effective measure for the realization of the employment plan. In the long run, there should be a step-by-step plan for utilization of the labor force in cities, which cannot be covered under any single labor contract. It should be evenly and properly distributed among many sectors of the economy. The content and scope of the job training program, whose aim is to train qualified professionals and workers of relatively high quality, should be planned and arranged in a way that takes into account the requirements for the readjustment and development of the national economy and the people's growing material and cultural needs.

Third, in light of the needs of society, the launching of the training program can create a favorable condition for youths to choose their careers, and will lead them to become more enthusiastic than ever for socialism. The establishment of the socialist system of public ownership can serve as a basis for developing their intellectual resource. The consideration of giving youths chances to choose their own careers and allowing them to willingly put their talent to good use within the context of the needs and possibility of the state is indispensable to the reform of the labor hiring system in our country. The launching of the training program is also significant in that it can lead youths to develop interest and love for certain professional skills. If the recruiting units can employ them for their outstanding performances, and if youths with the same interest and similar skills are allowed to organize their own businesses, they will be able to bring their initiative and creative talent into full play.

The launching of the job training is not based on an expedient plan, but is a part of a strategic measure that will have a bearing on the development of our socialist economy and the growth of youths.

Ours is a country with multitudinous economic structure, a country where the advanced middle level and backward aspects of technology remain in use at the same time. The development of the national economy requires not only politically conscious, professionally competent, and high and middle level technicians, but also a large number of skilled workers with political consciousness. For this reason, we must attach importance to investment in intellectual terms, and must consider it important to reform the educational structure. This requires us to mobilize all positive factors to give youths necessary training in work-skills until they can master certain work-skills and become a practical and dynamic productive force.

We must take note of this trend from the current economic development of some capitalist countries. With the revolutionization of modern science and technology and the further socialization of production has come tremendous changes in the structure of productive labor and the labor force. If we say that during its early stage, capitalism needed only "illiterate-type" wage-slaves, what is vital to modern monopoly capitalism is "highly-educated"

wage workers. The labor force must undergo training. In many developed capitalist countries, this has become essential qualification for employment. Although our country differs in basic nature from capitalist countries, with science and technology continuing to develop, with the cycles of inventing and applying new technologies growing shorter and shorter, and with the gradual improvement of the technical structures of various sectors of the economy, our society will certainly place stricter demands for quality on youths looking for jobs. Such demands can be met only by job training aimed at putting the tremendous potential of millions of youths to wide use.

#### How To Take an Active Part in the Development of Job Training

First, we must fully understand the role of job training in the development of the national economy and the growth of youths, and must seek an answer to this question from the theoretical point of view and on the basis of our understanding of related policies and achievements in work. The training program should contain the following two aspects: 1) ideological education in employment; 2) training in work-skills. These two aspects of training are indispensable to each other. Not accompanied with correct ideological education, such job training is unlikely to move in the correct direction; ideological education not coupled with technical training will also end up losing its firm foundation.

Second, to make ideological education in employment a success, we must lead the entire society and especially youths to understand the significance of our new labor hiring policy, to change the idea of pinning our hopes for employment solely on the state, the idea of regarding government employment as "iron rice bowls," and to foster the socialist pioneering spirit of self-reliance.

Educating youths in the socialist pioneering spirit of self-reliance means encouraging them to break with the idea of solely relying on the "iron rice bowls" and eating out of one big communal pot of rice. This education is consistent with the reform of the economic structure and the labor hiring system. If a nation or country wants prosperity and development, it must display the pioneering spirit of self-reliance. Now is time for us to sow the seeds of self-reliance and hard struggle in the minds of the young generation.

Third, policies must be adopted in support of the job training program. The state must encourage and support all interested units and individuals to run training classes of all kinds for the benefit of society. Apart from funds earmarked by the state, sponsoring units should be authorized to spend part of their budgets on the training as a form of investment which will sooner or later yield economic returns. At the same time, they must try to tap their own potential and rely mainly on their efforts to solve the problems of classrooms and teaching staff. As a reward to their initiation of such training programs, the sponsoring units should be given first options to select and recruit the trained talents from among those who have graduated from the training classes.

Toward youths participating in training, we must uphold the policy of "encouraging voluntary participation in study at their own expense, certifying their credits upon graduation, and making no commitment to their placement." But prior consideration must be given to recommending those with outstanding academic records for possible employment by recruiting units. We also want to suggest that in the future, the recruiting units give candidates not only political and cultural tests, but also physical and technical examinations; the probational period of apprenticeship can be waived for those youths who graduated from training with good grades in technical fields, while their positions should be arranged in accordance with their actual technical performances, and their salary should be rated so as to be comparable to workers of the same rank. Although the training classes are not committed to offer trainees jobs, they must give them necessary employment guidance and assistance in enabling them to organize their own businesses or seek jobs.

Fourth, leadership over the organization of the training needs to be strengthened. Placing youths in jobs is a problem that involves many sectors of the economy. For this reason, an overall arrangement must be made by all concerned for this purpose. We also want to suggest that the departments of labor and education, enterprises, establishments, neighborhood organizations, trade unions, CYL organizations, and federations of women put themselves under the unified command of party committees and governments at all levels, so that they can coordinate and cooperate with each other in effecting changes in the current situation resulting from the "inability of neighborhoods, schools and parents to control unemployed youths," in some localities. Experiences of various localities show that labor service companies and CYL organizations should assume a larger role in the organization of education and training of youths. When conditions are ripe, some cities should set up municipal labor training centers coordinating and organizing their overall training programs.

The task of converting the negative program to place the unemployed in jobs into a positive job training program is an urgent measure of strategic significance, and an important aspect of the exploitation of the intellectual resource of the young generation. Under the centralized leadership of the party and government, we can certainly stimulate the enthusiasm of millions of youths and lead them to make a still greater contribution to the building of the grandiose edifice of the four modernizations as long as we can count on the support of our entire society in our continuing efforts to formulate and improve the related policies and put them into effect.

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CSO: 4005/851

## SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

### THIRD NATIONWIDE CENSUS REGULATIONS PROMULGATED

Beijing TONG JI [STATISTICS] in Chinese No 2, 17 Apr 82 pp 3-6

["Regulations Governing the Taking of the Third Nationwide Census"]

[Text] The State Council promulgated "Regulations Governing the Taking of the Third Nationwide Census" on 19 February 1982. The text of the "Regulations" is as follows:

Article 1. In order to accurately investigate the population figure of our country and find out the regional distribution of our population and the structural situation of our social economy so as to provide reliable data for us to carry out the construction of our socialist modernization in a planned manner, to make an overall arrangement of the people's material and cultural life, and to formulate our population policies and plans, it is decided that the third nationwide census shall be taken in 1982.

Article 2. Census-taking work shall proceed under the leadership of the State Council and people's governments at various local levels. The State Council and people's governments of the provinces, autonomous regions and municipalities directly under the jurisdiction of the Central People's Government, people's governments of autonomous prefectures and administrative offices of regions (leagues), and people's governments of counties (banners), municipalities and districts under the jurisdiction of municipalities shall all establish their respective census-taking leading group and its office; people's communes, towns and city street offices shall establish their respective census-taking office; production brigades and residents committees shall establish their respective census-taking group in order to take charge of organizing and carrying out census-taking.

Article 3. Objects of census-taking are persons with PRC citizenship residing within PRC borders.

Article 4. When the census is being taken, the individual household shall be regarded as the unit for registration purposes.

1. Family Household: Persons related to each other as family members, or other persons residing and living with them, are taken as a Family Household; a person living by himself is also taken as a Family Household.

2. Collective Household: Persons not related to each other as family members but living as singles in the collective dormitories of government agencies, social organizations, schools, factories, mines, construction sites, people's communes, farms, companies, hospitals, nurseries, old folks' homes, temples, churches and units of the like, and persons living in prisons, labor reform and labor education centers are taken as a Collective Household by each unit. Persons living in the collective dormitories of branches of the above units, and persons living in collective dormitories away from the headquarters of those units are taken as another Collective Household apart from their respective unit.

Article 5. For census-taking purposes, the principle of regular residence individual registration shall be adopted. Every person shall register at his regular residence. Each person can register only at one place.

Persons who should register at their own county, municipality during the census are:

1. Persons who have always resided in the county, municipality and who have also registered at their county, municipality as regular household residents;
2. Persons who have already regularly resided in the county, municipality for over a year even though their regular household residence is registered elsewhere;
3. Persons who have not yet resided in the county, municipality for a full year but who have already left the place of their regular household registration more than a year;
4. Persons residing in the county, municipality at the time of the taking of the census whose place of regular residence household registration remains to be determined;
5. Persons who originally regularly resided in the county, municipality but who happen to be working or studying abroad at the time of the taking of the census and who therefore temporarily do not belong to any regular residence household.

In order to prevent repetition and omission, in the case of persons in the third category above, the household registration organ of the place of their temporary residence shall investigate them in the month of May 1982, and the census office of their respective commune, town, street shall notify by writing the census-taking group of the production brigade, residents committee of the place of their respective regular residence household registration by 31 May, so that they are exempted from the census there.

In the case of regular residents who have left their own county, municipality for more than a year, this fact shall be noted in the reference column of the census form, so that they shall not be counted in the population figure of their respective county, municipality.

Article 6. Census information is taken on 19 items.

Items to be individually filled out in the census form number 13:

1. Name
2. Relationship to Head of Household
3. Sex
4. Age
5. Nationality
6. State of Regular Residence Household Registration
7. Cultural Level
8. Profession
9. Occupation
10. State of Unemployment
11. Marital Status
12. Number of children borne by women in the household and number of living children.
13. Childbearing conditions of childbearing women in 1981

Items to be filled out by the household number 6:

1. Kind of Household (Family Household or Collective Household)
2. Household Number
3. Number of Persons Living in Household
4. Number of Deaths in the Household in 1981 (The names, sex and ages of the deceased at the time of death shall be registered by each production brigade and residents group)
5. Number of Births in the Household in 1981
6. Number of Regular Residents Who Have Been Away for More Than a Year

Article 7. Zero hour, 1 July 1982 (namely, 24:00, 30 June) shall be the standard hour for census registration for the whole nation.

Persons deceased during the period after zero hour, 1 July 1982 and until the time of actual registration shall still be subject to survey and registration, but persons born during the same period shall not. Persons having moved during this period shall be subject to survey and registration at their original places of household registration.

In order to avoid omitting the registration of persons on their way to moving away from their own county, municipality shall all be registered by the places from which they have moved, and not by the places to which they are moving.

Article 8. Dividing of census districts and consolidating of households.

In the countryside, the jurisdiction under the production brigade shall be regarded as the census district. In municipalities and towns, the jurisdiction under the residents committee shall be regarded as the census district.

Before census registration begins, census-taking organs at various levels shall assist household registration organs to conscientiously consolidate the households according to the prescriptions of the "Regulations Governing Household Registration." On the basis of doing a good job in household registration work, the boundaries of the various census districts shall be clearly determined according to the administrative divisions of the state and, on the basis of persons subject to census registration as prescribed by Article 5 of these Regulations, a bound copy of a list of the names of household heads of each census district shall be compiled.

Article 9. The census registration work shall be undertaken by canvassers, with census directors taking the responsibility of directing and inspecting their work and cadres at the basic level and activists among the masses assisting them.

The county, municipal people's government shall select and transfer personnel of a definite cultural level who are trusted by the masses, conscientious and responsible, and capable of undertaking the pertinent tasks to serve as canvassers and census directors; after a short period of training and qualification through tests, they shall be issued a certificate. Before the census-taking tasks are completed these personnel shall not be transferred to other than census-taking work.

Article 10. As to the approach to census registration, census-taking stations may be established in different areas within a census district on the basis of making things convenient to the masses and let cadres at the basic level organize household heads or persons familiar with the pertinent conditions appointed by the household heads to come to the stations to make their reports, or canvassers may go to the individual households to visit them and have them fill out the form. No matter which approach is adopted, a canvasser must always ask clear questions about each household and each individual according to items in the census form and fill out each of them, and the person making the report must always tell the truth in order to avoid repetition and omission and achieve total accuracy.

After a household finishes filling out the whole census form, the canvasser must recite the filled-out parts before the person of the household making the report and verify them with him.

Census-taking work for persons residing in Collective Households and Family Households at government agencies, social organizations, schools, enterprises and public agencies and units of the like shall be undertaken by the respective unit itself under the uniform arrangements of the local census-taking organ.

Article 11. Taking a census of the Chinese People's Liberation Army.

1. In-service soldiers of the Chinese People's Liberation Army, wherever they may be stationed, shall be subject to census uniformly taken by leading organs of their respective units.

2. Staff members and workers other than in-service soldiers serving in military institutions, their family members and nurses residing in such institutions, shall be subject to census taken by the respective military institutions; the filled-out census forms derived therefrom shall be turned over to the locally appointed census-taking organs. Those who do not reside in the above institutions shall be subject to census taken by local census-taking organs.

3. All persons of factories, schools, and kindergartens attached to military institutions other than in-service soldiers who reside in these units shall be subject to census taken by these respective units, and the filled-out census forms derived therefrom shall be turned over to the locally appointed census-taking organs; those who do not reside in the above units shall be subject to census taken by local census-taking organs.

Article 12. Armed civilian police, frontier civilian police, and firefighting civilian police, whether in-service or not, shall be subject to census taken by local county, municipal public security bureaus, and the filled-out census forms derived therefrom shall be turned over to the county, municipal census-taking offices.

Article 13. Census-taking for personnel stationed abroad.

1. Those personnel of embassies and consulates abroad, those personnel of other units stationed abroad and staff members, workers, experts, personnel for advanced studies, and trainees sent abroad who are state workers shall be subject to registration undertaken by the units to which these personnel were originally attached, and those who are commune members shall be subject to report made by the respective families of these personnel, so that they are registered in their respective local census.

2. In the case of census-taking for students and graduate students studying abroad at public expense or at their own expense, they shall all be reported and registered by the families of these personnel.

Article 14. Persons subject to education through detention, education through labor, reform through labor and arrested persons shall be subject to census taken by local public security organs, and the filled-out census forms derived therefrom shall be turned over to their respective county, municipal census-taking offices.

Article 15. Census-taking rechecking work.

After census-taking in one or several census districts is completed, the census director(s) shall carry out an overall rechecking according to prescribed rechecking methods; if and when he (they) discovers (discover) discrepancies, he (they) shall correct them after verification.

Article 16. Random inspection of census-taking samples to achieve quality.

After the work of filling out the census forms and their rechecking is completed, census-taking offices of the various localities shall select random samples according to prescribed random samples selecting methods to carry out a new census and thereby make an appraisal of the quality of the census taken and gather all the reports and submit to the superior level.

Random examples selecting personnel shall not participate in this quality random rechecking work at the basic units where they originally participated in the taking of the census there.

Article 17. Time limits for the completion of work in census registration, rechecking, and random samples quality appraisal.

Work in census registration shall be completed by 10 July 1982.

Rechecking work, by 15 July 1982.

Random samples quality appraising work, by the end of August 1982.

Article 18. Manual overall concentration of census data.

Several census figures shall be first concentrated together manually. Units for overall concentration are divided into six levels:

Census-taking groups of production brigades in the countryside and residents committees of cities and towns shall constitute the first level; their summary charts shall be completed for submission to the superior level by the end of July 1982;

Census-taking offices of communes in the countryside and street offices in cities and towns shall constitute the second level; their summary charts shall be completed for submission to the superior level by 10 August 1982;

The offices of census-taking leading groups of the people's governments of counties, municipalities, and districts directly under the jurisdiction of municipalities shall constitute the third level, and their summary charts shall be completed for submission to the superior level by 20 August 1982;

The offices of census-taking leading groups of the people's governments of autonomous prefectures and regional (league) administrative offices shall constitute the fourth level, and their summary charts shall be completed for submission to the superior level by 31 August 1982;

The offices of census-taking leading groups of the people's governments of the provinces, autonomous regions, and municipalities directly under the jurisdiction of the Central People's Government shall constitute the fifth level, and their summary charts shall be completed for submission to the superior level by 10 September 1982;

The office of the State Council census-taking leading group shall constitute the sixth level; it shall gather all the summary charts and submit them altogether to the State Council by the end of September 1982, and after they are examined and approved by the State Council, these charts shall be promulgated along with a communique.

Article 19. The task of numbering the census forms.

After the census forms have undergone rechecking and manual overall concentration, numbering clerks, under the guidance of numbering directors, shall attach serial numbers to the filled-out parts of these census forms by each household, each individual, and each item according to uniformly prescribed numbering criteria.

This numbering work must be done at concentration centers, at least in the counties, municipalities, and municipalities directly under the jurisdiction of the provinces, by the end of October 1982. Numbers thus attached must be rechecked. And after the numbering work is completed, there should be random inspection to verify quality.

Article 20. Transfer and control of census forms.

Census forms shall be bound into volumes with the production brigade and the residents group as the basic unit, and after the offices of the census-taking leading groups and the people's governments of counties, municipalities, and districts directly under the jurisdiction of the municipalities have attached proper numbers to them, conveyed to the data centers of the provinces, autonomous regions, and municipalities directly under the jurisdiction of the provinces.

In the process of this conveyance, the census forms must be properly packed and sent under the protection of specially assigned personnel to ensure that they are preserved without any damage. Both the dispatching units and the receiving units must handle the transfer procedure according to established rules.

Article 21. The population figures of Taiwan, Pescadores, Quemoy and Matsu shall be computed on the basis of data published by the Taiwan authorities.

Article 22. Mechanized overall concentration of census data.

1. Advance random samples concentration. On the basis of established random samples selection methods, a definite proportion of samples shall be selected for advance samples concentration. The office of the State Council census-taking leading group shall send results of such concentration to the State Council at the end of October 1983.

2. Overall concentration. The offices of census-taking leading groups of the people's governments of the various provinces, autonomous regions, and municipalities directly under the jurisdiction of the provinces shall forward results of the overall concentration of all data to the office of the State Council census-taking leading group at the end of June 1984. The office of the State Council census-taking leading group shall concentrate all census data of the nation and forward them to the State Council at the end of 1984, and, after they are examined and approved, these data shall be promulgated.

As regards these concentrated census data from the various provinces, autonomous regions, and municipalities directly under the jurisdiction of the provinces, the office of the State Council census-taking leading group shall, together with the offices of the census-taking leading groups of the people's governments of the various provinces, autonomous regions, and municipalities directly under the jurisdiction of the provinces, take the responsibility of organizing and printing them.

Article 23. The compiling of the census report.

Both the office of the State Council census-taking leading group and the offices of the census-taking leading groups of the people's governments of the various provinces, autonomous regions, and municipalities directly under the jurisdiction of the provinces must analyze and study the concentrated census data and compile census reports for the country's provinces, autonomous regions, and municipalities directly under the jurisdiction of the provinces and forward them respectively to the people's governments of the provinces, autonomous regions, and municipalities directly under the jurisdiction of the provinces.

Article 24. Funds needed by the census-taking operations shall, under the principles of assuring completion of the census-taking tasks and of strict practice of economy, be jointly shouldered by the Central and local financial departments; the paper, packing materials required and the construction of data centers shall be up to the planning, material supplies, and other concerned departments at various levels to include them in their respective materials production and distribution plans and capital construction plans as items for special use and to guarantee that they are supplied.

The census forms and summary charts shall be uniformly designed by the office of the State Council census-taking leading group; the provinces, autonomous regions, and municipalities directly under the jurisdiction of the provinces shall make the arrangements for printing and distributing them. In printing such forms, charts, and instructions on how they should be filled out in the

minority nationality areas, they should, in addition, be printed in the language(s) in common use in the given localities.

Article 25. Census-taking leading groups and their respective offices in the people's governments at various levels must conscientiously carry out the practice of requesting instructions and submitting reports. After the census-taking work is completed, census-taking leading groups of county and municipal people's governments and above must conscientiously sum up their experiences and submit in reports to their respective superior levels.

Article 26. After the census-taking operations are completed, the statistical, public security, and other concerned departments must further seek to strengthen regular household registration and population statistics compiling work. People's Communes (where no police stations are established) and production brigades in the countryside must assign pertinent personnel to respectively handle, as a special duty or a concurrent duty, the household registration and population statistics compiling work at the commune and brigade levels. Urban rural household registration organs and civic administration, public health, birth control and other concerned departments must, on the basis of the census-taking operations this time and in accordance with the "Household Registration Regulations" and other relevant regulations, establish and perfect household registration and other relevant records and register in time the births, deaths, transfers, weddings and situations of the like among the population in order to provide at fixed intervals accurate population statistical data to the state.

Article 27. Detailed operational rules for implementing these "Regulations" shall be formulated by the office of the State Council census-taking leading group. Census-taking leading groups of the people's governments of the various provinces, autonomous regions, and municipalities directly under the jurisdiction of the provinces may formulate supplemental rules.

Article 28. In the Tibetan Autonomous Region and other areas of concentrated minority nationality residents, where conditions are out of the ordinary, the census-taking regulations may be applied in an expedient manner. Concrete programs are to be submitted by the people's governments of the Tibetan Autonomous Region and other provinces, autonomous regions, where certain minority nationalities live in compact communities and registered with the State Council for reference.

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## HUNGARIAN INCIDENT VIEWED IN NEW PERSPECTIVE

Hong Kong CHENG MING [CONTENDING] in Chinese no 5, 1982 pp 77-78

[Article by Gu Feixia [6253 7378 0204]: "The Hungarian Incident and Mao's Two 'Whatevers'"]

[Text] Is the Hungarian Incident anti-revolutionary? Mr Wen Hui [3306 8748] gave a negative answer to this question in CHENG MING, No 54. In the article entitled "Reappraisal of the Hungarian Incident," Mr Weng Hui incisively analyzed the two reasons leading to Mao Zedong's erroneous judgment. First "the inadequacy of his theoretic knowledge of socialism and practical experience." Second, "fear that a single spark can start a prairie fire--the anti-dictatorship and anti-bureaucratic conflagration to break loose the Stalinist straitjacket started in Budapest would spread to Beijing. I believe that in addition to these two reasons there is another important reason, namely, his metaphysical theory of struggle formed during the long period of his political struggles. His famous quotation, which truly reflects his metaphysical theory of struggle, says "whatever the enemies oppose, we support; whatever the enemies support, we oppose." Mao Zedong, on the basis of these views that were rigid, inflexible and devoid of concrete analysis could not but commit mistakes when he made judgment of events; he could not but fall into grossly blind subjectivism or build invalid, false and wrong cases.

Everyone knows that the Hungarian Incident was essentially the result of the Hungarian people's discontent with Stalinist bureaucratic totalitarianism over a long period of time; it was the result of the discontent with various evils of this system and the conflict between the Hungarian people's desire for democratic and free reform on the one hand and the bureaucratic system on the other. It was another meaningful and valuable social movement after the example of Tito in Yugoslavia. It shows that the conflict of instinctive demand of human life and the developmental law of human society with the totalitarian bureaucratic system, regardless of the kind of group or regime is involved or the kind of beautiful banner or attractive label is attached. Now after more than 20 years it is not difficult for us to recognize the true nature and significance of this incident. Especially since the Chinese people also suffered from the Stalinist mode at that time and subsequently went through the pains of the Cultural Revolution, it should be easier for us to reflect on the incident and to draw on our own experience in making the

correct conclusion. Interestingly enough, however, our attitude towards the Hungarian Incident 20 years after its occurrence agrees with that maintained by western and some imperialist countries at that time. It was precisely the fact that at that time western countries and imperialist countries adopted a positive and supportive attitude toward the Hungarian Incident that deeply touched the nerves of Mao's two whatevers and his metaphysics, and he instinctively reacted to "oppose whatever the enemies support."

Of course, taking history into consideration, we should recognize that Mao Zedong's attitude of two whatevers and his metaphysics had their political background. From the end of the Russian October Revolution to the end of World War II, the development of world history, unaffected by human will, led to the formation of two opposing camps. The fact was recognized not only by political leaders of socialist countries but also by political leaders of western imperialist countries at that time, though under different names and categorizations. If we pay attention to the opinion of the political leaders of the western imperialist countries at that time, we find that they repeated the claim that after the second decade of the 20th century, the world had entered into the great struggle between totalitarianism and democratic freedom. But the concept of totalitarianism used by them was very broad, including socialist, military fascist, feudal monarchic countries and junta regimes. Therefore the aspirations expressed in the Hungarian Incident agree with the anti-totalitarianism that western countries championed. It was not adequate standard for us to measure truth and to adopt an attitude? Fact prove that without making concrete analysis, ignoring people's reasonable demands, or failing to observe rules of human society or development of history, treating problems rigidly and mechanically according to Mao Zedong's metaphysics of two whatevers, is bound to get us into gross blindness and completely fallacious conclusions, and consequently we are bound to commit serious mistakes in our actions. Isn't Mao Zedong's cruel attack of the Hungarian Incident a result of this false line of thinking?

The two whatevers of Mao Zedong's metaphysics are not occasional sparks, but a running theme in his thinking. As early as in the late 1940's, it was clearly revealed in his attitude towards Yugoslavia; so was it in the 1957 anti-rightist struggle. Greatly resenting the fact that some rightist views had won praise from the westerners, he indiscriminately declined them to be anti-revolutionary, regardless of whether the views were true or correct. Because "whatever the enemies support, we oppose." It seems without such actions, there wouldn't be a revolution.

Lu Xun once mercilessly attacked this weakness of the Chinese national character: westerners study science, we must give ourselves to superstition. Westerners pay attention to sanitation, we must eat flies. Otherwise it would diminish our status as a great country. The two whatevers not only reveal the metaphysical sense of his philosophy, but are also connected with the deep-rooted weakness of the Chinese national character. Thus Mao's views on the two whatevers were widely received within and without the party to the extent of becoming a very strong and stubborn psychological inclination and exerting a powerful influence on public opinion. Up to now, we still find conservative elements in the Chinese Communist Party, who use them as

the basis for making judgments and decisions. For example, in launching criticisms against the so-called "Wounded Literature" and the movie "Unrequited Love" in recent years, they produced the standard response, mentioning how the work is treated overseas, "Taiwan is going to produce this film," "foreign enemies praise this novel, therefore it is bad," etc. The fashion in which the verdict is passed is exactly the same as the way Mao branded the Hungarian Incident anti-revolutionary.

In sum, the two "whatevers" of Mao Zedong's metaphysics not only created great chaos in politics and led to many invalid, false and wrong cases, but also made people lose their judgment, their rationality and their normal observational power. I believe that if we want to sum up the experience and the lesson of the Hungarian Incident, as well as to avoid repeating our mistakes, we must resolutely reject the metaphysical concept of two whatevers and replace it with the analytical method based on science, rationality and people's reasonable demands.

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