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# China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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6 MAY 1987

CHINA REPORT  
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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## 'STAR WARS' ISSUE ANALYZED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO OVERSEAS EDITION in Chinese 12 Feb 87 p 6

[Article by XINHUA reporter Shi Lujia [2457 7627 0163]: "An Ill Omen"]

[Text] Recently Washington news media ceaselessly spread the news that the Reagan administration has officially decided on a new interpretation of the U.S.-USSR Antiballistic Missile [ABM] Treaty signed in 1972, to pave the way for large-scale testing and an early deployment of the "Star Wars" ABM system.

President Reagan is reported to have held a secret meeting on 3 February with Secretary of State Shultz, Secretary of Defense Weinberger, and other top advisors for the special purpose of discussing the early deployment of "Star Wars" installations and related problems concerning the ABM Treaty. THE NEW YORK TIMES quoted a well-informed person to the effect that Reagan has basically made up his mind, and that the White House has already formulated orders which officially authorize the new interpretation of the ABM Treaty.

The ABM Treaty signed in 1972 is so far the only important agreement between the United States and the Soviet Union on the mutual limitation of nuclear weapons. In this treaty, the signatories undertake "not to develop, test, or deploy ABM systems or components which are sea-based, air-based, space-based, or mobile land-based." Formerly there had been no controversy over the interpretation of the treaty, but controversy arose as soon as President Reagan, early in 1983, set forth his "Strategic Defense Initiative." The Soviet Union contends that "Star Wars" violates the treaty, while the United States says that the "Star Wars" initiative merely plans research, which is permissible under the treaty.

In October last year, the Reagan administration stated a new interpretation of the treaty, claiming that the United States may not only engage in research on a "Star Wars" system, but that its testing and deployment is legally permissible. The Soviet Union resolutely opposes any American action on these lines. However, even many U.S. congressmen and nuclear weapons experts are of the opinion that there is not sufficient grounds for this new interpretation. Several West European countries have also expressed the hope that the United States will continue to observe the treaty in accordance with its traditional interpretation.

Very recently, a group of active supporters within and outside of the government, led by Secretary of Defense Weinberger, has started a movement in support, trying to persuade Reagan to decide as early as possible on the deployment of the "Star Wars" system. As analyzed in U.S. newspapers, their reasoning is: Reagan is resolutely in support of the "Star Wars" plan. If determination on deployment cannot be made during the term of office of this kind of president, it is difficult to predict the fate of the plan, which is viewed as being controversial domestically and abroad, after the end of his term of office in 2 years. To cloak the deployment in a mantle of legality, it is necessary to first officially determine the new interpretation to the ABM Treaty.

When relevant information became known, it had first of all strong repercussions among Democratic congressmen. A leader in the House of Representatives, Lott, and the chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee, Nunn, wrote Reagan and warned that if the administration decides on its new interpretation of the ABM Treaty and on the early deployment of "Star Wars," this would amount to nothing else but declaring "an end to nuclear weapons talks," and would lead to further loss of congressional support for its research plan, a support that has actually been very shaky in the first place. They expressed their intention to have Congress legislate that tests of "Star Wars" must not exceed the scope prescribed by a "strict interpretation" of the ABM Treaty. The press also called on the Reagan administration to proceed most cautiously.

The Reagan administration's new tendency in the "Star Wars" issue caused anxiety also among some of its allies. According to reports, British Secretary for Foreign Affairs Howe passed a message to U.S. Secretary of State Shultz to the effect that the British Government is unable to support either the early deployment of "Star Wars," or the new interpretation of the ABM Treaty. NATO Secretary General Carrington demanded that the United States first consult with the other members of NATO before making a decision. Japan's diplomats in Washington also expressed the opinion that if "Star Wars" exceeded the scope of research, Japan would find it impossible to make good on its earlier promise to undertake certain research in connection with the "Star Wars" plan.

Feelings of worry and anxiety are not unjustified. After all, "Star Wars" and the closely related issue of how to deal with the ABM Treaty are core issues in the long drawn-out U.S.-USSR nuclear negotiations. During the Iceland meeting last year, Gorbachev demanded a strengthening of the ABM Treaty and demanded, furthermore, that the United States guarantee that its research and tests of "Star Wars" would be conducted only in the laboratory for the next 10 years, demands which Reagan flatly rejected, so that the meeting ended in discord. The Soviet standpoint has become not a bit more flexible since then, while the United States is now preparing to go ahead with further actions in these matters. The effect this will have on the on-going nuclear talks and on the entire U.S.-USSR relations is self-evident.

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## ASIAN PACIFIC AREA SITUATION IN LATE 80'S ASSESSED

Beijing XIANDAI GUOJI GUANXI [CONTEMPORARY INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS] in Chinese  
No 1, 20 Jan 86 pp 16-20

[Article by Chen Qimao [7115 0796 8574], director of the Shanghai Institute for Research in International Affairs: "Some Points in Appraising the Situation in the Asian Pacific Area for the Second Half of the 1980's"]

[Text] The Asian Pacific region is currently one of the most vibrant regions in the world. It is a complex area where various political and economic contradictions come together and intertwine, and where the two superpowers compete fiercely. China is an Asia-Pacific country and the developments and changes in the region's condition have a most intensive and most direct effect on China's security, its four modernizations, and the great undertaking of the motherland's unification. Strengthening analysis and research of the political and economic situation in the Asian Pacific region, and, furthermore, making scientific forecasts of its developmental trend is an extremely pressing task that we are faced with.

Economic Development Trends in the Asian Pacific Region During the Second Half of the 1980's

A. In recent years, apart from the Indochina peninsula and a few other countries, most Asia-Pacific countries and territories have developed rapidly and achieved new breakthrough successes, having successfully overcome the stagflation that plagued the capitalist world for many years. This brisk development of the Asian Pacific region stands in very marked contrast to the retarded and slow-speed increases in the West European economic recovery and to the economic difficulties in many countries of Africa and Latin America.

B. There are internal and external reasons for so brisk a development of the Asia-Pacific regional economy. As to the external reasons, the economic improvement in the developed countries of the West, headed by the United States, that occurred since the end of 1982, provided favorable conditions for comparatively fast economic progress in some Asia-Pacific countries and territories. Especially the vigorous upswing in the U.S. economy in 1984 and the 6.6-percent increase of its GNP engendered a very large increase in market demand. This was of course very favorable for the many Asia-Pacific countries and territories that followed an export-oriented strategy with the United

States as their main trading partner. The internal reason was mainly that in spite of the fact that elements of unrest and instability existed in the Asia-Pacific region, most countries and territories, apart from the Indochina peninsula and some other particular countries, were successful in maintaining a certain measure of political stability and were apt at adopting developmental strategies and policies that were well geared to the realities of the situation.

China, which is in the process of carrying out socialist modernizations on the foundation of successfully accomplishing its economic readjustment, has in the last few years intensified implementation of its policy of invigorating the domestic economy and opening up to the outside world, accelerated reform of its economic system, and vigorously promoted the sustained, stable, and well-coordinated development of its national economy, thereby fully demonstrating the superiority of the socialist system. Some capitalist countries and territories of the Asia-Pacific region, under conditions of political stability, have registered rapid economic growth, which indicates that their present economic and social systems are basically well attuned to the present conditions of productive forces and developmental needs of the present stage. Even Japan with its highly developed economy displays a high degree of vitality in its economy, which shows that there is still considerable room for further development of its productive forces.

C. Because of its rapid economic development, the Asia-Pacific region has indeed greatly enhanced its strategic position in the world's economic and political system. However, on the other hand, it must also be realized too that with all its advantages and strong points, the economy of the Asia-Pacific region also has its shortcomings and weaknesses, namely: 1) Even in Japan, the economically mighty country of this region, the economy, though maintaining strong developmental momentum, shows certain weak points. It lacks raw materials, lacks the huge domestic market that the United States has, and must permanently rely on exports to maintain its economic development. Although Japan is well advanced in applied sciences, it lags far behind the United States in basic sciences, and is also less advanced than some countries of Western Europe. 2) Although economic growth is rapid in the countries and territories referred to as the newly emerging industrialized countries of Asia, such as Singapore, South Korea, Hong Kong, and Taiwan, they all depend to an extremely large degree on the U.S. market and on U.S. investments, and have not yet developed sufficient strength for independent economic development. The fragile nature of their economic existence is even more pronounced than that of certain rather small countries of Western Europe. 3) Apart from the case of Singapore, the various ASEAN countries, in spite of some development, have still not yet raised themselves above the position of raw materials supplying countries, as evident from the structural composition of their production, products, and foreign trade. 4) Although China has great potential and was able to make very rapid economic development in recent years, it is to this day still a developing country with a low level of per capita income, due to the fact that it started out from a poor foundation and has a huge population. Should China even be able to achieve its goal of quadrupling its output value by the end of the 20th century, the average product value per person would still be rather low. True prosperity and strength is something that China could possibly realize only by the middle of

the 21st century. There are, therefore, currently no grounds yet for the assumption that a "steeply ascending Asia-Pacific" is taking the place of "declining Western Europe."

#### D. Intricate, Complex Contradictions in Asia-Pacific Economics

1. The most conspicuous economy contradiction in this area is presently the trade friction between Japan and the United States. This friction has had a long history and turned fierce again because Japan's favorable trade balance with the United States reached a record \$36.8 billion in 1984. American public opinion censuring the dumping of Japanese goods ran high. Under American pressure Japan was compelled to declare a further opening of its market. Due to the very nature of capitalist imperialism, and because Japan is unable to change its established policy of basing its very existence on trade (the so-called basing one's country on technology is only an extension and development of basing one's country on trade), furthermore due to the fact that the structural composition of production and products is in many ways the same in Japan and in the United States, the friction between the two will be of long duration, sometimes more and sometimes less intense, but impossible ever to be radically eliminated. Further intensification of the Japan-U.S. trade friction could possibly lead to large-scale trade protectionism in the United States, which could seriously jeopardize economic development in the Asia-Pacific region, even throughout the whole world. Judging by the current situation, there is little likelihood for this to happen, because, in spite of the deep economic contradictions between Japan and the United States, there are also common interests between the two. They are in the same boat when it comes to facing the Soviet threat. We may, therefore, safely count on Japan being continuously pressured into limited concessions and on the trade protectionist measures in the United States, though possibly on the increase, to never escalating into full-scale trade protectionism.

1. Contradictions Between North and South. Economic relations between the developing countries of the Asia-Pacific region, on one side, and such developed countries as Japan and the United States, on the other, although in some respects mutually complementary, are still preserving some of the inequalities of the old international economic order. The most conspicuous of these contradictions are those between the developing countries of this area and Japan. Despite Japan's repeated declarations that it intends to contribute to the improvement of North-South relations, it has so far taken few actions, is strictly controlling the transfer of advanced technologies, and in the matter of opening up its market and seeking a true balance of trade, there has also been much talk and little action. Effective improvement of North-South relations and promoting continuous, sustained, and steady economic development in the developing countries of this region are essential conditions for new and substantial developments in the economy of this region (including the economies of the developed countries). However, due to the fact that the developed countries, like the United States and Japan, still maintain a die-hard or passive attitude with regard to improving North-South relations, also because the fact that the countries of the third world are facing different difficulties and have different interests, because disputes and conflicts between some countries are on the increase, and because there is little left of the upsurge of enthusiasm, as before and after the oil

crisis, to fight for the establishment of a new international economic order, no high hopes can be held out for the improvement of the North-South relations in the foreseeable years ahead.

3. Although the developing countries of the Asia-Pacific region face the common task of safeguarding national independence as well as peace and stability of the region, and of developing their national economies, and although their basic interests are identical, it is quite possible that the similarity of their production structures and of their export commodities can engender contradictions in the international market. Without an appropriate regulation, these contradictions could in the next few years lead to further complications.

E. The wave of the new technological revolution that envelops the world provides the developing countries of the Asia-Pacific region with a chance to utilize new technologies in order to catch up with and overtake the developed countries, but this situation also brings with it new difficulties, of which the main ones are: 1) Because of technological transformation of traditional industries and the use of robots and automated systems, developed countries, like the United States and Japan, will gradually have less interest in the use of cheap labor for commodity processing. This means that the export-oriented strategy used for many years by some Asia-Pacific countries and territories will after a certain number of years will hardly be as effective as it had been in the past. 2) Because it will become a matter of life and death for the developed countries in the future competition to utilize whatever advantages they can get through the employment of high technology, they will become more restrictive in high-tech transfers, while the developing countries are still weak in science and technology. This state of affairs will further widen the disparity between developing and developed countries. As a result of the above-mentioned difficulties, also due to increasing trade protectionism in the developed countries and a declining growth rate in the American economy, which may experience a further downward trend perhaps this year or perhaps next year, the conditions for the development of the developing countries of this region for the next 5 years are growing increasingly dismal.

F. Based on the above analysis, we predict that the economic growth rate will generally decline for a number of years ahead in all Asia-Pacific countries and territories of the capitalist system. However, in view of the fact that the Asia-Pacific region has abundant natural resources, an industrious population, also the largest undeveloped market of the world, its economic potential is very great. We can also predict that the American economy, though unavoidably suffering periodic recessions, will not seriously deteriorate in the foreseeable future, while Japan will be forced to gradually open up its markets. As hegemonism will increasingly be restrained in its further expansionist activities, with a corresponding assurance of a state of stability, the economy of this region, compared to that of other regions, will still maintain a comparatively rapid growth for some time to come and keep it in the forefront of world economic developments. To ensure an orderly regulation of its economy, to accumulate strength, and to prepare for an

economic upswing in the 1990's, China appropriately controls its growth rate. However, we estimate that China's growth rate during the Seventh 5-Year Plan period will exceed the average growth rate of the Asia-Pacific region.

G. In the wake of the brisk economic development throughout the Asia-Pacific region, great increases have occurred in trade exchanges within the region, in making capital available, and in the interchange of personnel; economic interdependence within the region has also increased. After many preliminary discussions, debates, and actual economic exchanges, cooperative economic undertakings within the Asia-Pacific region have to a certain degree begun to take shape. The Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperative Council, participated in by Japan, the United States, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, the five ASEAN countries [as published], and South Korea, has held four meetings and is about to formulate various concrete plans. In 1984, this cooperation made remarkable progress on the initiative of the ASEAN countries. A pattern has been set up for periodical discussions of Asia-Pacific cooperation by the joint meeting of foreign ministers of the so-called "six plus five," namely the foreign ministers of the six ASEAN countries, and of the United States, Canada, Japan, Australia, and New Zealand, and a comprehensive plan for one item, "manpower resources development," is already being mapped out. Strengthening economic cooperation in the Asia-Pacific region is beneficial for the economic development of the region and has broad prospects. However, due to the extremely complex conditions of the region, the very uneven economic development in the various countries, also due to their different social systems, there are many historical, economic, political, and geographical differences, and it is therefore not possible, nor suitable, to adopt the pattern of an economic community for this cooperation. It would be more realistic to start out from single items of cooperation, employ a variety of patterns, and proceed on many levels and along many different channels, thus gradually gathering experiences in the course of actual practice. The key to Asia-Pacific economic cooperation lies in an effective regulation of the North-South relationship. It must be realized that the United States and Japan are vying for leadership in Asia-Pacific economic cooperation, but due to the vigilance and resistance of the developing countries of this region against this trend, and also due to the power equilibrium between the United States and Japan, the two countries are forced to restrain themselves, adopt a more humble posture, and resort to more circuitous methods for the realization of their intentions. This state of affairs is beneficial for the developing countries of this region.

#### Asia-Pacific's Political Prospects in the Latter Half of the 1980's

H. After the Vietnam War, the Soviet Union took advantage of the reduction of the American presence in Asia to rapidly expand its own military strength and sphere of influence in this region. Particularly in 1978, the Soviet Union supported Vietnam in its invasion of Kampuchea and later established a military base at Cam Ranh Bay, thereby moving the base for its Pacific fleet over 2,000 nautical miles forward. Then again in 1979 the Soviet Union launched the military invasion of Afghanistan, creating a serious threat to peace, security, and stability in this region. After Reagan assumed office, the United States abandoned its policy of retiring to a kind of "Guam-ism," and began to increase its military strength in the Asia-Pacific region, also

actively cooperated with allied countries in establishing a defensive line that started in the north with Northeast Asia and extended south to the Indian Ocean, to protect the strategic ocean communication lines of the West, and to contain Soviet expansionism. The intensified rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union and the escalation of the arms race in this region, has actually turned the Asia-Pacific region into another area of military confrontation of the two superpowers, second in importance only to Europe. Since the latter half of 1984, U.S.-Soviet relations have become more relaxed. Sino-Soviet relations have improved at the same time. On the Korean peninsula there have been gratifying signs of dialog and reconciliation. Though the tense situation in the Asia-Pacific region has become more relaxed, there has, however, been no change in the basic state of sharp military confrontation of the superpowers in this region.

I. The intensified rivalry and escalation of the arms race between the United States and the Soviet Union in this area is a consequence of the worldwide rivalry between the two countries and reflects the heightened strategic importance of the Asia-Pacific region. However, the focal point of U.S.-Soviet rivalry is still in Europe. The central issue in U.S.-Soviet rivalry in recent years has been nuclear superiority, conspicuously manifested in the issue of deployment of intermediate-range nuclear weapons in Europe, which again indicates that the key issue in the mutual rivalry has not changed. It is only because the European spheres of interest have already been earlier delineated at the Yalta Conference, and that there is the military confrontation of powerful military blocs, NATO and the Warsaw Pact, each possessing sufficient nuclear weapons to destroy the other side many times over, that a state of nuclear stalemate has emerged. If war should break out in Europe, it is bound to affect the territories of the United States and the Soviet Union, which is why both sides will not dare make any reckless moves. The Asia-Pacific region covers a vast territory of great complexity and of a very uneven state of development. With the experiences of the Vietnam War and the Watergate incident, the power of the United States in this region has very much weakened; the old order of American domination of this region has been shattered, while a new order has not yet been completely established. The region has developed rapidly economically, but politically it has not yet reached its final stage of development; many of its national regimes are still engaged in replacing the old by the new or in transformations. This provides much opportunity for rival activities of both the United States and the Soviet Union. Especially in recent years, as the position of the Asia-Pacific region rises in the world economic structure, both the United States and the Soviet Union are trying to gain economic benefits from this situation. Both sides are, therefore, starting out from their own worldwide strategy and are trying, each for itself, to establish and secure an advantageous position in this region. The intensified confrontation and rivalry of the superpowers in this region is the main cause for a certain tenseness and restiveness in the region.

J. Looking at the situation of U.S.-Soviet rivalry in the Asia-Pacific region, we see that in recent years the United States is actively readjusting its Asia-Pacific strategy, focusing its attention on bringing its political and economic superiority into play to compensate for its military weaknesses, and making efforts to reestablish an Asia-Pacific front in the military,

political, economic, and diplomatic fields. Its strategic situation has evidently improved but whatever improvement there has been, it is insufficient to allow the United States to recover positions which the Soviet Union has gained after the Vietnam War, or to eliminate the threat to Western ocean communication lines, a threat brought on by Soviet expansions at an earlier stage. In this sense, there has been no radical change in the confrontation of the United States and the Soviet Union in this region. Because of its invasion of Afghanistan and support of Vietnam's invasion of Kampuchea, the Soviet Union finds itself politically completely isolated in this region. To improve its unfavorable position, Gorbachev, after becoming general secretary of the CPSU, has repeatedly expressed the hope for a sincere improvement in Sino-Soviet relations, also expressed himself in favor of relaxing U.S.-Soviet relations, and of improving Soviet-Japanese relations. But during that time, the Soviet Union stepped up its war of aggression in Afghanistan, increased its pressure on Pakistan, actively supported Vietnam in launching its dry-season campaigns against Kampuchea, and refused to ease to the slightest degree its military threat and encirclement against China. All this indicates that there has been no change in basic Soviet policy, which is a fact we must soberly realize.

K. Even though the Asia-Pacific region has become the second most important front for the arms race and military confrontation of the superpowers, no new wars have occurred in recent years in this region, apart from the original hot spots of Kampuchea and Afghanistan. Most countries have enjoyed political stability, and compared with the Middle East and Central America, the situation in this region has been comparatively stable. The relative stability in a world of tense confrontation is another conspicuous characteristic of the situation in the Asia-Pacific region during recent years. The reasons for this peculiar phenomenon are: 1) Precisely because the Asia-Pacific region has become the second most important area of U.S.-Soviet confrontation after Europe, the U.S.-Soviet rivalry in the Asia-Pacific region is most closely and inseparably linked with the worldwide U.S.-Soviet rivalry. As both the United States and the Soviet Union are absolutely clear about the destructiveness of a future war, both will avoid a head-on collision no matter how fierce their rivalry may turn. The situation here is about the same as the situation in Europe. 2) Strong forces for peace exist in this region. China's adherence to a peaceful foreign policy of independence and self-determination, and the decisive role it plays in opposing and containing hegemonism and safeguarding peace and stability in the Asia-Pacific region is universally acknowledged. The Kampuchean and Afghan soldiers and people who heroically fight against foreign aggression strike heavy blows against hegemonism, check its further expansion, and make an important contribution toward ensuring peace and stability in this region. In supporting the Kampuchean war of resistance against Vietnam, the ASEAN countries play an important role in opposing further Soviet and Vietnamese expansion. In the first half of 1984, North Korea initiated important action that has relaxed the situation on the Korean peninsula. The masses of the Asia-Pacific region oppose war and yearn for a peaceful environment in which to develop their own economies. These well-organized strong forces for peace are a decisive factor preventing war. 3) Although elements of instability are to varying degrees extant in most newly arisen capitalist countries in the Asia-Pacific region, it is due to the fact that their economies are in a phase of improvement, that

the livelihood of their people has to a certain extent improved, the ruling circles have gained useful experiences, and their political transformations are in a stage of gradual improvement. Elements of instability are, therefore, not acting up and turning into large-scale social upheavals, and this leaves no loophole for hegemonists to exploit. Due to the above-mentioned factors it will be possible to safeguard the stable situation of the Asia-Pacific region for the next 10-20 years. Of course there is always the possibility of local disturbances, local instabilities, and even local wars to break out, but if the situation is appropriately dealt with, none will result in a general upheaval or large-scale war.

L. The Vietnamese expansionists who in the seventh dry season offensive captured the base of the tripartite military force of the coalition government of Democratic Kampuchea, eagerly consolidated their position, closed the Kampuchean-Thai border, and desperately tried to prevent the resistance forces from obtaining military supplies so that they could be destroyed in the next dry season, they also issued a "five-point proposal," which in essence excludes the democratic Kampucheans. The "proposal" is a vain attempt to hoodwink the international public and to realize objectives which they had been unable to attain on the battlefield. At the same time, Vietnam increased its harassment at the Chinese and Thai borders. The stepped-up aggression and expansionist activities of Vietnam have already become the most conspicuous factor that threatens peace and stability in South Asia and even in the entire Asia-Pacific region. If the Vietnamese plot were to succeed, the Vietnamese expansionists would surely go on, after a certain period of assimilating and consolidating their gains, to commit further encroachments and become the source of unending trouble, disturbing peace and stability in this region. Thorough exposure of the Vietnamese political plot and in addition mobilization of the full strength of the international public to exert greater pressure on Vietnam is a pressing task of today in the interest of safeguarding peace and stability in the Asia-Pacific region.

9808

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HEILONGJIANG PAPER CRITICIZES LIU BINYAN

Harbin HARBIN RIBAO in Chinese 28 Jan 87 p 1

[Commentary: "On Liu Binyan's Means and Ends"]

[Text] For some time, Liu Binyan, flaunting his titles as a RENMIN RIBAO reporter and writer, did neither normal news reporting nor normal creative writing, but concentrated on writing about "real people and real events" to expose what he called the "degeneration" of the Communist Party. For a while, he was very active, publishing articles and giving speeches along this line in many parts of the country. Through his peculiar activities, he negated the four cardinal principles and advocated bourgeois liberalization. Now the party organization has expelled him from the party according to provisions of the party constitution. The action is fully justified.

We, the cadres and masses in Heilongjiang Province, have long been aware of Liu Binyan's behavior. In the past few years, he came frequently to our province to pursue his activities. He wrote many articles which were totally unfounded, confusing, and even viciously slanderous, and felt very pleased with himself. Everywhere he went, he posed as a spokesman of the people, avoiding the local party organizations and ignoring their correct opinions. The articles he wrote and published were preposterous and irresponsible, based on incomplete and one-sided materials, even hearsay or guesswork, without ever bothering to make a careful and thorough investigation of a complicated case. Why did Liu Binyan act in this way? He himself put it bluntly. He said that he wrote such items as "Between Man and Monster" and so forth "to reveal a truth, that is, the corruption," every place was swarming with pests in his gloomy writings. Every place he wrote about, no matter what the problem may be, was "utterly hopeless." The leaders and party organizations, except for a very few, were all "corrupt," "degenerate," and hopelessly "bureaucratic." But some dubious characters, who liked to create some minor "shocks," became "heroes" because they gave him some materials to his liking. In fact, his articles about "real people and real events" were nothing but a mixture of randomly gathered falsehoods and half-truths which he used as pretexts to attack others in an oblique way. His purpose was simply to vilify the party organization and party cadres, discredit our socialist system, and undermine the people's spirit to achieve the four modernizations. We can say that Liu Binyan owes us a debt, and we have all along waged a resolute struggle against him in the past few years.

A reporter of the party organ, be he Liu Binyan or anyone else, has the right and duty to gather and report news according to the party's principles, including exposing unhealthy tendencies and bureaucratic phenomena. However, any party newspaper reporter must abide by the guiding principles for party newspaper work, of which the most important are: 1) to hold party spirit with the four cardinal principles as the core and observe political and work discipline and 2) to insist that news reports must be true. Liu Binyan seriously violated these two principles in his news-gathering activities in our province.

Liu Binyan began to work as a journalist for the party in the early 1950's, and he understands the above-mentioned principles perfectly. However, he has not the slightest intention to follow them. He has his own set of guiding ideas. Politically, he attacks the four cardinal principles, the foundation of our party and country, as "outworn...conservative and even reactionary in content." In his concept of journalism, he praises bourgeois "freedom of the press," denies the political discipline of party newspaper work, and attempts to break away from the party's leadership over news work. In one of his speeches in our province, he said: "In foreign countries, reporters are called monarchs without a crown. We do not ask to be monarchs without a crown. I say, can we be taken more seriously? We must first ask for instructions whether something can be reported, not only from the newspaper office, but from the local party committee." What he wants is for the newspapers and reporters to become, as in Western countries, a "third force," "next only to the government and the parliament." Judging by his words and stand mentioned above, he has long since gone to the side opposite the party. Does he look like a Communist Party member and a party newspaper reporter?

Liu Binyan's activities in our province caused serious consequences, and "some places were thrown into confusion." His reports criticized some people and supported others in disregard of the facts, undermining the unity of the masses. He vilified the party organization and made some uninformed people erroneously believe that the party was indeed "corrupt" and "degenerate," thus sowing discord between the masses and the party. His articles confounded right and wrong and spread slanderous rumors, causing ideological confusion among the local masses and subjecting the people involved to great mental anguish. All these have caused a lot of difficulties and troubles for the local party organizations and governments which have to spend much time and energy to clear up the mess caused by him. In the past, some people thought that Liu Binyan, as a party newspaper reporter from Beijing, must have powerful backing and great influence. Now the whole truth has come out. Although his activities are not exactly the same in form and scope as those of Fang Lizhi [2455 0536 0037] and others, the purpose and harm are the same. They all attempted to create unrest, through which to apply pressure on the party and force it to abandon the four cardinal principles and the line, principles, and policies adopted since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, which have proven correct in practice and are supported by the people, and to carry out the ways of bourgeois liberalization advocated by them. The masses must be on guard against their evil intentions.

DIVISION OF LABOR BETWEEN PARTY, GOVERNMENT DISCUSSED

Shanghai FAXUE [JURISPRUDENCE] in Chinese No 12, 10 Dec 86 pp 1-5

[Article by Wu Jialin [0702 1367 7792]: "On Division of Labor Between Party and Government"]

[Excerpts] Failure to separate party from government and substitution of party for government--this is the key problem in China's organizational reform. First, the most obvious shortcoming in the present system is the overconcentration of power, and the lack of distinction between party and government and the substitution of party for government are concrete manifestations of this overconcentration of power in party-government relationship. Unless this problem is solved properly, it will be impossible to reform the system thoroughly. Second, the failure to make a distinction between party and government is a widespread problem. It exists in all the economic, scientific and technological, educational and political organizations. Therefore, any attempt at reform is bound to run into the problem of how to divide the work between party and government.

First, the practice of making no distinction between party and government and substituting party for government has prevailed for decades from the Soviet Union to China. Many think it is the best way to exercise party leadership. It is easier said than done trying to change the traditional idea which has taken root and the way of doing things which has been the practice for many years.

Second, because of the absence of normal democracy, political questions are taboo, and the question of party-government relationship is particularly sensitive. Anyone who broaches the subject risks being accused of "denying party leadership." There is little room for theoretical exploration and scientific appraisal, even less for discussions and contention.

Third, the question of party-government relations is in practice closely related to the question of power. So any attempt to change the status quo is bound to be met with resistance. A good example is the bumpy course of the trial implementation of the system under which factory managers should assume full responsibility.

This article will analyze a few questions which are often confusing.

## 1. Core of Leadership or Organ of Power?

In the proletariat dictatorship system, the Communist Party is the core of leadership. This is a fundamental principle of Marxism. However, party leadership over state power is one thing, and how this leadership is exercised is another. Substitution of party for government is a way for the party to exercise leadership over the state. Many reasons have contributed to the adoption of this form of leadership, and one of the important reasons is that the ruling party is regarded as an organ of power.

The party is only the leadership at the core of the power of state, not the power of state itself, much less a component of state organs. The two must not be confused. In China, for example, the people's congresses at various levels are the organs of state power, and only the supreme organ of state power has the authority to make laws and decide on important matters of state. It has become a habit in China, however, to mix up party organizations with organs of state power, even merge the two into one, and let the party organizations issue directly orders. Since the founding of the People's Republic, the practice of substituting party for government has never been thought of as something seriously wrong. During the "cultural revolution," local party committees, people's congresses and governments were simply lumped together into "revolutionary committees." The 1975 Constitution even legalized the system of making no distinction between party and government and substitution party for government. After the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Committee, the party Central Committee recognized the shortcomings of this kind of leadership system and began to find solutions. In reforming the economic system, steps have been taken to separate the work of the party, administration and production. In the forthcoming reform of the political system, the problem of the failure to separate party from government and the substitution of party for government will be solved on a broader scale.

## 2. General Leadership or Taking Everything Into Its Own Hands?

On party leadership, Lenin held: "It is necessary to draw a clear distinction between the functions and powers of the party (and its central committee) and the soviets.... The party's task is to exercise general leadership over the work of all state organs, and not to overindulge, as it is now doing, in frequent and abnormal interferences, often over details." (The Collected Works of Lenin, Vol 33, p 221)

Specifically, "general leadership" includes the following three aspects:

First, political leadership. The party formulates the program, line, principles and policies to guide the work of state organs. The party should give general policy guidance to state organs in drawing up economic and social development plans. On important national issues, the party should make decisions and submit them to the supreme organ of state power for consideration and approval. The party should supervise the work of state organs to prevent and correct mistakes.

Second, organizational leadership. The party nurtures, trains, assesses and selects cadres, and assigns outstanding cadres to state organs to take up

leadership work at various levels. The party should do a good job in strengthening the leading bodies in state organs and educate party members in state organs to play an exemplary vanguard role. Leading party groups should be set up in state organs and charged with the responsibility to implement the party's principles and policies and fulfill the tasks assigned by the party and the state.

Third, ideological leadership. In addition to observation, supervision and ideological education of party-member cadres and party members in general, the party must also vigorously strengthen ideological and political education of the nonparty masses, disseminate the party's program, line, principles and policies among them, increase their ideological consciousness, and arouse their enthusiasm and creativeness, so that the masses will consciously accept the party's leadership and work hard to achieve the fighting goals set by the party.

Political leadership is the most important among the three. Therefore, the party's general leadership over state organs is mainly political leadership.

Because some party organizations have confused themselves with organs of state power, like to issue orders, are in the habit of exceeding their own functions and meddling in other's affairs, and even take everything into their own hands, the phenomenon of the lack of distinction between party and government and the substitution of party for government has become a chronic and stubborn disease. After the victory of the revolution and the founding of the nationwide political power, especially after the beginning of the construction period, a transition should be made from no separation to separation of party from government. In fact, however, the problem of party-government relationship remained unresolved. In many areas and departments, the problem of party organizations taking over administrative work actually took a turn for the worse. The process of party organizations taking everything into their own hands was further hastened by the stress on "upholding the party's centralized leadership." The practice of making no distinction between party and government had its beginning in the Soviet Union. In the Soviet Union, however, the lack of distinction between party and government exists mainly in upper-level state organs, and there is separation of party from administration in enterprises and institutions. Soviet enterprises and institutions are under a system of "one-man leadership," that is, the leadership of factory directors, managers, principals, institute directors, and so forth. The party organizations in these basic-level units play only a supervisory and guaranteeing role. By contrast, we have extended the "centralized leadership" of party organizations into enterprises and institutions, and the "party committee leadership system" has replaced the "system under which the factory director assumes full responsibility." Thus, it has become the unshirkable responsibility of party organizations to take over the administrative and production work. Practice has proven that this kind of "centralized leadership," which means party organizations "taking everything into their own hands," does not and cannot have any positive effect on the production and administration of enterprises and institutions. However, habit is second nature. Once the practice of party organizations taking administrative work into their own hands has become a habit, many people will regard this abnormal practice as right and proper, certainly not to be changed easily. The problem of the lack of distinction between party and government has become such that a solution must be found without further delay.

### 3. Collective Leadership or Individual Leadership?

The party's organizational principle is democratic centralism. The principle of collective leadership is to be followed by all party organizations, from the party Central Committee down to party committees at all levels and to party branch committees. The party committee is a collegiate organization. The secretary of a party committee is the "squad leader" of the party committee's leading body, not a "leader" who can give orders to other committee members. When a disputed issue or an important question is put to a vote, both the secretary and other committee members have one vote each, and the secretary has no right to make a "ruling" or to "veto" a committee decision. Only in the handling of day-to-day work are the secretary and the responsible persons of the party committee's working departments functioning as superiors and subordinates. Of course, there must be centralism within the party, but power must be centralized in the party's collective organizations, and not in any individual. Individual possession of unlimited power is not in keeping with the party's principle of democratic centralism.

In China, where the influence of feudal-despotism is deep-rooted and widespread, the negative influence of the personality cult and absolute personal power introduced from the Soviet Union has greatly encourage the formation and growth of the patriarchal system and the practice of "what I say goes" in the party. From the mid-1950's, normal democratic practices disappeared in the party and the country; inner-party democratic centralism and the principle of collective leadership were violated repeatedly; and patriarchal phenomena, such as "what I say goes," one man making all the decisions on major issues, the personality cult, and one man placing himself above the party organization, grew and spread quickly and reached the peak during the "cultural revolution." In those years, the "supreme guide" carried much more weight than the constitution, individual authority was much higher than that of the organization, and collective leadership was completely replaced by personal leadership.

That was what happened in the party Central Committee. The situation in local party organizations, enterprises and institutions was much the same. The emphasis on "centralized leadership" resulted in the overconcentration of power in the party committee and the phenomenon of party organizations "taking everything into their own hands" on the one hand, and the concentration of party committee's power in the secretary, turning the collective leadership into personal leadership and "centralized leadership" into "one-man leadership" on the other.

The overconcentration of power in one person made it possible for that person to act without any restraint and wield unlimited power. It opened the floodgates for the outbreak of the "cultural revolution," a great calamity which pushed the national economy to the brink of bankruptcy and brought great suffering to the party and people.

### 4. Strengthening or Weakening Party Leadership?

Some comrades hold that making no distinction between party and government and substituting party for government is the way to strengthen party leadership. They are afraid that separation of party from government will lead to the weakening of party leadership. Actually it is not so.

It seems that by making no distinction between party and government and substituting party for government, the party will have supreme authority and unlimited power, enabling it to directly handle affairs of state, exercise leadership over everything, command everything, replace everything and take everything into its own hands. And isn't this a great strengthening of party leadership? If this leadership system is changed, and the party is separated from the government, then the party will no longer be able to directly manage affairs of state, or issue orders to state organs, or take administrative work into its own hands. In the reformed enterprises and institutions, the party will only be able to play a supervisory and guaranteeing role. Isn't this a serious weakening of party leadership. However, Marxists must not only see the appearance of things, but more important, examine their essence. In the new period of modernization and organizational reform, if we still adhere to the old way of leadership, making no distinction between party and government and substituting party for government, not only will we fail to strengthen party leadership, but we will weaken it. If we can change and reform the leadership system in good time and separate party from government, party leadership will be strengthened, not weakened. This is because:

First, the practice of making no distinction between party and government and substituting party for government will lower the party's leadership position and adversely affect its development. The party is the core of leadership in state organs, and not a component of them. If the party takes the state organs' work into its own hands, its position is lowered from the core of leadership to a component of government. If the party organizations concentrate on handling the state organs day-to-day chores, it inevitable will affect the party's policymaking role in formulating principles and policies on the basis of investigation and study and using them to guide the state organs' work. It will also affect the party organizations' own development, and may even lead to the "failure of the party to take care of its own affairs," an abnormal situation which may occur not because the party chooses to neglect its own affairs, but because the party stretches itself too thin. In some units, the party's organization department is combined with the administrative personnel department. As a result, the party's organization work and the examination and training of cadres, which should be the main tasks of its organization department, are put aside or totally ignored, because the party organization department's time and efforts are spent mostly on handling administrative affairs such as recruitment, transfers, labor management, wage and welfare matters, etc. This is case of "tending others' fields at the expense of one's own."

Second, the practice of making no distinction between party and government and substituting party for government will curtail the authority of the organs of state power and dampen the people's enthusiasm to be masters. Ours is a country of socialist democracy and the people are masters of society and country. As stipulated by the Constitution, all powers belong to the people, and the people exercise their powers through the people's congresses. The people's congresses at all levels are organs of state power, or organs which exercise powers of state on behalf of the people. Therefore, an important standard to determine whether the people can really enjoy their rights as masters is whether the people's congresses can really play their role as organs of state power, and whether they have the authority organs of state power and of people's representatives should

have. If we continue the practice of making no distinction between party and government and substituting party for government, not respect the functions and power of the people's congresses and their standing committees, regard the organs of state power as "rubber stamps" and "voting machines," even push the representative organs aside and let the party organizations to directly make laws and issue orders, what authority can the organs of state power still have? In some places, the party organizations regard the party's responsibility to train and select cadres and the authority of the organs of state power to appoint and dismiss them as contradictory to one another. Thus the function of the organs of state power to elect, appoint and dismiss cadres is taken over by the party's organization departments. Orders are issued, and cadres assume offices. The accomplished facts are then sent to the organs of state power for retroactive acceptance and satisfaction of the formalities. Is this the way to exercise the power of appointment and removals? The principle of "the party taking care of cadres" should be followed, because organizational leadership is an aspect of party leadership. The question is, how, to what extent, and how to achieve harmony with the power of appoints and removals of the organs of state power? With regard to cadres who should be elected, appointed or removed by the organs of state power, the party's organization departments should conduct an examination and, with the approval of party committees at the same level, may make recommendations to the organs of state power. Whether appointments and removals are made as recommended is for the organs of state power to decide. Those who treat the authority of the organs of state power to appoint and remove cadres as a mere formality are wrong and showing their disrespect for the functions and powers of the people's representative organs. The same is true for legislation. Draft laws examined and approved by the party Central Committee must be voted on and approved by the NPC or the NPC Standing Committee to have legal force. If the organ of supreme state power does not approve, the drafts will not become laws because our laws represent the people's will translated into the national will, and the people's will is inviolable. Because the organs of state power exercise their authority on behalf of the people, failure to respect the functions and powers of the organs of state power means lack of respect for the people's rights as masters. It will dampen the people's enthusiasm to participate in the nation's political life and will engender "political apathy."

Third, the practice of making no distinction between party and government and substituting party for government will weaken the administrative work of government departments and impede the normal progress in the modernization drive. Because of the lack of distinction between party and government, the party has interfered too much in the functions of government departments, enterprises and institutions, "taking over many things they should not and cannot do," and making it impossible for the government departments to fully play their role in state administration and impossible for the enterprises and institutions to set up a unified administrative and command system. Production and work cannot but be adversely affected. A socialist state is the representative and manager of society as a whole. Its task is to organize production and distribution and to organize cultural and educational development according to the party's line, principles and policies, which makes it necessary to establish a complete administrative and management system and a production command system. The various government departments are the organizers of state economic and cultural

administrative work and the executors of party policies and principles. Party leadership over government departments lies mainly in formulating policies and principles, making decisions on major issues, and insuring and supervising the implementation of the party's principles and policies. As to the specific administrative and business tasks, they should be handled independently by the administrative departments. Since the party is not an administrative or production organization, why should it interfere unnecessarily in administrative and production work? Some comrades are afraid that the implementation of the system of factory directors, managers, principals and institute directors assuming full responsibility implies abandoning collective leadership and is apt to encourage arbitrary individual actions. Actually individual responsibility and collective leadership are not absolutely mutually exclusive. According to provisions of the Constitution, governments and their working departments at all levels should practice the system of overall responsibility by the administrative leaders, and at the same time, collegial organizations such as executive meetings, work meetings, etc., should also be set up. Decisions are made by the administrative leaders based on collegial recommendations. Isn't this an integration of individual responsibility and collective leadership? By contrast, in departments where the party committee is in overall charge, decisions are often made arbitrarily by one individual in the name of collective leadership, and if the individual makes a wrong decision, the collective will take the blame. Can this be called real collective leadership? The system of individual responsibility is needed not only by the administrative departments, but, even more urgently, by the enterprises and institutions. Yet, what they have had in the past few years is a system of responsibility by the factory director or principal under the leadership of the party committee. This system seems to have integrated collective leadership with individual responsibility. Actually it has separated power from responsibility, and, in the abnormal situation that has resulted, the factory directors and principals have only responsibilities but no power, while the party committee secretaries have power but no responsibility. It has had a negative effect on both party and administrative work.

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LAWS ENACTED IN 1986 SUMMARIZED

Beijing ZHONGGUO FAZHI BAO in Chinese 31 Dec 86 p 3

[Article by Zhu Changli [2612 7022 4539]: "Summary of 1986 Legislation"]

[Excerpts] China's developing legal system reaped a rich harvest in 1986. The Standing Committee of the NPC and the State Council passed and approved a series of important laws, rules, and regulations one after the other during this year and step by step put them into effect. The most important ones are: "Fishery Law of the PRC," "Mineral Resources Law of the PRC," "General Principles of the PRC Civil Code," "PRC Law on Compulsory Education," "PRC Law on Foreign Enterprises," "PRC Law on Land Administration," "Enterprise Bankruptcy Law of the PRC (Provisional)," as well as "Enforcement Provisions to the Regulations Governing Citizens Identification Cards," "Security Administration Punishment Regulations of the PRC," and "PRC Regulations on Foreign Diplomatic Privileges and Immunities."

A great event in the development of China's legal system was the promulgation of the "General Principles of the PRC Civil Code," adopted 12 April this year at the Fourth Session of the Sixth NPC effective as of 1 January of next year.

The purpose of the "PRC Law on Compulsory Education" is to develop basic education and promote the development of socialist spiritual civilization. It was adopted 12 April this year at the Fourth Session of the Sixth NPC and became effective on 1 July.

The "Enforcement Provisions to the PRC Regulations Governing Citizens Identification Cards" were promulgated this year as important administrative regulations, following the "PRC Regulations Governing Citizens Identification Cards." They were approved by the State Council on 3 November of this year and promulgated on 28 November by the Ministry of Public Security.

The newly revised "Security Administration Punishment Regulations of the PRC" were adopted at the 17th Session of the Standing Committee of the 6th NPC and will become effective on 1 January 1987.

The other laws, such as the fishery law, mineral resources law, foreign enterprise law, land administration law, etc., have all been formulated to regulate legal relations in different fields of the economy. They will all

serve to promote the development of China's national economy. The Standing Committee of the Sixth NPC adopted and promulgated at its 18th Session the "Enterprise Bankruptcy Law (Provisional) of the PRC," "Frontier Public Health and Quarantine Law of the PRC," and "Postal Administration Law of the PRC."

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QUALIFIED LEGAL PERSONNEL IN GREAT DEMAND

Beijing ZHONGGUO FAZHI BAO in Chinese 12 Dec 86 p 2

[Article by Cai Cheng [5591 6134], vice minister of justice: "Training Legal Personnel Is a Top Priority"]

[Excerpts] The vigorous promotion of legal education and the acceleration of the training of mid- and high-level legal personnel to meet the actual needs of all sectors of the state and society is an extremely urgent task of China's economic and legal-system construction for now and will be for a fairly long time to come.

First, this task is urgent because China needs to carry out economic restructuring and the four modernizations in an all-around way.

Second, the task is urgent because China needs to perfect its socialist legal system which is a strategic goal.

Third, the task is urgent because China currently has a serious shortage of legal personnel who are too few to meet the needs of China's population of 1 billion. Take lawyers, for example. China now has 10,000-plus full-time and 20,000-plus part-time lawyers, 30,000 in total, accounting for only about 3 percent of its population or averaging only 3 lawyers for every 10,000 people. China has over 3 million enterprises, but only 30,000-some enterprises, or 1 percent, have hired lawyers as legal advisers. Since most enterprises have been unable to find lawyers, many of them have come to grief economically due to their lack of legal knowledge. Only half of all criminal cases have defense lawyers. It is also very hard for the masses to hire lawyers for legal advice or to represent them in civil cases. These problems have made it difficult to protect people's democratic rights in legal practice.

This extreme shortage of legal personnel is due basically to our negligence of legal-system development and failure in making resolute and vigorous efforts to train legal personnel during the period between the PRC's founding and the 3d Plenum of the 11th CPC Committee, especially during 10 years of civil strife when all political and law schools were destroyed completely. After the 3d Plenum of the 11th CPC Central Committee, under the concern of the central government and the State Council, five political science and law schools under the administration of the Ministry of Justice were promptly

restored, and educational networks and local universities also restored or added law departments (or schools) one after another. During the same period, 30 secondary law schools and 17 political and legal cadres' training schools were open across China. Moreover, a large number of college students studied law through television programs, correspondence courses, night schools, and vocational schools. Therefore, we should say that considerable progress and marked achievements have been made in legal education in the past few years. However, there is still a long way to go in meeting the needs of current and future development of the legal system. According to human resource forecasts, by the end of this century, China will need approximately 500,000 personnel with higher education in law. But, only 1 percent of Chinese college students now major in law; only 4,000-some law students graduate from college every year. This means that it would take over a century to meet the target of personnel forecast. Taking so long to train legal personnel would by no means serve our purpose.

12302

CSO: 4005/385

NOTED LAWYER LI GUOJI INTERVIEWED

Shanghai FAXUE [JURISPRUDENCE] in Chinese No 1, 10 Jan 87 pp 36-37

[Interview with Li Guoji [2621 0948 2623] by staff reporter Shi Binhai [2457 3453 3189]: "Vexations of a Lawyer and the Change of the System; Record of a Dialog with Famous Lawyer Li Guoji"; date and place of interview not given; first paragraph is source-supplied introduction]

[Excerpts] Li Guoji, male, was born September 1926. He graduated in 1952 from Fudan University's department of law, among the first generation of new China's specialized lawyers. In 1957 he was wrongly designated a "rightist." He is now head of the fifth lawyers office of Shanghai Municipality. In recent years he acted as defense lawyer in such important criminal cases as the case of Huang Jinhai [7806 6855 3189], key member of the "gang of four," of spies Li Junmin [2621 0193 3046] and "Hua Yi [5478 1355]," of Yu Tiemin [0151 6993 3046], and of Chen Xiaomeng [7115 1420 5536]. He also serves as legal advisor for almost 100 enterprises.

Some time ago, Lawyer Li Guoji accepted an invitation of the Hong Kong Lawyers Association, went to Hong Kong, and presented a study of the legal system. On his return to Shanghai, I heard that his presentation was very successful and contained some ideas and thoughts relevant to the reform of China's legal system. In the courts of law, he speaks out boldly in defense of justice, presents his views with great fervor, and has the reputation of a great lawyer. What new ideas regarding the reform of China's legal system does he have now? To find out, I interviewed him and had the following dialog.

Question: How do you evaluate Hong Kong lawyers?

Answer: With the following words: Modern, high quality, efficiency-minded, speedminded. The use of modern technology has generally been introduced into the legal profession. More and more lawyers rely on computers; computers search cases and records, law texts, and collect evidence, rendering the work of lawyers highly efficient.

Question: In comparison, do lawyers in China still appear to be in the "transitional state of poverty"?

Answer: Yes; this cannot be summed up in a few words. With regard to status, treatment, structure of knowledge, if compared to Hong Kong lawyers, the Chinese lawyers are indeed in a "transitional state of poverty." What to

do about it? I too am much vexed; what is the way out for Chinese lawyers? Relying on a leadership personality to say a few words, would lawyers then really be taken seriously? Not likely. The key lies in a reform of our system, a further acknowledgment in legal terms of the legal position of lawyers. Otherwise, it is that one day we are given a favor, that tomorrow can be completely withdrawn and invalidated. Have we still had too few lessons of this kind? Since you came today for an interview, I can also open up from my "sutra of sorrows."

Question: Straightforward talk from a straightforward person, the temperament of a man from Sichuan, honest and frank, I have heard before of Li Guoji's character, I am very eager to hear the sorrows of the great lawyer, and let us see whether we can't arouse the "Goddess of Mercy."

Answer: Because of China's long period of feudalism rule by single rulers, a person working as a lawyer will frequently feel pressures from various quarters, even to the extent of having to take some risks. But as I see it, the more pressures there are, the more necessary it becomes to clarify facts, to take facts as evidence, and to use the law as guideline. Only without selfishness can there be fearlessness. If a lawyer cannot speak boldly in defense of justice, what use would people have for lawyers? At the start, some people would willfully criticize me, Li Guoji, even going so far as to vilify and slander me, but now? People are again acting as before. There was a person accused in a criminal case who wanted to ask me to defend him. As a result, he was abused by the judge: "What is the use of your hiring Li Guoji? We will show him some sentencing, we will add 2 more years to your sentence, believe it?" In another case the law court pronounced sentence at 3:30 pm, but when people read the XINMIN evening paper, they saw that the sentence had already been revealed to the press. Some showed me the evening paper and said angrily, the lawyer only put on a false show, the sentence had already been decided internally. What a useless waste of energy! These two cases have upset me very much. It may not matter if people curse Li Guoji and don't trust Li Guoji, but is this contempt directed against me personally? No! It is contempt for the entire legal system. In the mind and eyes of the people, the proper image of a lawyer has not been established. China is not yet a country of rule by law, the lawyer is merely like a guest invited to entertain a main figure. Acting as a lawyer I sometimes have a bad conscience toward my clients. In the last few years we have had cases of people who had been unjustly, falsely, and wrongly charged. The social foundation that had engendered these cases of unjust, false, and wrong charges has not yet been eradicated. It is still rule by men, where it is possible that the word of men and mere power supercede law.

Question: At the end of this interview, can you characterize in one word the present Chinese law profession?

(Thirty seconds of thought)

Answer: Lawyers are still walking a tightrope.

9808

CSO: 4005/461

TEXT OF MA JIAN NOVEL 'YIN AND YANG'

HK171517 Hong Kong MING PAO in Chinese 10, 11, 12, 13 Mar 87

[Novel by Ma Jian [7456 1696]: "Yin and Yang"]

[10 Mar 87 p 20]

[Text] [Editor's note] The first issue of this year's TEQU WENXUE [SPECIAL ZONE LITERATURE], under the control of the Shenzhen Federation of Literature and Art Circles, carried Ma Jian's novel entitled "Yin and Yang." It was said that this article was the main cause of the "voluntary" suspension of TEQU WENXUE. Now the full text of this novel will be reprinted here for our readers' judgment.

The novel contains about 7,000 Chinese characters. The first part is reprinted here today. The remaining parts will be carried on successive days beginning tomorrow. Subheads have been provided by the editor. [End editor's note]

He crawled out of the grave and lay on the slope covered with fallen bamboo leaves. He felt himself retching. He put his hand on his chest, lifted it up, and raised it above his head. He saw the outer layers of skin of the 1,000-layered tree falling off, one after another: Her smooth skin, her well-developed nape, her moon-shaped buttocks, her girlish feet--that summer.

Moon-shaped Buttocks; a Creeping Feeling on the Eyelids as He Watches Her

She was looking through those dresses at his stall. She pulled up her skirt to her knees and squatted down. This pair of sandals.... He fixed the wooden bench for her. Her feet were very near him. He helped her put on her shoes. He sniffed. The sweat from her soles and from inside her skirt smelled a little bit sour. Sunshine was beating down on the muddy road. He had the feeling that something was creeping over his forehead and his eyelids. He was watching her.

He felt as if he had just awakened, or as if he were in a drunken stupor. He knew that he now had blood on his hands. The blood of a woman. Hers. He also knew that she was lying in a coffin not far from here. He had perhaps just opened the coffin with a chisel or that pickaxe.

Roaring motor vehicles carrying goods from the suburbs to the city had begun moving along the highway. He felt that he must go back. Tomorrow, at the stall, he must still display a few bracelets. He had that bundle of short skirts to be fixed with false labels. He had never put that ruby ring up for sale. It was stolen when his grandfather was still around. At this time, he wanted badly to hold it in his hand, scanning its edges and corners and its bright red color. He sat up, and looked around. In the direction of a clump of trees, he saw a winding road, which showed in between gaps. It narrowed and trailed off. At the graveyard, bamboos grew in a disorderly manner, with no grass under them. At the heads of some graves banknotes were kept for the other world. Two wreaths rested against the tombstone at his back. The paper flowers had been damaged by rainwater, with nothing but a few silver-colored leaves left on the frames. In the gloom of the graveyard, he could manage to see well. He suddenly thought of the body of an intellectual buried here. He had just graduated from college when he was labeled a rightist. It was said that he had returned from abroad. On a Sunday, he could always be seen at the station for long-distance buses plying between Nanling town and the city. He put on the formal suit he had brought from abroad. His pair of leather shoes was well polished. He never rushed to get aboard. He waited until the women with chickens and ducks in tow and the traveling trades carrying their wares on shoulder poles had climbed up, trailing clouds of dust.... When his father and he opened the coffin containing this man's body, they could find almost nothing of value. That gold tooth proved to be not what it was supposed to be. This was something of a blow to his father. The latter had twice invited the man to a tea party, checking his gold tooth and shooting the breeze with him. The guest had claimed that it was a tooth made of genuine foreign gold. The wristwatch had kind of rotted. The clothes had torn in several places when removed from him. "Father blamed me for that, calling me a fool. But I had clearly seen his wife buying a brand-new Chinese style woolen suit from the Yuanqiang department store. He had also bought himself a jade ring from my stall."

#### Peddling Tablets Dedicated to the Memory of the Dead and Articles Worn by Big and Little Devils and the King of Hell

He felt the touch of bamboo leaves, which were damp and soft. The chugging of the machinery of the cement factory behind the hill had stopped. A terrible hush fell upon the burial ground. A sound suddenly rang in his ears. It was a sound often heard after the drinking of too much wine, or in the dead of night when fatigued from grave robbing.

She had finished putting on her sandals, her toes stirring. The sunshine, reflected on the cement road, had silently found its way into his throat, along the trachea, and into his lungs, heating them up. She lived at the junction of the roads leading to the city and Yangchun County. When young, he often ran into her on his way to the school in the county town. This was a girl who could not quite fit into the countryside--her red-colored schoolbag, her two legs that drew tight together as she walked. At that time, there was no access road in the town for motor vehicles. The horse-drawn

carts carrying corpses to Nanling Town had left the surface of the road pitted and dented--in such bad shape that even chickens and dogs had difficulty chasing about. When his mother was around, his family's stall chiefly sold tablets dedicated to the memory of the dead--joss paper, incense sticks, and wreaths. Sometimes his mother made silk flowers and cut out patterns of Buddha and the like for sale. At home he kept several suits for boys and girls that were worn on special funeral occasions, and headgear supposedly for big and little devils and the king of hell. He were hired out for special funeral ceremonies. On one such occasion, at the age of 9, he and several children in the town put on young children's clothing, their cheeks daubed with red powder and their eyebrows adorned with a red spot in between, as they moved with the funeral party. He remembered her. When his mother was fixing her a plait meant to point skyward, she was unable to make it stand up, no matter how she tried, because the girl had too little hair. Only by putting several strips of black stain into her hair did his mother succeed. She cried. His mother gave her a silk butterfly. The funeral procession stretched all the way from Xiaobeitang, outside of town, to the burial ground. He remembered the paper horse, which was as large as a real one, its tongue moving with the steps of the people who carried it. At the side of the tomb, it was burned with a sizzling sound. The bamboo skeleton twisted and turned in the fire.

The year the highway was repaired, a lot of sand was delivered. He dug holes on the heap of sand, she standing beside him. They worked at it together. Four tiny hands moved fast, digging through the sand and reaching as far down as their arms could reach. That day, she did not return. He had waited for her to bring paper to cover up the holes. He waited to be near her, to smell the scent of her body, to see her rosy little face wet with drops of sweat, and to look deep into her eyes.

He knew that she was an only child, a higher middle school graduate. The people of many shops in this street recognized her. They all knew that she was fond of buying cloth dolls.

#### Father Took Him on a Grave-Robbing Trip; He Was Just Clumsy

She left the stall. He followed her and reached here--this piece of land for the dead. He lay down, watching her shake a tree and letting drops of water fall. She smiled, jumped, and leaned against the tree. It grew dark. He had wanted darkness. This was a place where automobile lights never reached and where no one would take a shortcut. He knew the place like the back of his hand. At the age of 13, his father had brought him here to rob graves. He was clumsy then. He always crawled on the ground and often had his hand cut or scratched by splinters. The smell of corpses made him retch. In these 9 years, he had gotten to know the burial ground well. Even if it got darker, he knew how to get out without making a sound.

He thought of that afternoon when it had drizzled. It seemed it would never get dark. He had almost made it to behind her back. He could hear her reciting a poem to herself. He was leaning his full weight against the back

of the tomb, his belly and the area between his thighs seized with convulsions. This was something he often did. In the past few years, not a few of the women leaving night-shift work at the cement factory and passing by had been intercepted by him. With his strength, he effortlessly gripped the woman's neck silencing her.

He saw her wipe her hair, wet with rain, as she came over. He saw her pull up her skirt and squat down. He saw it, wide-eyed--something moving in between the legs. He drew tight, tight, tight, and tight against her, her, her, her, her. He did not move. He did not move a muscle.

#### A Girl Drank Poison To Kill Herself; He Bent Over the Corpse at Night

He began to think of the girl who had killed herself by drinking DDT and who was buried at the side of the ditch 50-odd meters away. In the past few years, her corpse had rotted away. His lower chin bone suddenly felt tight, and the back of his neck stiffened. No one knew why she had died. That night, only after the morning-shift machinery of the cement factory had started humming had he let her go. She had knelt down, her hand clutching spastically at the waist of her trousers. Her shoes had come off with her stockings during the struggle. The places where she was bruised were covered with mud. Her hair and her belly were smudged with grass. He had opened the grave. He found that she had a better complexion than the night before last. He pulled off her new clothes and took away the things given her by her friends, relatives, and colleagues, and a collection of photos of her, all of them. He had remained bent over the body for almost half a night. He covered up the coffin only after the smell of DDT had become more than he could bear.

He climbed up and stumbled to his mother's grave. He had often shunned the place. Only when his father had hit him in his boyhood had he come, crying his eyes out. The head of the grave had somehow sunk. The characters on the stone tablet had become indistinguishable. He pulled out some of the weeds, allowing more of the tablet to show. He sweated, his trousers and sweater all wet. A breath of fresh air sent the dry bamboo leaves suddenly moving across the ground with a rustle.

#### Pulling Weeds To Uncover the Tablet and Getting a Fever Because of a Skin Ulcer on the Back of the Neck

Night. It was an empty night. On the bare branches of a tree hung a few pieces of stray joss paper, wafted there from wreaths. An unknown animal scurried from behind a tomb into a thick patch of grass, wailing at the side of a ditch. Another gust of wind swept across the graveyard. He moved a little. He looked back: Mother. A woman from the south, often seen in the countryside. She smiled, her mouth half open and her forehead shining. He turned around (without showing fear). Mother came over from behind the stone tablet. She touched his forehead. Tears spilled from his eyes, warm drops of salty water streaming down his face and finding their way into his collar. His eyes smarted. He could scarcely open them. He could not tell whether it was all real. Mother's hand was damp. She was also sobbing--

sobbing for him. It was like when she has sat by his sickbed, her body trembling with sobs. He had been afflicted with a skin ulcer on the back of his neck, running a fever.

Every day, Mother carried him piggyback. A linen sheet was used to tie him on her back, as she took him to the hospital to have the pus removed. Every day she climbed the slope south of the graveyard. Things had escaped his memory, his eyes sore and bleary. But now suddenly he remembered everything. Her nape streaked with sweat, her moist and shining hair, her sweat-soaked dress, the warmth and smell of her body pressed against his. On the red dry earth of the road leading to the country town, she had hummed a folk song, chewing biscuits and feeding him with what she had moistened.

Only when he grew older, with the death of his mother, did he realize that that kind of disease could have killed him. At that time, his mother had let him have blood transfusions from her.

He again saw an expanse of lake water before him. He stood on the water's surface and gradually sank down. The water was cold. He felt very hot. He kept going down. Slowly he felt as if water were entering his body and circulating in his blood vessels. He felt like a hollow tube that flowed past in a surge of water. The flesh all over his body was coming off like pieces of discarded orange peel. He lost all feeling in his body. He could not move. But he knew that his body was swelling until it turned into a column or piece of stone--so big that he himself could not see what was about him. This mammoth was rolling forward and in his direction. He let out a cry. Mother's hand fell on his shoulder. A burning feeling began to come over him.

#### The Baby in the Dream; The Eerie Feeling of Lying in the Coffin

Mother's hand was touching his throat, his spine, the top of his head and between his eyebrows. He felt a discomfort never experienced before. He wanted to clutch at something. His body seemed to be still in water. The water was breathable, soft and sweet--childhood (that is inconceivable). The sensation of being breast-fed at his mother's bosom rushed to his mind. The milk felt warm and titillating in his mouth, his stomach, and his urethra. He saw the likeness of himself as a child--a head of darkish hair, a tiny hand grabbing the nipple, a pair of trousers cut open at the bottom so that what was described as a tiny chick peeked out. He did not dare judge that to be himself. The voice, first of all, was not like his. At the age of 14 or 15, his voice had changed, becoming rough and harsh. Moreover, he simply did not smile that way. Or he smiled without making a sound. But the smell of that child was his. He carefully sniffed at this baby in the dream. He was all the more certain that it was the smell of him in infancy--the smell that all babies have. He breathed a sigh of relief and smiled in spite of himself. He saw the tiny paper boat he had made floating away from the side of the ditch and drifting on the surface of the lake. When it rained, he splashed about in the water, barefoot. He lifted up his face, letting the rain fall into his mouth. He was fond of toys. The cloth giraffe his mother made had arrived. But it had no eyes. He also saw the wooden pencil box that he had

used in his school years and wanted to open it to look at his pencils. He remembered a pencil with a pink eraser at the top. He tried futilely to pull it open. He decided to shut it more tightly. He pressed both hands on the cover of the box and pushed forcefully. Suddenly, the box yielded. There was no pencil inside. She lay therein. Like before, she lay in the coffin--staring at him. The blood in her mouth was gone. She was gazing at him quietly.

[11 Mar 87 p 15]

[Text] This pair of eyes he was unable to evade. He knew her name: Fang Jing. But when she was alive, he never called her. He never intended to call her. As a matter of fact, he never called anybody. At first, he said it in a low voice, in a harsh and awkward tone that disgusted him. The voice thus created from the tip of his tongue was indistinct. He wondered whether he had made a cry. He repeated it. This time it was clear. It was the voice of a man.

Then he was shocked by what he had cried out:

"What on earth have I, have I done--"

"I should have come earlier, yes, I should--oh--come, come, come--." Suddenly he felt his throat choked. He wailed, digging the mud with his fingers.

The Eyes of Grave Robbers, as Dull as Those of Owls

He came to himself a little.

He realized that he must go somewhere. "I should go back there." He felt that he was moving muddle-headedly, as if his feet were not touching the ground, and large groups of flying insects were buzzing all around.

He leaned against a bamboo, hoping that he could clam down a little before continuing to think. With the rumble of a motor, a flash of light streaked across the graveyard. He saw himself: a man without a smile, but with a pair of greedy eyes, a man who was mean, obscene, cold-blooded, and sordid. He thought, this was just the opposite of his father's expression when greeting customers at his stall. He considered himself very carefully once again: his forehead was a bit like his mother's, and his chin was more or less handsome. The rest was all like his father's, especially the eyebrows and eye sockets--the special eyes of a grave robber: stiff and insensitive. They could see things clearly at night but became stupid during the day, just like an owl's.

Profession Inherited From Ancestors, Stealing Things Left Behind by the Dead

He held the bamboo so that he would not slip and fall down. He had been afraid of his father, of the pair of gloomy eyes. When he grew up a little,

he tried to make himself more cold-blooded, more fierce, so that he could escape from the fears deep in his heart. Now he was a stout fellow, but he was still afraid of him. His father seldom talked to him, just giving him instructions by hints. Whenever he looked at his father, he knew at once what he should do and that he should act according to his father's will. The old man usually did not have much to say until they returned home after robbing the graves. He would take off his clothes, wash his hands with white spirits, fiddle with the valuables under the lamp, and then say:

"This is a profession inherited from our ancestors. I have brought you up in all these things." When saying this, he would usually stare at him.

"Taking things from the dead is not stealing or robbing. The dead cannot become alive again. Moreover, when they were alive, they enjoyed a happy life. And they took so many good things with them when they died, rotting with their bodies, no?"

"Look here, this pick was used by your grandpa. He would not have been shot dead if he had not joined the gang to rob Fan Yingyuan's grave."

Now, since the coffins were not the same as those in the past, even the father did not know how to use the iron tools inherited from the ancestors, except for this hand pick. The durable and heavy pick, with a sandalwood handle, had two ends, one in the shape of a beak, and the other like an awl. In the middle of the pick there was a curved piece of iron attached to the wooden handle through the pick hole, which was made in the shape of a claw. Thus, no matter how long the coffin nails were, they could be easily removed.

[12 Mar 87 p 19]

[Text] Well-Experienced in Digging Up Graves To Steal Ornaments

It had not taken his father longer to dig a grave than to finish two pipes. His father had taught him first to rake aside the dry earth on the surface and then to dig from the southern side of the grave mound. (Gold and silver ornaments, expensive clothing, and other valuables are usually placed near the head of a corpse.) The damp earth was to be shoveled onto a large piece of canvas so that all that was needed was to lift the canvas to refill the hole. He had all kinds of tools at his disposal. By knocking on the boards of a coffin a few times he would be able to tell whether the coffin was fitted with secret slots or nailed together. He could pull out what was in the coffin with only an iron hook. Being stronger than his father, he could force open the mouth of the dead and wrench out a gold or silver tooth without the use of tongs. He knew like the palm of his hand who had been buried in what place and in what kind of coffin in the graveyard covering 1 square km.

In the daytime, his father went from place to place selling genuine or fake ornaments, clothes, and other articles stolen from the graves, and secretly inquiring about who had died and who was going to die. He also urged others to buy articles to be buried with the dead. He told the relatives of the

deceased that a dead person moves from one place to another and so it is necessary to provide the dead with ample articles for daily use, especially gold and silver ornaments.

#### Reviling Cremation as Something Offensive to God and Reason

He recounted in detail life after death on many occasions (as if he had been there before): Old people are waiting there and newcomers should kowtow to them and present them with gifts after entering the door. Young people should also marry and give birth to a child after their death. If those who have sinned do not take enough money and valuables when they do to see the king of hell, they will first be fried in a cauldron of oil and, if they are still alive, will be torn asunder by five carts. Those who have performed good deeds should also take with them some gifts when they go to see the jade emperor in the southern heaven. They should also present the Buddha with gold bracelets. If the dead do not take something with them, they will return every night and weep by the door. He had a few stories about "real persons and things" which he had recounted for several decades. They were all about souls that were dissatisfied with the articles buried with the dead and were coming back to settle accounts with their relatives. He reviled cremation as something offensive to God and reason and said that a cement coffin would make it impossible for the soul to go to heaven.

#### Dragging Himself Along, He Roams About the Graveyard

At the sound of the machinery in the cement plant, he knew that the morning shift had begun. It was 5 o'clock in the morning but there was still no sign of daybreak. A few fireflies dashed themselves against his face and flew away. He found himself at the place where he had heard her reciting a poem. Here the terrain was rather flat and the grave mounds were few and far between. Some withered summer grass broke through the ground covered with fallen bamboo leaves and quietly stretched itself in the graveyard. What had she read with the slightly husky, childlike voice of a young girl? Then, he suddenly understood the lines that had accumulated in his mind:

If I am so impatient today, my dear,

Please forgive me because this has been the first summer rain....

The gift of love is shy. It never reveals its name. It passes through the shade, spreading a shiver of happiness through the dust. Catch it or you will miss it forever....

He did not understand these sentences, nor was it possible for him to remember them. They were only a breath temporarily in his mind. Once the mind was open, they would fly away, leaving only an empty cage. He seemed to see Fang Jing standing there crosslegged, with the rain falling on her face and her wet hair sticking to her ears. He had a premonition that something would happen in his body: His thirst for torment was swallowing him alive. He wanted to avoid himself and leave this stinking body.

He again dragged himself along, roaming about the graveyard.

On several occasions he circled Fang Jing's grave, knowing that each time he would be nearer. He stopped there, standing still for a long time and looking at the hole he had dug. One end of the coffin cover had been smashed. The open end faced the sky like a wild animal opening its mouth wide.

[13 Mar 87 p 26]

[Text] The Girl Who Had Committed Suicide Gazes at Him

Beside her grave there was another grave built of stone (the ring inlaid with a ruby had been stolen from there). It had caved in, leaving a hexagonal tombstone that seemed to rock in the wind. He again saw his mother embracing him, his fat head leaning against her bosom. Calling his mother, he threw himself on her knee. However, she pulled a long face, looking at him coldly. He was afraid: It was Fang Jing's face, unsmiling and gaping, with her badly bitten tongue coagulating in the mouth. He suddenly stood up, looking about himself: On every grave stood the dead. They approached him, some hurriedly moving toward him from afar, and the girl who had committed suicide silently walking in front of him and gazing at him. The smell of DDT irritated his nose, causing nausea. He was completely surrounded. The Rightist who had lost a "gold tooth" stretched out his hand to throttle him. He felt innumerable hands sticking into his flesh, tearing off one piece after another. He did not feel the pain but was aware that he was disintegrating and disappearing. He saw his own skeleton, with only the hair left. Feeling slightly at ease, he tried to stand up. He stood.

Bloody Scratches Between the Breasts

He tried to recollect how he had come here tonight. But incoherent images always leaped into his mind.

After drinking some wine and rubbing himself with wine, he had walked into the graveyard in a daze. When he drew near, he heard her hoarse cries coming from the grave. He was so startled that he fled, bumping against a tree trunk. When he came to, he returned to the site, trembling with fear. But the sound had disappeared. He thought he had drunk too much. After placing his clothes on the ground, he began shoveling the earth. He recalled that in the daytime he had squeezed into the crowd to look at Fang Jing's dead body. Her face was the same as when she was alive, and she seemed to be reading a poem. He had seen some people who had died of gas poisoning. They were all the same, calm, as if they were not going to rot. He had seen how the coffin cover was nailed. By that time he had figured out how to open the coffin and undo her trousers. He smashed open the cover but it was not the same calm girl in the day time. Her eyes protruded, the blood from her mouth was splashed all over her bosom, her body had twisted terribly before she was suffocated to death, and there were bloody scratches between her breasts. He realized that she had struggled desperately in the coffin after she came to. The voice that he had heard before was real.

He Takes off His Jacket To Cover Her Face

He was completely sober now. It was a bit chilly.

The pickaxe handed down in the family from one generation to another was lying on the newly piled earth. He picked it up. It was April, a time when spring was very much in the air. Countless lives were growing and spreading on the ground. He thought of the tree of heaven at the back of his house. At this time of the year his mother used to let him climb the tree to pick some buds. He often scared his mother by threatening to jump down from the tree until she promised to sew him some good things. Where was the giraffe she had made for him? He could smell the odor from Fang Jing's body when she was trying on shoes. When she bent over to look at the sandals, he saw her swelling chest....

He put the hands and feet of the corpse in order and smoothed out her torn clothes, covering up her bosom, which was full of scratches. He took off his jacket to cover her face and then put her hair in order.

Three days later, people discovered the two corpses. Putting a rope round his neck, his father pulled him out of the coffin and buried him at a nearby place. After that, nobody ever saw his father in Nanling Town.

Each spring, there is always a stinking smell coming from the low-lying land, where the dust-covered wild grass lies here and there and swarms of flies buzz all around.

/6662

CSO: 4005/532

## DISCUSSION OF CONTRADICTIONS WITHIN LEADING GROUPS

Hefei ANHUI RIBAO in Chinese 1 Feb 87 p 4

[Article by Li Jinfeng [2621 6855 6912], deputy secretary, CPC Committee of Fuyang Municipality: "Correct Understanding and Handling of Contradictions Within the Leading Groups in the New Era"]

[Excerpt] At present, there are mainly three typical forms in which contradictions within the leading groups manifest themselves: 1) Historical contradictions, such as factions and past errors in the handling of certain problems, and contradictions that have not yet been resolved in spite of having been gone over again and again. 2) Contradictions due to differences of opinion in work or conceptions; many contradictions are of this nature. 3) Contradictions arising from conflicts with individual interests. A variety of causes give rise to these contradictions, the main ones being: some comrades are influenced by feudal factional concepts. In the question of cadre employment, they "appoint people based on favoritism" and set up and use a network of personal relations. Some comrades have adopted an arbitrary workstyle, some have lost the sense of mutual trust in each other. Some comrades apply outdated concepts and modes of thinking to new things arising in the course of reforms. Some comrades have been deeply influenced by "leftist" ideologies and make "struggle" their foremost consideration; among such comrades there is a lack of mutual understanding and harmonious atmosphere. Some comrades are of poor political quality; they use the powers of office for personal gain. Some comrades have a limited sense of party organization and seriously indulge in liberalism. Some comrades know no limits to individualism and cannot accurately deal with interest relations among comrades...add to this the current irrational structure, overlapping authority, ill-defined duties, absence of a proper separation of government administration from enterprise management, etc. It is only through analyzing all these reasons comprehensively and in particular detail that the leading groups will be able to grasp the special characteristics of the contradictions and resolve them. If methods are applied that do not clearly distinguish between right and wrong, and if only one solution is uniformly applied to all problems, it will only further aggravate the situation.

9808

CSO: 4005/455

## FUJIAN PROMOTES PUBLIC APPRAISAL OF CADRES' PERFORMANCE

Fuzhou FUJIAN RIBAO in Chinese 11 Dec 86 p 1

[Article by staff reporter Pan Ziqiang [3382 1311 1730]: "Democratic Appraisal of Leading Bodies Above County Level Promotes Democratic Systemized Evaluation; the Provincial CPC Committee Held a Mobilization Meeting on the Annual Evaluation of Party and Government Leading-Body Members Above County Level"]

[Excerpts] The Fujian Provincial CPC Committee held a mobilization meeting on the annual evaluation of party and government leading-body members at and above county level in Fuzhou City on the afternoon of 10 December.

Jia Qinglin [6328 1987 2651], deputy secretary of the provincial CPC committee, spoke at the meeting. He said: In accordance with the central government's principle on cadres' "four requirements" and through several larger-scale readjustments, the provincial CPC committee has, since 1983, promoted 1,100-plus outstanding young and middle-aged cadres to party and government bodies at and above county level. Most members of current leading bodies at all levels are better qualified politically, better educated, ideologically active, full of vigor, and zealous about reforms. However, we must realize that judged by the central government's "four requirements" on leading bodies, Fujian's leading bodies at all levels still fail to meet some needs of the current situation and tasks. To further improve the structure of leading bodies and the quality of leading-body members, it is imperative to conduct a democratic appraisal of leading-body members. This practice can help reform our cadre system, strengthen the supervision of party and government leading cadres at all levels, promote democratic, scientific, and systemized cadre evaluation, accelerate the process of replacing older cadres with younger ones, find a better solution to the problem that cadres cannot be promoted and then demoted or demoted and then promoted, widen our vision and open up channels for selecting talents, create a good competitive environment for outstanding talents to stand out in the crowd, and encourage more cadres to work hard to achieve the magnificent goals of the current stage.

Jia Qinglin pointed out that democratic cadre appraisal is of great significance, because it is not only a change of working method but also an adaption to the requirements of the reform of the political structure. Democratic cadre appraisal, which has embodied the party's mass line, is an

important reform in the cadre management system. It can subject leading cadres' words and deeds to the direct supervision of the masses, help cadres promptly discover and overcome their shortcomings, weaknesses, and mistakes, and make them improve their qualities according to the "four requirements." Public opinion polls on cadres' performance, in particular, can reflect a leading cadre's integrity, ability, conscientiousness, and achievements by combining qualitative and quantitative evaluation, and thus provide an objective basis for cadre promotions, demotions, awards and punishments and enable organizations to understand cadres more comprehensively and use them more rationally.

Democratic cadre appraisal is an important aspect of expanding and improving socialist democracy because it conforms to the Marxist principle that the people should choose and supervise their own public servants. Conducting democratic cadre appraisals and polls to let the masses make realistic appraisals of a cadre by checking one of the following remarks--outstanding, competent, basically competent, and incompetent--and thus give the masses more say in cadres' promotions, demotions, awards, and punishments not only can help leading cadres at all levels identify their responsibility to higher levels with their responsibility to the people but also can tighten the ties between the party and the people, avoid the emergence of bureaucracy, and prevent and overcome various unhealthy tendencies.

Democratic cadre appraisal is an important measure for improving Fujian's leading bodies at all levels according to the "four requirements." Conducting a mass inspection of leading bodies' and cadres' ideological workstyle and actual accomplishments in work can create internal motive power and external pressure for leading cadres at work, encourage them to be bold in competition and work hard for the magnificent goals of the new historical period, enable cadres with both integrity and ability as well as a pioneering spirit to stand out in the crowd, maintain the vigor and energy of the entire rank of cadres, and build as soon as possible leading bodies at all levels into collectives of leadership that are firmer politically, healthier in workstyle, more rational in structure, more harmonious at work, and abundant in pioneering spirit.

Jia Qinglin emphasized that to do a good job in this annual evaluation, we must do a good job in three tasks. First, we should fully mobilize the people's minds. The broad masses of cadres should overcome the "not-my-business" attitude and be bold in exercising and correctly exercising their democratic rights to make realistic appraisals of leading cadres. Leading cadres at all levels should believe that the masses can correctly judge and appraise cadres, avoid having a nonchalant attitude, make it a habit to voluntarily subject themselves to the supervision of the masses, and sincerely welcome the criticism and supervision of the masses.

Second, we should strengthen leadership and carefully organize forces. The main leaders of party committees at all levels should be personally involved in the formulation of implementation plans and the organization of forces, establish responsibility systems to make each level responsible for its subordinate level, and strive to complete this work before the new year. We should explain to the masses the party's cadre policies and appraisal standards, emphasizing the solving of actual misunderstandings. Discipline

should be enforced strictly and those who engage in factional, canvassing, and nonorganizational activities and those who retaliate against comrades for making complaints must be dealt with severely. Third, we should combine "appraisal" and "reform" to avoid just going through the motions. After democratic appraisal, party committees at all levels must devote themselves to consolidation and reforms and draw up improvement measures and fighting goals which should be made known to the public and put into action. Organizational departments should combine appraisal results and organizational evaluation and use them to conduct an impartial and honest review of cadres' merits, demerits, rights, and wrongs and to decide on cadres' promotions, demotions, awards, and punishments, thus ensuring that democratic appraisal is not a mere formality.

Jia Qinglin also stated: When appraising cadres, we must be realistic, impartial, and honest. When judging whether cadres are competent at current positions, we should carefully distinguish those who have failed to show any results in work due to an extremely difficult objective environment, from those who have failed to make progress due to their mediocrity in political integrity and ability; distinguish those who have erred in work during reform because the demarcation lines of some policies are unclear, from those whose ideological workstyle is unhealthy and who have abused power to seek personal gain; and distinguish those who have been bold in taking responsibilities and adhering to principles, but made a few people unhappy due to improper work methods, from those who have been arbitrary, peremptory, self-indulgent, and seriously detached from the masses. We should protect and arouse the broad masses of cadres' enthusiasm and creativity for the four modernizations and consolidate and develop the stable and united political situation of Fujian Province.

12302

CSO: 4005/384

## JIANGXI OFFICIAL STRESSES STABILITY, UNITY

Nanchang JIANGXI RIBAO in Chinese 6 Jan 87 p 1

[Speech by Wang Zhaorong [3769 2507 2837], standing committee member of the provincial CPC committee and secretary of the provincial CPC committee's political and judicial commission, at a New Year press conference jointly held on the afternoon of 5 January in Nanchang by the provincial CPC committee's political and judicial commission, the provincial higher people's court, the provincial people's procuratorate, the provincial public security department, and the provincial judicial department: "Uphold the Four Cardinal Principles and Maintain Stability and Unity; Jiangxi's Five Political and Judicial Departments Held a Joint Press Conference To Announce Seven Plans for This Year's Political and Judicial Work"]

[Excerpts] Wang Zhaorong emphasized: We have the conditions to make continuous and steady improvements of the social order, but due to many new situations and problems our tasks remain arduous and our responsibilities heavy. However, we are confident that under the unified leadership of the provincial CPC committee and people's government, we can work hard, do a good job in work, and strive to meet the general demand of "developing the economy, reducing criminal cases, and maintaining social order." We also hope to get close cooperation and vigorous support from all fronts and fields, including such an important front as information, propaganda, and culture so that all of us can work together for the prosperity of our country.

When talking about this year's plans for political and judicial work, Wang Zhaorong stated: The guiding principle for this year's political and judicial work is to create a stable and relaxed social environment for all-around reform and economic construction by further enhancing the awareness of reform and the understanding of the legal system, strengthening the people's democratic dictatorship, and giving full play to our role in "protecting the people, attacking enemies, punishing criminals, and serving the four modernizations," under the guidance of the decision adopted at the 6th Plenum of the 12th CPC Central Committee and in accordance with the principle of regarding economic construction as the central task and social order as the key link. The general demand is to implement the overall plan of socialist modernization, insist on grasping construction in one hand and the legal system in the other, concentrate energies on personnel quality improvement, make new breakthroughs in comprehensive control of social order with the

prerequisite of not slackening efforts to attack serious criminal activities and economic crimes, make new progress in legal service work, create a new outlook for the development of political and judicial ranks, achieve a continuous and steady improvement in Jiangxi's social order, make fresh contributions to maintaining stability and unity and to protecting reform, the open-door policy, and economic construction, and greet the convocation of the 13th CPC Congress.

To meet the above demand, we should do a down-to-earth job in the following seven tasks:

1. Continue to conscientiously study and carry out the decision adopted at the 6th Plenum of the 12th CPC Central Committee and unify our thinkings and guide our actions with the spirit of the decision.
2. Enhance the awareness of reform and accelerate the reform of political and judicial work.
3. Continue to insist on attacking serious criminal activities.
4. Continue to expand efforts to attack serious economic crimes.
5. Spare more energies to implement various measures for comprehensive social order improvement.
6. Do a good job in legal service work.
7. Improve the political quality and professional skills of political and judicial ranks.

12302

CSO: 4005/384

## JIANGXI VILLAGE-LEVEL PARTY RECTIFICATION ACHIEVEMENTS

Nanchang JIANGXI RIBAO in Chinese 22 Nov 86 p 1

[Text] Village after village in Jiangxi launched party rectification in early and mid-August in the first phase of village-level party rectification in the province. Because party committees at all levels provided painstaking guidance and made sure policies were sound, party rectification has developed healthily and tangible results have been achieved.

During party rectification, all localities firmly adhered to positive education and self-education as the focus and instructed party members in ideals and discipline by organizing party classes, branch discussions, democratic-living meetings, and other activities involving heart-to-heart talks. As a result, the spiritual outlook of party members has changed. Many party members now have the courage to undertake heavy responsibilities and enjoy solving problems for the masses. Many worthy party members have emerged who take the lead in becoming rich or who lead the masses toward wealth. They have fulfilled their role of setting an example.

By focusing on the correction of party style and the investigation of major problems among party members and cadres, they have resolved the problems which the masses were most critical of, and both party style and social climate have changed significantly for the better. Through party rectification, serious problems affecting a small number of party members and cadres were investigated and dealt with. Problems like the illegal occupation of farmland and construction of houses by village-level cadres were straightened out. Clannish factionalism in the countryside was also resolved satisfactorily.

As a result of party rectification, cadres who were out of step, could not get along, and did not do their best have been removed. The corps of cadres has been replenished with the entry of a batch of young, educated cadres who are ideologically sound and stylistically correct. Moreover, there has been new emphasis on the ideological and stylistic training of branch cadres. Consequently, cadres have become more conscious of the need for party construction, a clear departure from the past when the "party did not control the party."

As part of party rectification, party branches in all villages have sought and heeded the comments of the public both inside and outside the party. Whenever possible, mistakes were corrected immediately. Otherwise, they worked to create circumstances necessary for future correction. During rectification, every locality tried its best and has done numerous things to benefit the people tangibly. Practical efforts were made to work out many difficulties in the production process and daily life of the people so that the public could really see the concrete achievements of party rectification.

All localities unswervingly made the guarantee and promotion of reform and economic development their starting point in party rectification, went all out to publicize and implement various party policies in the villages, guided party members and the masses in clearing ideological barriers to reform, and expedited rural reform and economic development. At present, the achievements of the first phase of village-level party rectification are being consolidated in earnest everywhere, and preparations for the second phase are in full swing.

12581

CSO: 4005/315

## JIANGXI RURAL PARTY RECTIFICATION CONFERENCE HELD

Nanchang JIANGXI RIBAO in Chinese 29 Nov 86 p 1

[Excerpts] A provincial experience-exchange conference on village-level party rectification was held in Ganzhou from 24 through 27 November.

Convened and presided over by the Party Rectification Office of the Jiangxi Provincial CPC Committee, the conference was attended by over 100 people, including directors of party rectification offices in prefectures and municipalities and secretaries of some county and township committees. Also present were comrades from the investigation group sent to Jiangxi by the office of the Central Commission for Guiding Party Consolidation.

It was said at the conference that village-level party rectification must not degenerate into formalism but should emphasize practical results to ensure quality. A comprehensive analysis must be conducted of party branches which have completed or largely completed village-level party rectification in order to seek truth from facts. While affirming their achievements, we should also take measures to correct their inadequacies. In addition, we should seriously consider how to consolidate and further the achievements of party rectification and work out practical, feasible plans on party education, organizational life, administration, and management. The second batch of units to undergo party rectification must make full preparations. Party rectification must be focused. There must be conscientious efforts to make party-member education a success and build up a powerful corps of branch leading cadres. Major problems in village-level party rectification must be tackled from a realistic perspective.

It was stressed at the conference that in the course of village-level party rectification, the updating of ideas and the cultivation of a concept of a commodity economy must be an important part of party rectification education to enhance the commodity consciousness of the rank-and-file rural party member and educate him in the development of the rural economy in accordance with the laws of a commodity economy so that he will take the lead in getting rich and help others become rich.

The conference demanded that party committees at all levels increase their leadership over village-level party rectification work in earnest. Party secretaries must draw experience from selected units to promote overall work and provide individual guidance. Each level should oversee the level below it and be answerable to the level above. Party committees must speed up the solution of problems remaining from party rectification. The province, prefectures, counties, and townships must go all out to see that every problem is solved by the end of the year.

12581

CSO: 4005/315

## XU QIN DISCUSSES PARTY RECTIFICATION WORK

Nanchang JIANGXI RIBAO in Chinese 21 Dec 86 pp 1, 3

[Excerpts] On 18 December the Party Rectification Guidance Group of the Provincial CPC Committee called a meeting at the Jiangxi Guest House for leading comrades of party committees (organizations) in departments directly under the provincial government.

Party rectification began in Jiangxi Province in December of 1983, and was launched from top to bottom in three phases and at five levels. Party rectification in all units above village level throughout the entire province--with very few exceptions--has now been concluded. The party rectification in the first group of village-level units will be concluded at the end of November, and the work at the second lot of village-level units is now in progress and estimated to be completed at the end of January next year.

Xu Qin [6079 0530], deputy secretary of the Provincial CPC Committee and deputy chief of the Party Rectification Guidance Group of the Provincial CPC Committee, spoke at the meeting.

Xu Qin first demanded that all leadership cadres of all ranks continue to vigorously push party rectification at village-level units. He said that conspicuous successes have already been achieved in party rectification in the first group of village-level units, and that party rectification in the second group of village-level units is now in progress. Party organizations at all levels, especially county party committees, must gain a clearer understanding that effective party rectification at the village level, comprehensive accomplishment of the present task of party rectification, promoting the two civilizations in the rural areas, promoting the second stage of reform in the rural areas, and promoting vigorous development of the rural economy are all of great significance, and that leadership in party rectification in village-level units must on no pretext be relaxed. We must closely align ourselves with party rectification in promoting reform, in promoting the development of a commodity economy, and must lead the masses toward this key to prosperity, must also overcome the biased view that party rectification consists of nothing else but doing a few good deeds and resolving certain specific problems in the villages. We must give attention to effective education that will produce fully qualified party members, must to the fullest extent play the exemplary vanguard role of party members, have a firm understanding of

this key point in resolving the "two serious" questions among rural party members, pay special attention to the composition of rural leading groups, and have them constitute a strong force for the development of the "two civilizations" in the rural areas. It is also necessary to effectively consolidate and develop the achievements in rural party rectification. This is an extremely important question, as it is not only needed if party rectification is to be accomplished at high standards, but as it is also a link in the transition from party rectification to regular party building work, a fact that party committees at all levels must not neglect.

Xu Qin pointed out that we must firmly attend to the solution of any leftover problems in party rectification. He demanded of party organizations of all levels to definitely strengthen party leadership, aim efforts at the different leftover problems, adopt forceful measures in each case, and in a highly responsible manner set up responsibility systems level by level, strengthen supervision and investigation, and accelerate the resolution of all leftover problems. As to county-level and higher units that have not yet launched party rectification or are just doing so, we must, one by one, implement plans and must definitely complete their party rectification to highest standards and at high quality this winter or next spring. Cases that require further makeup courses in party rectification, or where problems have been left over by party organizations in the handling and disposition of "three types of people" work must be factually resolved case by case.

Xu Qin emphatically pointed out that every locality and every unit must carry out a truthful summing up of party rectification, observing the principle of "doing three things strictly according to facts," which was pointed out by Comrade Bo Yibo [5631 0001 3134] at the 11th Session of the Central Party Rectification Guidance Committee. This means: appraise and affirm the achievements of party rectification strictly according to facts, point out problems or deficiencies in party rectification strictly according to facts, and sum up the experiences gained in party rectification strictly according to facts. Leadership of every rank must base its functions on the realities of party rectification in its own sector and own system, uphold the principle of seeking truth from facts, organize the masses of party members to hold informal discussions, conscientiously review the party rectification of the last 3 years, enhance its knowledge of relevant affairs, and do an effective job of summing up.

As far as party rectification in Jiangxi Province is concerned, whether at the first or second stage, or in the rural areas, all has been carried out without great public clamor, nor in the showy form of "mass movements." The "leftist" methods of the past have been spurned, and work was performed smoothly, safely, and reliably, without "sequelae" of any kind. Even more important is the fact that it was possible through the present party rectification to resolve effectively some acute problems within the party, to thoroughly and safely resolve some problems left over from the "Cultural Revolution," to eliminate factionalism, strengthen solidarity, and purify the party organization. It has also enabled the detection and proper disposition of several cases of serious violations of law and discipline and of serious cases of misuse of powers of office for private gain, also the ruthless suppression of several types of unhealthy tendencies, and the conscientious solution of

problems which the masses complained most about and to which reaction had been strongest. In the course of party rectification we have always observed and correctly dealt with the relationship of party rectification to reform and economic work. We have in particular closely integrated party rectification with an acceleration of construction in the old liberated area, and have done so with outstanding success. By educating all party members throughout the province in party spirit, the political quality of party members and their concept of working wholeheartedly for the people has been enhanced considerably and the vanguard role of rural party members in working for the development of the commodity economy, in setting an example of attaining prosperity, and in guiding the masses toward prosperity, has become more evident with every passing day. It also led to great successes in the composition of leading groups of party organizations of all levels, it greatly raised the fighting power, and there has been a change away from disorderly, ineffective, and unharmonious leading groups.

Xu Qin pointed out that party rectification in Jiangxi Province has provided four most outstanding and most important experiences: First, it is essential for a strengthening of party building in the new era to conscientiously implement the policy of "the party is to administer party affairs." By upholding this principle, the party organization will show vitality, success of all work will be ensured, and there will be a distinct turn for the better in party workstyle. Second, it is essential for the correct handling of contradictions within the party under the conditions of the new era to spurn "leftist" methods, to uphold methods of educating and guiding, and to correctly use the weapon of criticism and self-criticism. During the present party rectification we have upheld the policy of direct guidance, democratic discussion, persuasion and education, of launching criticism and self-criticism, and of comprehensively implementing the policy of "achieving the resolution of problems without causing disturbances." In this way even larger numbers of party cadres have gained the ability to correctly deal with contradictions within the party. Third, to enhance vitality within the party organization we must ascribe a more serious character to intraparty life, and must perfect the organizational system of intraparty life. During party rectification, the party organizations of all ranks established and perfected everywhere a necessary organizational system, whereupon intraparty life became more regular, and new vitality was introduced into the party organization. It also promoted the exercise by party members of their role as vanguard models. Fourth, it is essential for party rectification and party building that we firmly focus our attention on the fundamental guiding ideology of economic construction. Party rectification in Jiangxi Province has always upheld the principle that it must promote reform and the fundamental economic guiding ideology of promoting the economy. We have achieved close integration of party rectification with reform and economic development; these factors have mutually promoted one another, whereby we achieved outstanding successes. This fundamental experience of achieving successes is of long-range significance in guiding future party rectification and party building.

9808

CSO: 4005/455

## NANJING CITY REGULATIONS ON STREET DEMONSTRATIONS

Nanjing XINHUA RIBAO in Chinese 29 Dec 86 p 1

[Text] The 28th Meeting of the Standing Committee of the 9th Nanjing City People's Congress, which was held on 28 December 1986, deliberated a "proposal on the formulation of relevant regulations for demonstrations in Nanjing City," which was jointly brought up by 15 members including Diao Jiaxiang [0431 1367 5046], and decided to have the city people's government draw up, in accordance with the constitution and relevant laws and provisions and in light of Nanjing City's actual conditions, the regulations of Nanjing City on the control of demonstrations so as to protect the right of citizens to carry out demonstrations according to law, maintain social order, consolidate and develop the political situation of stability and unity, and ensure smooth progress for reforms and construction undertakings.

The Regulations of the Nanjing City Public Security Bureau on the Control of Demonstrations (These regulations have been approved by the city people's government)

In accordance with the constitution of the People's Republic of China, relevant laws and provisions, and the decision adopted by the 28th Meeting of the Standing Committee of the 9th City People's Congress and in light of the city's actual conditions, the following regulations have been specially formulated to protect the right of citizens to carry out demonstrations according to law and to maintain social and traffic order.

Article 1. Demonstrations held by citizens according to law will be protected by the city public security bureau.

Article 2. To hold a demonstration on streets and in public places in Nanjing City, organizers and responsible persons of such a demonstration should submit a written application along with sufficient documents to prove their personal identities to the city public security bureau 5 days before the event takes place to explain the purpose, number of participants, date, location, route, starting and ending time, and security measures of the demonstration.

Article 3. With regard to all demonstration applications, the city public security bureau will make a decision on approval or disapproval within 3 days upon their acceptance. A one-time permit will be issued through a written notice for those which have been approved. According to the needs of

maintaining traffic and social order, the public security bureau may change the time, location, and route stated in original applications and make other demands accordingly. Demonstrations are not allowed around stations, wharfs, airports, and major squares.

Article 4. Demonstrations should follow plans on the number of participants, date, location, route, starting and ending time, and security measures which have been approved by the public security bureau and cannot be altered without authorization; organizers and responsible persons of demonstrations must maintain order and safety in demonstrations, follow police instructions, and take responsibility for demonstrators' behavior and resulting consequences.

Article 5. Demonstrators must abide by the constitution and relevant laws and provisions, keep national secrets, treasure public property, maintain public order, and respect social ethics. They must not disrupt social order, production, work, schools, scientific research, and the people's daily life, undermine state, social, and collective interests and the legitimate rights and interests of other citizens, carry or use weapons, flammables, explosives, and other articles that would threaten public safety, stop on main streets to block traffic or vehicles, create graffiti, carve things, and put up slogan posters along the way, destroy parks, lawns, and public facilities.

Article 6. The public security bureau helps maintain traffic and social order for approved demonstrations. If demonstrations violate these regulations or if traffic blockages and confusion occur during the process of demonstrations, the public security bureau will take whatever measure is necessary to dissuade and stop demonstrators from creating such problems or stop the demonstrations and dissipate the crowd when necessary. Organizers and participants of the demonstrations must obey such orders unconditionally.

Article 7. As for the organizers and responsible persons of demonstrations violating these regulations and those people who during demonstrations use violence to stop or prevent state employees from executing duties according to law or who engage in other violations of law and criminal activities, public security organs will, according to the seriousness of their cases, summon them to courts, subject them to interrogations, order them to pay for the losses, punish them for disrupting social order, or even turn them over to judicial departments for criminal investigation.

Article 8. Mass assemblies to be held on main streets and squares should also follow these regulations.

Article 9. These regulations apply to both Chinese citizens and foreigners in Nanjing City. Questions concerning the concrete application of these regulations will be answered by the city public security bureau.

Article 10. These regulations go into effect upon the date of promulgation.

28 December 1986

12302

CSO: 4005/385

## SHANGDONG ISSUES CIRCULAR ON RURAL PARTY RECTIFICATION

Jinan DAZHONG RIBAO in Chinese 30 Dec 86 p 1

[Text] The Party Rectification Office of the Shandong Provincial CPC Committee recently analyzed the situation of Shangdong's village-level party rectification, studied measures to ensure a successful conclusion for all-around village-level party rectification, and issued a circular.

The circular states that since Shandong's village-level party rectification entered the phase of countercheck and intensive consolidation and reform around 10 December, most localities have managed to focus their time, energy, and leadership and achieved marked results. However, there are still some problems that are worth our attention. The first is that there are some weak links consisting of a few units which have done a poor job of solving their problems or whose problems have remained basically unresolved. The second is that some units have failed to thoroughly investigate and deal with problems concerning party members and cadres seeking personal gain through serious power abuses or engaging in serious law and discipline violations. The third is that some units have slackened their efforts and become careless and sluggish in the later stage of the work, that main leading cadres have failed to get involved in the work, and some liaison men have often failed to go down to villages. These problems should call for the attention of leaders at all levels.

The circular urges: 1) County, township, and town party committees, especially their secretaries, must make sure that party rectification is carried through and that their efforts are not slackened especially during the later stage of the work. Whenever a unit is found slackening its leadership and just going through the motions, the party secretary of this unit will be the first one to be held responsible. 2) With regard to village party branches that have done a poor job in solving their problems, all township party committees should draw up a list of names in concrete terms, analyze the causes of problems, suggest practical solutions, assign responsibility to each individual involved, and help solve their key problems. 3) Problems concerning serious power abuses and serious law and discipline violations must be conscientiously resolved. Party members' and the masses' complaints and clues given by leaders must be carefully, not casually, investigated and dealt with. 4) Party rectification liaisons should continue to do a good job by, first, assisting in the development of leading bodies; second, assisting in

the formulation of concrete plans to promote ideological and material progress; and third, helping village party branches review experiences and lessons gained in improving the party and draw up future plans, systems, and measures to improve the party. 5) The party rectification work must be checked before its acceptance. Efforts should be made to speed up party rectification and prevent perfunctory performance, rushing, and completing the job hastily by insisting that quality comes before time. Units failing to meet the standards during the stage of countercheck and intensive consolidation and reform should not be allowed to begin the next stage. Village-level party rectification work in principle will be checked and accepted after the Spring Festival. 6) In party members' registration and organization work, first, party members should learn how to become a qualified party member through profound education; second, party members' standards should be observed appropriately to avoid being too lenient or too strict; and three, party policies should be implemented conscientiously and ideological work done painstakingly.

12302

CSO: 4005/384

## MEASURES TO RECTIFY SHANDONG'S PARTY WORKSTYLE

Jinan DAZHONG RIBAO in Chinese 13 Jan 87 p 1

[Abstract of speech delivered by Lu Maozeng [7120 2021 2582], deputy secretary of the Shandong Provincial CPC Committee, at an experience exchange meeting of provincial organs on the rectification of the party's workstyle which was held in Jinan on 12 January: "Clearly Oppose the Ideological Trend of Bourgeois Liberalization and Stress Education in Four Cardinal Principles To Rectify the Party's Workstyle"]

[Excerpts] Comrade Lu Maozeng stated: To rectify the party's workstyle and improve the workstyle of government organs, Shandong's provincial organs this year should stress work in the following six areas: 1) Conduct profound studies of the "resolution" and resolutely improve the party's workstyle. Provincial organs should continue to implement the principle that calls "first for firmness and second for endurance" and strive to establish a healthy party workstyle that is in accord with reforms and the open-door policy. 2) Strengthen ideological and political work and concentrate energies on improving party members' and cadres' quality. Provincial organs should stress education in adhering to the four cardinal principles and opposing bourgeois liberalization to make the broad masses of party members and cadres understand that they must not deviate from the four cardinal principles in carrying out reforms, opening to the outside world, developing socialist commodity economy, or in seeking democracy and freedom. This is an important matter of principle, and no one should be allowed to go his own way. 3) Continue to rectify the workstyle of leading organs with emphasis on overcoming bureaucracy and improving work efficiency. They should continue to promote the practice of going down to grassroots units to carry out investigations and research, engage in on-site work, and solve new problems which cropped up during reforms, opening to the outside world, and invigorating the economy and to gradually establish a target-responsibility system for party and government cadres. 4) Improve professional ethics and continue to expand the work of correcting industrial malpractices. Time and energy should be concentrated on issues that are closely related to the masses' daily life and have drawn many complaints from the masses so as to resolve them one by one. Party and government organs at all levels and all trades and professions must draw up professional ethical standards in view of their own characteristics and organize people to implement them. 5) Continue to do a good job in the investigation and handling of law and discipline violations in establishments.

Those who have been seriously involved in seeking personal gain through power abuse and those who have continued to violate law and discipline while engaging in the rectification of the party's workstyle must be subject to serious and thorough investigations according to the principle of "being firm but cautious and being accurate but fast." Negative examples should be used to educate party members and cadre and teach them lessons, thus promoting the work of correcting the party's workstyle. 6) Conscientiously strengthen leadership over the work of correcting the party's workstyle. Party organizations at all levels should, in light of the reality in their own units and departments, draw up this year's concrete goals and measures for improving the party's workstyle and conscientiously organize people to implement them. They should also make sure that a responsibility system is set up for the work of correcting the party's workstyle and that the performance in such work is considered an important part of the inspection of leading bodies.

12302

CSO: 4005/385

## RUI XINGWEN DISCUSSES OPPOSING BOURGEOIS LIBERALIZATION

Shanghai JIEFANG RIBAO in Chinese 21 Jan 87 p 1

[By staff reporters Xu Longhu [1776 7893 5706] and Han Shengbao [7281 0524 1405]"

[Excerpts] At the 20 January working conference of the People's Armed Forces Department, called jointly by the municipal government and the garrison command, Rui Xingwen [5360 2622 2429], secretary of the Shanghai municipal party committee and first secretary of the party committee at the Shanghai Garrison Command, pointed out that most of our comrades are able to correctly understand the personnel changes at the CPC Central Committee. They support the decision of the Central Committee and maintain a correct attitude. But some people anxiously question whether the party's line, principles, and policies will change. Recent speeches by Comrades Deng Xiaoping and Zhao Ziyang have answered these questions. The personnel changes in the Central Committee will certainly not affect the party's line, principles, and domestic or foreign policies as they have been since the 3d Plenum of the 11th CPC Central Committee, but, on the contrary, have been changes to enable a more effective and more accurate implementation of the party's line, principles, and policies. Our policy of carrying out a comprehensive reform will not change; our policy of opening up to the outside world will not change; our overall plans which aim essentially at modernization will not change; our policy of respect for knowledge and talents will not change. The way the present personnel changes at the CPC Central Committee have been smoothly accomplished are clear evidence of the maturity, strength, and trustworthiness of our party.

After giving an account of the excellent overall situation in Shanghai, Rui Xingwen said that student disturbances occurring under these excellent conditions are to be judged precisely as Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out: they cannot achieve anything of importance, but the problematic nature of the event is serious; it has resulted from the spread of a bourgeois ideology of liberalization. People like Fang Lizhi [2455 0536 0037] and Wang Ruowang [3769 5387 2598] took advantage of loopholes that we had left open, as they were peddling their bourgeois liberalization trash all over the place, inciting students to cause disturbances, that resulted in harm the extent of which is hard to estimate. Although the disturbances by Shanghai students have now quieted down, the ideological question has by far not yet been

resolved. Party organizations at all levels must intensify ideological and political work. We must oppose bourgeois liberalization, not stage political movements, also not magnify events, but rather handle things conscientiously and uphold a correct orientation in matters of ideology.

9808

CSO: 4005/455

## SHANGHAI CRACKS DOWN ON ECONOMIC CRIME

Shanghai JIEFANG RIBAO in Chinese 13 Jan 87 p 3

[Excerpts] We must persist in the crackdown of economic crimes, reiterated Wang Xing [3769 5281], chief procurator of the Shanghai Municipal People's Procuratorate, at a recent municipal conference of cadres in charge of economic and procuratorial work.

This conference reviewed 1986's work experience in economic crackdowns. Economic crimes filed with Shanghai's procuratorial organs for investigation and prosecution during 1986 were up 23.8 percent over 1985 with major and important cases doubled. Some 7.87 million yuan in stolen money and property were recovered to save the state and collectives over 8 million yuan in losses, up 1.6-fold over 1985. General economic crimes were also dealt with properly in a strict, fact-finding and truth-seeking manner. Some of these cases, which were not considered crimes in consideration of the circumstances to facilitate reforms, the open door policy, economic revitalization, and production development, were dismissed and transferred to industrial and commercial administrative departments. By handling these cases, the procuratorial organs helped relevant township enterprises unclog production, supply, and marketing channels, stop loopholes, and establish new systems. According to incomplete statistics, 117 township enterprises have improved their administration and management because of this.

Participants at the conference held that major economic crimes have declined but minor economic crimes still occur now and then in some areas and departments. Not long ago, Nanshi, Luwan, and Nanhui district and county procuratorates cracked down on a series of economic crimes, each involving embezzlement and bribery of over 30,000 yuan. Some of the criminals involved had committed such crimes for 3 years running.

12302

CSO: 4005/385

## 'BROAD' DISCIPLINE INSPECTION DESCRIBED AS TEMPORARY

Shanghai JIEFANG RIBAO in Chinese 14 Dec 86 p 1

[Article by Zhang Changbu [1728 7022 1009]: "Opinions Solicited on Party Style and Discipline Inspection"]

[Text] Secretary Zhang Dinghong [1728 1353 7703] of the Discipline Inspection Commission of the Shanghai Municipal CPC Committee recently asked almost 100 well-known personages in the theoretical and cultural communities, leaders of democratic parties, and social science workers to offer their views on party style development and discipline inspection. He also put forward his opinions on related matters.

Some people mentioned that the biggest complaint about discipline inspection today is that its "range of authority is too broad." Zhang Dinghong said that discipline inspection currently can be characterized by "three narrows and one broad." The "three narrows" refer to narrow information channels, area of contact, and thinking. The one "broad" refers to its broad scope of operation. Discipline inspection not only enforces party discipline and concerns itself with inner-party life, but also interferes in social life and the law to a certain extent. This is a temporary situation under the particular set of historical circumstances. As the political and other institutions are reformed party and government functions will be further separated and this situation will gradually be overcome. The standing committee of the National People's Congress has now decided to set up an agency of state supervision to specifically handle administrative supervision in national and government organs.

Some noted that the jurisdictions and functions of discipline inspection agencies are not well-defined at the moment. Zhang Dinghong said, "Discipline inspection work must first do a good job in enforcing party discipline, correcting party style and policing party life. It must come to grips with major contradictions and concentrate on the development of a good party style in leading organizations. Second, discipline inspection must make the support for reform and the promotion of reform its guiding idea. Once this guiding idea is clearly understood, discipline inspection will have a lot to do and will be more lively and dynamic."

Zhang Dinghong also said that where inspection affects the interests of the masses, we must be very careful. The focus of supervisory agencies is to help review experience and develop the productive forces of enterprises. Everything must be done to avoid ruining the reputation of an unit under investigation. Such unfavorable outcomes as a drop in business or a deterioration in its finances must be prevented.

Theoretical issues relating to the current reform movement and the development of a good party style were also raised by many comrades. Zhang Dinghong said, "At present both economic work and party construction have run into many problems that must be addressed on a theoretical level. Yet theoretical research in discipline inspection agencies has languished. In conjunction with party schools and the theoretical community, we must initiate theoretical research on discipline inspection in earnest."

12581

CSO: 4005/315

## SHANDONG VILLAGE-LEVEL PARTY RECTIFICATION SEMINARS HELD

Jinan DAZHONG RIBAO in Chinese 28 Nov 86 p 1

[Excerpts] Seminars on village-level party rectification were recently held in Zaozhuang, Jinan, and Weifang by the Party Rectification Office of the Shandong Provincial CPC Committee. They were attended by deputy secretaries of various municipal and prefectural CPC committees who are in charge of party rectification, directors of party rectification offices, secretaries of county CPC committees or their deputy secretaries who handled party rectification, and provincial party rectification inspectors stationed in counties and prefectures. It was emphasized at the seminars that the next phase of party rectification must accomplish the following:

1. Take party construction as the starting point and make party-member education more thoroughgoing. Some units are impatient for quick results in a short period of time. In their rush toward fast achievements, they often drop their initial strictness and slacken off later. They overlook party-member education and are blindly optimistic. Such problems must be addressed. Through party rectification, we must raise the ideological consciousness of vast numbers of party members so that they will take the lead in reform, devote themselves to the four modernizations, update their ideas, and intensify their sense of commodity production. Immediate work and the solution of detailed problems must not replace ideological and party-style development in the party.

2. Stress practical results and work out problems conscientiously. The small number of people who seriously abuse public office for personal gain, break the law, violate discipline, and damage the interests of the masses must be dealt with strictly. They must be investigated and handled impartially. We must take pains to do a good job in the reorganization and training of leading cadres, paying particular attention to those who have lagged behind. We must continue to rectify even as we reform, do more tangible things for the masses, and firmly correct unhealthy trends inside the party.

3. closely combine village-level party rectification with the study and implementation of CPC Central Committee resolutions; the latter must permeate the entire rectification process. In conducting comparative inspection, we must examine problems in the building of the spiritual civilization. In the course of drawing up rectification measures, we must also devise a plan for

the building of the spiritual civilization. The responsibility of party organizations and party members for the spiritual civilization must be clearly understood, as must the exemplary role of party members.

4. Pay close attention to comparative inspection, organized treatment, and the preparatory work for party-member registration. From now on all townships and towns must set up a special team comprising a sizable number of cadres who have a strong party spirit, a correct party style, and a certain understanding of policies. The job of the team is to check out and verify materials relating to problem party members and promptly come up with a proper way to handle them in accordance with party membership standards and party policies.

5. Further strengthen leadership over village-level party rectification. Leading organizations at the provincial, municipal, and prefectural levels must create conditions where counties, townships, and towns may succeed in village-level party rectification. Meetings must be streamlined as much as possible to save them time. The number of inspection teams and check-and-accept groups must be reduced to ensure that county, township, and town CPC committees devote most of their energy to party rectification.

12581

CSO: 4005/315

## GUANGDONG CPC PROMISES HARSH PUNISHMENT FOR SEX-ORIENTED PUBS

[Editorial Report] Guangzhou NANFANG RIBAO in Chinese reports on 10 March 1987 page 2 that in Guangdong Province's Jiangmen City, Meixian Prefecture, Fengshun County, Hainan Island, and a certain county near the Zhu Jiang, privately-owned restaurants are sprouting along highways to cater to travelers. And to promote business, some of the restaurant owners have hired young women as waitresses but actually coerce them into becoming sex traps to lure customers. In one case, for instance, two travelers from Jiangxi Province patronized a roadside restaurant in Fengxian County for tea, but ended up paying 250 yuan and a wristwatch after they flirted with a waitress.

In response to NANFANG RIBAO readers' complaints concerning sex-oriented restaurants in their regions, the Guangdong Provincial CPC committee has looked at the situation and decided that it is inconsistent with Guangdong's efforts to build spiritual civilization. Certain members of the committee were charged with the responsibility for curtailing the practice. Thus they issued a directive which reads as follows: "The problem of the roadside restaurants must be regularly monitored so that bad restaurant owners whose cases would serve educational purposes for the masses are severely penalized. The newspapers should publicize all such cases."

CSO: 4005/533

## TOTAL ABANDONMENT OF OLD, ACCEPTANCE OF NEW BOTH INCORRECT

Guangzhou NANFANG RIBAO in Chinese 7 Mar 87 p 4

[Commentary by Liu Yumei [0491 3768 2734]: "'Old' Concepts and 'New' Concepts"]

[Summary] The expressions "gegu dingxin" [7245 2399 7844 2450 discarding old ways in favor of the new], "chujie buxin" [7110 5283 1580 2450 getting rid of the old to make way for the new], and "tuichen chuxin" [2236 7115 0427 2450 weeding through the old to bring forth the new], have been popular for centuries in China. The wisdom of these idioms reminds of an inevitable trend that things which are obsolete or moribund will be replaced by things new and advanced. However, if we generalize by concluding that all old things are obsolete, incorrect or moribund, and that all new things are advanced and correct and should take the place of the old, we risk being extremely biased in our judgement.

And this is why I have been grappling with the issue of concept "renewal." In recent years people have advocated the application of modern Western concepts, natural science and new theories to replace our entire corpus of concepts. What these people have proposed is the complete replacement of all of our existing and all old ideas, viewing them all as incorrect, and denying all of them.

What does "old" mean? One connotation is "out of date." It can also mean "bygone, former," or "enduring" [jiu 0036]. One has to understand that these connotations are not the same. Whereas we strive to abandon ideas that are old, moribund or no longer suitable to our society and that obstruct our program of socialist reconstruction, we are by no means willing to eliminate all enduring old concepts. On the contrary, it is necessary for us to sustain and augment them by expanding their applications. For instance, such notions as leadership by the party, people's democratic dictatorship, the superiority of public ownership, serving the people, the spirit of selflessness, and arduous struggle are political, economic, and moral concepts that have proven their correctness through practical experience. As we have established these concepts in the past, we should continue to uphold them in the present.

It is also necessary that we make a rational analysis of the meaning of "new." We have to accept the truth that not all new concepts are good and acceptable. In fact, there are certain so-called new ideas that not only are not new but are actually old concepts that have been discredited by our historical experience. For instance, certain people advocating the preferability of Western capitalism to Marxism have disguised their intention

by claiming that they are looking for new concepts. What they advocate runs counter to our four cardinal principles and has already been proven unacceptable to our society. Therefore, room should no longer be reserved for it!

Conceptual change or readjustment constitutes an important chapter in China's socialist modernization, and is a task that should be aggressively pursued. At the same time we should grasp the socialist approach to concept change by upholding old concepts that are correct and by rejecting new concepts that are moribund.

CSO: 4005/510

## SUN WEIBEN URGES YOUNG CADRES TO HEED PARTY DISCIPLINE

Harbin HEILONGJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 30 Dec 86 p 1

[Text] In his speech on the 29th at the Sixth Congress of Harbin Industrial University [HIU] Party Representatives, Provincial Party Secretary Sun Weiben dealt with the party's task at the institutions of higher learning, and pointed out that we must arm teachers, students, staff, and workers with the weapon of scientific socialist ideology, must direct and unite their energy and enthusiasm toward the realization of the party's struggle objective at the present stage, and guide and ensure the smooth implementation of the party's line, principles, and policies.

Sun Weiben first talked of the prevailing excellent situation and the political state of stability and unity. He said the Sixth Congress of HIU Party Representatives is convening at the very end of the year, a time when it is possible to happily report that this year work in all departments of our province has advanced in a down-to-earth manner. The economic and political situation is very good. In agriculture we were fortunate to have had a good harvest, industry has steadily increased, purchasing and marketing is brisk in our markets. We have balanced revenue and expenditure, key construction projects are progressing smoothly, the standard of living has been much improved, and overall reforms and development of our spiritual civilization are now proceeding in greater depth. The provincial party committee's work conference, a little over 10 days ago, adopting the concept of developing a socialist commodity economy, tried to find out in what respects our province falls short in the nationwide, and even worldwide, commodity competition, examined its reasons, and set forth our "10 favorable circumstances" as well as 5 great strategic countermoves. Many comrades consider this as another great ideological liberation, following the "great debate over the criterion for truth." Taking this to be a turn of events, our province is about to enter a new era of comprehensive development of socialist commodity economy. Our provincial party committee and provincial government are resolved and confident that working together with people of all social strata the affairs of our province of Heilongjiang will be better taken care of and that the excellent situation will be further developed.

He emphatically pointed out the need to realize that the prevailing excellent situation and the state of stability and unity have not come about easily. They are the result of party organizations at all levels throughout the province creatively implementing the line, principles, and policies of the

CPC's Central Committee; they are the result of firmly upholding the policy of reform and opening up to the outside world; they are the result of arduous struggle of the more than 33 million people of our entire province. Included is, of course, the labor and dedication of teachers, students, staff, and workers of the HIU and other schools. This deserves our highest esteem and appreciation.

Sun Weiben also acknowledged that the party committee at HIU has had conspicuous success in its work during the 3 years since the last party representatives congress, having produced a rich harvest of highly qualified specialized talents and S&T achievements, some of its applied technologies are already yielding positive results all over Heilongjiang. As a result of practical educational research, many advanced party branches and excellent party members have been produced. With their exemplary achievements, the excellent intellectuals of HIU, with Comrade Ma Zuguang [7456 4371 0342] as representative model, have educated and inspired teachers, students, staff, and workers at all our schools, and have had a positive impact on the intellectuals of the entire province. Acting as representative of the provincial party committee and provincial government, here let me congratulate the Sixth Congress of HIU Party Representatives and all party comrades, and express my heartfelt gratitude to all HIU teachers, students, staff, and workers who have contributed in the last few years to the buildup of the two kinds of civilizations throughout the province.

Sun Weiben then presented four suggestions regarding party work and ideological and political work in the current situation at the institutes of higher learning.

As to the important tasks currently faced by party committees at institutions of higher learning, he said, the importance of ideological and political work and the difficulties of party committee work at the institutions of higher learning are very evident. In view of the overall social progress, we see that China has already entered a new era of socialist construction, comprising comprehensive reforms, opening up to the outside world, and invigorating the domestic economy. Government organs, enterprises, and schools are all, without exception, involved in this great scene and have to live against this great background. Faced with this situation, what is the important task in the next few years that party committees at institutions of higher learning have to perform? It is, in short, first, to arm all teachers, students, staff, and workers with the weapon of scientific socialist ideology; second, to focus the united energy and enthusiasm of teachers, students, staff, and workers on the realization of the struggle objective of the party at the present stage; third, to lead and guarantee the smooth implementation of the educational line, principles, and policies of the party. Party committees at schools, basic-level party organizations of all ranks, and all party members must have a clear-cut stand on all important political issues and in questions of right and wrong. They must keep to the stand of the party and the people, and must enthusiastically of their own accord and in a highly effective manner initiate execution and ensure smooth implementation of the party's educational line, principles, and policies at the institutions of higher learning. They must impart a correct understanding of the party's line, principles, and policies and of the realities of the reform and construction undertaken since

the 3d Plenum of the 11th CPC Central Committee among all teachers, students, staff, and workers, whose ideology and action they must guide on to the track of wholehearted cooperation with the party in its work toward the four modernizations, and must ensure realization of the goal of institutions of higher learning, namely the nurturing of talents.

Sun's second suggestion was that the spirit of the "Resolution," passed at the 6th Plenum of the 12th CPC Central Committee, shall be adopted as the means to unify ideology among all teachers, students, staff, and workers. He said, a study in depth of the "Resolution" must be aimed at resolving theoretical and ideological questions that are still unclear and blurred in the minds of teachers, students, staff, and workers. It is now particularly necessary to educate teachers and students and to guide them toward an understanding of the economic, political, cultural, and historical aspects of China's national condition as well as of China's social life, and to teach them to start out from the actual national conditions whenever deliberating and dealing with problems. They must clearly understand how to implement theory and policies relevant to opening up to the outside world and to the development of the socialist commodity economy, and must shape a correspondingly new ideology, new concepts, establish correct economic value concepts and a new human life value concept. They must gain a clear understanding of the theoretical and practical problems of democracy and freedom, must differentiate between socialist and bourgeois democracy and freedom, must understand that it will take a protracted process to realize a high degree of socialist democracy, and that democratic rights and social obligations form one inseparable entity, as do also democracy and centralism, as well as freedom and discipline. They must use the Marxist stand, viewpoint, and method in gaining a correct understanding of China's on-going comprehensive reform, and must clearly understand that reform is of the nature of a self-induced perfection of the socialist system. They must clearly understand that reform involves arduous systems engineering that cannot be accomplished in one move, since it requires great courage as well as careful circumspection. They must clearly understand that reform and construction require political stability and unity. All these insights are valuable lessons for which our 1 billion people have paid a bitter price. They must understand that the constructive undertaking of socialist modernization and socialist reform must have the leadership of the CPC. Any ideology or action that rejects or negates the leadership of the party and any activity that harms stability and unity and disrupts normal production and orderly living conditions is harmful to construction and reform and is resolutely opposed by the masses. Excessively drastic methods, even if employed with very good intentions of promoting reforms, objectively, would be of no benefit to our reform and economic construction, but would constitute disruptions, which also would be unacceptable to the masses.

Sun Weiben's third suggestion was that the "main theme" of party work at universities and colleges should be to educate and guide people toward the great "main melody" of academic life, namely, to impart knowledge and instruct students and have them study to acquire abilities. All work at institutions of higher learning must be oriented toward those who pursue their education, subjecting the students to a comprehensive "tempering" in their ethical, knowledge, physical, artistic, and work training, and providing for their comprehensive development. We must conscientiously implement the policy of

comprehensive development and must declare imparting knowledge and educating people the sacred mission of party committee secretaries, university presidents, instructors, and of every single teacher.

He demanded that intellectual party members in institutions of higher learning must understand even more clearly that our party has adopted Marxism as its basic guiding ideology, that it considers its duty to work for the interests of the vast majority of people, and that it is a party in power which has grown up as an organization with an iron discipline. If we were to allow each party member to act according to his individual desires, and to freely express opinions and freely take actions on important political questions, our party would be without a unified will, would lose its fighting strength, and would find it impossible to realize its tasks. Professors, lecturers, and academic assistants who are party members are first members of the party, and only secondly scholars. They must strengthen their concepts of party organization and party discipline, and, just like Comrade Ma Zuguang, bring their own lofty ideology and character into play to influence teachers and students, assume the role of an exemplary vanguard among educators, and prevent the irresponsible spread and dissemination of bourgeois liberalization and liberalist views in the educational processes. From now on, whenever someone is asked to lecture or give courses at a university, there has to be a necessary system, one has to proceed according to the educational plan, and the objectives of education and cultural training at a socialist university have to be conformed with. University students who are party members must assume the vanguard role of party members among the masses of students, must value the study time at the university, must study hard, must exert themselves in book studies and practical studies, must take the right path of acquiring abilities, also show ability to lead, assist, and guide fellow students in the correct understanding of the problems that arise in actual life, and must spur on everyone to advance side by side.

In stating his fourth suggestion, Sun Weiben emphatically pointed out that party organizations must understand youths, and youths must have an even better understanding of society. He said, the slogan "Hail to understanding," used among the officers and men fighting at the two mountain fronts, has a profound meaning. "Understanding" can mean others understanding me, and also the way I understand others. Even if there is a mutual understanding between subjects knowing each other, there has to be also mutual understanding between individuals and the masses, and prerequisite for understanding is knowledge of each other, since no true understanding is possible without knowing of each other.

He said, the party organization must gain a thorough knowledge of the mentality and special characteristics of young teachers and students, must care for the livelihood and studies of young teachers and students, and must understand expressions and actions of young teachers and students. This comprises the need to accurately understand such affairs as street demonstrations by some students from institutions of higher learning. We must realize that the majority among them support the overall reforms instituted and led by our party, and realize that they are imbued with great enthusiasm, but that it is only as regards basic ways of thinking and methods that they are on the wrong track. We have to counter their erroneous views with patient

and persuasive education. The mainstream among the masses of young students is good; they constitute our own force and are not an alien force. The extremely small group that had embraced bourgeois liberalization had made a mistaken appraisal of the situation; they had momentarily lost their heads, as they vainly attempted to incite other young students to create a great disturbance in China. They could not gain the support of the people, and their actions have gotten them nowhere. With regard to the young students, including those who went into the streets to demonstrate, we must touch their hearts by showing affection, instruct them with truth, persist in methods of teaching and guiding, engage in arduous and painstaking ideological work, have them truly resolve problems from an ideological perspective, and have them refrain from "driving the fish into deep waters and the sparrows into the thickets." With every good intention we must remind them that they should use appropriate methods and ways to express their desires and demands and warn them to be on guard against the few who, with ulterior motives, would want to abuse their good intentions and demands. The party organization enthusiastically encourages and supports every advance made by our young teachers and students and with equal enthusiasm gives sincere assistance and guidance wherever they show shortcomings. We must make a fair and realistic appraisal of our present-day university students, confirm their good qualities and points of superior quality, but also point out their shortcomings; this is the only truly responsible and caring attitude. It would harm their development if we were to make endless concessions in their areas of shortcomings, if we were not to criticize and educate them, and were to let things drift along. One of the big problems is now to improve their knowledge of our nation's history and of the history of the Chinese republic, including the history of the chaotic "cultural revolution," improve their knowledge of the realities of the reform and construction, as well as of the huge changes in the people's livelihood since the 3d Plenum of the 11th CPC Central Committee, and improve their understanding of society and of the people's mentality and living conditions, so that they will be able to make objective and comprehensive comparisons in all sectors, and to establish a scientific world outlook and outlook on life. We are now close to winter recess, and we should arrange for university students to use vacation time for some social investigations, have them go to the factories and farms to get involved in certain practical social activities, have them gain direct understanding and experiences in reform and construction, and at the same time have them see with their own eyes the various contradictions among the masses during the reform, including the problem of how to understand and deal with street demonstrations of some students from institutions of higher learning. This would be very helpful to raise their ability of distinguishing between right and wrong and of judging what is right and what is wrong.

Sun Weiben finally expressed the hope that when they are transforming the objective world, our intellectual party comrades will at the same time pay attention to transforming their own subjective world. They should steadfastly persist in their correct political orientation, and in the new era of reform, opening up to the outside world, and transformation of the old to the new system, be staunch, sober, and accomplished communist party members.

9808

CSO: 4005/367

## ARTICLE CRITICIZES 'TOTAL DEMOCRACY'

Harbin HEILONGJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 25 Jan 87 p 2

[Article by Wang Chuangsui [3769 0278 6706]: "'Total Democracy' Is Not Socialist Democracy"]

[Text] "Total democracy" generally refers to political strikes, processions and demonstrations, parliamentary struggles, and other forms of mass movements, but in China it is also taken to mean the "four great freedoms," that is, "speaking out freely, airing views fully, holding great debates, and writing big-character posters." Some people regard this "total democracy" as "political democracy," and pursue it as a goal; this is not only erroneous in theory, but it is also very dangerous in practice.

Is it not true that the constitution guarantees the citizen's right of procession and demonstration? True, the Chinese constitution guarantees the citizen's freedom of speech, publication, assembly, association, procession, and demonstration, but at the same time it also stipulates that "the exercise by citizens of the People's Republic of China of their freedoms and rights may not infringe upon the interests of the state, of society, or of the collective, or infringe upon the lawful rights and freedoms of other citizens." It is wrong to pay attention only to the freedoms conferred by the constitution and ignore the other stipulations, and use the constitution as a defense for abusing democratic rights because, first, it is the basic nature of this country which determines whether the citizens can have these democratic rights, and it is the four basic principles which guarantee that the people are their own masters. If we abandon the four basic principles and pursue the West's so-called "democracy," it will certainly diminish the people's right to be their own masters, and then what will be left of individual freedoms and rights? Second, freedom is a relative condition; there is no unrestrained or absolute freedom. Even capitalist countries set national or local rules and regulations on processions and demonstrations. In socialist countries, the people enjoy broad and ample freedom, but at the same time they are bound by strict discipline, rules, and regulations. The rights and obligations of a socialist citizen are synonymous: no citizen may enjoy his rights without fulfilling his obligations, and those who do not uphold the four basic principles, maintain stability and unity, preserve public order, or otherwise bear his responsibilities do not have any rights. Third, the fact that the

constitution permits certain acts does not imply that the citizens must act: for example, the constitution guarantees the citizen's freedom of religion, but it does not advocate that all citizens must have a religion; all citizens have the right and obligation to obtain an education, but it does not mean that everybody must be a college graduate. What the people may lawfully enjoy as their freedoms and rights and what is openly touted as "total democracy" are two different things. Facts prove that "total democracy" is mass movement: it is taking full-scale confrontational measures against the people's own government, and it can only injure the socialist undertakings and interests of the people.

"The four great freedoms" as a whole have never served in any way to guarantee the people's democratic rights; on the contrary, they have only hindered the normal exercise of these rights by the people. The people remember clearly that during the 10 turbulent years of the "cultural revolution" the "four great freedoms" were the weapons used by the "rebels" to rise up and seize power from the "capitalist roaders." This kind of "total democracy under the proletarian dictatorship" which "fearlessly lets the revolutionary masses speak out freely, air their views fully, hold great debates, write big-character posters, and use a whole string of other means" to "mobilize openly and thoroughly the masses from the bottom level up" has caused great suffering among the leading cadres at all levels of the party and state organizations, among the progressive elements which the party had long depended on, and among the people; therefore it is held in abomination by all. The "total democracy" of the "cultural revolution" brought internal turmoil and total devastation to the party, the nation, and the people of all races. Some young students do not know the facts, and they need guidance; they need to be convinced and educated. But in struggling against the isolated bad elements who deliberately confound right and wrong, against the rumormongers, the mudslingers, and the agitators, we must be firm.

The "great democracy" touted in the "four great freedoms" alienates the party's leadership and the people. It undermines the construction of the socialist political system which allows the people to be their own masters, and it undermines the use of democratic means to resolve correctly the internal conflicts among the people; it diminishes the socialist legal system and destroys equal relations among the people; it does not guarantee fully the people's right and opportunity to express their views on affairs of the state or allow them to advise or criticize the party leadership; and it only creates a great opportunity for the enemies of socialism to move in on the people. "Total democracy" rejects the socialist legal system, and it rejects the party's leadership: it is not socialism, it is anarchism.

12986/12624  
CSO: 4005/473

## LIMITS TO FREEDOMS OF SPEECH, PRESS DISCUSSED

Harbin HEILONGJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 5 Feb 87 p 2

[Article by Qiu Zhen [6726 4176]: "Correctly Understand the Meaning of 'Freedom of Speech and Freedom of the Press'"]

[Text] Freedom of speech and freedom of the press are the basic rights of every citizen, and are also important aspects of the development of socialist democracy. Today, people disagree on the interpretation of freedom of speech and freedom of the press. Many young students do not understand the meaning of freedom of speech and freedom of the press, and they erroneously assume that they can say anything and publish anything. It is vital that we clarify what is meant by freedom of the press.

In general, freedom of speech and freedom of the press imply the citizens' freedom and right to speak their minds, write articles, and publish their works. The citizens may express their opinions in speech, in writing, and in publications within the scope of the law, but this does not imply that they may say or write anything they please. Many people envy capitalist nations as if their freedom of speech and freedom of the press are "real freedoms."

The constitutions and statutes on news reporting in most capitalist nations stipulate freedom of speech and freedom of the press as basic rights of the citizens, but these freedoms have certain conditions and many specific limits. For example, the First Amendment of the U.S. American Constitution stipulates that Congress shall not deprive the citizen of his freedom of speech and other rights, but the United States Supreme Court may limit these constitutional rights and interpret them in test cases in court: "Freedom of speech is limited to the extent that it does not infringe on other constitutional provisions. No publication may willfully slander the government or attempt to overturn the existing government," and so on. As another example, Article 5 of the 1949 Basic Law of West Germany stipulates that "every person shall have the right to express and disseminate his opinion verbally, in writing, or in pictures, and shall have the right to gather general non-classified news freely, and shall have freedom of expression in the right to publish, broadcast, and televise news. The freedom to publish, broadcast, and televise news is protected and uncensored." But Article 18 also stipulates that "any person who abuses

the freedom of expression, especially freedom of the press, freedom of education, freedom of assembly, and freedom of association, or abuses the right of privacy of communications, correspondence, and telecommunications, or abuses the right to own property and the right to seek sanctuary, usurps his statutory rights, and violates the free and democratic basic laws, shall lose the aforementioned basic rights."

Let us reexamine some of the laws regulating freedom of speech and freedom of the press in the socialist countries. In the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Article 2 of the news law stipulates that "according to the law, all citizens of Yugoslavia, regardless of race, nationality, language, or religion, may express and disseminate their opinions through the news media; they may utilize the news media to broadcast their own news, publish newspapers or other forms of news publications, and establish organizations and bodies for the purpose of publishing and broadcasting the news, and they have the right to participate in the administration of government news broadcasting." Article 7 of the same law stipulates that "any news publication which damages the honor, reputation, and rights of a citizen, or the privileges of the social collective, shall constitute abuse of the freedom of the press and shall be held responsible under the law"; it also stipulates nine different kinds of publications prohibited by law. In Romania, Article 3 of the preambles to Chapter 1 of the news law stipulates that "freedom of news reporting is stipulated explicitly in the Constitution, and all citizens enjoy this right. Each citizen is conferred the right to express his opinion through the news media and learn about national and international affairs through the news media." But in Chapter 5, Section 3, Article 69, it is also stipulated that "freedom of news reporting should not be used for the following purpose: to damage the socialist system; to damage the constitution and other order stipulated in explicit terms by the law; to infringe on the legitimate rights and privileges of natural persons or legal persons; or to corrupt the socialist ethics." In addition, Article 71 stipulates that "the Socialist Cultural and Educational Committee may suspend any publication in violation of Article 69 until the judiciary has studied the facts and made a legal ruling on such news organization."

From these we can discern that: 1) Socialist and capitalist countries alike generally regard freedom of speech and freedom of the press as basic democratic rights of the citizens, and these rights are upheld by law; they are recognized and safeguard by most countries as the democratic rights of the citizens. 2) No country guarantees freedom of speech and freedom of the press as unconditional, unrestrained, absolute rights. These rights are affirmed and specifically regulated at the same time. This shows that freedom of speech and freedom of the press are freedoms within the scope of the law; they do not mean absolute freedom to say anything or publish anything. 3) While the constitution and news laws of every country confer freedom of speech and freedom of the press on the citizens, they simultaneously assign certain responsibilities: any attempt to abuse the right of freedom of speech in violation of the law will be legally censured. 4) As forms of media, news broadcasts and publications inevitably serve the ruling class. No ruling class will tolerate any opinion or writing adverse to its privileges as the ruling class, otherwise it cannot protect its regime and attain its objectives.

Freedom is always conditional and constrained. In a society there is only a specific freedom, there is no abstract freedom. There is no unrestrained freedom in the world. The bourgeois philosopher Montesquieu said: "Freedom is the right to do everything allowed by the law. If one citizen did something which violated the law, he would no longer be free because other people would have the same right too." ("The Spirit of the Law," Vol 1, p 154) Another bourgeois philosopher, Locke, said: "Where there is no law, there is no freedom. Freedom connotes the absence of restraint and violence; without laws, we cannot have this kind of freedom. But freedom, as people tell us, is not the freedom to do whatever one chooses." ("On Civil Government," Vol 2, p 36) We must not demand the kind of absolute freedom which even bourgeois philosophers have rejected.

This is a socialist nation; the people are the masters. The masses enjoy extensive rights of freedom and democracy. Our new constitution confers upon citizens freedom of speech, communication, publication, assembly, association, procession, and demonstration as well as religious beliefs and other freedom. The state guarantees the citizens' freedom in law and in substance. But we must recognize that news broadcasts and publications are the mouthpieces of our party and our nation; they are the media and tools for rallying and inspiring the people to achieve the four modernizations. To function as the party's mouthpieces, news reports must be accurate, and this require that all news broadcasts and publications uphold the four basic principles, because the constitution represents the basic interests of the masses, and the four basic principles are the fundamental guarantee of our victory. All speeches and publications which violate the constitution and the four basic principles must be banned, otherwise they will confuse the people and weaken their will to fight, and they will disrupt the present stability and unity and hinder the progress of the four modernization constructions and the reforms. Therefore, freedom of speech and freedom of the press must presuppose the interests of the country and the people and be conditioned upon compliance with the constitution and the four basic principles; separated from these, there will be no freedom of speech nor freedom of the press to speak of.

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## JILIN RIBAO COMMENTARY: OPENING REQUIRED FOR 'TOTAL PICTURE'

[Editorial Report] A commentary by Sima Yikong [0674 7456 0001 1313] in Changchun JILIN RIBAO in Chinese, 8 March 1987 page 2, declares that the Chinese people are proud followers of Marxism despite China's opening up to the outside world, and that they have little doubt that China's modernization will be achieved in step with the development of Chinese-style socialism. The Chinese people, the commentary states, are convinced that socialism is in China to stay, and that it "eventually will prevail over capitalism all over the world, just as capitalist systems successfully replaced feudal systems according to immutable laws of social development." The purpose of opening up is for China to learn those things in which capitalism enjoys "temporary historical superiority." While learning from others during this period of openness, the commentary states, the Chinese people may also be able to better recognize the weaknesses of capitalism and thus be better prepared to reject its bad influences. "We must adopt the strong points of capitalism and turn them to our advantage. Thus China must open wide its front door so as to be able to see the 'total picture,' and not attempt to determine right from wrong on a utilitarian basis by peering through a crack in the door."

CSO: 4005/528

## ANSHAN PUBLIC SECURITY ORGANS EMPHASIZE PUBLIC SERVICE

Shenyang LIAOWANG RIBAO in Chinese 16 Dec 86 p 1

[Article by Guo Xichen [6753 3156 1057] and Zhang Jianping [1728 0494 1627]:  
"Anshan Public Security Stresses Serving the People"]

[Text] How do we overcome the notion of privilege and correct unhealthy trends in order to adapt public security to the needs of the new era? Leading comrades in the Anshan Public Security Bureau have pondered this question long and hard for years. During party rectification in 1984, the bureau's leading party group reviewed both positive and negative experiences and was the first in the province to put forward the idea that the public security agency should "take pleasure in enforcing public security for the people, rather than controlling the people for the sake of public security." To effect this change in philosophy, they have rethought a number of ideas over the last 2 years.

In the past, many cadre policemen interpreted the rule of law exclusively as management in accordance with the law, specifically hit, arrest, and punish. By emphasizing control and ignoring service, they wound up being estranged from the masses and departing from the goal of acting as people's police. To strengthen the idea of service, the bureau leadership has not only stepped up ideological and educational work in a big way, but also formulated a complete set of rules and regulations which spell out police responsibilities clearly, make stringent demands, and facilitate inspection and supervision. The rules and regulations were drawn up in such a way as to be simple, clear, easy to remember, and workable, and revolve around mass work. For instance, there must be "four voices" when receiving members of the public. After a case is reported to the authorities, public security personnel must neither "pass the buck nor drag their feet," but should deal with it promptly regardless of whether or not it "falls within its jurisdiction." There are "four ways" in which a policeman can do a good deed by delivering a service to the door and "five prohibitions" when it comes to receiving gifts and bribes. The city bureau and branch bureaus have each set up a team of inspectors to inspect and supervise the enforcement of these rules constantly. Last October the municipal bureau despatched six cadres dressed in plain clothes on a "surprise attack." Posing as ordinary citizens, they visited 18 police substations to "do their thing" and "ask difficult questions." As it turned out, they were

received warmly and offered good services at all the substations; not a single uncivilized thing happened.

Mention democracy in the past and a majority of policemen would interpret it solely as relying on the masses for services, stressing a citizen's obligations at the expense of his rights. Such obsolete ideas were a fertile breeding ground for the notion of privilege. With this point in mind, the leaders of the municipal bureau have taken a variety of steps to make policemen understand clearly that the principal characteristic of national political life in the new era is an emphasis on democracy and the rule of law and that public security work must be subordinate to mass supervision. Public telephone lines have been installed at the municipal bureau and branch bureaus so that the public can directly call in to report to the leaders any police violations of the law. Since public reports or complaints must be responded to, all substations report monthly on their work to the masses in their districts, and traffic policemen identify themselves without exception to facilitate mass supervision. Since the beginning of this year, the municipal bureau and branch bureaus have distributed 43,000 questionnaires and conducted all sorts of opinion polls to gather public comments. As soon as they are identified and verified, problems are corrected. The selection of advanced policemen has also departed from the traditional method of simple internal appraisal. To select this year's "best traffic policemen," the municipal bureau distributed 30,000 ballots throughout the city to allow the people to be the judges. Not only was this move welcome by the masses, but policemen were also given to understand that the people are the most authoritative judges of the good and the bad.

The leaders of the municipal bureau think that it takes first-rate work all-around to do a good public security job for the people and provide good services. Whether it is grassroots work or the building of the spiritual civilization, they encourage a sense of competition among the people and advocate competition--between branch bureau and branch bureau, between substation and substation, and between policeman and policeman. This year they competed in basic training and worked hard to be free of crime for a period of 100 days. Six substations did just that and 207 census districts were "free from three things" (criminal cases, law and order cases, and criminals.) On average about 60 percent of policemen in charge of household registration are acquainted with the adults in their districts. Many know the local people so well that they can provide 17 items of information of any named individual, including his age, job, address, special facial features, social relations, and associations. The building of the spiritual civilization is also in full swing throughout the bureau, with everybody striving to be a "Ma Tianmen [7456 1131 3046]-style policeman" and set a "civilized example." The public security bureau captured 13 cups, more than any other unit, in the "three cups (Qianshan Cup, Gangcheng Cup, and Xinxiu Cup)" competition held in the city this year. Over 500 units took part in the competition, which was centered on the building of the spiritual civilization.

Because they zeroed in on the key link of rectifying the professional guiding principles and updating ideas, a gratifying situation has appeared in public security work in Anshan. All too often in the past, police batons were brandished, people tied up, houses closed, and citizens arrested and punished

wantonly. By and large such things no longer happen. Throughout the second half of this year, not a single policeman in the whole bureau has broken the law. Its civilized and reasonable policemen have become the pride of the people of this steel capital.

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## MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY AFFAIRS

### NUMBER OF TRANSPORT VEHICLES CAN BE REDUCED IN PEACETIME

Beijing JIEFANGJUN BAO in Chinese 8 Jan 87 p 3

[Article by Xu Shixian [1776 0013 6343]: "The Number of Military Trucks Can Be Reduced Appropriately"]

[Text] Military trucks are used for carrying weapons, units' reserve, logistical backup, and for fulfilling other missions. They are part of a military unit's combat effectiveness. Since the founding of the People's Republic, we have been constantly improving our vehicles, both in quantity and quality. With the shift in focus to strategic considerations in the buildup of our army we should now change the attitude of maintaining a "complete table of equipment" attitude which has prevailed for so long and reduce the number of authorized vehicles, particularly transport vehicles in a rational way. This is not only possible but absolutely necessary during peacetime military buildup.

The use, maintenance, servicing, and supply of parts for army vehicles is much the same everywhere. Moreover, a comparison of different localities shows that the peacetime utilization rate of vehicles is low while economic returns are minimal. At present, there limits on the number of vehicles which units can use in routine training and daily life. The majority are locked up in storage. Local transport vehicles average more than 40,000 km each in annual mileage, with the per-vehicle average utilization rate of units amounting to one-fourth that of localities. The majority of vehicles in storage require a considerable annual expenditure for upkeep. There is serious wear and tear, both tangible and intangible, and it results in an increased work load for units.

I realize that during a peacetime buildup of the armed forces, different units are regarded as having different missions. Therefore, they have adopted different allocations, with some units having to maintain a "complete table of equipment" in order to deal with sudden incidents and local wars. But some units can decrease or eliminate the number of their vehicles by about one-third. If this were done, each vehicle would average only about 15,000 km annually in mileage driven. Even if after the reduction 50 percent of the vehicles were kept in storage, each vehicle would still average only about 30,000 km annually, which would not have much impact on the units' everyday use. If a major mission should suddenly come up, vehicles can be transferred from other units, or requisitioned from other localities.

A reduction in units' truck allocations would at the very least have the following advantages: (1) Cost savings: a large unit's vehicle expenditures could be cut by more than a million yuan annually, in addition to what would be saved on expenditures for maintenance, driver training, garages, etc. (2) We can speed up removal of old vehicles from service. (3) It would help overall national economic construction and raise the vehicle utilization rate. (4) Drivers would increase their average mileage--and improve their driving skills. (5) It will alleviate the present situation in which there are more vehicles than people, lower the vehicles' damage rate, and further the modernization of vehicle management.

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## MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY AFFAIRS

### AIR FORCE ESTABLISHES JOINT OPERATION TRAINING ZONE

Beijing JIEFANGJUN BAO in Chinese 9 Jan 87 p 1

[Article by Hong Heping [3163 0735 1627]: "Air Force Universally Establishes Joint Operation Training Zones; All Troops (Air Force) Within the Same Area Will Be Under Conditions of Synchronized Development"]

[Text] The Air Force Training Department has informed reporters of a new model for troop training: tactical training zones have been established throughout the Air Force, to develop more thoroughly the Air Force's tactical training. This is a start on changing the past system, which was centered on a single aircraft or individual soldier for technical or personnel training.

An Air Force Training Department spokesperson said that each tactical training zone will be an organization of all troops (air force) which are within the same geographic area but subordinate to different units. The organizational tactical training model will have air force personnel as the main body, coordination as the principle, and will feature interdependence and competition. The choice of this model for organizing training changes the old model, whereby troops within the same geographic area would be mutually unrelated and unfamiliar. Under the present troop disposition, they will undergo similar training, with all participating sides studying better, overcoming their weak links, and with a correspondingly stronger tactical training. At the same time, there will be a decrease in the number of layers of leadership, which should make it easier for units to develop tactical training among troops and aircraft.

This organizational training model for Air Force tactical training is being tried out in the Southern and Northern Air Forces, and will subsequently be enacted throughout the Air Force. At present, tactical training operation zones have broken down the barriers between service branches, with contacts with the Army especially being developed. During the past year, some air units stationed within the same geographic area as army units have set up joint Army-Air force cooperative arrangements for tactical training. Using the operation zone model, and according to their annual tactical training missions, the Army and Air Force units have drawn up plans to synchronize the content of their tactical training whenever possible, and have made this part of their annual tactical training track. The two sides are not

distinguishing one from the other, but are interdependent and equal, carrying out synchronized competitive training with an awareness of their limitations and the situation, and proceeding in this synchronized training from what is known to what is unknown.

The establishment of tactical training operation zones will bring new vitality and energy to Air Force training. At the outset, it will strengthen the tactical consciousness of commanders at all levels, and advance the development of tactical training. Under conditions of a steady state budget and authorized troop levels, and an unchanging organization system, this strengthening of airmen's crosswise relationship cannot help but bring Air Force units stationed in the same region to a position of superiority by taking advantage of their overlapping. These will increase their cooperative relationships by carrying out joint tactical training. Further, by creating similar environments for tactical training, they will break away from tactical training which is aimed at the lowest common denominator, and largely wishful thinking, and raise the tactical level of units.

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ARMED POLICE REVIEWS ACHIEVEMENTS OF PARTY RECTIFICATION

Beijing ZHONGGUO FAZHI BAO in Chinese 9 Jan 87 p 1

[Article by reporters Fan Buchun [5400 2975 2504] and Zhang Ying [1728 4481]: "Armed Police Witness Gratifying Results in Rectifying the Party's Workstyle and Assisting Grassroots Units; Last year 88 Major Cases of Economic Crimes and Violations Were Discovered; Nearly 10,000 Actual Problems Were Resolved for Grassroots Units; and 4,488 Units and 119,709 Individuals Rendered Meritorious Service and Received Awards"]

[Excerpts] The year 1986 was a year in which the armed police witnessed gratifying results in rectifying the party's workstyle and eliminating unhealthy tendencies. Party committees at all levels voluntarily attached importance to the rectification of the party's workstyle and conscientiously sorted through such problems as giving parties and gifts, indulging in eating and drinking, doing business in violation of discipline, and spending public funds on sightseeing. And as a result, the entertainment expenses of armed police zongdui and detachments declined by more than 50 percent as compared to those of 1985. Due to the investigation and correction of unhealthy tendencies regarding housing construction and distribution, vehicle use, and personnel arrangement, the armed police saw many touching incidents, such as turning down party invitations and gifts and refusing to practice favoritism and honor personal connctions. Party committees at all levels discovered 88 major cases of economic crimes and violations and, through general financial and economic inspection, recovered 833,000 yuan of public funds, and returned 6,500 pieces of public property. During 1986, 28,578 party members were commended and awarded by armed police units at and above detachment level.

"Channeling energy, goods, and funds to grassroots units" is a prominent characteristic marking last year's efforts of armed police to consolidate grassroots units. Last year, over 54,900 cadres of armed police units at all levels went down to grassroots units to conduct investigations and studies, and units at all levels gave full cooperation on the basis of existing conditions, raised funds from all levels, opened up channels, and tried in every possible way to solve real problems for grassroots units. Over the past year or so, units at and above detachment level solved or partially solved, nearly 10,000 real problems for grassroots units, ranging from major problems concerning housing, medical care, heating, drinking water, movie and television facilities to minor problems concerning certain areas' needs for

practical articles such as soldiers' rain boots, bed sheets, and sunglasses. Through the efforts of many fields, 10-plus zongdui successfully located local medical facilities for county and city squadrons. According to statistics, last year domestic defense units alone allocated 45 million yuan, a record high, for direct use in the operating expenses of grassroots units.

Rectifying the party's workstyle and improving grassroots units have effectively promoted armed police work in all aspects, accelerated the fulfillment of various tasks centered on patrols, and enabled cadres and fighters to change their mental outlook. During the crackdown on serious crimes and the comprehensive control of social order, the armed police satisfactorily fulfilled all arresting, pursuing, and escorting tasks assigned to them by public security and judicial departments, captured 9,071 criminals of all kinds, confiscated 63,307 weapons of various kinds, stopped 5,542 gang fights, and played their proper role in creating a stable social environment.

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## MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY AFFAIRS

### ADVANTAGES OF DISPERSED FORMATIONS

Beijing JIEFANGJUN BAO in Chinese 9 Jan 87 p 3

[Article by Hua Hua [5478 2901]: "Dispersal' Is Still Better"]

[Text] In battle, high level command posts can be easily spotted and subsequently destroyed by an enemy force using "high intensity electro-magnetic fields." In response, some foreign armies have stipulated in their procedures that the destruction of the other side's command apparatus is a principle objective of any combat mission.

In recent years, due to a lack of vision on our part, many open command posts have failed to get out of this old trap. For example when we keep our command posts out in the open on the principle that they lie outside of the range of the enemy's indirect-fire weapons, we little imagine that the enemy's tactical air force and missiles have already rendered this as obsolescent. Another example is when we pursue means of concealing command posts through camouflage, but often forget that such things as sound, light, electricity and magnetism are comprehensively applied on the battlefield as a means of finding posts. This renders our efforts nothing more than good intentions.

Some comrades have proposed "constant mobility" as a way of dealing with the command post security problem. Actually, even if one does not consider command continuity, the period of reacting to enemy fire is usually shorter than the time for a command post to move. From this, some have stated unequivocally that "miniaturization" is the developmental trend for command apparatus. However, the practice of maneuvers in recent years has not proven conclusively that "small is beautiful." Because the coordination of modern warfare is so complex, pursuing "miniaturization" would be detrimental to the effectiveness of the command. Foreign armies everywhere realize that the complexity of modern command and control makes it necessary to keep a large number of personnel and equipment on the command post organizational chart.

After seeing a martial arts movie, a senior officer once said, laughingly, that, "In the face of gunfire, the strong man and the weakling tend to be about equal in ability." The inference is that, when faced with all-weather, omni-directional comprehensive location measures, and high-precision means of attack, the small command post would definitely have a better change of survival than would the large command post. But how much research is there on this? Contemporary research has shown that by choosing the dispersal method

of troop deployment, we make it difficult for the enemy to concentrate his forces to carry out one-time, search-and-destroy missions against our command posts. This may be the correct train of thought that will lead to the best policy. As U.S. Army Colonel (Li Sikete) has pointed out, "In the future, the most capable and efficient type of command structure deployment may be the widely dispersed, cellular type of command post. Each cell's being in a constant state of mobility leaves the enemy no means of seizing on a fixed, concentrated target. Even if there is an enemy strike, it would only cause a slowly diminishing work capacity." In the U.S. Army, one army can be divided into six units: combat, intelligence, planning, firepower, security and support. Each of these units can be further broken down into three or four small cells, dispersed in their deployment over a 10 x 15 km area. We cannot take this kind of trend lightly. Naturally, the present situation in the Chinese Army is to make reduction of the scale of command posts a chief mission, and it is now above criticism. But by taking this as the direction of development, we would lose an advantage. And continuing this way would, I fear, make it difficult to bring the army's potential into full play, even if there were a C<sup>3</sup>I "presence" in our army.

I do not go so far as to declare that "dispersal" is absolutely the best. But I do propose that it would be worthwhile to "look at an old problem from a new angle."

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MODIFYING OLD VERSUS CREATING NEW

Beijing JIEFANGJUN BAO in Chinese 9 Jan 87 p 3

[Article by Dong Guozhi [5516 0748 2535]: "'Repairing Old Boats' and 'Building New Boats'"]

[Text] When classical mechanics was unable to explain special phenomena of motion, a scientist named Lorentz proposed 11 hypotheses, which were "mending." He accepted the Newtonian restraints of an absolute time and space "frame," but in the end could not restore vitality to classical mechanics. Later on, Einstein postulated the theory of relativity, and modern physics was established on a solid theoretical basis. It was for this reason that Einstein humorously remarked that the classical theory was like a worn-out boat: reliance on repairing its leaks was like trying to solve an insoluble problem, and it would be more effective to build a new boat.

Newton's greatness lay in setting the precedent of science from an experiential to an experimental science, while Einstein's greatness was to dare look beyond the theory of "guiding principles." If Einstein had stayed within the "frame" and continued to "mend" it, then he could not have produced the theory of relativity, nor could he have expanded mankind's vision beyond earth into space, and scientific development would not look like it does today.

"Whether 3 years new or 3 years old, mending it will bring 3 years more." This everyday habit stands out very prominently in theoretical research. Of course, the theoretical methods in intellectual products hold an opposing, stable cycle of existence; and when a great many new contradictions, phenomena and variables arise which exceed the capacity of an old theory to support them, it is certain that people will seek a new medium--a new theory. Put another way, perfecting lies in carrying on and developing something; bringing forth new ideas is to carry on and develop it further. The emergence of the soft sciences opened up people's thinking by telling us that scholarly research into military affairs has stayed strictly along the narrow path of military science with few new breakthroughs and contributions. In today's high-technology world, if we wish to explain fully such phenomena and trends as limited wars, developmental strategies for national defense, or the structure of military affairs, then it is necessary to build a theoretical "new boat." When the railroad train had just been invented, it was not as fast as the horsedrawn carriage, and yet it superceded the carriage in the

end. When we set out to build a "new boat," how can we not try for that essential process which will turn the "ugly duckling" into the "swan?" Even though building the boat will take time and energy, still it has a better future than repairing the "old boat." Einstein was so bold as to attack the most firmly fixed "measures" and standards in the universe: time, space and mass. In comparison, why is it that we can never realize breakthroughs?

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## MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY AFFAIRS

### YANBEI GROUND FORCES RESERVE DIVISION

Beijing JIEFANGJUN BAO in chinese 10 Jan 87 p 2

[Article by Lin Peirong [2651 1014 2837] and Li Weixiang [2621 4850 4161]: "Some Information Concerning the Yanbei Reserve Division; Goodbye 'Old Sleeve'"]

[Text] Editor's Note: During the past year, the reserve forces have emerged as a new army in the alignment of China's armed forces. In order to introduce this force to a broad mass of readers, and answer some questions from everyone who expressed interest, this column will publish a series of installments relating some information obtained on a visit to the Yanbei Reserve Division.

On New Year's Eve, the snow fell in big flakes, covering the strategic point of Yanbei, turning it into a stretch of silver sea. We trudged along the road through the snow, and arrived at the headquarters building of the Yanbei Army Reserve Division. The tense orderly work environment here causes one to pause as would a cold hip in the air. But upon entering the conference room, one is immediately aware of the dedication such leading comrades as Yang Dezhi, Zhang Aiping, and Qin Jiwei [4440 1015 0251] have for this unit. Department Head Zhang Aiping has written four large characters there, "The New Army at the Gate of Yan." Poetic and written in one line, it invites us to seek other connotations and extensions.

The Yanbei Reserve Division came into being in the 1980s, a new type of unit that was at once agricultural, industrial, and military--the first of its kind. As such, it is undoubtedly the symbol of a historic step forward in the buildup of China's reserve forces. However, when reserve forces are mentioned, people often link them together in their minds with the "old sleeves," i.e., outmoded equipment. When we made the trek to where this unit was stationed, the rows of heavy-caliber cannon, of awesome tanks and armored cars, made it seem as if we had come upon a modernized regular army division. With pride in his voice, a division leader said, "Our light and heavy weaponry can in general be compared to that of the regular army divisions! We not only have the new model infantry weapons currently being used in the Chinese Army, we also have large-caliber howitzers, cannon, antiaircraft artillery, rocket launchers, tanks, transport vehicles and command cars. These weapons are all in the hands of well-trained men.

Someday at the Gate of Yan, this ancient battlefield, there will surely rise once again a force for China, so that this mystical piece of earth will take on still more magical colors!"

And it is precisely to do this that the division's officers and men have had to overcome massive difficulties, work out training reforms, and gradually make the transition from training that is purely technical in nature to training that combines technology with tactics. Every special type of unit has come up to the standards needed to "move out, march on, and strike accurately."

When "steel" is combined with steel, a new type of iron-and-steel division is forged. When this division was on maneuvers, several images were etched onto the mind like photographs: as two signal flares rise high into the sky, a group of tanks moves out with a frightening roar, and rumble their way to an assembly point. "Boom! Boom! Boom!"...The tanks' roaring cannon spurt out tongues of fire, instantly smoke billows all around, and only their concentrated fire can be seen. The "enemy" tanks are destroyed at once; one of the firing tanks has scored 12 hits on the targets...

Outsiders find it hard to believe that such successful firing is the work of reserve forces! Observers cannot help but open wide their eyes, gaze down on the open country, with smoke from the weapons swirling about and the motors roaring, and think: what an awesome force, how grand and heroic!

Goodbye "old sleeve!"

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MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY AFFAIRS

RESULTS AFTER 1 YEAR OF CONTRACT POL SUPPLY

Beijing JIEFANGJUN BAO in Chinese 24 Jan 87 p 1

[Article by Wang Yihua [3769 5030 5478]: "A Savings of 70,000 Tons of Oil; Ground Forces Contract Oil Supply Accomplishes This in One Year"]

[Text] Over the past year, the Chinese Army has carried out a reform of the oil supply system for ground forces which featured a contract system. How has it gone? Zhang Hongsheng [1728 1347 3932], deputy director of the General Oil Logistics Department, here for the General Oil Logistics Storage Conference, stated happily that the ground forces last year economized on over 70,000 tons of oil. This was done in all situations in which oil is used--guaranteed training, combat readiness, daily living, construction, etc. This savings in oil also cut military spending by 35 million yuan.

For a long time, the Chinese Army's oil supply was furnished under a system of "reimbursement." The annual demand for oil in addition to the considerable amount purchased by quota, both aggravated the contradictions of the national energy crisis and increased military expenditures.

Because of the contractual oil supply system being implemented at the beginning of last year, supply quotas were reduced 8 percent from years past. In the course of implementation, some units selected quotas which were handed down in one package as a one-time, final measure. Some units implemented responsibility systems whereby senior officers contracted to supply individuals, organizations contracted to supply units, and units contracted to supply the rank-and-file. There were also units which instituted award systems for economizing on oil, which determined missions, mileage, consumption amounts and savings. Many units found that the series of measures they had selected led to a considerable decrease in consumption: For example, the Second Artillery of the Guangzhou and Jinan Military Regions found that their actual oil consumption was 3.1 to 3.5 percent lower than the stipulated quota.

Deputy Director Zhang said that this year, all three branches of the armed forces--the Army, Navy and Air Force--will completely adopt the contract system for supplying oil. At present, based on supply standards, the year's contract quotas will reward economizing, and a start will be made on implementing a system which does not recompense overspending.

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## MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY AFFAIRS

### RESERVE UNIT ORGANIZATION, TRAINING

#### '3 Integrations' Advocated

Shenyang DONGBEI MINBING [NORTHEAST MILITIA] in Chinese No 9, 4 Sep 86 p 19

[Article by Wang Yulin [3769 3768 2651], commander of the Dalian Military Subdistrict: "My Views on the Question of the Organization of Militia"]

[Text] Whether the organization of the militia is scientific and rational, has a direct bearing on military and political training in peacetime and troop mobilization in wartime. Therefore, it is necessary to explore this question. This article contains some of my views on the question of militia organization, and I hope everybody will discuss them.

In organizing the militia, generally speaking, both quantity and quality must be considered; it must be convenient for military and political training and for combat readiness and sentry duty in peacetime, and also must in wartime make possible rapid mobilization, swift expansion of garrison units, as well as coordination with garrison units in the fulfillment of operational missions. Specifically speaking, it should effect the "three integrations."

First, integrate the organization of the militia with the task of wartime troop mobilization. Speaking of one area, we must, based on the task of troop mobilization in wartime, make a comprehensive study of, and devise strategies for, the organization of the militia. In the tasks of distributing core members of the militia after the reduction in quantity, we should refer to the combat readiness status, economic conditions, and population proportions, and adopt the method of assigning more to the coastal areas and key cities and relatively less to the in-depth areas, so that the distribution tends to be more rational and the burdens tend to be more balanced. The specific idea is: The cities should, based on the requirements for city defense operations, focus on antiaircraft gun, antiaircraft machinegun, signal, chemical defense, and other specialized arms with complex skills. Islands should, based on the amount needed to replenish each service arm in the wartime mobilization of garrison units, have a matching or semimatching organization, and in peacetime the regular units should give the militia matching training. Coastline areas should, based on the requirements for emergency mobilization of garrison units, appropriately organize more service arms needed for the expansion of garrison units when war is about to break out, especially more infantry, so

that there will be an integration with peacetime combat readiness and sentry duty. In-depth areas should, with the county as the unit, focus on organizing arms at the regiment level and below of the newly formed corps and divisions. The military subdistrict should give comprehensive consideration to the soldiers with specialized skills at the division level and above and, within the scope of the entire subdistrict, organize the militia and integrate the work of conscription and demobilization, setting up certain bases of reserves of soldiers with specialized skills in order to improve the speciality matching rate of wartime mobilization.

Second, integrate the organization of militia with the organization of reserve units. Some comrades think that in the future the counties and districts that are charged with the task of forming reserve units will, in principle, not train militia and that their organizing of militia will also be nominal. Therefore, they advocate that reserve duty only be organized in some factories and mines or townships (towns), which will not organize militia. I think that this is impossible, because it would be unfavorable, from the organizational standpoint, to the "perfection of the system of integrating militia with reserve duty." It would be unfavorable for balancing the burden between the enterprise and the township (town), and would be even more unfavorable for laying up reserve troops. The solution is to appropriately enlarge the range of forming reserve units. Within the scope of a county or district, we should strive to have the townships in the rural areas organize reserve duty, and in the cities have 90 percent of the enterprises organize reserve duty. Looking at the situation in organizing Dalian's antiaircraft gun reserve division, generally it was found to be fairly suitable for a specially large factory or mine with 10,000 people or more to come up with one to two companies, for a large factory or mine to come up with about one company, and for a medium-sized factory or mine to come up with one to two platoons. For the proportion of reserve duty men to core members of the militia, for the most part 1:2 to 1:4 were found suitable. The purpose of enlarging the range of organizing reserve duty is to put reserve duty in the militia organization, put reserve soldiers with specialized skills in the militia with specialized skills, and thus further perfect the system of integrating the militia with reserve duty. In this way, not only can prominence be given to key points and a good grasp be gotten on the building of reserve units, but also militia organizations can act as the second echelon for reserve units (fendui), and undertake the task of replenishing and laying up reserve personnel. That is to say, every year, when there is a reorganization, we could as much as possible put those youths who qualify to join the reserves, but who because of the restrictions of proportion cannot be put on reserve duty, into the militia organizations, so that they will take part in certain activities and receive the necessary education. With regard to those fighters who after receiving military training are withdrawn from reserve units, if they have not exceeded the maximum age limit they should also be recruited into militia organizations. Thus, even if the militia does not engage in any large-scale training, the reserve duty will constantly increase the number of the militia, and give the militia organizations a certain military quality. When necessary the militia organization will be given a short period of refresher training, and it will quickly become a contingent with a certain operational capability.

Third, integrate the militia organization with peacetime training. During the current adjustment of militia organizations, consideration must be given to the demand for soldiers with key specialized skills in future training. At the same time, the training must embody the principle of balanced burdens. I think that we should expand the scope in forming and the number of soldiers with specialized skills, and change the past situation in which in rural areas there were few and scattered soldiers of this type and it was difficult to organize training. For the convenience of centralizing and organizing training and of laying up troops, specifically speaking, we can in accordance with the service arms and their number needed at the regimental level, divide an area into certain sectors. Each sector would be composed of one or several adjacent townships (towns), which would be training and reserve centers for a certain service arm, thereby making organizing training, laying up, and mobilizing a coordinated process. Besides organizing training for soldiers with one specialized skill, each sector should organize a balanced number of infantry fendui. In peacetime, only soldiers with specialized skills would be trained; before the infantry went into battle it would be given a short period of training so that it could perform its battle mission. Looking at the situation in our Dalian area, in accordance with the present type and number of military equipment, the number of soldiers with specialized skills at the regiment level and below is one-third of the total number of militia, and can satisfy the requirement for wartime mobilization. Because there is now a very small number of equipment for them, for the soldier with specialized skills at the division level and above only several factories and mines where conditions are good or townships (towns) can be selected to set up training centers which train a batch of backbone elements with specialized skills to become a backbone force for wartime mobilization. Following the constant improvement of militia weapons and equipment and their measured development, we will gradually basically satisfy the need for wartime mobilization.

#### Dual Leadership System

Chengdu XINAN MINBING [SOUTHWEST MILITIA] in Chinese No 8, 10 Aug 86 p 15

[Article by the Cadre Office of the Political Department in the Guizhou Provincial Military District: "The Question of Coordinating the Building of Reserve Units"]

[Text] A reserve unit is a paramilitary organization under the dual leadership of the local party committee and government and the higher-level military organization. Our goal is to build it into a reserve force that can be drawn out, that can be set in motion, and that has combat effectiveness, and also to make it become a vital new force in socialist economic construction. To achieve this goal, good coordination is particularly needed. The reserve unit along with the military subdistrict and armed forces department must implement the dual leadership system, subordinate themselves to the overall situation in state economic construction, and vigorously and vividly be good "staff officers" for the local party committee and government. Militia work is the foundation of reserve unit work, and the quality of reserve units awaits the improvement of the quality of militia. This characteristic determines the coordinated relationship in which the two complement each other, and much of their work can be organically combined. For example, the readjustment of the

reserve unit personnel can be combined with the reorganization of militia, the training of reserve units can be combined with the military training of militia, the building of the reserve units' warehouses and training bases can be combined with the building of the militia's warehouses and training bases, and so forth.

When our province was forming ground forces reserve divisions, in order to solve the problem of reasonable burdens, it built the reserve regiments within the scope of two to three counties. This kind of transcounty system of organization forms a complex relationship in the system of organization between county and county, unit and unit. It requires that we take effective measures to coordinate well all sides. First, there should be good vertical coordination, that is, through intervention by the higher level's party committee, government, and military organization, directly effect centralized, unified leadership over the reserve regiment that crosses over the county's party committee, government, and people's armed forces department. Second, horizontal coordination should be enhanced, that is, the reserve regiment will, with the county people's armed forces department's maintenance, vigorously and on its initiative, of regular ties with the transcounty people's armed forces department, report situations to each other and discuss administrative affairs. Also, the system of organization for deputy regiment commanders should be increased, so that the directors of people's armed forces departments that cross county lines have leadership duties in the reserve regiment, which will be advantageous for coordinating relationships and resolving contradictions.

#### Role of Local Cadres

Shenyang DONGBEI MINBING [NORTHEAST MILITIA] in Chinese No 9, 4 Sep 86 p 22

[Article by Jiu Shi [6930 4258]: "Give Full Play in Reserve Duty to the Role of Local Cadres"]

[Text] The great majority of cadres in reserve units come from the localities. They deal with a wide range of matters, and their management levels are complex. In particular, following the reform of the economic system, the cadres have become quite mobile, a fact that causes some difficulties to their participation in the activities of reserve units. Under these circumstances, how are we to give play to the role of local cadres in the reserve units? The practice of the Jinzhou Ground Forces Reserve Division is:

Rational Deployment. Last year, before adjusting the local cadres assigned to the reserve, the organizations of the division and its regiments first of all made an investigation of the deployment to find out the real situation. They discovered that in some systems and units there was an excessive concentration of reserve-assigned cadres. In accordance with the principle of rational distribution and professional matching, they appropriately expanded local units in which cadres in two levels of organizations were involved, and transferred out of them some cadres who were not suited for work in reserve organizations. For the regions in which the cadres of all departments of the organizations were, they achieved a corresponding connected-part

concentration. For the reserve-assigned cadres of the organizations and personnel departments of cities and counties, who play a crucial role in peacetime, they fixed the units and personnel, thereby insuring that they would have professional duties and that there would be unified management of the cadres by the army and the locality.

**Bold Utilization.** During the training of organic companies, all of the cadres act as teachers according to their posts and levels, so that the cadres become "real officers" who have troops to lead. In the site-shifting training in the field of all the division's companies, the cadres likewise "fly solo" as they are given a free hand in management. The division also actively creates administrative conditions for local preassigned cadres so that they become qualified reserve cadres.

**Concern for Politics and Life.** This reserve division regularly concerns itself with the political progress of the reserve-assigned cadres and also regularly resolves their difficulties in life. Based on the behavior and actual capability of the cadres in all activities, the division has vigorously recommended the worthy and capable to the relevant local departments, with the result that 91 reserve-assigned cadres have been promoted at their work posts. When the political departments of the division and its regiments were adjusting the cadres, they also correspondingly changed the reserve-assigned posts of these men. With regard to the farmland labor and the wages and remuneration of reserve-assigned cadres during the period that they take part in military unit activities, by organizing "support-the-front" activities among the cadres and reserve fighters in the townships, the division obtained arrangements and solutions by the local governments and enterprise units, thereby arousing the enthusiasm of the cadres for reserve work.

#### Relationship of Reserves, PAFD

Shenyang DONGBEI MINBING [NORTHEAST MILITIA] in Chinese No 9, 4 Sep 86 p 22

[Article by Gan Wu [3927 2976]: "Elementary Discussion of the Mutual Relationship of People's Armed Forces Departments and Reserve Regiments"]

[Text] After people's armed forces departments were turned over to the local system of organization, how was their relationship with the reserve regiments to be managed? Some comrades have come up with very good ideas, and here we will discuss several of our views.

Concerning organization and leadership. A people's armed forces department and a reserve regiment separately and independently set up party committees, and the two have a relationship on the same level. However, when studying major questions, they must keep each other informed and coordinate with each other. The leader of the people's armed forces department and the reserve regiment do not have mutually concurrent posts within the party. When a party committee meeting is held, the principal leaders of the other party can attend the meeting as nonvoting delegates. For convenience in initiating work, a leading cadre of a people's armed forces department may concurrently hold an appropriate post in an organization of the reserve regiment. The organization of a people's armed forces department and a reserve regiment are administered

independently, forming their own entities. The appointment and dismissal, transfer, and reward and punishment of their subordinate personnel should be handled by the party committee at their own level. The militia and reserve work of basic-level factories, mines, and enterprise units should, in accordance with their subordinate relationship, separately accept the dual leadership of the higher level's military departments.

Concerning the division of work. We think that a people's armed forces department and a reserve regiment should, based on each one's work focuses, coordinate in unity, closely cooperate, and support each other. First, for the reorganization, political education, building of the two civilizations, propaganda and reporting, self-creation of funds, and concentrated training of backbone elements with identical specialities, the militia and the reserves can jointly study and make unified plans. Second, for other work, like cadre work, military training, conscription and selection, and summing up, commenting on, and appraising, the two parties can do them separately based on their duties. Third, the basic-level armed forces department that has the reserve mission, when doing militia work and reserve work at the same time, should put its main energy on reserve work.

Concerning administration and management. We feel that it is fairly appropriate in administration and management for the people's armed forces department to be made primary and for the reserve regiment to help it. The director of the office in the people's armed forces department should be made specifically responsible for the daily administrative work. The office of the people's armed forces department should be made responsible for inventorying, registering, and managing the existing equipment, materiel, barracks property, and barracks furnishings of the people's armed forces department. For the financial revenue and expenditures of the people's armed forces department and the reserve regiment, there should be independent accounts and separate management. Within the scope permitted by policy, the people's armed forces department and the reserve regiment should vigorously initiate activities to create funds by themselves. The funds thus created should be managed by the reserve regiment, but their expenditure and use may be decided through consultation by the two parties. In mess management, the people's armed forces department should be made primary and the reserve regiment should help it. All kitchen utensils are to be supplied by the people's armed forces department, which will also pay the wages of temporarily hired kitchen personnel.

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## MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY AFFAIRS

### RESERVE UNIT ACTIVITIES, ORGANIZATION

#### Ground Forces Reserve Division

Beijing ZHONGGUO MINBING [CHINESE MILITIA] in Chinese No 9, 9 Sep 86 p 23

[Article by Jin Hongwen [6855 4767 2429]: "'Connected Process' Training Method"]

[Text] The "connected process" comprehensive training method used by a certain ground forces reserve division first of all gets a good grip on the "dragon's head" of the command training of the division's organizations. For several years, 47 leaders of the division and its regiments and principal section chiefs of its organizations have taken part in various kinds of training run by the higher level. Seven training classes run by the division and its regiments have trained a total of more than 500 organization cadres. Next there is the "dragon's body" company training, in which organization and command, foundation subjects, political education, implementation of regulations, mobilization drills, and simulation of active duty company life are fused into one entity and carried out in a comprehensive fashion. Finally, the launching of small-scale live drills is an effective method for making the training of the entire division be well composed from beginning to end and for linking up the parts of the training to form a whole.

#### Reserve Division Political Education

Beijing ZHONGGUO MINBING [CHINESE MILITIA] in Chinese No 9, 9 Sep 86 p 23

[Article by Jin Ming [6855 2494] and Huang Zhuqing [7806 2612 3237]: "Invigorate Political Education by Adapting It to One's Own Characteristics"]

[Text] Focusing on the characteristics of reserve units, a certain reserve division has blazed a trail in political education. Its method is: 1) Adapting to the characteristic of reserve units of being highly dispersed, it has reduced the traditional practice of concentrated large classes. For the companies in rural areas, in the busy farming season scattered activities by squads are made primary; in the slack farming season and on holidays and days off, education is given in a concentrated fashion with the company as the unit. For companies in cities and towns, concentrated activities by squads and platoons are made primary. 2) Adapting to the characteristic that fairly

many reserve armymen have to leave home on business, the division has initiated correspondence school education. 3) Adapting to the characteristic that reserve armymen are young, the division has put into various kinds of forms the education on the new military service law, the education on the functions of reserve armymen, and the education on patriotism. 4) Adapting to the characteristic that reserve armymen are both soldiers and civilians, the division has invited leading comrades of the party and the government to give lectures and make radio speeches to publicize and explain the party's principles and policies and to publicize and explain the legal system. It makes use of party schools in townships and towns to train backbone elements in political education.

#### Reserve AAA Division Automation

Beijing ZHONGGUO MINBING [CHINESE MILITIA] in Chinese No 9, 9 Sep 86 p 23

[Article by Deng Yao [6772 3852] and Gau Jianguo [7559 1696 0948]: "Command System at Division and Regiment Levels Automated in a Certain Reserve AAA Division"]

[Text] With the financial and technical support of the factories and mines of its reserve units, a certain reserve AAA division has given play to the role of the secondary technical school technicians among its reserve cadres, who have initially automated the training and command systems of the division and its regiments. Command posts, training centers, and reference rooms have been allocated microprocessors, radios, videocorders, projectors, film projectors, and synchronous slide projectors. Also, electronic sandtables, spherical motion picture screens, and data and reference materials display units have been built. This system can display various kinds of data, pictures, and reference materials automatically, swiftly, accurately, and distinctly. The performance of enemy aircraft and the tactical measures of our side appear before one's eyes.

#### Jilin MD Mobilization Regulations

Beijing ZHONGGUO MINBING [CHINESE MILITIA] in Chinese No 9, 9 Sep 86 p 23

[Article by Quan Dongguang [2938 2639 0342] and Li Jingbo [2621 2529 3134]: "Jilin Provincial Military District Drafts Detailed Rules and Regulations for Mobilization of Reserve Units"]

[Text] Basing itself on the spirit of the "Military Service Law of the People's Republic of China" and the "Regulations for the Mobilization Work of the Chinese People's Liberation Army," the Jilin Provincial Military District, drawing on effective experiences in several years of mobilization work, has drafted the "Detailed Rules and Regulations For Carrying Out and Preparing for the Mobilization and Assembly of the Reserve Units of the Chinese People's Liberation Army" (draft for discussion).

In the form of orders, the "Detailed Rules and Regulations," for the entire process from peacetime mobilization preparatory work to the completion by the reserve units of their assembly and drawing in, and preparation to advance or

switch to active service, stipulate the content and procedures of the main work of the senior officers and organizations of divisions and regiments; the many-sided support during mobilization and assembly in political work, communications, transportation, logistics, technology and equipment; the mutual relationship between the reserve divisions and regiments, on the one hand, and the military subdistricts (people's armed forces departments), on the other; and the subordinate relationship and the duties and division of work of all levels, all functional departments, and all types of personnel.

#### Suggestions for Reserve Registration

Chengdu XINAN MINBING [SOUTHWEST MILITIA] in Chinese No 10, 10 Oct 86 p 16

[Article by Jia Ha [3946 0761], Guo Hua [0948 5478], and Wan Xing [5502 5281] of the Yanyuan County People's Armed Forces Department: "A Suggestion for Reserve Duty Registration"]

[Text] Looking at the situation in recent years in military service and reserve duty registration, we see, first, that it has been very extensive and has required quite a lot of manpower, material resources, and financial resources. Especially in mountain areas on the border, where the land is vast and the people are scarce, and in minority nationality areas, registration takes a very long time and omissions and mistakes are made. Second, there are many detailed statistical tables, and it is difficult to be accurate. Third, the scope of registration is citizens from 18 to 35 years old (except for cadres and students), and therefore it is difficult to avoid a low quality of personnel (either in physical quality, education, or ideological and moral character).

We think that to solve these problems there needs to be a scientific estimate of the number of troops needed in one division or in one region in the initial and middle stages of a war. Then there should be a registration plan based on population proportion or administrative division. A place would, in accordance with its assigned number, select the optimum qualifications for registration at an area convenient for communication and concentrated training. In this way, in wartime a sufficient number of troops of fairly high quality could be raised, and also mistakes in actual work would be overcome and the amount of work lessened.

#### Local Command Relationships

Chengdu XINAN MINBING [SOUTHWEST MILITIA] in Chinese No 9, 10 Sep 86 p 12

[Article by Kang Zhongwen [1660 1813 2429] and Bai Jiangang [4101 1696 0474]: "Is It a Guidance Relationship or a Command Relationship?"]

[Text] The changing of county (city) people's armed forces departments to the local system of organization was a major revolution in the system of people's armed forces work. Some comrades now think that military organizations, after the rebuilding, only have a guidance relationship with the people's armed forces departments and no longer have a command relationship. We think that, after the rebuilding, the military organizations still have an overall command

relationship with the people's armed forces departments and that part of it has turned into a guidance relationship. Their leadership nature has not fundamentally changed because the people's armed forces departments have changed to the local system of organization.

The fact that the nature of the people's armed forces departments and the system of dual leadership have not changed determines that the command relationship cannot change. The core of the nature of people's armed forces departments is the word "military," and military work demands a high degree of concentrated, unified command and the discipline of strict enforcement of orders and prohibitions. Especially in wartime, when the military situation is like fire, the troop mobilization and the work of taking part in the war and supporting the front must be done rapidly and with high efficiency, and be directly commanded by the necessary military organizations, so that the people's armed forces departments are directly led to complete all their combat missions. It should also be seen that the military organization is also the military department of the local party committee at the same level and the military service organization at the same level of government. It exercises proper command over the people's armed forces department, and not only represents the interests of the military system but also represents the interests of the local party committee and government.

As long as the work and mission of the people's armed forces departments do not change, there cannot be a change in the command relationship. After the rebuilding of the people's armed forces departments, they still are responsible for the militia and military service work in the areas under their jurisdiction, and they have a close interrelated nature with military organizations and a continuity in their work. Missions of a military nature possess the characteristics of tight time limits, strong command, and strict demands. Objectively, this requires that the command exercised by military organizations over people's armed forces departments be clear, timely, and competent.

The change in the subordinate relationship of people's armed forces departments does not mean a change in their command relationship. It should be affirmed that, after the people's armed forces departments were put in the local system of organization, some work really changed from the former command relationship to a guidance relationship. However, we cannot, because of this, infer that probably all of the work will change to work of a guidance nature. We also cannot oversimply think that that if there is a subordinate relationship there is also a command relationship and that if there is no subordinate relationship there is no command relationship. Because the change in the subordinate relationship requires that military organizations improve their leadership methods, it is quite necessary for them to find out and sum up practices and experiences for exercising correct command over people's armed forces departments in the new situation. However, this will only be a change in method, and in essence the command relationship of military organizations with people's armed forces departments still exists.

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## MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY AFFAIRS

### BRIEFS

MODIFIED RPG SIGHT--"Comrade Yan Fakui [0917 4099 1145] was an outstanding marksman, as well as a fearless fighter!" On 1 December 1986, Yan Fakui, a regimental staff officer in the Nanjing Military Region, was tragically killed while participating in test firing of the modified Type 40 rocket aiming sight. The tests had been organized by the General Artillery Equipment Technology Research Institute. Four engineering technicians from the Institute, upon hearing the news, rushed to his unit's headquarters, sobbing uncontrollably. In addition to relating Yan Fakui's deeds, they requested that the unit's party committee award Yan Fakui a posthumous citation. On 9 January, group army leadership issued an order which posthumously awarded the First-Class Merit Citation to Yan Fakui. [By Cai Shengguang [5591 5110 1639] and Wang Yingyang [3076 1019 2876]] [Excerpt] [Beijing JIEFANGJUN BAO in Chinese 14 Jan 87 p 1] 12625/13046

AUTOMATED FIELD COMMAND SYSTEM--The automated field command system developed by engineers of the Nanjing Communications Engineering Institute was applied thoroughly on three occasions last year by one division. Opinion was unanimous that this system not only broke a new path for the division's automated field command, but also began having a positive influence on the unit's tactical and technical training. Drilling with the system strengthened the divisional organizations' training, and improved the level of policymaking among senior officers [By Dong Hong [5516 1347] and Ren Qiu [0088 4428]] [Text] [Beijing JIEFANGJUN BAO in Chinese 13 Jan 87 p 2] 12625/13046

GROUP ARMY ECONOMIC CONTRIBUTIONS--Within the past year, personnel of a Nanjing Military Region army group have treated the place where they are stationed as their second home. To promote the building of enterprises in northern Jiangsu, the peoples' government there has established a special "military monument" to commemorate the military personnel's contributions. In joint military-civilian construction activity in the Xu Hai area, this army group has lent its support to putting important engineering projects in an advantageous position. In all, the army group has sent more than 17,000 cadre soldiers, over 520 military vehicles and machines, amounting to over 138,000 activity days. They have participated in the Suzhou Power Plant, the Huaihai Machine Plant, the Xuyun new river, and other major engineering projects, both nationally and in Jiangsu. [By Li Changsen [2621 2490 2772] and Sun Feng [1327 1496]] [Text] [Beijing JIEFANGJUN BAO in Chinese 24 Jan 87 p 4] 12625/13046

MILITARY ADMINISTRATIVE 'INCIDENTS' REDUCED--Statistics from general headquarters today show that the number of accidents of all types for the entire armed forces decreased 22.5 percent from 1985, with the number of fatal accidents decreasing 20.1 percent, the lowest for any year since 1955. In the past year, units responsible for combat, training, construction and manufacturing conscientiously implemented policies which were focused on accident prevention. These were linked with practice, and a serious analysis made of the situation in safety work. There was foresight in the stress on making accident-prevention work permeate the units' missions and in the course of their daily lives. By seriously implementing and coming to grips with the system of rules and regulations, they have perfected a system of personal responsibility for safety, whereby each cadre understands his own responsibility and attends to his own duty. Every unit has also gone forward in strengthening the work of being alert for accident opportunity, seasonability, and vulnerability, while stressing safety education and regular inspections. [By Bai Lu [4101 6424]] [Text] [Beijing JIEFANGJUN BAO in Chinese 11 Jan 87 p 1] 12625/13046

RETROFIT OF 'YUANWANG'-CLASS SHIPS--China's self-designed and developed special ocean-going vessels, the "Yuanwang-1" and "Yuanwang-2," have recently begun a retrofit at the Shanghai Jiangnan Shipyard. This work for the most part makes use of international advanced technology of the 1980's, and will update and modify the motive, observation, communications, navigation, and meteorological systems. After retrofitting, the sister ships will participate in launching foreign commercial satellites. [Text] [Beijing JIANCHUAN ZHISHI in Chinese No 12, 8 Dec 86 p 25]

TYPE-D4 AIR CUSHION VEHICLE--On 19 November 1986, the small Type-D4 full-skirt lifting air cushion vehicle developed by the Shenyang Aircraft Manufacturing Company successfully completed its first trial. It is 8.86 meters long and 3.74 meters wide, weighs 800 kilograms, travels at 80 kph, and has a range of 250 kilometers. It is amphibious, can be used in shallows, marshes, grasslands, and areas near the coast, and is capable of carrying out patrol, reconnaissance, communications, herding, and rescue missions. [Text] [Beijing HANGKONG ZHISHI in Chinese No 3, 6 Mar 87 p 2]

PAP LEADER VISITS QINGHAI UNITS--During the Spring Festival, Zhang Xiufu [1728 4423 1133], political commissar of the People's Armed Police [PAP], traveled 3,000 kilometers to visit 3,000 PAP soldiers and commanders stationed in Qinghai. Beginning 30 January he visited the Haidong Zhidui, 6th Zhidui, and the 1st Zhidui. In the following 8 days he went to Xining, Xiangride in Da Zhen, Golmud, and Delingha, visiting the 2d, 3d, and 5th Zhidui, the Haixizhou Zhidui, the 1st Communications Zhidui, and the Dadui stationed in Golmud directly subordinate to the Xizang Zongdui. [Excerpts] [Xining QINGHAI RIBAO in Chinese 4 Mar 87 p 2]

YUNNAN BORDER ACTIVITY--Our Yunnan border defense units have for several days fought back against Vietnamese armed provocations, protecting the spring planting of all nationalities on the border. Since the beginning of Spring, Vietnam has repeatedly provoked incidents on the Yunnan border, firing almost 10,000 shells at us in 1 month's time, destroying 3,000 mu of fields and killing or injuring 6 persons. We returned their artillery fire, destroying one fortification and injuring many enemy. [Excerpt] [Beijing NONGMIN RIBAO in Chinese 11 Mar 87 p 1]

FIRST PLA FOREIGN TRADE JOINT VENTURE--Factory 7424 of the Nanjing Military Region Logistics Department and the Shanghai Branch of the China National Metals and Minerals Import-Export Corporation have established the PLA's first foreign trade joint venture, which has earned more than 7 million yuan in foreign exchange. This joint venture was set up in 1980 and exports all types of door locks. It now has assembly lines for 230 processes and sells top-quality locks to 30-odd countries. [Excerpts] [Beijing JIEFANGJUN BAO in Chinese 8 Mar 87 p 1]

XINJIANG ARTILLERY BRIGADE--Thirty-one family members of soldiers and cadres in a certain Xinjiang MD artillery brigade who came to Xinjiang to engage in business and were living in the barracks area, returned to their hometowns 15 February after receiving convincing education from the unit. Order in the barracks has returned to normal. [Excerpt] [Beijing JIEFANGJUN BAO in Chinese 5 Mar 87 p 1]

LANZHOU MR WATER SUPPLIES--The PLA's first "Northern Shaanxi Water Supply Chart," drawn up by a certain water supply engineering regiment in the Lanzhou MR, was certified 5 March by the first army-wide engineering corps water supply units work conference held at Yinchuan. Specialists attending the meeting felt that this fills a void in PLA field water engineering research. The chart provides accurate information to command organizations above the group army level so they can get a grasp on water sources, make operational plans, and build water supply stations and battlefield wells. [Excerpts] [Beijing JIEFANGJUN BAO in Chinese 7 Mar 87 p 1]

SHANGHAI MILITIA WEAPONS MANAGEMENT--Shanghai CPC committee Secretary Rui Xingwen, and Deputy Secretary and Mayor Jiang Zemin observed Shanghai militia work on 12 March. Shanghai's militia have put into effect a three-tiered weapon management network which has already been free of mishaps for 3 years. The Changfeng AAA Regiment has achieved excellent results in four live firings organized by the Nanjing MR and Shanghai Garrison District. Leaders from the Shanghai CPC committee, government, and Garrison District also visited militia arsenals of the Putuo Qu People's Armed Police. [Excerpts] [Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 13 Mar 87 p 1]

COMPUTERIZED FLIGHT PLAN PREPARATION--The Air Force's first use of microcomputers to arrange flight plans was approved 2 March by the Beijing MR Air Force. This shows that the Air Force Aviation Corps has entered a new stage in modernized training. In the past it required more than 3 hours to make up a flight plan by hand, while a microcomputer now does the work in 15 to 20 minutes and also prints out the results, increasing work efficiency 20 times [as printed]. After 1 year of trial use, this new training measure has been 100 percent effective. [Excerpts] [Beijing JIEFANGJUN BAO in Chinese 3 Mar 87 p 1]

NEW ACCOUNTING METHODS FOR DEFENSE ENTERPRISES--In order to stop the deceptive use of national defense funds, the Shenyang MR has decided, beginning 20 March, to collect rent on vehicles, machinery, and other equipment used in production, and to collect fees according to price for all equipment and POL used. Several units have not computed equipment expenditures and wear and tear into their costs, causing national defense funds to become profits which slip into each unit's treasury. Following the spirit of the State Council's "Regulations for Managing State Enterprise Costs," the military region has

made use of planned management. It has ruled that equipment used in production enterprises must make use of cost accounting, and that rental fees and compensation received must be used for maintenance and equipment renewal. [Text] [Beijing JIEFANGJUN BAO in Chinese 21 Mar 87 p 1]

NANJING SPECIAL OPERATIONS BATTALION--A special battalion formed by a Nanjing MR unit's experimental group has completed a 1 year training mission with good results. It was formed early last year according to general department directives to better adapt to the special operational requirements of a future war. Officers and soldiers learned to drive 6 types of vehicles including trucks, cars, tanks, and armored vehicles, and to use 8 weapons including heavy and light machine guns, light artillery, and one-man rocket launchers. They also mastered cliff climbing, trench crossing, and river crossing, so that each man could carry out 18 different military skills. Also emphasized were special operations combat methods, such as attacking from sea, land, and air. [Excerpts] [Beijing JIEFANGJUN BAO in Chinese 23 Mar 87 p 1]

MOBILE WEAPONS REPAIR UNIT--The Shenyang Military Region Logistics Department and Factory 3301 have jointly developed a towed warehouse to supply parts for weapons maintenance. It can store an artillery regiment's entire 1-year supply of weapon parts, optical devices, and protective equipment, a total of 6942 items of 726 types, can transport them by rail or towed vehicle, and can unload single units. It is equipped with maintenance tools and makes it possible to carry out emergency repairs on the battlefield. [Text] [Beijing JIEFANGJUN BAO in Chinese 12 Mar 87 p 2]

CHEMICAL WARFARE TEST KIT--Fang Taizhong [2455 1132 1813], a technician at a certain chemical defense technology office, has developed a test kit to rapidly measure available chlorine, changing the situation where available chlorine could only be measured by a chemist in a completely equipped laboratory. Using the kit in the field only requires adding its premeasured chemicals to the decontaminant, and within 2 minutes it will indicate the amount of available chlorine. It is accurate to within 2 percent. [Text] [Beijing JIEFANGJUN BAO in Chinese 12 Mar 87 p 2]

COMPUTER SIMULATED TRAINING AT COMMAND COLLEGE--During educational reforms, the PLA Army Command College developed and put into use computer simulated tactical training, achieving initial results after 2 years. The photo shows students using computer displays to take a class in tactical warfare. [Text] [Beijing JIEFANGJUN BAO in Chinese 14 Mar 87 p 1]

ARMORED CORPS TECHNICAL REGULATIONS--With the consent of the General Staff Department, the legislative-like "Armored Corps Technical Work Regulations" has been issued to the units. Armored technical work is an important aspect of modernizing armored units. In order to adapt to technical developments in armor, the new "Regulations" has absorbed many years of technical experience and content, and is imbued with the relevant intentions of the three general departments. Based on the characteristics of future warfare, it clarifies technical work duties, principles, division of labor, rules, and requirements, and contains legislative laws and regulations. [Text] [Beijing JIEFANGJUN BAO in Chinese 14 Mar 87 p 1]

PROGRESS IN XINJIANG UNITS--A certain division in the Xinjiang MD has made correspondence education part of "collective" education and training. This division is stationed on the northern foot of the Tian Shan, and is dispersed over a long front. The seven training schools in the division have all established correspondence information and guidance posts as a convenience. [Excerpts] [Beijing JIEFANGJUN BAO in Chinese 10 Mar 87 p 1] A certain Xinjiang MD regiment has had success with fishponds in a harsh environment where nothing will grow. It is located in the second largest desert of shifting sand in the world--the western portion of the Taklimakan Desert--where transportation is inconvenient and living conditions difficult. Last March the regiment decided to build a permanent fishpond, connecting several salt pits together, redirecting snow melt from the Kunlun Shan, and building a levee. After 1 month, they finally finished a 40 mu pond which has been supplying fish up to 1.5 kilograms in size for consumption by the troops. [Excerpts] [Beijing JIEFANGJUN BAO in Chinese 15 Mar 87 p 1]

CSO: 4005/559

# REPORT ON 1986 HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION IN TAIWAN

Taipei KUANHUI TSACHI [CARE MAGAZINE] in Chinese No 53, Jan 87 pp 4-12

## [Text] I. Foreword

"As long as human rights violations continue, our concern will not rest."

The state of human rights in Taiwan in 1986 probably cannot be explained in thousands or tens of thousands of words. As personal and social consciousness increases and society evolves, the issue of human rights will certainly assume new forms. Also, different environments give rise to different human rights issues. In other words, human rights have specific as well as universal aspects.

Out of concern for human rights and as a human rights worker, Kuanhui Chunghsin has compiled a brief report on and preliminarily analyzed the state of human rights in Taiwan in 1986. Of course, this report cannot be perfect in its "universality" or "specificity." However, the principle of seeking truth from facts was adhered to throughout the writing of this report.

The report is divided into five major sections: freedom of person; freedom of speech, freedom of publication, and press freedom; the rights of assembly and association; social and economic rights; and environmental rights.

## II. Freedom of Person

Article 8 of the constitution provides in elaborate detail for the safeguard of the people's freedom of person. Article 9 too states explicitly that people who are not active servicemen shall not be court-martialled. Owing to the abnormal political climate and the poor caliber of some of the individuals who execute the law, freedom of person and freedom from court-martial are often violated.

Under martial law, non-active servicemen convicted under Article 2 of the Penal Code of the Army, Navy, and Air Force and Article 8 of Martial Law shall be tried by military authorities as they see fit. Other cases where special criminal laws, such as "Law to Eliminate Bandits and Spies during the Period to Suppress Rebellion," "Law on the Punishment of Rebels," and "Law to Punish Bandits," have been violated may also be tried by the military. These

criminal laws cover an extensive area of criminal activity, thus naturally affecting the freedom of the people from court martial. After the Democratic Progressive Party [DPP] was set up, President Chiang Chingkuo last October expressed his desire to lift martial law and said firmly that non-active servicemen would never be court martialled. Only when that happens would we have complied with the basic requirements of the constitution.

At present overcrowding remains a serious problem in all civilian prisons in Taiwan. According to a report issued by the Ministry of Justice in 1984, there were 22,908 prisoners at the time in a prison system which could accommodate only 15,983 people. This was followed by an influx of 3,141 additional prisoners during the crackdown on criminal elements. The Ministry of Justice said late this year that there were about 30,000 prisoners in the province's prisons, approximately 5,000 more than their normal capacity, which led some people to comment in despair, "It is crowded behind bars. One can only sleep on one's side, legs curled up, with one's head right next to someone else's. Prison resembles a can about to blow up." This failure of prison administration should be studied closely to seek improvements.

Although the law explicitly prohibits questioning by torture, some members of the police force and intelligence personnel sometimes still resort to extorting a confession by torture when they are interrogating suspects. The most notable case involves one Chen Kaichieh [7115 0418 2638] who was tortured to death during interrogation on 15 August. As a protest, members of his family carried his body to Hsichih substation only to be surrounded and turned back brutally by the police. In addition, there have been several cases this year in which inmates died suddenly or fell into a coma in prison. For instance, a former superintendent surnamed Tsai at Taoyuen Detention Center was removed from office and suspended for a year by the public council for humiliating defendants in custody. It is believed that this is only one of the cases exposed and brought to trial. Then there was a number of cases this year where people were arrested, taken into custody, or sentenced by mistake. Although the wrongdoing was discovered (it is not known whether there were other undiscovered cases), the damage done to human rights cannot be undone.

Supporters of the opposition often have their freedom of person violated willfully. On 11 April, for example, Fang Chaochuan [2455 2600 0356] of Pingtung, a non-party personage, was arrested by agents on suspicion of taking part in a rebellion just because they found a rusty toy gun in his home. Cheng Nanjung [6774 0589 2827], founder of the magazine MINCHU SHIHTAI was arrested on 2 June by two policemen acting on their own. He was taken into custody by the district court and denied bail without reason. On 9 June, Kao Minghui [7559 6900 6540], a student at Mushan National Secondary School, was photographed at a "farewell party for people going to jail" in connection with the "Feng Lai Tao case." He was playing in a musical band that supported the prisoners. When the picture was sent to his school, his teachers physically attacked him while cross-examining him to extort a confession. He became dizzy and sick. On 18 June, Chiang Hungjung [3068 1347 2837] was beaten up on the street by four policemen for selling TZUYOU TAIWAN magazine. Also, during the national elections of people's representatives toward the end of this year, intelligence units of the Kuomintang [KMT] "gathered evidence" by videotaping each and every campaign meeting of DPP candidates, a move which

made some people nervous. These and other instances clearly violate the freedom of person protected by the constitution.

In July 1985, the Legislative Yuan passed the "Regulations to Eliminate Gangsters," giving the police authorities enormous power, including the authority to decide whether a person is a "gangster." Although most courts can reject requests by the police to send a "gangster" to undergo moral education, the duration of such education (1 to 5 years) is still decided by the police. At year end, after the national elections to choose people's representatives, five people from Hsin Yuen Township in Pingtung County were arrested by the police for taking part in "violent elections" and were taken into custody on charges of "gangsterism." Their family members and over 100 villagers demonstrated in the street to protest and called for redress. The "crackdown on gangsters" in effect since 1984 had gotten rid of some of the dregs of society and won strong popular support. A small number of people, however, have complained that they have been wrongly accused and asked for redress. On 19 October, for instance, the family members of Chang Kunlien [1728 0981 6647] of Fengyuenshi went to the Fengyuen Substation to protest and appeal for redress of the wrong committed against him. As for Wu Zhenming [0702 2182 2494], "detained for education" without reason since 1984 under the "crackdown" law, he is still serving time in Lu Tao. So far many minor offenders in Taiwan are dealt with in accordance with "Penalties for Violating Police Regulations," which are unconstitutional. The regulations empower the police to detain a person for a maximum period of 2 weeks. Some members of the police force, however, are much too given to exercising such detention powers in order to take a suspect into custody and obtain statements from him in connection with another case. This kind of "arrest for another case" endangers freedom of person and cries out for improvement.

Prisoners' parole rights have not been fairly and fully protected. Convicts charged with what the KMT calls "rebellion," who are actually "political prisoners" to us, are often denied the right to be paroled. As a result, they tend to serve longer terms than ordinary criminals. At present, of people convicted in the "Kaohsiung incident," those tried by the judiciary have either served out their terms or been freed on parole, while four of those tried by military courts are still behind bars, having been refused parole. On 4 February this year, the KMT government paroled 14 political prisoners, who were joined by 13 more on 31 October. The sentences of these 27 parolees all ranged from 10 to 15 years. Apart from two, all had served more than 10 years in jail. According to information currently on file with the Kuanhuai Chunghsin, altogether 35 people were sentenced for political reasons between 1980 and 1986. At present at least 85 people related to political cases are still in jail, of whom at least 48 are serving terms longer than 10 years. Of these, 26 have been behind bars for more than 10 years. We again appeal to the government to free all "political prisoners of conscience" as soon as possible on humanitarian grounds and as a gesture of its sincerity to promote democratic constitutional rule.

### III. Freedom of Speech, Press, and Publication

Article 11 of the constitution stipulates that the people shall have freedom of speech, teaching, writing, and publication. However, these rights have been severely circumscribed through years of martial law.

For many years the KMT government time and again has sought to silence the opposition. Among its dubious pretexts are that opposition opinions would "mislead the public," "weaken public confidence and morale," and "undermine the foundation of the nation." Analysis shows that opinions which have been banned include the following:

- a. opinions skeptical of the anti-communist policy of the KMT or the legitimacy of the regime;
- b. opinions regarded as favorable to communism or the Chinese Communist Party;
- c. opinions that propose or allude to independence, even neutral talk about letting "all the people of Taiwan decide their future on their own," and
- d. reports on cases involving political prisoners, called rebels by the KMT.

Let's look at freedom of the press first. The KMT government in fact directly or indirectly controls the operations of all TV and radio stations and all newspaper publishing houses. It is still stalling off all public demands to put out new newspapers and refuses to register them with such reasons as the need to "prevent an excess of newspapers leading to vicious competition" and the need to "avoid over-consumption and waste of newsprint." In addition it restricts the size of newspaper circulation. This "press ban" policy has not only impaired press freedom but monopolized the newspaper business and infringed upon the people's basic rights of freedom of speech and publication. Note that in recent years the military has gotten into newspaper and magazine publishing and TV and radio broadcasting in a big way and has been relentlessly attacking and vilifying members of the opposition from the vantage point of the ruling party. What is more, military and intelligence organs have been banning all non-KMT publications with ruthless thoroughness. This phenomenon is actually a hidden danger for political development. Article 138 of the constitution states, "The army, navy, and air force of the nation must pledge loyalty to the nation and cherish the people, transcending personal, regional, or party affiliations." Article 139 also says, "No party or individual shall use armed forces as an instrument of political struggle." That is why the newly-formed DPP emphasizes in its basic platform, "The armed forces should be neutralized. The military should remain politically neutral and stay out of party struggles. Political parties should withdraw from the military."

Because of the ban on newspaper publishing, magazines have become the principal tool of communication among the opposition. Under the administrative decree "Publication Control Regulations in the Taiwan Region during Martial Law," however, the KMT regime has no trouble banning opposition publications as it pleases. Non-party magazines on the market today simply cannot be sold openly, which seriously restricts their circulation. What is

more, some magazines are arbitrarily seized and confiscated in the printing houses even before they are bound. And those already mailed are impounded at the post office. On 4 February, CHIENCHIN TSACHIH personnel clashed with people from the cultural work executive group to stop the latter from seizing issue 100 of the magazine. On 1 May, police headquarters personnel raided a printing factory and seized every single copy of the first issue of the newly founded TSINTAI TSACHIH. On 8 May, police headquarters wrote to PASHIH NIENTAI, capriciously ordering it to suspend publication for 1 year. On 4 September HUANCHIU HSINWEN, which was about to resume publication, was slapped with a 1-year suspension. After they were mailed out, all copies of issue 51 of KUANHUI TSACHIH were mysteriously confiscated at the post office. Even TAIWAN HSINWENHUA, an intellectual publication, was banned.

In 1982, there were only 25 known instances of non-party magazines being banned, impounded, or forced to cease publication. The following year the number was still a mere 34. By 1984, it had soared to 177. So far this year almost every issue of every magazine has been banned. There is no such thing as "reasons," let alone "standards." Like "bandits," intelligence agents resort to "plundering" and "deception," employing every tactic to muzzle the opposition. Under these circumstances, non-party personages can only exploit every little "living space" by going "underground" to spread their word.

The issue of freedom of speech on campus has also drawn public attention this year. In connection with the examination of publications, National Taiwan University decided last October to suspend TAIHSUEH HSINWENSHE for a year and disciplined the several students involved. This incident soon evolved into a confrontation between students and the university administration. The former began holding "love of freedom" public lectures criticizing all manner of impropriety within the university. Over at the campus of Cheng Chih University, there was also dissatisfaction among some students over the university's decision to suspend CHENG CHING for a year. Subsequently an "underground publication" entitled YEHHUO appeared on campus. It contained "100 letters to the faculty and students of Cheng Chih University." Each issue carried five letters discussing university administration, academic freedom, student self-government, and other issues.

#### IV. The Rights of Assembly and Association

Article 14 of the constitution states, "People shall have freedom of assembly and association." In fact, freedom of assembly and association is not fully protected today. Generally speaking, non-political assembly and association are relatively free from obstruction and interference, while political assembly and association, or such activities related to the opposition, do not readily obtain permission and may even be suppressed.

First, freedom of assembly. As far as non-political assembly is concerned, for instance, demonstrations by the people from Puli Town against the holding of lotteries, the protest movement by people everywhere against environmental pollution, and protests by all kinds of economic victims, the police does no more than maintaining order and generally keeping traffic moving on the side.

Also, assemblies staged by some ultra-right conservative self-styled "patriots" have not been blocked or banned by the police.

Assembling related to the political opposition forces, however, has repeatedly been interfered with. The most conspicuous case was the "19 May green movement." As they made preparations for the pre-movement explanatory meeting, various non-party personalities often encountered police suppression and clashes occurred now and then. The "19 May green movement" was initiated by people outside the party to protest 38 years of martial law under the KMT. As originally planned, they were to set off from Wan Hua Lung Shan Temple at 10 am and march to the Presidential Palace for a peaceful demonstration. As it happened, they were trapped inside Lung Shan Temple by over 1,000 policemen. The confrontation lasted as long as 12 hours and came to an end only at 9.50 in the evening. On 30 May, Taiwan's Supreme Court handed down its verdict in the "Feng Lai Tao case." From early June onwards, the police took a hostile attitude toward all "farewell meetings for people going to jail" everywhere. In some localities they even adopted a policy of "exit yes, entry no" in order to stem the tide of participants. This led to a few incidents in which police clashed with the public. On 27 July, the Taipei branch of the non-party Public Policy Association organized a picnic, lecture, and march at Wanli Township. Yet the police despatched a large contingent to cut off the march and prevent non-party personalities from getting together to hold a rally. On 3 September, the court handed down sentences in the Lin Chengchieh [2651 2973 2638] case. For 12 consecutive days thereafter, Lin Chengchieh and others every evening held "farewell meetings" in Taipei, Taichung, and Tainan for people about to go to jail. The military and police responded as if they were faced with a formidable enemy, intimidating the crowds and blocking off roads. But amid the continuous chorus of demand by non-party personalities for "democracy outside the party, peace outside the party," even the KMT dared not act recklessly or hit out. After late September, non-party personalities, including Chu Kaocheng [2612 7559 2973], held a number of well-planned democratic seminars in several places such as Yunnanchia. The initial police reaction was savage: Anti-riot police were mobilized and water jets were used to disperse the crowds, resulting in a few minor clashes, though fortunately no tragedy occurred. Later, because these lectures became more and more frequent, perhaps because the police changed their strategy, and perhaps because they were better adapted, no more clashes happened.

The amended election and recall law of 1983 prohibits election campaign activities before a stipulated period. Undoubtedly its purpose is to prevent opposition figures from getting in touch with the voters. Consequently opposition personalities for one reason or another held mass meetings everywhere in order to mobilize the masses and garner more support. The KMT apparently is more tolerant of these meetings for two reasons: 1) all these meetings are peaceful and constitutional. There are not the slightest grounds for banning them; and 2) Public participation in these meetings has become bolder and more enthusiastic than in the past, a fact that the KMT cannot but admit tacitly. Given the abnormal structure of the current national assembly, it is only natural for the people to place high hopes on and show enthusiasm for the mass line.

As for freedom of association, the most significant event this year is that the political opposition in Taiwan finally had the KMT lift the 40-year-old "party ban" and set up on 28 September the first real opposition party in Taiwan in 46 years--the Democratic Progressive Party. Yet obstinate and high-handed as ever, the KMT repeatedly argued fallaciously that the party is an "illegal organization."

What the KMT, which has had a one-party monopoly for years, fears most is the institutionalization of the opposition political forces. Therefore, when it heard rumors that the "Non-party Public Policy Research Association" was planning to set up more branches all over the place, the KMT Central Committee resolved on 19 April that if the association went ahead to set up local branches, the whole association, from headquarters to branches, would be banned. On the other hand, should the association decide otherwise, the KMT might still tolerate the status quo. For a while, the political situation was very tense because of the KMT's tough attitude. So on 10 May, four academics, acting as intermediaries, invited three deputy secretaries-general of the Policy Council under the KMT Central Committee and seven non-party personalities to engage in the first "dialogue." During the "dialogue," the KMT insisted that the Non-Party Public Policy Research Association change its name and be registered, a demand rejected by the non-party personalities. In fact a few hours before the dialogue on 10 May, the Taipei branch of the association was formally established. In response, other localities also began setting up their branches one after another. On 6 August, Chang Kingyu [1728 0079 5148], director of the Information Bureau of the Executive Yuen, declared that the Non-Party Public Policy Research Association had so far failed to register with or seek permission from the government agency in charge in accordance with the "law" and that it was patently obvious that the branches it had set up were "illegal organizations." Faced with pressures from the KMT, non-party personalities then held "party-organizing explanatory meetings" in various places in a broad attempt to generate public support. One gathering, the "meeting held to promote constitutional rule and explain party organizing" at Chungshan National Elementary School on 15 August, attracted almost 40,000 people and was most warmly received. Even as late as 27 September, Minister of Justice Shih Chiyang [2457 0796 2254] stressed in the Legislative Yuen that it was not appropriate for new parties to be formed at the present stage and that if they were set up, they would be banned as provided by law.

On 28 September, the DPP declared its establishment. Taken by surprise, the KMT momentarily did not know how to deal with it and could only declare that the DPP was still in a "substantive preparatory stage" and that the KMT did not "recognize" it. On 10 October, KMT Chairman Chiang Chingkuo said that "any new party must honor the constitution, support the basic national policy of opposing communism, and make a clean break with the Taiwan independence movement." Next day, the DPP issued a statement which emphasized, "The party pursues progress in accordance with democratic concepts and naturally advocates pacifism and opposes violence. The party is ready to work with all political organizations, at home and abroad, which support peaceful reform. It does not want to have anything to do with any organization which advocates violent revolution." The statement also pointed out that only by strictly abiding by the constitution and implementing democratic constitutional rule in

earnest can Taiwan prove that it is different from Communist China and only then will it be qualified and able to talk about combating communism. On 6 November, 18 members of the working committee of the DPP called a press conference where they formally announced their party platform and draft party constitution. On 8 November, party members in all localities elected their representatives. On 10 November, the DPP held its party congress in Taipei, which formally adopted the party constitution and platform and elected the central executive committee, central review committee, and central standing committee. Chiang Pengchien [3068 7720 1017] was elected its first chairman.

On 6 December, the results of the national elections of people's representatives were announced. Of the 44 candidates endorsed by the DPP, 12 were elected to the Legislative Council (which was enlarged by six seats) and 11 to the National Assembly (enlarged by 6 seats), of whom 10 captured the highest number of votes in their respective electoral districts, a sign of public expectations and support for the new party. In this election, candidates endorsed by the non-party Hou Yuen Hui obtained 22.17 percent of total votes cast, compared to 14.7 percent in local elections last year, an increase of 7.37 percentage points in a year, or by about 50 percent. This increase in voting strength can only be considered rapid.

In the latest elections in labor organizations, the two candidates of the ruling party were both defeated, while Legislative Council candidate Wang Tsungshung [3769 5115 2646] and National Assembly candidate Hsu Meiying [1776 5019 5391] both endorsed by the DPP, were elected, suggesting a shift in labor's political attitudes. The law provides that an industrial or labor union must be organized whenever there are more than 30 people in a county or city who are engaged in a particular industry, profession, or trade. Labor law also gives any male or female worker over the age of 16 who is living in a county or city within labor-organizing area the right and obligation to join the proper professional or labor union. Be that as it may, the number of workers in Taiwan who have so far joined labor unions actually remains very small. There have been instances where management deliberately thwarted such participation. In March, for instance, workers at Changlung Transport Company, which is part of Changjung Sea Transport Relations Enterprise, organized a union. Once the major officers of the union were elected, they were dismissed by the company without reason. In another example, when the Taipei Taxi Drivers Association applied to register with the Social Bureau, the municipal government refused to give permission even after dragging its feet for a long time. Still the taxi drivers went ahead and declared the formation of a union on their own on 5 November. It is understood that administrative personnel at all government levels and workers in education are still barred from organizing or joining labor unions.

Factually speaking, the public's rights of assembly and association should be protected by the law, with the exception of those activities which involve coercion and brutal force and are aimed at committing a crime and which violate Articles 149, 150, and 154 of the constitution. The KMT government defies the rule of law and capriciously resorts to such emergency powers as the unconstitutional "Organic Law Governing Private Organizations during an Emergency" and Section 1, Article 11 of the outdated "Martial Law" to suppress the opposition. In October KMT Chairman Chiang Chingkuo publicly announced

that to conform with changing times, martial law would be lifted along with the ban on parties. Whether this laudable intention would be translated into concrete action in good faith is still unknown.

#### V. Economic and Social Rights

Article 15 of the constitution states, "The people's rights to livelihood, work, and property shall be protected." With growing social pluralization in recent years, Taiwan is now at a new economic turning-point. Many people have begun to take their rights to livelihood, work, and property seriously. But government policies have not reacted with corresponding promptness and effectiveness. Some people therefore have no other recourse than to state their case publicly through demonstrations and protests.

The question of "veteran land grant certificate." According to the Executive Yuen's announcement on 9 May, a total of 788,184 veteran land grant certificates had been issued as of late 1985. Assuming that each certificate grants a veteran 0.14 hectare of paddy field, then the total amount of land involved would be 144,745 hectares, about one-fifth of the combined area of paddy fields in Taiwan Province. The Executive Yuen said that under land grant regulations, the certificate was a "commitment" to the rights and interests of soldiers and officers who had fought against the communists. It was not designed to directly safeguard or provide for veterans' livelihood. A heated debate took place at the Taipei municipal council on 5 July. Non-party councilors proposed that the government buy back all land grant certificates to benefit the veterans. KMT councilors, on the other hand, still contended that the land grant certificate has "tangible" political significance. At the annual meeting of the national assembly late this year, 289 delegates again signed a joint petition putting forward these solutions to the "veteran land grant certificate" problem:

-- retired or discharged officers and servicemen should be allowed to submit their land grant certificates to a government-designated bank in return for credit;

-- to lessen the burden, the central government may consider buying back the certificates by stages (on an annual basis) or according to the age of the certificate holders;

-- divide newly reclaimed land and public land among veterans who are certificate holders and have farming capability so that they can earn a living on their own by working the land; and

-- those who are too old and weak to farm should be given cash payments as appropriate to ensure a minimum standard of living for them.

In labor-management disputes, labor is gradually changing its suffer-in-silence attitude and adopting the tactic of public protest. On 11 January, for instance, over 100 workers from the Hehsinhshing Industrial Company in Hunei Township staged a protest over unpaid wages. On 15 January, a labor dispute broke out at Shengteng Metal Company in Lungtan Township where over 20 workers had not been paid for 3 months and where 2 workers whose fingers were

severed and arms fractured while at work had received no compensation. On 9 April, more than 80 special workers at a construction site at the Hsingta Electric Power Plant belonging to the Taiwan Electric Company brought their case to the Executive Yuan and staged a protest there. On 21 April, workers dismissed by the management at the Kilung plant of the China Shipbuilding Company held a press conference openly charging that the company was unfair in laying off workers and demanded a third evaluation. On 10 May, over 100 special engineering workers at Hsiehhe Power Plant of the Taiwan Electric Company, scheduled for payoff in June, sent a joint letter to the relevant central, provincial, and municipal agencies, stating their case and demanding fair reasonable treatment. On 20 May, 183 special engineering workers at Nuclear Power Plant No 3 of Taiwan Electric Company staged a sit-in outside company headquarters protesting the company's failure to deal with dismissed workers in accordance with explanations from the Interior Ministry. On 7 June, Taiwan Railroad Bureau fired more than 100 temporary contract workers who worked at various sections of its network of railroads. All they got was a dismissal letter; there was no retirement pension and no severance pay. As a result, 20 workers petitioned the National Federation of Labor Unions on 18 June. On 1 August, 50 workers' representatives again gathered in front of the main entrance of the Interior Ministry to present a petition. On 16 June, 100 Taiwan Aluminum Company workers about to be laid off went to the Legislative Yuan to plead their case and protest the unfairness of their dismissal, with placards saying, "Losses at Taiwan Aluminum are not our responsibility. We have to make a living." On 28 June, 24 female attendants, dismissed without cause by Taipei Sanchung Passenger Transport Company from its Hsinchuang station, staged a protest at the main station and almost clashed with management. On 12 July they held a press conference at a branch office of the labor union where they publicly accused the Sanchung Passenger Transport Company of laying off staff covertly, deliberately trifling with the law, and exploiting labor, and expressed the hope that social opinion would uphold justice and support their effort to help themselves. They demanded that their contracts with the company be terminated and that they be offered reasonable severance pay based on seniority. On 20 June, 200 Taipei taxi drivers critical of the existing company affiliation system launched a large-scale joint petition and demanded that the relevant government agency amend the regulations as soon as possible to free them from the company affiliation system. They drew a response from taxi drivers in Taichung, 282 of whom signed a petition on 12 July to support their fight for their own rights and interests. Because of obstruction by intelligence units, however, only four drivers took part in the petition on 14 July. Still these four drivers drove to Taichung municipal council and provincial council as planned to present their case. Strangely enough, both places were blanketed with agents and intelligence personnel as if a formidable enemy were approaching. On 3 August, some dissatisfied workers from Shengfu Chemical Company in Chunan Township, Miaoli County, took their case to the social department of the county government. Two days earlier, the company had suddenly announced its closure, dismissed 85 workers, and paid them half the severance pay due.

Other disputes relating to livelihood, work, and property include the following. On 31 July, over 200 merchants from the public market in Peitou marched to the municipal government carrying banners and placards to protest the unfair manner in which the market management department of the Taipei

municipal government allocated stalls. They wanted the department to decide the businesses on the first and second floors by drawing lots in the interest of fairness. From early August, a number of property owners and local residents opposed to the development of the Chungyangtzu industrial district in Hsinkang Township, Chia Yi County, protested to the provincial and county governments and held a press conference where they criticized the county government for taking over the land improperly. On 18 August, almost 100 sales assistants from Taipei Fruit Market No 1 presented a petition to the municipal council and defied an order from the municipal government that they relocate to Pinchiang Market. In response to the hospital's improper staff assignment, a group of elderly maids at Jen Ai Hospital in Taipei suddenly gathered at the nursing department on 30 August and demanded that the hospital refrain from shuffling regular staff members at will. On 1 September, residents on Nungchang Lane in Taipei joined one another in hanging scores of protest banners in front of their stores. The banners read, "Protest Taiwan National University for appropriating public land by force," and "National Taiwan University destroys our homes." On 5 September, over 200 of the current employees of the 10 credit unions assembled in front of the party headquarters and the Legislative Yuan, placards in hand, demanding that the treasury formally record in writing all salary payments. On 7 September, residents on Lane 46 off Linsen Road South in Taipei put up protest banners, protesting the failure of National Taiwan University to abide by an agreement and its decision to tear down houses and retake the land by force earlier than scheduled on 9 September. On 9 September, over 200 workers from the Hsichih Plant of the Taiwan Iron Smelting Company went to the Supervisory Yuan in 4 tour buses and presented their case concerning the rejection of the Taiwan Iron Smelting Company's reorganization plan by the Tulin branch of the Taipei district court. On 17 September, over 40 villagers' representatives from Chuangwei Township in Yi Lan went to the county government to make an emergency appeal: they wanted the government to stop sand merchants from quarrying along the rivers near Meifu and Hsinnan Villages on the northern bank of Lanyang River so that their special vegetable area, which they had spent 30 years cultivating diligently, would not be destroyed in 1 day. On 13 December 150 foremen from RCA Electronics Company, unhappy over a pay cut, gathered at the county government to air their case. On 18 December, 40 taxi drivers, victims of the Chaohsiang Taxi Company's failure to pay its debts, went to the department of transportation to present their case. On 22 December, over 100 engineering and technical workers from the Lanyang area administrative office of the forestry bureau again sent 5 representatives to the social department after repeatedly failing to persuade the bureau to issue retirement pay in accordance with factory law.

## VI. Environmental Human Rights

Environment-related protests this year outnumber those in any previous year. What deserves mention most is that people in Tali Township in Taichung County finally set up on 27 April a self-help anti-pollution organization, the "Taichung County Pollution Prevention Association," after suffering for years from pollution caused by the local Sanhuang Pesticide Factory. In the past Tali townspeople expressed their hatred for pollution in violent rage. They had also been invited by local intelligence units for talks. In the end, however, virtuous honest townsfolk finally won the support of the forces of

social justice and, guided by the social bureau of Taichung County, organized Taiwan's first private pollution prevention organization.

Dupont's plan to build a plant in Lukang was also a focal point of discussion this year. Since 3 April as many as 15,000 Lukang residents have signed a petition to the Environmental Protection Bureau of the Sanitation Department demanding that the U.S. firm be prevented from setting up a plant in the Chengpin industrial district to produce titanium dioxide. On 4 June, Lukang launched a large-scale anti-Dupont movement. A thousand students, led by their art teachers, drew cartoons and displayed them on the streets. On 24 June, close to 1,000 residents took to the street to demonstrate and protest. They carried all kinds of banners and wore uniforms emblazoned with the words, "I love Taiwan, I do not want Dupont." On 2 July, 15 Taiwan University students organized an "anti-Dupont investigation group" and distributed a statement on the streets in Lukang: "Taiwan University students join the anti-Dupont movement." On 4 July, about 60 Lukang residents brought their case to the Legislative Yuan, Supervisory Yuan, Information Bureau, and Dupont Company. On 17 August, Lukang residents organized an "anti-pollution excursion," not knowing that the police, having concluded that it was improper for 300 citizens to wear "I love Taiwan, I do not want Dupont" uniforms, had despatched a large force to surround them. The impasse lasted a long 6 hours. On 12 October, the "Changhua County Pollution Prevention Association" was set up, the province's second private spontaneous anti-pollution group. On 13 December, the association sent almost 400 people to the Presidential Palace where 4 representatives submitted the original copy of 16,500 signatures by people opposed to the Dupont plant.

Other controversial activities arising from environmental issues were multifarious. One group of activities stemmed from people's demands for environmental quality. For instance, on 15 April, about 100 resident representatives from Shuangcheng Street in the Chungshan district in Taipei went to the city council, banners in hand, protesting the city government's plan to designate their street as an area where peddlers could operate, a move which would lead to noise and a deterioration in the quality of the living environment. On 28 April, over 100 residents near Weihetao in Shihlin District protested outside the city council; they were opposed to the plan by the city government to build a hog auction yard on new land near Weihetao, which would destroy residential tranquillity. On 6 June, residents from such areas as Shimen, Chinsan, and Wanli in Taipei County signed a petition to the Taiwan Electric Company demanding that the company allocate money in its budget to subsidize public facilities in the areas where it was going to build two nuclear power plants. The demand was made because the construction of the nuclear power plants would affect local development. On 17 July, 150 villagers from Chungyang, Yuehwei, and Sanchientso in Hsinkang Township, Chiayi County, carrying all kinds of banners, descended upon the county government, shouting, "Let us live! Taiwan Chemical Company, get out!" On 11 August, about 300 people from Hsinpei Township in Pingtung County gathered outside the village council, their white cloth banners protesting the construction in their township of the garbage collection center for the seventh district. On 7 November, hundreds of residents from villages like Hsiufeng and Juitian in Luku Township in Nantou County made a collective appeal to the authorities concerned, opposing the decision by the township to

build a garbage dump at Chingshuihsi, severely jeopardizing the physical and mental health of nearby residents and endangering the ecology of the province's only fish and shrimp preserve.

The most serious case of pollution caused by factory operations involved the Kaoyin Chemical Plant in Taitan Village in Kuanyin Township, Taoyuan County. Cadmium pollution over a period of many years has gotten so bad that the village had no choice but to relocate. Then there were such notable cases as the discharge of "black oil" into Shanwei fishing harbor by China Petroleum Company's Linyuen Plant, the disaster caused by the "oil rain" produced by the Kaohsiung refinery of the same company, and the pollution caused by the construction of a liquefied natural gas receiving station at Hsinkang Village in Yangan Township in Kaohsiung that also belonged to China Petroleum. Turning to air pollution, on 24 May, pesticide leaked from the Juifeng Pesticide Company in Hsinshan Li in Hsinchu, which caused dizziness and vomiting among neighboring residents. On 10 June, hydrochloric acid gas escaped from Jenwu Factory in Taisu. Several children in the Yekuang Kindergarten nearby suffered from poisoning. On 17 June, an organic solvent leaked from Chanyu Chemical Company at Hsinchuangtsu in Hengshan Township, Hsinchu County, which caused vomiting and poisoning among over 100 nearby residents. On 14 August, 100 villagers from Wujih Township in Taichung County gathered outside a factory that made titanium dioxide, protesting its emission of waste gas. The Chinshan Chemical Plant of China Metal Company in Chinshan Township, Taipei County, has been discharging waste gas and sewage containing strong acid for years. On 30 September, 50 protesting townspeople descended upon the factory, posted slogans, and overturned tables and chairs in a fit of outrage. After putting up for years with the obnoxious gases released into the atmosphere by the Tayuan industrial district, about 30 villagers from Neihai Village in Tayuan Township, Taoyuan County, on 4 October approached the proper units to complain and present their case. On 7 November, almost 100 people from Hsinpu Town surrounded Juifeng Pesticide Company demanding that it thoroughly check and fix its equipment before reopening.

Pollution caused by smoke. The dispute arising from the burning of scrap metals in Kaohsiung County and along Shiherhjen Stream in Tainan County had subsided for a while. Then it flared up again in early August over the pollution caused by abandoned electric cables. Residents in the neighborhood mounted a strong protest and organized a "self-defense team," which armed itself with clubs and sticks, ready to confront the illegal operators. On 6 November, a fire broke out at the waste dump in the Tafa scrap metal special zone in Taliao Township, Kaohsiung County, which provoked fierce protests among the villagers. In late November, thick smoke billowing from a coke factory in Linyuan Township in Kaohsiung that belonged to China Synthetic Rubber Company killed the fish and shrimp of over 1,000 aquaculture households in the Shanwei area. These people were driven to launch a strong protest.

Sewage pollution remains a serious problem today. Sewage discharged by the Lichangjung Chemical Plant introduced methanol into groundwater. The residents became terrified of drinking from that source. For a long time the problem remained unresolved. Then the extremely unhappy residents took action again and again to protest and were only pacified when the factory pledged that it would not reopen until after the discharge of sewage had been treated

satisfactorily. The National Federation of Industry disclosed on 14 October that at the time there were over 6,000 registered factories which discharged sewage, of which only 625 were fitted with pollution prevention equipment. Of this, a mere 3 percent were estimated to have pollution treatment equipment that was completely up to par. The Sanitation Department of Taipei Province also said on 13 October that one-third of the industrial zones were not yet equipped with sewage treatment plants and that most of the plants already in place were not up to standard. In industrial zones that has treatment plants, as many as 165 factories still have not channelled their sewage into the plants. As for industrial zones without treatment plants, 280 factories had not built their own treatment facilities or commissioned others to treat the sewage for them. We can thus gather that the Lichangjung sewage pollution case is only one of the many cases that came to light and have led to public protest.

## VII. Conclusion

History tells us that human rights must be fought for. Rulers who possess power (wealth) often degenerate into closed, conservative cliques. They know no such thing as "human rights" and may even deliberately trample upon the masses' human rights. History also tells us time and again that only by uniting among themselves can the people save themselves and resist oppression and behavior that rides roughshod over human rights.

After decades of ceaseless struggle by the opposition and in the wake of rising support for them by a socially conscious public, the KMT government has no choice but to promise to end martial law and lift the ban on parties "soon." This limited dosage of liberalization notwithstanding, many problems remain. Disputes over economic, social, and environmental rights have been on the rise, a sign that official public policies have failed to respond as fast and as much as required by public demands. These disputes also remind the public that they must exercise more effective supervision over the rulers. And supervision will inevitably expose the conservatism and corruption resulting from the abnormalities in the existing political system and power structure. Consequently, whether human rights can be more effectively protected in the future depends on raising the consciousness of the masses. Individual consciousness will lead to collective consciousness. Only when everybody becomes aware of his rights and then unites to fight for them can privilege be made to yield to "people power."

Nineteen eighty-seven has begun. Let's repeat, "As long as human rights violations exist, our concern will not rest." It is hoped that everybody will devote a little of his mental and physical effort to the protection and improvement of human rights.

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# LIST OF POLITICAL PRISONERS IN TAIWAN

Taipei KUANHUAI TSACHI [CARE MAGAZINE] in Chinese No 53, Jan 87 pp 14-17

[Text] Nineteen eighty-six has gone and the spring festival is just around the corner. In years past, many people in Taiwan have become political prisoners for holding different political opinions and ideas. Not a few of them are still in jail, some serving life sentences. Both the prisoners and their families continue to suffer from pain and anguish. We must again appeal earnestly to the ruling authorities to free all political prisoners in the name of democracy and human rights.

According to the current files of Kuanhuai Chunghsin, 55 political prisoners are still in jail. Their conditions are as follows:

Eight people are serving life sentences:

1. Pa Yatsan (a native of Changhua, has served over 11 years)
2. Kuo Yuehwen (Kuangtung, years in prison not known)
3. Wang Hsingnan (Tainan, 9 years)
4. Tai Huakuang (Hopei, almost 10 years)
5. Shih Mingte (Kaohsiung, over 7 years)
6. Yang Chinhai (Kaohsiung, 10 1/2 years)
7. Lin Junghsiao (Pingtung, 7 1/2 years)
8. Tsao Yiwu (Pingtung, over 13 years)

Fifteen people are serving 15-year sentences:

1. Yu Suchen (a native of Kaohsiung, over 8 years)
2. Chu Tzuchao (Chekiang, about 10 years)
3. Hung Weihe (Taipei, over 13 years)
4. Chou Chinsheng (Hunan, over 11 years)
5. Hou Tefu (Szuchuan, years in prison not known)
6. Kao Chungchien (Tainan, 10 1/2 years)
7. Kao Chinzi (Taitung, over 8 years)
8. Chen Mingchung (Kaohsiung, 10 1/2 years. Served another 10-year term earlier for his part in the 28 February affair.)
9. Chen Chinhuo (Kaohsiung, 10 1/2 years)
10. Huang Kunneng (Chia Yi, 12 1/2 years)
11. Hsu Nangu (a native of Fukien, years in prison not known)
12. Teng Wenhua (mainland, years in prison not known)
13. Lai Minglieh (Taiwan, over 9 years)

14. Tsai Chunchun (Fukien, over 14 years)
15. Cheng Chentung (Kuangtung, 6 1/2 years)

Two persons are serving 14-year sentences:

1. Yeh Taolei (Chekiang, 6 1/2 years)
2. Huang Hsinchieh (Taipei, over 7 years)

One person is serving a 13-year sentence:

1. Kao Haoyuen (Yunlin, over 6 years)

Fourteen people are serving 12-year sentences:

1. Lin Kuotsai (Kuangtung, over 7 years)
2. Ma Mingshan (Chekiang, over 11 years)
3. Kao Chintsai (Kaohsiung, 10 1/2 years)
4. Chen Kuohsun (Yilan, over 1 year)
5. Chen Weichi (Fukien, over 10 years)
6. Chen Tesung (Chia Yi, over 8 years)
7. Yao Chiawen (Chang Hua, over 7 years)
8. Chang Chunhung (Nantou, over 7 years)
9. Chiang Chingyao (Chekiang, over 10 years)
10. Hung Tsungli (Taitung, over 8 years)
11. Lien Chincheng (Fukien, years in prison not known)
12. Hsu Chinkan (Taitung, over 8 years)
13. Liu Kuochi (Taichung, over 9 years)
14. Yen Mingsheng (Kaohsiung, 10 1/2 years)

Five [as published] people are serving 10-year sentences:

1. Wang Chinghsiung (Shantung, over 13 years)
2. Hsu Teliang (Hupei, over 8 years)
3. Chen Wenhsiung (Taitung, 8 1/2 years)
4. Chang Huawen (Shanhsi, 7 1/2 years)
5. Huang Hua (Kilung, over 10 years)
6. Pan Sunghsiung (Pingtung, over 8 years)

One person is serving a 7 1/2-year sentence:

1. Lin Yichuan (Taipei, over 6 years)

Three people are serving 7-year sentences:

1. Chiang Hanying (Hunan, over 5 years)
2. Lin Chiatian (Chia Yi, over 7 years)
3. Ching Chihchang (Shanhsi, years in prison not known)

One person is serving a 6 1/2-year sentence:

1. Lu Kengpei (Tainan, over 5 years)

Four people are serving 6-year sentences:

1. Chiang Chienchi (Hualien, 3 1/2 years)
2. Nien Chaonan (Taipei, over 1 year)
3. Hsu Chaohung (Miaoli, almost 2 years)
4. Wei Tingchao (Taoyuen, over 7 years. Has been imprisoned twice.)

Two people are serving 5-year sentences:

1. Tu Shaohsi (Kuangtung, over 4 years)
2. Chen Chienwei (Taipei, 1 1/2 years)

Two people are serving 4-year sentences

1. Yin Tianfang (Chiangsu, over 3 years)
2. Hsieh Weihsiung (Miaoli, years in prison not known)

Twelve people are serving 3-year sentences:

1. Yu Hsinmin (Honon, almost 2 years)
2. Li Changfa (Honon, over 2 years)
3. Lin Chichang (Nantou, almost 3 years)
4. Hung Chinliang (Penghu, almost 2 years)
5. Chou Wenlung (Hupei, years in prison not known)
6. Chen Paochin (mainland, 2 1/2 years)
7. Yang Shu [character illegible] (Honon, 2 1/2 years)
8. Tsou Changpo (Fukien, 2 1/2 years)
9. Yen Chihchieh (Honon, over 2 years)
10. Teng Taiping (Hunan, 2 years)
11. Teng Hsiufeng (Szuchuan, almost 2 years)
12. Chien Pingan (Chekiang, 2 1/2 years)

Two people are serving 2 1/2-year sentences:

1. Lin Wenchieh (Taipei, 1 1/2 years)
2. Shih Hsingchung (Hsin Chu, 1 1/2 years)

One person is serving a 2-year sentence:

1. Chen Wenhui (Miao Li, over 1 year)

Two people are serving a 1 1/2-year sentence:

1. Cheng Nanjung (Yi Lan, 7 months)
2. Lin Chengchieh (Taipei, 4 months)

Three people are serving 8-month sentences:

1. Chen Shui-pien (Tainan, over 7 months)
2. Li Yiyang (Kilung, over 7 months)
3. Huang Tianfu (Taipei, over 7 months)

Two Others

1. Wu Chenming (Tainan, originally sentenced to guided training. Has served over 2 years)
2. Chen Chienchiu (Fukien, sentence not known. Has served over 12 years)

Twenty prisoners complete their terms this year and are due for release soon. They are: Chen Shui-pien, Li Yiyang, Huang Tianfu, Chien Pingan, Lin Chichang, Wei Tingchao, Yin Tianfang, Lin Yichuan, Lu Kengpei, Li Changfa, Lin Chiatian, Ma Mingshan, Chen Paoching, Yang Shu [character illegible], Tsou Changpo, Yen Chihchieh, Teng Taiping, Tsai Chunchun, Chen Wenhui, and Tu Shaohsi.

A. The following have served out their terms:

1. Li Taichuan. Born in Szuchuan in 1925. A member of the first batch of graduates from the Air Force Academy. Antagonized the government by advocating the "three forms of communication with the mainland" and was arrested on 13 November 1982 on charges of "spreading propaganda for the bandits." Re-educated for 3 years. Freed on 23 January 1986.
2. Lu Hsiuyi. Born in Taipei County in 1941. Holds a masters degree from the Political Science Department of Cheng Chih University and the Cultural and Political Research Institute, and a doctoral degree in politics from the University of Paris. Served as chairman of the Political Science Department at Cultural University and concurrently chairman of the Administration and Management Department in its evening university in 1980. Arrested on 8 January 1983 in connection with the "Chien Tian Kuang Chih insurrection case" and was sentenced to reeducation for 3 years. Released from jail on 2 March 1986.
3. Chiao Wenting. Born in Honan in 1929. After discharge from the military, he was at various times a miner, truck driver, and peddler. While working as a taxi driver, he made some remarks critical of the government and was arrested on 23 December 1982 for "spreading propaganda favorable to the bandits." Re-educated for 3 years. Released from jail on 16 March 1986.
4. Hsu Kaijung. Born in Kuangtung in 1928. An officer of the first battalion of the first armored division in the army. Arrested on 29 August 1982 for "spreading propaganda for bandits." Re-educated for 3 years. Freed on 4 January 1986.
5. Lin Chunghui. Born in 1917. Sentenced to 12 years' imprisonment on "armed rebellion" charges. Freed in April 1986.
6. Chang Chingchuan. Born in Taichung in 1951. Returning from a sightseeing trip to the mainland, he was arrested in March 1983 for "spreading propaganda for bandits." Re-educated for 3 years. Freed April 1986.
7. Wang Chihhsu. Born in 1955. Overseas Chinese from Vietnam who returned to Taiwan after Vietnam fell to the communists. Sentenced to a 5-year prison term on suspicion of "spreading propaganda for bandits." Freed April 1986.
8. Wang Naihsin. Born in Taichung in 1928. Graduated from Jente Pharmaceutical College. Arrested 24 July 1976 for involvement in the "Sanshengtang Bookstore" case. Sentenced to 10 years' imprisonment. No open trial. Released from jail on 24 July 1986.
9. Li Yaohua. Born in 1925. Arrested in October 1983 for "spreading propaganda for bandits." Re-educated for 3 years.
10. Chen Hanbin. Also re-educated for 4 years for "spreading propaganda for bandits."

11. Huang Chetsung. Born in Chia Yi in 1935. Technical school graduate. Arrested on 1 September 1978 for involvement in the "Wu Taian case." Sentenced to a 8-year term. Freed on 2 September 1986.

12. Chang Senyuen. Born in Kaohsiung in 1941. Arrested on 3 September 1978 for involvement in the "Wu Taian" case. Sentenced to 8 years' imprisonment.

13. Yang Chunshen. Born in Kuichow in 1932. Upon his return to Taiwan after visiting relatives on the mainland, he was arrested and had to undergo re-education for 3 years. Freed on 12 October 1986.

14. Tsai Yicheng. Born in Taipei in 1927. Was in the printing business. Arrested on 30 July 1979 in connection with the "Sanshengtang Bookstore" case. No public trial. Sentenced to 10 years.

15. Chen Chienchiu. Born in Fukien in 1923. Sentenced to 7 years in jail for "spreading propaganda for bandits."

16. Kao Changhsiung. Born in Taipei in 1944. Taxi driver. Arrested in April 1983 for "spreading propaganda for bandits." Re-educated for 3 years. Freed in November 1986.

#### B. Parolees

Fourteen political prisoners were paroled on 4 February 1986. For information on them, please consult KUANHUI TSACHI, Issue 48, pp 22-23. Their sentences are listed below:

1. Wang Naichi, a native of Fukien; 15 years, served 12 years.
2. Wang Juwen, Fukien; life sentence, served 12 years.
3. Wang Chunting, Shantung; 15 years, served 12 years.
4. Li Shihchieh, Fukien; life sentence, served 20 years.
5. Wu Yutsun, Hunan; 12 years; served over 10 years.
6. Liang Chuchien, Kuangtung; 15 years, served 12 years.
7. Liang Linghui, Kuangtung; life sentence, served 19 years.
8. Chuang Hsun, Nantou; 10 years, served 8 years.
9. Liu Kaiyun, Hunan; 12 years, served 10 years.
10. Liu Chingjung, Taitung; 12 years, served 8 years.
11. Cheng Huichuan, Hunan; 15 years, served 10 years.
12. Tai Mien, Hunan; 15 years; served 10 years
13. Su Maosung, Fukien; 15 years, served 14 years.
14. Chen Chu, Yilan; 12 years, over 6 years.

On 31 October 1986, the Kuomintang [KMT] government paroled 13 political prisoners.

1. Wu Jungyuen. Born in Tainan in 1949. Graduated from Cheng Kung University. Sentenced to 15 years' imprisonment in 1972 on "armed rebellion" charges in connection with the "National Alliance of Universities" case. Co-defendants in the case were:

Tsai Chunchun (Cheng Kung University student)

Chung Chunlung (Cheng Kung University student)

Lin Shouyi (Tankiang College of Arts and Sciences)  
Lin Chingtian (Tankiang College of Arts and Sciences)  
Wu Chinchiang (Fengchia College)  
Huang Wenchen (Kaohsiung Provincial Commercial Vocational School)

2. Chen Shenching. Born in Kaohsiung in 1945. Band leader at Huang Hou Ballroom. Sentenced to life imprisonment because of his contacts with the "Taiwan independence movement" while visiting the U.S. Term reduced to 15 years in 1975.

3. Chen Shuiching. Born in Hunan in 1925. Upon leaving the army, he opened a stationery store. Arrested on a tip-off. Reports suggest that he was regarded by the KMT as an undercover agent for the bandits. Sentenced to 15-year imprisonment on armed rebellion charges.

4. Ni Wenchu. Born in Szuchuan in 1917. University graduate. Sentenced to 12 years in 1975 for joining communist organizations on the mainland in the past. No open trial.

5. Huang Hsi. Born in Hunan in 1913. Formerly with the Provincial Tobacco and Liquor Sales Bureau. Sentenced to 12 years' imprisonment in 1975 for participating in communist organizations in China in the past. No open trial.

6. Chang Shuchi. Born in Hunan in 1912. Originally an elementary school teacher. His case similar to that of Huang Hsi. Other co-defendants in the case were: Wu Yutsun, Kao Chihli, Chou Chinsheng, Chang Shuchi, Liu Chienan, and Liu Kaiyun.

7. Hsiung Chieh. A native of Chekiang. Graduated from Chiaotung University. Passionately devoted to the student movement even in his early years. He joined the Railroad Bureau after coming to Taiwan and was a senior cadre at the bureau when he was arrested. Sentenced to prison for 15 years on rebellion charges and for supporting the bandits.

8. Chang Lanting. Born in Hopei in 1922. Previously a temporary employee at Cheng Kung University and was on the staff of the police unit dealing with foreign nationals. Sentenced to 10 years in 1978 on charges of armed rebellion. Co-defendant: Hsu Teliang. Between Republic Years 45 and 48, the two of them underwent 3 years of re-education for harboring "radical ideas." After release, they grew dissatisfied with reality and were given to griping, probably because of the frustrations of making a living. In 1978, they started griping while drinking with some young people from a mountain tribe. After investigations, intelligence personnel accused them of "organizing a rebellion and attempting to overthrow the government illegally" and slapped each of them with a 10-year sentence.

9. Lin Chienchung. Born in Tainan in 1929. Graduated from Tainan Teachers' College. Formerly a teacher at a national elementary school. Arrested in 1972 for involvement in the "Taiwan independence revolutionary army--Cheng Ping case." Sentenced to life imprisonment on 11 April 1974 on charges of "attempting to shoot Chiang Ching-kuo" and "attempting to overthrow the government illegally" under a law designed to punish rebels. Life sentence shortened to 15-year term in 1975.

10. Yu Jihsheng. Born in Chekiang in 1926. University graduate. Formerly a teacher, merchant, movie businessman. Sentenced to 12 years' imprisonment in 1975 for "taking part in communist organizations while on the mainland." Co-defendant: Ma Mingshan, a native of Chekiang, police officer.

11. Tseng Kuisheng. Born in Fukien in 1919. Teachers' college graduate. Education inspector in Kaohsiung County. Principal of Fengshan National Elementary School. Arrested on 25 April 1972 for "joining the CPC while on the mainland" and was sentenced to life imprisonment on charges of rebellion. Sentence reduced to 15 years in 1977.

12. Liu Sunghsiung no data.

13. Chao Hsinhsiung no data.

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## VOTERS' CONCERNS, CANDIDATES' ISSUES POLLED

Taipei TZULI WANPAO in Chinese 13 Nov 86 p 2

[Excerpts] In the supplementary Legislative Yuan elections in Taipei and Kaohsiung this year, voters are most concerned about three things: traffic control, air pollution, law and order and police administration, whereas political candidates pay the closest attention to social welfare, diplomacy and national defense, human rights protection, and economic liberalization, according to the public opinion survey, "voters' concerns," conducted by this newspaper and co-sponsored by the "Public Opinion Polling Association of the Republic of China."

Table 1. Comparison of Taipei Voters' Concerns with Candidates' Issues in the Parliamentary Elections

| Voters' Concerns in Order of Importance |                         |         | Candidates' Issues |                            |         |
|-----------------------------------------|-------------------------|---------|--------------------|----------------------------|---------|
| Order                                   | Item                    | Percent | Order              | Item                       | Percent |
| 1                                       | Traffic control         | 30.7    | 1                  | Social welfare             | 16.8    |
| 2                                       | Air pollution           | 22.6    | 2                  | Diplomacy, defense         | 7.7     |
| 3                                       | law and order,          |         | 3                  | Human rights protection    | 5.7     |
|                                         | police administration   | 17.4    | 4                  | Ecological, scenic         |         |
| 4                                       | River, water pollution  | 10.0    |                    | protection                 | 5.3     |
| 5                                       | road work               | 9.1     | 4                  | Students' homework,        |         |
| 6                                       | Garbage                 | 8.7     |                    | tutoring; looking for      |         |
| 6                                       | Parking                 | 8.7     |                    | school at higher grade     | 5.3     |
| 8                                       | Students' homework,     |         | 6                  | National dignity, identity | 3.8     |
|                                         | tutoring problems,      |         | 7                  | Economic liberalization    | 3.4     |
|                                         | looking for a school at |         | 8                  | Unemployment, jobs         | 2.9     |
|                                         | higher level            | 7.6     | 8                  | Law and order; police      |         |
| 9                                       | Residential environ-    |         |                    | administration             | 2.9     |
|                                         | mental sanitation       | 7.2     | 8                  | Medical services,          |         |
| 10                                      | Social welfare          | 6.7     |                    | public health              | 2.9     |
| 11                                      | Economic liberalization | 4.6     | 11                 | New elections of           |         |
| 12                                      | Economic prosperity     | 4.4     |                    | central people's           |         |
| 13                                      | Lifting party ban       | 4.1     |                    | representatives            | 2.4     |
| 13                                      | Residential noise       | 4.1     | 11                 | Lifting party ban          | 2.4     |
| 15                                      | Foreign trade           | 3.9     | 11                 | Taxes (tax cuts)           | 2.4     |

| Order | Item                                | Percent | Order | Item                                 | Percent |
|-------|-------------------------------------|---------|-------|--------------------------------------|---------|
| 15    | Bus service quality, route planning | 3.9     | 11    | Crackdown on privilege               | 2.4     |
| 15    | Quality of life                     | 3.9     | 15    | Self-determination for Taiwan people | 1.9     |
| 18    | Taxes (tax cuts)                    | 3.3     | 15    | Provisional regulations              | 1.9     |
| 19    | National dignity, identity          | 3.0     | 15    | Road work                            | 1.9     |
| 19    | Price stability                     | 3.0     | 15    | Traffic order                        | 1.9     |
|       |                                     |         | 15    | Leisure and entertainment facilities | 1.9     |
|       |                                     |         | 15    | Corruption                           | 1.9     |

Table 2. Comparing the Concerns of Kaohsiung Voters with Candidates' Issues in the Parliamentary Elections

| Voters' Concerns |                                                                           |         | Candidates' Issues |                                                                             |         |
|------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------|--------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------|
| Order            | Item                                                                      | Percent | Order              | Item                                                                        | Percent |
| 1                | Law and order, police administration                                      | 33.1    | 1                  | Social welfare                                                              | 14.1    |
| 2                | Traffic control                                                           | 29.6    | 2                  | Economic liberalization                                                     | 6.0     |
| 3                | Air pollution                                                             | 26.5    | 3                  | Diplomacy, defense                                                          | 5.5     |
| 4                | Social welfare                                                            | 12.5    | 3                  | Student homework, tutoring problems; looking for a school at a higher grade | 5.5     |
| 5                | Garbage                                                                   | 12.5    | 5                  | Law and order, police administration                                        | 4.5     |
| 6                | Corruption                                                                | 12.4    | 6                  | National dignity, identity                                                  | 4.0     |
| 7                | Residential environmental sanitation                                      | 10.1    | 7                  | Self-determination for Taiwan people                                        | 3.5     |
| 8                | Road work                                                                 | 8.6     | 7                  | Taxes (tax cuts)                                                            | 3.5     |
| 9                | Problems of street vendors                                                | 7.4     | 9                  | Unemployment, jobs                                                          | 3.0     |
| 9                | Residential noise                                                         | 7.4     | 9                  | Ecological, scenic protection                                               | 3.0     |
| 11               | Electoral corruption                                                      | 7.0     | 9                  | Local self-government                                                       | 3.0     |
| 11               | River, water pollution                                                    | 7.0     | 12                 | New elections of central people's representatives                           | 2.5     |
| 13               | Student homework, tutoring problems; looking for school at a higher grade | 6.6     | 12                 | Crackdown on privilege                                                      | 2.5     |
| 14               | Price stability                                                           | 5.1     | 12                 | Judicial independence                                                       | 2.5     |
| 14               | Unemployment, jobs                                                        | 5.1     | 12                 | Abuses in state-owned enterprises                                           | 2.5     |
| 16               | Pornography                                                               | 4.7     | 12                 | Medical services, public health                                             | 2.5     |
| 17               | Quality of life                                                           | 4.3     | 15                 | Quality, competence of party of government personnel                        | 2.0     |
| 18               | Election fairness                                                         | 3.1     |                    |                                                                             |         |
| 18               | Prices of apartments, houses                                              | 3.1     |                    |                                                                             |         |
| 18               | Public facilities in housing                                              | 3.1     |                    |                                                                             |         |
| 18               | Leisure, entertainment facilities                                         | 3.1     |                    |                                                                             |         |
|                  |                                                                           |         |                    | Candidates' Issues                                                          |         |

| Order | Item                          | Percent |
|-------|-------------------------------|---------|
| 15    | Increasing public investments | 2.0     |
| 15    | Road work                     | 2.0     |
| 15    | Economic crimes               | 2.0     |
| 15    | Quality of life               | 2.0     |

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TAIPEI VOTER OPINION POLL RESULTS REPORTED

Taipei TZULI WANPAO in Chinese 4 Dec 86 p 2

[Excerpts] According to a public opinion poll on the "voting behavior of Taipei voters" conducted on 29 and 30 November, almost 70 percent of the people interviewed have never listened to a political forum held by Kuomintang [KMT] candidates, while 80 and almost as high as 90 percent have never listened to a political forum held by candidates of the Democratic Progressive Party [DPP] and candidates with no party affiliation, respectively. In the parliamentary elections, 30 percent of the interviewees have decided whom to vote for, while 65 percent have not made up their minds. The corresponding figures for the National Assembly elections are 25 and 75 percent, respectively. It shows that these last few days before the elections are a critical time for the candidates to win votes.

Supplementary Elections of Central People's Representatives in Year 75 of the Republic of China; Results of a Public Opinion Poll on Taipei Voters' Voting Behavior

1. Will you vote in the supplementary elections of central people's representatives this year?
  - 1) yes: 92 percent
  - 2) no: 2.3 percent
  - 3) don't know or not decided: 5.7 percent
2. Have you decided whom to vote for as member of the Legislative Yuan?
  - 1) yes: (go on to Question 3) 34.9 percent
  - 2) not decided yet: (skip Question 3) 65.1 percent
3. Who?
  - 1) name of candidate: 38.5 percent
  - 2) would rather not say: 61.5 percent

4. What is your foremost consideration in choosing a candidate?

- 1) candidate's personal image (integrity, competence): 53.5 percent
- 2) political views: 21.8 percent
- 3) party affiliations: 4.2 percent
- 4) one's own direct or indirect relations to candidate (colleague, relative, friend, classmate...): 1.6 percent
- 5) party mobilization (vote matching by party, village head, or village secretary): 1.6 percent
- 6) other considerations: 17.3 percent

5. Have you decided whom to vote for as member of the National Assembly?

- 1) yes: 24.8 percent
- 2) not decided: 75 percent

6. Who?

- 1) name of candidate: 25.4 percent
- 2) would rather not say: 74.6 percent

7. What is your foremost consideration in choosing a candidate?

- 1) candidate's personal image (integrity, competence): 54.4 percent
- 2) political views: 21.4 percent
- 3) party affiliations: 4.0 percent
- 4) one's own direct or indirect relations to candidate (colleague, relative, friend, classmate): 1.5 percent
- 5) party mobilization (vote matching by party, village head, or village secretary): 1.6 percent
- 6) other considerations: 17.3 percent

8. How many private political forums organized by KMT candidates have you listened to this year?

- 1) none: 69.7 percent
- 2) one: 8.0 percent
- 3) two: 9.5 percent
- 4) three: 6.8 percent
- 5) four: 1.9 percent
- 6) more than five: 4.2 percent

9. How many private political forums organized by DPP candidates have you listened to this year?

- 1) none: 77.9 percent
- 2) one: 7.0 percent
- 3) two: 7.1 percent
- 4) three: 3.8 percent
- 5) four: 1.1 percent
- 6) more than five: 3.1 percent

10. How many private political forums organized by unaffiliated candidates have you listened to this year?

- 1) none: 87.3 percent
- 2) one: 7.4 percent
- 3) two: 2.5 percent
- 4) three: 1.3 percent
- 5) four: 0.7 percent
- 6) more than five: 50.7 percent [as published]

11. In your opinion, how widespread is electoral corruption today?

- 1) very widespread: 8.7 percent
- 2) widespread: 9.4 percent
- 3) not widespread: 20.1 percent
- 4) largely nonexistent: 15.2 percent
- 5) don't know: 46.6 percent

12. Have your friends, relatives, or neighbors come across electoral corruption?

- 1) yes: 14.2 percent
- 2) no: 76.1 percent
- 3) don't know: 9.7 percent

13. Have you personally come across electoral corruption

- 1) yes: 4.5 percent
- 2) no: 95.5 percent

14. If a candidate offers you gifts and cash, would you vote for him?

- 1) certainly: 1.1 percent
- 2) not necessarily: 20.4 percent
- 3) certainly not: 78.5 percent

15. Of the existent political parties, which are you inclined toward supporting?

- 1) KMT: 39.9 percent
- 2) DPP: 2.4 percent
- 3) Youth Party: 4.3 percent
- 4) Democratic Social Party: 0.1 percent
- 5) not inclined toward any party: 57.3 percent

16. Do you approve of the establishment of the DPP?

- 1) highly approve: 2.2 percent
- 2) approve: 19.6 percent
- 3) disapprove: 17.0 percent
- 4) strongly disapprove: 7.2 percent
- 5) no opinion or don't know: 53.9 percent

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## DISTRIBUTION OF VOTES IN RECENT PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS

Taipei TZULI WANPAO in Chinese 7 Dec 86 p 2

[Text]

Distribution of Votes in Parliamentary Elections by Party (in percentages)

|                         | KMT               | Democratic<br>Social Party | Youth<br>Party | Democratic<br>Progressive | No party<br>Affiliation |
|-------------------------|-------------------|----------------------------|----------------|---------------------------|-------------------------|
| Electoral<br>District 1 | 66.17<br>(66.57)  | 0<br>(0)                   | 0.39<br>(0)    | 23.8<br>(28.3)            | 9.63<br>(11.14)         |
| Electoral<br>District 2 | 69.20<br>(75.82)  | 0<br>(0)                   | 0<br>(0)       | 28.43<br>(19.88)          | 2.37<br>(3.30)          |
| Electoral<br>District 3 | 70.73<br>(80.19)  | 0<br>(0)                   | 0<br>(0)       | 18.89<br>(10.82)          | 10.38<br>(8.99)         |
| Electoral<br>District 4 | 65.20<br>(67.02)  | 0<br>(2.25)                | 0<br>(0)       | 12.66<br>(7.76)           | 22.14<br>(22.98)        |
| Electoral<br>District 5 | 67.39<br>(68.21)  | 0<br>(0)                   | 0<br>(0)       | 32.61<br>(29.68)          | 0<br>(2.12)             |
| Electoral<br>District 6 | 100.00<br>(81.30) | 0<br>(0)                   | 0<br>(0)       | 0<br>(17.30)              | 0<br>(1.40)             |
| Taipei                  | 68.12<br>(76.48)  | 0.13<br>(0)                | 0<br>(0.27)    | 31.27<br>(19.51)          | 0.48<br>(3.74)          |
| Kaohsiung               | 53.61<br>(53.64)  | 0<br>(0)                   | 0<br>(0)       | 37.89<br>(24.16)          | 8.50<br>(22.20)         |

Note: Figures in parentheses are percentages in 1983 elections.

KMT = Kuomintang

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# SPECULATION ON FUTURE SUPPLEMENTARY ELECTIONS

Hong Kong PAI HSING [THE PEOPLE] in Chinese No 134, 12 Dec 86 pp 54-56

[Article by Zhang Jiefeng [1728 4814 7685]: "Need for Parliamentary Reform Urgent as Members Age"]

[Excerpts] In Taiwan, the "eternal parliament" not only is a political joke, but also constitutes a serious obstacle to the government's continued functioning in the future. Members were first elected to all three institutions in 1947. Legislative Yuan members serve a 3-year term, while their counterparts in the National Assembly and Control Yuan both serve 6-year terms. Soon after the first batch of members took office, however, the Kuomintang [KMT] government moved to Taiwan. Since then no election has been held in accordance with the law. The Judicial Yuan explains that to avoid any disruption, existing members would continue to exercise their power before a second election can be held. Thus people first elected in 1947 have been in office for almost 4 decades. Because their ranks have been thinning gradually due to advancing age, new supplementary seats have been added since 1969 under the "provisional regulations." These seats are filled through election upon the expiration of the terms of the incumbents. Nevertheless they make up a tiny percentage of the total membership and parliamentary institutions are still dominated by the veterans.

Professor Hu Fo [5170 0154] of the Political Science Department at National Taiwan University pointed out with an average age of 79, veteran members of the Legislative Yuan are simply too old to discharge competently the heavy duties of a legislative councilor. The idea of having additional members is precisely to give the parliamentary machinery a transfusion of new blood to keep it running properly. Supplementary members make up a tiny share of all members, but by questioning policies, they exert a great deal of pressure on the ruling party. Analyses suggest that no more than 20 of the veterans are able to debate the younger members.

As for the age of members of the National Assembly, 1980 data show that almost half were 70 to 79 years old and less than 7 percent were under 60 at the time. Total membership of the National Assembly still stood at 1,185 then, compared to 990 this year, even including members elected to fill supplementary seats. Clearly the members are fading fast.

Apart from the drastic decline in their number in recent years, the ability of elderly members to discuss official business has also become suspect. Xie Changting [6200 7022 1694], a member of the Taipei Municipal Council, said in a recent speech, "A party member on the Legislative Yuan even has to carry a sign on him when he goes out for a walk at dusk, 'If I get lost, please call xxxxxxxx.' But that person is only 78. What about the 87-year-olds? The 97-year-olds? Why are they qualified to take part in politics, to be members of the Legislative Council?"

Xie Changting also cited a tragicomic example: "Kaohsiung last year elected Miss Lin Menggui [2651 1322 6311], who is in her 30's, to the Control Yuan. Sitting beside her in the Control Yuan is an elderly member in his 80's. Whenever Miss Lin entered the room, the old councillor would stand up and asked, 'Miss, whom are you looking for?'" "Councillor Lin was briefly taken aback, then she pointed to the nameplate at her seat to indicate she was that person. Then the elderly councillor said, 'You are looking for this person? She is not here.'" "Exasperated, Miss Lin walked up to her seat, sat down, and took a sip of the tea on the desk. Only then did he realize she was Councillor Lin and said, with seeming enlightenment, 'Oh, how are you, how are you?'" "However, when Councillor Lin came into the room the next day, the old man again stood up and asked, 'Whom are you looking for, miss?' How can parliamentarians of this moral standard decide the policies for 18 million people? The older they get, the more worried and troubled we become. Yet the KMT wants these people to live to a ripe old age to safeguard the 'existence' of legally constituted authority. If they die, so would legally constituted authority die with them. Old as they are, they are still wanted to run the show. But the harder they work, the sooner they die. The KMT has not been able to solve this political contradiction for 30 years."

This joke is not meant to merely make people laugh. The most urgent issue now is how to solve the crisis in the parliamentary system. Professor Zhang Zhongdong [1728 1813 2767] of the History Department at National Taiwan University said that the trends toward political reform in recent months are interrelated. The crux of the matter is this: how are people's representatives at the center going to be replaced? In what way should new representatives emerge? Through elections, of course. But elections must be based on a fair and reasonable society. The party ban is clearly unfair and unreasonable: Without the support of party organizations, non-KMT personages are naturally at a disadvantage in elections. Therefore, lifting the party ban and martial law is a prerequisite for parliamentary reform as well as a longstanding demand by Taiwan's intellectual community.

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- END -