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POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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7 November 1983

CHINA REPORT
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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GENERAL

EXPERT DISCUSSES INTERNATIONAL SITUATION

Beijing SHIJIE ZHISHI [WORLD KNOWLEDGE] in Chinese No 16, 7 Aug 83 pp 2-4

[Article by staff reporter Huang Shuhai [7806 2579 3189]: "Huan Xiang [1360 6763] Discusses Current International Situation"]

[Text] Comrade Huan Xiang is currently an advisor to the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, responsible person of the Center for International Issues of the State Council and vice chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the NPC standing committee. In his long diplomatic career since the founding of the nation, he made valuable contributions to China's foreign affair work. Not only an experienced diplomat, but he also enjoys national and international prestige as an expert in international issues. The investigation and study report written by him during his diplomatic service in England in the early sixties won the high praises of Chairman Mao and Premier Zhou. In 1982, he was invited by the Moroccan Academy of Science as a foreign academician.

Recently I made a special trip to interview Comrade Huan Xiang, asking him to express his views on the current international situation. The 74-year old Comrade Huan Xiang was bright in spirit and robust in health. The desk in his study was piled high with clippings from domestic and foreign newspapers and publications. "You still personally clip the material like in the past?" "In investigation and study, it won't work if one does not collect material personally and keep abreast of firsthand information!"

Those who know him all admire his meticulous scholarly attitude. Even in the difficult environment of the "cadre school," he never interrupted his work of collecting information. After a few words of amenities, we began our interview with the general subject of "characteristics of the current international situation."

Characteristics of the Current International Situation

Huan Xiang said: "This is a broad subject which can be made into a report. Here we can only discuss it briefly. I feel that the current

international situation shows the following characteristics: First, the U.S.-Soviet struggle for supremacy today is more fierce than any time in the past. Determined to break the nuclear balance between the two superpowers achieved by the Soviet Union after years of effort, Reagan, after taking office, adopted several measures. 1. The United States vigorously runs the arms race, pursues arms expansion and seeks nuclear superiority. Nuclear superiority covers two aspects: strategic superiority; regional superiority, e.g., missile deployment in West Europe. The struggle for nuclear superiority, in terms of the situation as a whole, is more fierce than before Reagan took office.

"In today's situation, unless the Soviet Union makes fairly significant concessions, which is not likely, U.S. deployment of missiles in West Europe appears to be certain. While vying for nuclear superiority, the United States has not overlooked the race in conventional arms.

"2. The United States has greatly reinforced its military and political pressures in terms of the Central American situation, and is determined to rebuild its dominance in the region. It is intervening more actively and ferociously in Central American affairs. After disrupting the situation in El Salvador and Nicaragua, it recently formed the commission on Central America headed by Kissinger, sent infantry to Honduras and El Salvador, and held maneuvers on the waters between the two countries. To reach its goal, it also exerted a strong pressure on Cuba.

"3. In the past year or 2, the United States launched an offensive in the Middle East. It supported Israel's invasion of Lebanon, undermined and broke up the Palestine liberation movement, dealt a setback to Syria and split the Arab nations. In terms of the United States, the unfavorable Middle East situation of 2 years ago has become fairly favorable today. In the coming year or so, the United States will mainly consolidate the position it has won. As for the Soviet Union, it made no attempt and accomplished nothing in the past 2 years, but now it has become active, also striving to stabilize its position in the region.

"4. In Asia, the U.S.-Soviet struggle for supremacy has entered a new phase this year. Soviet military strengths in Asia have expanded considerably. It deployed SS-20 nuclear missiles in Asia, enlarged its naval and air strengths in West Pacific, acquired the use of Vietnam's harbors, occupied by force Japan's four northern islands, etc. Meanwhile, starting this year, the United States has begun to restore its supremacy in the Far East. Its first step was to involve Japan, asking the latter to share its defense tasks and military costs, thereby forming a joint U.S.-Japanese military and political system. In spite of the numerous economic frictions between them, strategic considerations, after all, come first. The next step was to align the five ASEAN nations. In his dialogue with their foreign ministers, Shultz did much work in courting the ASEAN nations, rendering them economic aid, discussed the leasing of the Subic Bay naval base in the Philippines, and planned to make a military return to Thailand. All these were undertaken on ground of combating Soviet military expansion.

"I will also say a few words on Sino-U.S. relations. The United States still adheres to its stand of intervention in China's affairs as declared in the 'Taiwan Relations Act' while also attempting to assuage China's anger. Thus have emerged such limited 'appeasement' measures as classifying China in the V category in technology transfer. But how far does the United States intend to go in these measures? After taking a small step to whet China's appetite, will it again resort to little moves of 'stranglehold?' The matter awaits further observation.

"In terms of the situation as a whole, Reagan, since taking office, has made certain achievements in reasserting U.S. world supremacy. It indicates that the U.S.-Soviet struggle, instead of moderating, has intensified.

"The second characteristic of the current international situation is: Even though the two superpowers are still able to control their own allies, such control is in the course of being undermined. Both are finding themselves somewhat ineffective in exercising command.

"In U.S. relations with Japan and West Europe, their economic frictions are growing ever more aggravated, and their views on many political issues are not identical. The United States and the Soviet Union have had to make certain concessions to their own allies, producing a certain impact on their power struggle. Nevertheless, it does not mean that it is possible for their allies to form independent strengths within the near future, because they still have to rely on the U.S. and Soviet nuclear umbrellas in political and military affairs. They will strive for independence, but it is impossible for their endeavor to be significant or widespread. However, the present extent of their endeavor will add difficulty to the U.S.-Soviet struggle for supremacy. This is perhaps a new phenomenon worthy of attention.

"The third characteristic of the international situation is: The difficulties of the Third World nations have grown aggravated. Nor is it easy for them to make independent political and economic moves. Conflicts of interest exist among them. Precisely as manifested at the sixth UN trade conference, some countries wanted this and others wanted that. In considering practical interests, they are unable to agree.

"The fourth characteristic is: In terms of the world economic situation as a whole, the period which started in 1980 has passed. The drop in production starting in 1980 continued through the end of 1982 and the beginning of 1983. Today, the whole economic situation is in the course of initial recovery. The recovery conditions of the various countries are very uneven. The United States has a fairly strong momentum, Japan is pretty good, West Germany and Britain of West Europe are not at all bad, but France and Italy are relatively poor.

"In view of its high interest rate, large unemployment and enormous deficit, the United States is still weak in its recovery and will not progress

rapidly. It seems that the rise of the Western economy activated by U.S. recovery cannot be achieved within a short time. Nevertheless, within a short time, i.e., within the next 2 or 3 years, I feel that the momentum of the current recovery will continue, or even escalate to a certain extent. However, as for returning to the prosperity like in the mid-fifties to the early seventies, the possibility is not high.

"Therefore, I predict that a new period will arrive 3 or 4 years hence. Possibly the current recovery is favorable to Reagan's reelection campaign."

Current Situation of West Europe

"Mr Huan, you served as an envoy in Europe for a long time and visited there many times in recent years. What do you think is the West European situation?"

After pondering for a moment, Mr Huan pointed out: "The international status of West Europe has the following characteristics: First, being the center of the U.S.-Soviet power struggle, West Europe, as a part of the NATO group, cannot exist independently from it. In spite of the intense conflicts with the United States, it is impossible for West Europe to break away from NATO.

"In terms of the international situation as a whole, West Europe will basically align itself with the United States in the superpower struggle; it will not emerge as a neutral and independent force.

"Next, during their many years in power, the social democrats of West Europe have indeed been creative, gearing the development of production relations to that of the productive forces, thereby enabling capitalism to manifest a certain vitality. Therefore, they have been able, internationally, to fly their own colors and form a sort of strength. Though countries like America have no social democratic party, they have had to adopt certain social democratic policies. Some U.S. policies were created by the United States itself during Roosevelt's New Deal, and others were learned from the social democrats. Though the social democrats have their own characteristics, on the issue of upholding the capitalist system, the so-called 'leftwing parties' are no different from Europe's conservatives and rightwingers. They are basically the same thing.

"Even though the political changes in West Europe are very great, with the conservatives gaining power in some countries and the social democrats continuing their control or recapturing power in others, regardless of who are in power, they will continue to follow certain social democratic policies, and the conservatives are no exception. This point deserves attention."

Prospect of West European Economic Development

"What do you think are the main problems in the economic development of West Europe?"

Mr Huan said: "In terms of the West European countries, that the recovery of some is relatively fast while that of others is relatively slow has been discussed above. Thus, in terms of West Europe as a whole, its economy has not made much improvement. However, with the recovery of the United States, the economy of West Europe will possibly rise on a certain scale in the second half of this year or early next year. It is difficult to foresee the world economic situation after 1985, but I predict that complete recovery and prosperity will not occur, and this applies to West Europe also.

"Today, the West European economy is facing the issue of industrial and economic structural reorganization. In the industrial aspect, it has to solve the problem of building new branches and maintaining the old branches. In the economic aspect, after monopoly capitalism develops to a new phase, the importance of capital export will surpass that of commodity export.

"Britain, same as America, exports capital in large amounts through its multinational and transnational corporations, and such export is increasing rapidly. France and West Germany export mainly commodities, but also pay serious attention to capital export. Countries under state monopoly capitalism are mainly of these two types.

"The economic development of West Europe mainly depends on the competitive capacity of commodities, not on capital. Therefore, industrial development, especially new industries, has an extremely important significance.

"Compared with the United States, the new industries of West Europe suffer from two shortcomings. First, its market is not as good. Due to its tremendous political and military powers, the United States can utilize political and military means to expand its international market and serve its economy, not to mention its gigantic unified domestic market. Meanwhile, as the U.S. economic development affects that of many other countries, its impetus of industrial remolding is greater than West Europe.

"The EEC is favorable to the formation of a broad West European internal market, but currently it has not fully developed this role. Though West Europe is a great potential market, its industrial development still lacks momentum. West European products have a certain competitive capacity in the international market, but its new products are still unable to compete with the United States and Japan. The emphasis on consideration of the Third World interest contained in the development report of the Brandt commission and the insistence of France to honor the agreements with the African countries, such as the Lome agreement, are for the purpose of reinforcing competition with the United States.

"The second shortcoming is that the science and technology of West Europe are not as advanced. The United States remains the most advanced in science and technology in the capitalist world, even though Japan has caught up with or even surpassed it in some few aspects. There are two reasons for the rapid American scientific and technological development: The first is that the United States can utilize its gigantic national defense budget to develop technology; the second is the rapid progress of its space and deep-sea exploration technologies. Europe does not possess these two advantages. World War II taught West Europe a tragic lesson; therefore, in the three decades or more after the war, West Europe had difficulties all along to increase its defense budget. It has now proposed the slogan of 'detente + national defense + Third World' and considers it the national policy.

"As proved by historical development, the scientific and technological progress of capitalist countries is often linked with military technology, which often paves the way for peacetime industry. According to general prediction, due to the development of space and ocean exploration technologies, plus the tremendous progress of bioengineering on top thereof, science and technology may possibly make a gigantic breakthrough in the 21st century. West Europe has recognized the importance of these technologies. Some English scholars declared that whoever mastering the advanced technologies will dominate the world in the 21st century.

"In view of the above two points, the United States will remain superior to West Europe in strength for a fairly long time to come. Certain Japanese technologies may compete with, or even surpass, the United States, such as electronic computers and electrical appliances, but due to its limitations, it is impossible for Japan, as a whole, to excel the United States. Yet one should not overlook the characteristics of West Europe which are not found in Japan. First, West Europe has a group of fine scientists who, in the theoretical aspect, have made new discoveries and inventions. In the past, it was often the European scholars who first proposed the new theories before the United States applied them in practical production. Next, West Europe also has certain technologies comparable to the United States, such as airplane engines. Some of its high-grade, precision and advanced industrial technology and products are comparable to the United States."

Huan Xiang said: "I predict that, within this century, it will be impossible for West Europe, as a whole, to surpass the United States in technology. As for whether it can do so in the 21st century, it will depend on whether it can make a concerted effort. In other words, the EEC must play a greater role and take a big stride forward. Under the present conditions, there are certain difficulties.

"The EEC must proceed from its customs alliance to unity in readjusting the economic policies, for otherwise there will be no political unity. Some Europeans say that it is impossible to promote economic unity by

means of political unity. The unity of the EEC is closely linked with the development of the European economy."

Difficulties Faced by the Soviet Bloc

"The United States stresses the internal and external difficulties encountered by the Soviet Union today and wishes to utilize them to reinforce its own position of strength. What is your view on the difficulties confronting the Soviet Union?"

Huan Xiang said: "To put it simply, Andropov, after taking office, planned to adopt certain measures to hasten the economic reform, but according to the conditions to date, the difficulties encountered by him are fairly formidable. Due to the limitations of the Soviet system, it appears that it is not that easy to realize the good intent of accelerating the economic reform.

"In foreign affairs, the Soviet Union is confronted with a stronger and more fierce competition from the United States. Soviet leaders indicated that, if the United States deploys Pershing II and cruise missiles in West Europe, the Soviet Union will take retaliatory actions. By retaliation, it appears to be no more than missile deployment near the West European border; any additional means of retaliation are not yet detectable. If so, it will simply be an intensification of the confrontation of the two sides, which is unfavorable to world peace.

"As for the weaknesses of the Soviet economy, much has been discussed in the past and everyone is familiar with them. There is no need to repeat them here."

The Williamsburg Conference

Our subject of conversation shifted to the recent Williamsburg conference. Mr Huan pointed out: "Rather than calling it a meeting to solve economic problems, it is more appropriate to call it a political conference. Its expression was to form by declaration a united front of West Europe, Japan and the United States on the arms race and the means to deal with the Soviet Union. If the meeting made any achievement, it was a political demonstration against the Soviet Union, forcing it to make concessions. Basically it did not solve any economic problems.

"At the Williamsburg conference, one trend deserving attention was the impact produced by Japan. Japan played the role of America's most important assistant and spokesman. It spoke for or supported the United States in everything. It will produce an impact on the future world situation. It appears that Japan wanted to indicate, through such activities, its large-nation status. It is necessary for a large nation to possess a military background. Viewed from this angle, it seems that it is inevitable for Japan to reinforce its military strengths in the future. Nevertheless, due to domestic resistance and general international

apprehension, most likely Japan, in moving toward the path of a large military power, will have to exercise self-restraint and consciously hold down the pace!"

Finally, Comrade Huan Xiang, on the internationally controversial issue of "detente" and "cold war," pointed out: "Today, the period of detente is past. But whether a new cold war has begun, we must observe some more. From the current conditions, in regard to whether to return to the cold war of the Dulles era, the United States is unable to make up its mind, its abilities being unequal to its ambitions; nor is it possible for the Soviet Union to do so. Neither side has the conditions. Of course, the struggle between the two sides has intensified, but one cannot yet say that the cold war situation of the past has returned."

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CSO: 4005/41

GENERAL

UN SECURITY COUNCIL TO MEET ON NAMIBIA ISSUE

OW190900 Beijing XINHUA in English 0807 GMT 19 Oct 83

[Text] United Nations, 18 October (XINHUA)--At the request of the group of African states, the UN Security Council will hold an urgent meeting on 20 October to consider the situation in Namibia.

The request was made by Massamba Sarre, chairman of the African group at the UN, in a letter addressed to the president of the Security Council and released here this morning.

A draft resolution was circulated this afternoon to the council members. The draft reiterates that the UN plan for the independence of Namibia "is the only basis for a peaceful settlement of the Namibian problem."

It affirms that the electoral system to be used for the elections of the constituent assembly should be determined prior to the adoption by the Security Council of the enabling resolution for the implementation of the UN plan.

The draft calls on South Africa to cooperate with the secretary-general forthwith and to communicate to him its choice of the electoral system in order to facilitate the immediate and unconditional implementation of the plan.

The draft rejects South Africa's persistence in linking the independence of Namibia to the presence of the Cuban troops in Angola.

Such linkage remains a main obstacle to the implementation of the UN plan for the independence of Namibia.

CSO: 4000/59

GENERAL

BRIEFS

CREDENTIALS REPORT APPROVED--United Nations, 20 October (XINHUA)--The 38th Session of the UN General Assembly approved this morning the report of the credentials committee which confirms all the credentials of representatives to the current session including that of Democratic Kampuchea. Reservations concerning the credentials of Israel were expressed by 43 countries in a letter addressed to the president of the General Assembly, Jorge E. Illueca. But the amendment proposed by Iran to challenge Israel's credentials was not put to vote due to a motion by Norway which asked that no action be taken on the Iranian amendment in the course of the current session. The motion was accepted by a vote of 79 to 43 with 19 abstentions. Then the president of the General Assembly announced that the assembly adopted the report of the credentials committee. [Text] [OW210112 Beijing XINHUA in English 0104 GMT 21 Oct 83]

CSO: 4000/59

UNITED STATES

REAGAN ON MISSILE DEPLOYMENT, HORMUZ STRAITS

OW200751 Beijing XINHUA in English 0740 GMT 20 Oct 83

[Text] Washington, 19 October (XINHUA)--U. S. President Ronald Reagan today restated that the United States will deploy new missiles on schedule in Western Europe if no agreement could be reached with the Soviet Union by the end of the year.

In a press conference, Reagan said a great Soviet propaganda effort is going on now in an effort to persuade Western allies "to turn back and not ask us for the deployment of intermediate-range weapons. Well, we're going to deploy and deploy on schedule."

The president noted "once they (the Soviets) see we're going to do that... they're going to see that the best thing for them is to negotiate with us and in good faith."

On the Middle East, the president said U.S. Marines as part of the multinational force will stay in Lebanon "as long as there is a possibility of making the overall peace plan work."

He said that now an agreement has been reached between the Lebanese Government and Israel. "Our intention remains the same, working with the more moderate Arab states to bring about the kind of peace with Israel that Anwar al-Sadat helped bring about."

Asked about what the United States will do if Iran closes the Strait of Hormuz after Iraq uses its French fighters against Iranian interests, Reagan said he does not believe the Western countries "could stand by and allow anyone to close the Straits of Hormuz in the Persian Gulf."

CSO: 4000/11

UNITED STATES

U.S. SENATE PASSES BILL ON MARTIN LUTHER KING HOLIDAY

HK210956 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 21 Oct 83 p 7

["Special dispatch" by reporter Zhang Yuwen [1728 0336 2429]: "American Black Leader King's Birthday Designated as a National Holiday"]

[Text] Washington, 19 Oct [RENMIN RIBAO]--By an overwhelming majority of 78 to 22 votes, the U.S. Senate passed a bill on 19 October to designate the birthday (on 15 January) of the late Martin Luther King, the well-known black leader of the civil rights movement, as a new national holiday. The bill was passed after clearing away the repeated obstructions of some conservative senators. In the United States, apart from George Washington, Martin Luther King is the second man to be honored with a federal holiday bearing his name. The bill to make King's birthday a legal public holiday was passed in the House in early August, but it was hindered in the Senate by some conservative senators represented by Jesse Helms. When voting in the Senate yesterday, Jesse Helms contended that King "had associated with elements of the Communist Party" and asked to stop the voting. After heated debate, the Senate passed the bill by a 78-22 margin.

President Ronald Reagan at first opposed creating another national public holiday with the excuse that it was too expensive. But he reversed himself and said that he would sign the legislation if it was passed by the Senate. At a press conference today, when he was asked why had he changed his mind, he said it was "of great symbolic significance" that the day had been honored as a federal holiday.

The public opinion believes that the American blacks are an ever-growing force in the political sphere. Therefore, with the election year approaching the legislation concerning Martin Luther King has become a sensitive problem for both parties.

According to the bill passed by both the Senate and the House, it is stipulated that the holiday will be celebrated on the third Monday in January every year. In this connection, the United States will for the first time celebrate this new federal holiday bearing the name of Martin Luther King on 20 January 1984. [As published]

CSO: 4005/82

UNITED STATES

CLARK APPOINTMENT, U.S.-STATE 'STRUGGLE'

HK201006 Guangzhou YANGCHENG WANBAO in Chinese 19 Oct 83 p 4

[Article by Zhou Guochang [6760 0948 2490]: "Why Has Clark Left the White House?"]

[Text] On the evening of 13 October, Reagan suddenly announced the appointment of William Clark, his national security adviser, as interior secretary. This news caused a public outcry in political circles and people were astonished at this reshuffle.

Recently, U.S. newspapers held that Clark was in a favorable position in the struggle against Shultz for decisionmaking power on foreign policy. On the Central American issue, Clark had forced Shultz to take a minor role. In Middle East policy, Clark also had successfully placed his assistant McFarlane in the position of Middle East special envoy. Clark also held power in the arms control talks.

Moreover, Clark is Reagan's bosom friend and trusted subordinate and has closely followed Reagan, ever since Reagan was a state governor. In the 1980 general election, Clark made contributions to Reagan's campaign. Reagan helped Clark enter the White House, and in turn, Clark was absolutely obedient in carrying out Reagan's instructions. How is it that Reagan has now ordered Clark to give up the important position of national security adviser and take up an unimportant position of interior secretary, where he will be in charge of natural resources in the country?

The appointment came so suddenly that some National Security Council members became aware that Clark had quit only by hearing the news in a radio broadcast. All this has made Clark's new appointment more mysterious.

Although no inside story has been disclosed about the new appointment, U.S. newspapers generally believe that this is an inevitable result of the struggle between the White House and the State Department. White House spokesman Speakes categorically denied this, but Reagan stressed that, by appointing Clark as interior secretary, he "attempted to place a capable person good at solving problems in the position held by James Watt, of whom people hold differing opinions." Clark himself also said that his new appointment indicated Reagan's trust in him and he was "very happy and honored." But all this cannot cover

the true nature of the power struggle. On 7 October, the WASHINGTON POST quoted a senior U.S. official as saying that Shultz was not pleased when Clark went to Rome to discuss the Middle East policy problem, without prior discussion with him, which made the strained relations between the White House and the State Department more serious.

It is known to all that the struggle between U.S. White House and State Department is of long standing. The former national security adviser Allen had to quit the White House in January last year because of his squabble with former Secretary of State Haig. After Clark took over from Allen, the struggle between the White House and the State Department was still very fierce and Haig resentfully packed in during June last year. Shultz then became secretary of state. Although he has a gentle disposition and does not like being in the limelight, the contradiction between him and Clark has become more and more serious. Now, Reagan has named McFarlane his new national security adviser, but the struggle between the White House and the State Department for decision-making power in foreign policy will never end.

CSO: 4005/82

UNITED STATES

RENMIN RIBAO DETAILS EVENTS OF WATT RESIGNATION

HK141024 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 14 Oct 83 p 7

["Newsletter from America" by reporter Zhang Yunwen [1728 0336 2429]: "A Remark that Caused a Disturbance"]

[Text] James Watt, a most controversial secretary in the Reagan administration, announced on 9 October that he would resign his position as the interior secretary. He made his decision under increasingly great political pressure. This decision has relieved an eye-catching disturbance that occurred in U.S. political circles over the past 2 weeks.

The incident was touched off by his remarks made last month at a breakfast meeting. He described the members of a coal advisory panel in his Interior Department as a "mix, including a black, a woman, two Jews, a cripple and a vegetable jar as well." Such an outlandish remark immediately caused an uproar in Washington and Watt was attacked by people from various quarters. A member of the House of Representatives said: "Watt's disgusting witty remark has insulted tens of millions of Americans!"

Watt is in the ultra-conservative wing of the Republican Party. According to reports, he time and again insulted people on public occasions. This caused public indignation. The people he offended were very often liberals, environmentalists, Indians, Jews and other minority nationalities. With the election year drawing near, such an attitude toward these people has become a very sensitive political problem. An influential Republican senator said: "We simply cannot tolerate that in every 2 or 3 months he used to utter remarks that might offend 30 or 40 million people." Since Watt was strongly condemned, it was understandable that Democratic congressmen had firmly demanded his resignation. A majority of Republican congressmen also maintained that Watt quit the Interior Department. It is obvious that the resignation of this interior secretary was not because of his accidental slip of the tongue, but because for a more complicated reason.

The Interior Department, of which Watt was in charge, is responsible for the exploitation and development of natural resources. Since the 1970's, U.S. environmentalists have been calling for the imposition of restrictions on the exploitation and development of natural resources and their stand has prevailed. After assuming office, with the support of President Reagan, Watt has adopted

a series of measures in an attempt to reverse this trend. He advocated the vigorous exploitation and development of natural resources for the sake of economic growth and the security of the country. Thus, he allocated \$6 billion to change the management of 700 million acres of federal land and 1 billion acres of offshore territories. Last year, he sold the government's coal mine loan and lease rights to mining companies. In addition, he instructed the Interior Department to consider applications for the exploitation and extraction of oil and natural gas in national wildlife reserves. He was against the purchase of land by the government for the purpose of building national parks and wildlife reserves. Watt's policies were supported by the people to whom the exploitation of natural resources was of vital interest. His policies were met with the objections of the environmentalists. In addition, many of the measures adopted by him were resisted by the Congress and the courts.

After the outbreak of the disturbance not long ago, Reagan originally wanted to reconcile the parties concerned. However, 19 Republican senators will be up for reelection next year. Watt's words and deeds have adversely affected Reagan and the Republican Party. Recently, Reagan has been striving to win the support of environmentalists, women and minority groups. If he let Watt remain at his post, certainly Reagan would be adversely affected in his attempt to run for a second term of office. On account of this consideration. Reagan was eventually forced to approve Watt's resignation.

CSO: 4005/82

UNITED STATES

NIXON'S FOREIGN POLICY EVALUATED

Tianjin GUOJI WENTI YANJIU [JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL STUDIES] in Chinese
No 3, Jul 83 pp 9-14

[Article by Qian Dajyong [6929 1129 6978]: "Nixon and U.S. Foreign Relations"]

[Text] It has been 9 years since Richard M. Nixon, the 37th president of the United States, resigned the presidency. In early 1982, the CHICAGO TRIBUNE conducted a public opinion poll to choose 10 each of the best and the worst presidents of the United States. Nixon was chosen to be one of the worst. In the United States, people comment both positively and negatively on Nixon's deeds in both domestic and foreign affairs. It is exactly what Nixon mentioned in his book describing his impressions of world leaders: Appraisals of historical figures are prone to arouse bitter controversies. This may probably also be applied to Nixon himself. On the eve of Nixon's stepping down from the presidency, Henry Kissinger said to him with deep feeling: "History will act more fairly toward you than your contemporaries." We may leave it to the historians to make an overall appraisal of Nixon. Here we are trying to make a simple review of the salient points of the guiding ideology and practice of U.S. foreign relations during the period of the Nixon Administration.

The Role of Nixon in Improving U.S. Foreign Relations

Nixon is a rightwing politician of the Republican Party who firmly believes in capitalism and is opposed to communism. He built himself up by relying on a consortium of the wealthy in western California and also supported by the Rockefeller and Morgan financial groups in the eastern United States. Nixon was a president of the United States who favored realism in practice.

Soon after Nixon was inaugurated in 1969, he set about a job to make a strategic readjustment of U.S. foreign relations at a time when the world situation was in an intricate maze. At that time, the United States was faced with various adversities in foreign relations. With regard to the development trend of the relative military strength between the United States and the Soviet Union, the United States was in a disadvantageous position. Relations between the United States and its European allies were strained. There was a turbulent situation in the Third World and the spearheads of struggles in many countries were directed toward the United States.

The long drawn out Vietnam War in particular brought to the United States a series of grave consequences. It was estimated that armed forces of the United States sent to invade Vietnam had once reached more than 540,000 at the peak, which, in addition to the approximately 660,000 men of the Seventh Fleet, accounted for more than 50 percent of U.S. armed forces stationed overseas at that time. Up to 1971, the United States had spent more than \$120 billion in the Vietnam War and U.S. casualties were approximately 350,000 men. All these situations accelerated the rapid development of contradictions of one kind or another inside the United States. For instance, among the people of the United States or even in U.S. families, those who were in support of the Vietnam War were in serious antagonism with those who were opposed to it. Talking privately about the Vietnam War, Nixon once said: "I have come to the conclusion that there is no way to win this war. Of course, we cannot say it that way. In fact, it seems that we can only say just the opposite. This is totally for the purpose of preserving our stake in bargaining." For this, Nixon expressed as early as on 8 August 1968 in his speech after he had accepted the nomination as a candidate for president: "The first urgent matter of the government of our country will be the ending of the Vietnam War with honor."

Nixon not only caught sight of the various grave consequences the Vietnam War had brought to the United States, but he also noticed through the Vietnam issue that an important change had taken place in both the whole international situation and the condition of the United States. Based on these changes, he dexterously reshaped U.S. foreign policy. On 6 July 1971, in a speech delivered in Kansas, Nixon reflected his understanding of the international situation and the condition of the United States in a more concentrated manner. He said at that time, "owing to the fact that our vision has been thwarted by the Vietnam issue, we failed to see the very important changes which took place in the world during the past 25 years, or the period since the conclusion of World War II, nor did we see the changes which took place during the past 5 to 10 years which were even more attractive. And we cannot see the changes which are possibly being brewed." "Militarily, we have been second to none in the world and nobody even dared to challenge us because we had a monopoly in atomic weapons. At that time, our economy also was in first place and far ahead of others. The production of the United States then actually accounted for more than 50 percent of the total production of the whole world." "A tremendous change has taken place during the past 25 years." "Comparing to our international standing immediately after World War II, the United States has met with a kind of challenge which one even can never dream of." "From the economic point of view, the United States is no longer number one in the world, and there are no longer only two superpowers.... There are today five power centers in the world, namely the United States, Western Europe, the Soviet Union, mainland China, and of course Japan. These five great powers will determine the future of the world during the last third period of time of this century."

The international situation developed from the exclusive domination of the United States in the 1950's to a contending for supremacy between the United States and the Soviet Union in the 1960's. Soon after entering into the 1970's, Nixon as the President of the United States was conscious of the fact that the strength of the United States was no longer comparable to the past and he foresaw that the world had entered a multipolarized phase. Nixon's

understanding of these facts was basically in line with the objective trend of the development of the world situation and conformable to the condition of the United States, which showed a rapid declination of strength both economically and militarily. He saw these changes, made it known to the public and adopted appropriate measures in a decisive manner to readjust U.S. foreign relations. In so doing, U.S. diplomacy was at once full of life and the room for maneuver in handling international affairs was expanded. Consequently, the international situation of the United States has been improved.

The Guiding Ideology and Practice of U.S. Foreign Relations During the Period of the Nixon Administration

During the period when Nixon was in power, the guiding ideology of U.S. foreign relations was to safeguard the hegemonic interests of the United States in an intense struggle against the Soviet Union to strive for supremacy. For this, Nixon devoted himself to the establishment of a balanced and stable international situation in order to enable the United States to make progress in its diplomacy for an equilibrium of forces. Nixon did his best to make a choice between interventionism and isolationism. He once said: "Our foreign policy is to advance steadily under the condition that we both break away from the danger of overinvolvement as we did in the past and avoid a new trend that people just invariably cannot refrain from seeking the least involvement. He also said: "If the United States, the Soviet Union, China and Japan all are powerful and sound, and there is a balance of power among them without being attacked by each other, the world will then be more secure and glorious." "If a nation is more powerful than its opponent, there will be a danger of going into war." Therefore, the idea of both seeking a balance of power and realizing stabilization and progress in such an equilibrium prevailed throughout the Nixon era in all aspects of U.S. foreign relations.

U.S. foreign relations in the Nixon era can, for the most part, be summed up into a few balanced relations by placing the readjustment of relations among China, the United States and the Soviet Union in the center. They are: 1) balance of power between the United States and the Soviet Union; 2) balance of power in the Asian and Pacific region; 3) balance of power in the Middle East and Persian Gulf region; and 4) balance of power in Europe with NATO as its principal part.

1. Balance of Power Between the United States and the Soviet Union

Nixon realized that one of the important factors which produced an impact on the international situation in the 1970's was the important change in the relative military strength between the United States and the Soviet Union. Since the end of World War II until the 1960's, the military strength of the United States had constantly been in a dominant position as compared with that of the Soviet Union. Taking 1962 as an example, the ratio of the number of intercontinental guided missiles between the United States and the Soviet Union was 294 to 75. For this reason, the Cuban guided missile crisis, which happened at that time, was finally ended by a concession made by the Soviet Union. This crisis impelled the Soviet Union to feel that it was necessary

to emulate in the field of strategic weapons and the Soviet Union, therefore, carried out a large-scale arms expansion project. In 1969, when Nixon was inaugurated U.S. President, the ratio of the number of intercontinental guided missiles between the United States and the Soviet Union was 1,054 to 1,050. The Soviet Union had almost caught up with the United States. In 1970, the number of missiles of the Soviet Union reached 1,300 surpassing that of the United States. This indicated a fact that the United States fell deeply into the Vietnam War and could no longer afford to give consideration to development in this respect. Consequently, in the field of strategic weapons, a tendency which was disadvantageous to the United States emerged. After Nixon was inaugurated, although he proposed that U.S. military strength must be strengthened, yet, in consideration of the economic strength of the United States, it was difficult to give consideration to both the development of strategic weapons and the augmentation of conventional forces. In the face of the tendency that the Soviet had roused itself to emulate and that the economic situation of the United States was deteriorating day after day, Nixon by relying on the fact that the quality of U.S. strategic weapons remained superior to that of the Soviet Union, intended to limit the pace of development in the Soviet Union through negotiations and an agreement which would eventually be derived therefrom in order to more or less maintain equilibrium between the United States and the Soviet Union. A deterrent force and fundamental reciprocity are the basic principles followed by the United States in the field of strategic weapons and are also the basic consideration and purpose of the United States in negotiating with the Soviet Union. The reason why the Nixon Administration took this aspect of the matter into account was not only based on the realistic situation of the relative military situation between the United States and the Soviet Union, but there were other considerations. First, it was to help bring about an agreement on strategic weapons between the two parties at an early date. Second, it was to integrate negotiations on strategic weapons with the settlement of issues in other aspects between the United States and the Soviet Union. Nixon once made it known to the public: "The policy I intend to adopt is to make sure that the way and timing of entering into negotiations for strategic weapons can at the same time make progress in other outstanding political issues. For instance, the Middle East issue and some other important problems which may benefit peace, provided that the United States and the Soviet Union can cooperate with each other." Here, Nixon for the first time put forward the principle of "integration" and it was also a specific application of the thought of equilibrium in the diplomatic field. The two fundamental pillars which supported Nixon to pursue a detente with the Soviet Union were both the containment of the Soviet Union and the willingness of opening dialogue. With the application of Nixon principles as mentioned above and in the name of economic cooperation and promoting trade, Nixon visited the Soviet Union twice and talked with Leonid Brezhnev a couple of times. More than 30 treaties, agreements and protocols were signed by both parties. Some of the important ones include: the Principle of Mutual Relations between the United States and the Soviet Union, Trade Agreement between the United States and the Soviet Union, Agreement between the United States and the Soviet Union Concerning Prevention of Nuclear War, and the Long-Term Agreement between the United States and the Soviet Union for the Promotion of Economic, Industrial and Technical Cooperation, and so forth. The number of treaties

signed is unprecedented. During Nixon's term of presidency, the tense and deadlocked relations between the United States and the Soviet Union became much eased and more flexible.

2. Balance of Power in the Asian and Pacific Region

As early as October 1967, Nixon published an article in FOREIGN AFFAIRS in which he put forward that "any U.S. policy with regard to Asia must earnestly pay attention to the reality of China." Nixon attached importance to the influence and effect of China. In his Foreign Policy Report of 1970, he said: "In the long run, it is unthinkable to establish a stable and lasting international order without the efforts of a country which has a population of more than 700 million." At the time when he was inaugurated, he was not able to place the main force on key regions because the United States was too much involved all over the world. There was a tendency of having too many things to take care of at the same time. Therefore, the first consideration of Nixon was to draw back from Asia in order to move the U.S. forces from the East front to the West to strengthen the U.S. position in contending with the Soviet Union. Nixon opened U.S. relations with China thinking that it would help stabilize Asia, especially the situation of Northeastern Asia in order to prevent outside influences from penetrating into the Asian and Pacific region. Besides, the United States in the past, in the one hand, had to conscientiously handle U.S.-USSR relations and, on the other hand, had to deal with troubles of one kind or another resulting from the confrontation between the United States and China. The thaw in Sino-U.S. relations released the United States from the situation of dealing with two opponents at the same time. This was a change with profound significance. This change gave the United States the basis to make different arrangements in deploying its military forces and thereby improved its flexibility around the world. Diplomatically, the United States can thus deal with the Soviet Union at the same time as it keeps in touch with China. And the room for the United States to maneuver has been greatly expanded. At the time when Nixon was determined to establish relations with China, many people in the U.S. Government predicted that the possible outcome of this move might show that opening relations with China would not be easy and that U.S.-USSR relations would thus be seriously damaged. However, facts turned out just contrary to that. In July 1971, the United States made known to the public Henry Kissinger's secret visit to China and announced that Nixon would pay a visit to China. This news brought about a great shock to the whole world and touched off quick reactions from the Soviet Union. For instance, the Berlin problem was at that time 26 years old since the ending of World War II. Within 2 months after the announcement of the abovementioned proclamation, the Soviet Union accepted the Western condition to affirm that the status of Berlin remain unchanged, acknowledged that the Bonn Government represent West Berlin externally, and agreed that passports issued by West Berlin authorities be considered valid for entering the Soviet zone. On 3 September the same year, the Berlin Agreement was reached by the United States, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom and France and thereby cleared away a tremendous obstacle in U.S.-USSR relations. Moreover, along with this new situation and the settlement of the Berlin issue, a series of activities including the agreement of the Soviet Union to arrange for a U.S.-USSR summit meeting in 1972 had respectively been carried out. The new

development of Sino-U.S. relations which started in the early 1970's has, to a certain extent, enabled the United States to enjoy a favorable turn in its foreign relations. Meanwhile, some changes in global strategy also turned to be favorable to the United States. These changes may have already gone beyond the original overall consideration of both Nixon and Kissinger.

3. Balance of Power in the Middle East and Persian Gulf Region

The Middle East and Persian Gulf region is abundant in petroleum resources which is also strategically important. After World War II, U.S. influences penetrated into the Middle East. The Soviet Union also broke through when it was off guard there. Starting from Egypt, the Soviet Union stepped up expanding its influence into the Middle East and contention in this region between the United States and the Soviet Union became acute. Nixon said: "A boundary line between the United States and the Soviet Union in Europe has been drawn. Therefore, the confrontation between them has developed southward to regions where such a boundary line has not yet been made." Sisco, the then assistant secretary of state, said in a even more explicit way: "The United States is determined to take every necessary action to safeguard the equilibrium in the region." In the early period of the Nixon Administration, particular emphasis was laid on Israel, Iran and Saudi Arabia. In order to strengthen its relations with Iran and Saudi Arabia, the Nixon administration shipped them arms worth a couple of billion dollars to equip their troops. The attitude of the United States toward Israel was to devote major efforts to strengthen Israel militarily and to give all-out support politically. In order to help Israel maintain a dominant position, the Nixon administration supplied Israel with advanced weapons and long-term military assistance. In foreign affairs, the United States showed absolute partiality to Israel. Nixon intended to use this method to draw in Israel to confront the Arabian countries so that the equilibrium in Middle East could be maintained, thereby strengthening the position of the United States.

Yet, the above measures adopted by the Nixon administration spurred a new development of contradictions between the United States and the Arabian countries, on the one hand, which adversely provided the Soviet Union with an opportunity not only to send large numbers of advisors to station in Egypt, but also building guided missile bases in that country, and, on the other hand, led to the rapid intensification of contradictions between the Arabian countries and Israel because the latter, relying on the all-out support of the United States, became more unscrupulous in pursuing its expansion policy and vainly attempting to seek hegemony in Middle East, which touched off strong opposition from the Arabian countries. The Fourth Middle East War thus broke out in October 1973. As the war started, Nixon, on the one hand, provided Israel with military aid worth \$2.2 billion to support her and, on the other hand, sent Kissinger to the Soviet Union. Owing to the combined efforts of both the United States and the Soviet Union, a cease-fire in the Middle East was finally arranged.

After the Fourth Middle East War, a stalemate has emerged in the Middle East situation. At the same time, contradictions between the Soviet Union and Egypt have become increasingly exposed. In weighing the U.S. Middle East

policy, Nixon recognized that giving all-out support to Israel and confronting the Arabian countries would undoubtedly mean to give away the vast area of the Arabian countries having a population of more than 100 million in favor of Israel, which has a population of only 3 million. To the United States, the loss outweighs the gain. In 1974, the United States made a relatively important readjustment in its policy toward the Middle East and Persian Gulf region. The Nixon administration pursued a new "two hands" policy between Israel and the Arabian countries with the other. Through such a readjustment, the Middle East situation has been developing in a direction favorable to the United States. Nixon listed the Middle East issue as one of the focal points in U.S. foreign relations. In 1974, Kissinger traveled to the Middle East thrice to carry out "shuttle diplomacy." Without the participation of the Soviet Union he successfully helped to bring about agreements between Egypt and Israel for establishing a buffer zone in the Suez Canal region and another one between Syria and Israel on the Golan Heights. Nixon also visited Egypt in June 1974 to bring about an improvement of relations between the United States and Egypt. In implementing the readjusted Middle East policy, the Nixon administration maintained an equilibrium in the Middle East region and enabled the United States to make progress in this equilibrium step by step.

4. Balance of Power in Europe with NATO as Its Principal Part

Europe is a strategic focal point which the United States and the Soviet Union are contending for. The United States has always deemed NATO as the cornerstone of U.S. foreign policy. The United States feels that since the end of World War II, the success on the western front of preventing a war and maintaining stability in Europe was owing to the fact that NATO and the Warsaw Treaty Organization are facing each other. In the 1970's, at the time when strategic weapons possessed by both the United States and the Soviet Union tended toward a rough balance but the Soviet Union gained a conspicuous upper hand in conventional forces, it was necessary to reconsider the European defense theory. On the other hand, the original idea of the United States was that a united and strong Europe might both lighten the burden of the United States and continue to accept American leadership. However, facts indicated that following the enhancement of European economic activities, the European points of view have increasingly emerged in international affairs. In a series of diplomatic, military, trade and monetary problems, contradictions between the United States and Europe have gradually become acute. In resisting the Soviet Union, a united Europe, of course, shared a common aspiration with the United States. And in dealing with economic and trade matters, interdependence was also necessary. But it was hard to avoid that their viewpoints of laying stress on Europe in international affairs might be in conflict with the original thinking of the United States. There had been a decrease of Europe's confidence in the United States and quarrels between the two sides became increasingly acute. The United States accused the European people of placing regional interests above the unity of Atlantic nations and of lack of confidence in the United States. For instance, the United States felt that the European people, on the one hand, urge the United States to adopt a conciliatory attitude toward the Soviet Union, but, on the other hand, harbor doubts in their mind

when the United States and the Soviet Union come to terms. Europe also has complaints about the United States. For instance, the European people felt that the American people would like to split Europe economically, give up Europe militarily, and bypass Europe diplomatically. Nixon was conscious of changes taking place in the European situation and the acuteness of contradictions between the United States and Europe. He tried to alter the old way in dealing with European countries and deemed improving relations with Western Europe an important task. In February 1969, Nixon mentioned at a press conference prior to his visit to Europe that compared to the period immediately after World War II, Europe had become economically "much much stronger.... From the political point of view, Europe has reinstated political stability, therefore, they show a greater sense of independence when they make announcements." He recognized that Western Europe had become a powerful competitor of the United States. The United States "must alter the situation of the United States running everything, which was only suitable to the era immediately after World War II, in order to adapt to today's situation." Nixon also announced that the partnership between the United States and Europe was one of the three important factors constituting U.S. foreign policy. Nixon was inaugurated in January 1969. In February of that year, he visited Europe. In September 1970, he traveled again to visit the United Kingdom, Italy and Spain. His purpose was to show the intention that the United States was eager to foster cordial relations with her European allies and would seek to adopt a new way in dealing with Europe on a new basis. This also was the starting point upon which Nixon formally proposed the idea of the "European Year." The United States hoped that an Atlantic Charter or Declaration would be worked out through the "European Year" to combine military, economic and political problems of both Western Europe and North American and to affirm a common strategic goal toward the Soviet Union and the Third World in order to enhance the position of the United States. This thinking has not been completely realized. However, through joint efforts made by both the United States and Western Europe, the United States and Europe signed a "Declaration of Atlantic Relations." In this declaration, it emphasized that the Western defense was inseparable, that it was necessary to station U.S. troops in Europe, and that the United States and its allies were determined to maintain necessary defense capabilities in the North Atlantic area, and so forth. Besides, based on the spirit of stepping up consultation with Europe as stated in the "Declaration of Atlantic Relations," the United States sent Kissinger to brief West European countries on matters such as Nixon's visit to the Soviet Union.

During the time when Nixon was in power, despite the fact that there were still contradictions and differences on problems of sharing expenses for U.S. forces stationed in Europe, on trade and monetary matters and on relations with the Soviet Union and the Third World, yet, thanks to the Declaration of Atlantic Relations and to the fact that attention was paid by Nixon to keep in touch and consult with Western Europe, some readjustments were made in relations between the United States and Europe. Compared to [the situation at the time of] his predecessors, the tense relations between the United States and Europe were eased for a while.

Taking the equilibrium between the United States and the Soviet Union as the core, Nixon readjusted U.S. relations with China, Europe and the Middle East. He also maneuvered among these areas to bring about relatively significant

progress in U.S. diplomacy during the Nixon era, which to a certain extent achieved the result of containing the Soviet Union. The U.S. TIME MAGAZINE published an article written by John Patton Davis, a former diplomat of the United States, in December 1979. In this article, he mentioned: "The strategy of equilibrium is a paying strategy.... It may help turn at least a part of the attention of a more powerful opponent away from oneself to another opponent. Perhaps what is most satisfactory is that this strategy also places its user in an advantageous position in making a bargain with any party." These words gave us the most explicit explanation of the essence of the strategy of equilibrium. It was also the intention and fundamental goal of Nixon to pursue his diplomacy of equilibrium.

Merits and Demerits of Nixon's Diplomacy

In 1974, the latter stage of the Nixon administration, the "Watergate Scandal" surfaced and forced the priority of U.S. foreign relations to recede to second place. The Soviet Union and major European countries either took a wait-and-see attitude toward the United States or managed to keep their distance. Diplomatically, the Nixon administration became too weak to do anything. This was the impact derived from factors related to the U.S. domestic political situation. Besides, so far as Nixon himself is concerned, we must realize that even though Nixon can be considered a farsighted and daring president of the United States, yet, after all he was a political proxy of the monopoly capitalist class. The class nature decides that for the strategic point of view he could never deviate from safeguarding the hegemonic interests of the United States. And tactically he had often gone beyond the limits. As a result, a number of mistakes were made in U.S. diplomatic practice in the Nixon era, too.

Nixon realized that changes had taken place in the world situation. It was no longer a period in which the United States or both the United States and the Soviet Union were the masters, now there were five powers. In practice, the general practice was that Nixon continued to lay particular emphasis on relations between the United States and the Soviet Union. The policy of the Nixon administration toward the Soviet Union was originally designed to contain the Soviet Union and establish dialogue with each other. At a later date, the excessive desire of the United States to reach a detente with the Soviet Union did in various aspects give rise to consequences unfavorable to the United States. In handling relations with both China and the Soviet Union, a trend of utilizing the gradual improvement in Sino-U.S. relations as a basis for carrying out negotiations with the Soviet Union became increasingly obvious. In handling relations between the United States and Europe, the United States has from time to time not been able to refrain from considering herself as a leader. The United States continued to think in terms of issuing orders for the European allies to follow, to emphasize keeping in line with U.S. policy and to neglect taking care of European interests. As a result, quarrels between both sides of the Atlantic Ocean never ceased. With regard to relations with the Third World, judging from practice, the Nixon administration did not pay attention to it. Particularly in handling relations with Israel and the Arab countries, the United States was still basically on the Israeli side because of political considerations within the United States, although readjustments were made

at a later stage. Consequently, there were ups and downs in relations between the United States and the Arab countries in which it was hard to make a basic change.

On 8 August 1974, Nixon was eventually held responsible for the "Watergate Scandal" and was forced to resign. When people look back on U.S. diplomatic practices during the Nixon administration, it is obvious that they may take note of the fact that Nixon was basically able to go along with developments in the international situation and the situation in the United States and to work out appropriate principles and policies accordingly thus enabling U.S. foreign relations to show a different look at that time. Nixon also paid attention to international strategy and made an appropriate analysis of the influences and effects of China in world politics. He prevailed over all dissenting views to insist in opening relations with China. In considering strategic objectives, he took the interests of both China and the United States into account. As a result, not only have relations between China and the United States gradually been developed, but it has also enabled the United States to smoothly carry out its international strategy.

The historical period in which Nixon was the U.S. president is over. He does not have any more time or opportunity to further realize his aspirations. However, after stepping down from the presidency, Nixon continued to express his views on the international situation and on Sino-U.S. relations from time to time. This indicates that although Nixon is no longer in power, his influence and its effects are still there. For instance, soon after he returned to the United States after a visit to China in 1982, he proposed in an interview with a reporter of TIME MAGAZINE that the United States should not impel China to become an opponent of the West, that the United States must not proceed with new arms sales to Taiwan, and that China and the United States must step up large-scale economic cooperation, and so forth. These views must be considered rather penetrating.

Nixon and his successors as presidents of the United States all try to do their best to safeguard U.S. interests in a complex and changing world situation. However, the one who knows more about how to achieve it is still Nixon.

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CSO: 4005/1071

NORTHEAST ASIA

NODONG SINMUN BLAMES CHON FOR BURMA EXPLOSION

OW181341 Beijing XINHUA in English 1301 GMT 18 Oct 83

[Text] Pyongyang, 18 October (XINHUA)--The explosion in Rangoon is a work of Chon Tu-hwan, says a commentator's article carried in the Korean newspaper NODONG SINMUN today.

"The noisy smear campaign of South Korea against us is a ruse to divert the public opinion at home and abroad from the political and economic difficulties at home," the article says.

It continues, "by taking advantage of the explosion, the Chon Tu-hwan group is trying to mislead public opinion and thus direct elsewhere the people's resentment and resistance against them and lull the restless popular feelings while creating a war climate by inciting north-south confrontation and bringing the situation to the highest pitch of strain to justify their military terror rule."

The article points out that it is ridiculous and nonsensical to cite the DPRK (Democratic People's Republic of Korea) trading ship "Tong Kon" having moored at a Burmese Port, the type of bomb found, the countenance of the "suspect" shot dead and the dagger found as evidence that the DPRK was involved in this incident.

The article says terrorism and assassination are a means that "has nothing to do with us at all." The Chon Tu-hwan clique has no ground to find faults with the DPRK, it says.

The article notes, "the row of anti-communist confrontation kicked up by the Chon Tu-hwan clique is manipulated by the U.S. imperialists behind the scene."

"We are vigilantly watching them rendering the situation on the Korean peninsula more acute," the article says.

CSO: 4000/56

NORTHEAST ASIA

BRIEFS

PROTEST OVER USSR AIR INTRUSION--Tokyo, 20 October (XINHUA)--The Japanese Government today lodged a protest against Soviet aircraft's intrusion into the air space over Japan's Hokkaido, according to a JIJI press report. The protest, handed over to the Soviet Government by the Japanese Embassy in Moscow, said Soviet military aircraft intruded into the air space over Shiretokomisaki of Hokkaido on 15 October. the Japanese Government in the protest urged the Soviet Government to take actions to avoid similar occurrences. [Text] [OW202200 Beijing XINHUA in English 1624 GMT 20 Oct 83]

PAPER ADVOCATES RELATIONS WITH TAIWAN--Tokyo, 10 Oct (RENMIN RIBAO)--Today, Japan's SANKEI SHIMBUN used four pages to carry a so-called "Republic of China" special supplement, continuing its propaganda about "two Chinas" and preaching that Japan must "reestablish its political relations" with Taiwan. In this special supplement, SANKEI SHIMBUN published an article by Keiji Furuya, deputy chief commentator of the newspaper, entitled "Reestablishing Japanese-Taiwan Relations According to the Outlook of the World." The article attacked the Japanese Government's policy of normalizing its diplomatic relations with China on the principle of one China, saying that this practice "denies and disregards the existence of Taiwan" and that the root cause of this is "irrational diplomacy." The article advocated that one major subject in studying Japan's diplomacy is what position Taiwan should be placed in and argued that apart from maintaining economic and cultural relations Japan "must reestablish overall Japanese-Taiwan relations, including political relations." People here pointed out: It is noticeable that SANKEI SHIMBUN published these remarks when Sino-Japanese friendship is more and more popular and the cooperation between the two countries is developing in various fields. [Report: "Japan's SANKEI SHIMBUN Carries a Special Supplement on Taiwan, Openly Preaching Reestablishment of Japanese-Taiwan Political Relations"] [Text] [HK170650 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 13 Oct 83 p 6]

REAGAN'S JAPAN VISIT VIEWED--Tokyo, 19 October (XINHUA)--The main topic of the talks between U.S. President Ronald Reagan and Japanese Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone when Reagan visits Japan next month will be of a global nature and the United States will ask Japan for a greater role in world economy and politics. In an interview with the Japanese newspaper YOMIURI SHIMBUN here Tuesday, Mike Mansfield, U.S. ambassador to Japan, said the present U.S.-Soviet relations are indeed in an unsatisfactory state. Speaking on U.S. economic relations with Japan, he said Japan should take more responsible actions for maintaining the

international trade system in an orderly way. Even the implementation of a totally free import of oranges and beef on the part of Japan could hardly remove the huge deficit of the United States, he added. Concerning the U.S. proposed "zero option" plan, Mansfield said the United States would not like to see it result in a transfer of Soviet SS-20 missiles from Europe to Asia. The U.S. ambassador appreciated the "solid and clear-cut" efforts Japan has made in strengthening its defense. The United States hoped to see Japan become more committed to achieving full capability in self-defense, but definitely not to see it become a military power beyond the above scope, Mansfield noted.

[Text] [OW190742 Beijing XINHUA in English 0734 GMT 19 Oct 83]

CSO: 4000/56

SOUTHEAST ASIA/PACIFIC

VIETNAM'S PROPOSAL OF 'DIALOGUE' ANALYZED

Beijing BAN YUE TAN [SEMIMONTHLY TALKS] in Chinese No 16, 25 Aug 83
pp 59-60

[Article by Li Yongming [2621 3057 2494]: "What Is Vietnam's Intent in Seeking a 'Dialogue?'"]

[Text] On 19 and 20 July, Vietnam, Laos and the Heng Samrin regime held a "foreign ministers' conference of the three Indochinese nations." Vietnam proposed at the meeting a "seven-nation dialogue" among Vietnam, Laos and the five ASEAN nations. It was a new game played by Vietnam on the Kampuchea and Southeast Asia issue.

In recent years, the Vietnamese authorities incessantly made all kinds of suggestions on this issue, the more noticeable among them being the so-called "contact" or "indirect contact" between Vietnam and the ASEAN nations, "regional conference," "international conference on the Southeast Asia issue," etc. Without exception, all the "suggestions" encountered the rejection of the ASEAN nations and exposure in the international forum.

Essentially, the "seven-nation dialogue" contains nothing new. What is different is that Vietnam deliberately excluded the Heng Samrin regime from the "dialogue." The interesting thing is that Vietnamese foreign minister Nguyen Co Thach, at the conference of nonaligned heads of state last March, sounded the participants out on this project. Nevertheless, when foreign presses reported the matter one after another, Nguyen Co Thach hurriedly denied it, declaring that any negotiation on the Kampuchea issue must have the participation of representatives of the Heng Samrin regime; otherwise it would be invalid. Vietnam's sudden change of attitude today contains many unmentionable goals.

First, the "seven-nation dialogue" is Vietnam's tool against the resolutions of the UN and the declaration of the international conference on the Kampuchea issue. The resolutions of the four UN sessions since 1979 all demanded that Vietnam withdraw its troops from Kampuchea and permit

its people to enjoy the right of self-determination. In 1981, the UN specially held an international conference on the Kampuchea issue. The UN resolutions and the international conference declaration contain the only correct, fair and reasonable way to solve the Kampuchea issue. Nevertheless, Vietnam is extremely hostile to the resolutions and declaration, because it absolutely refuses to withdraw its troops and permit the Kampucheans to exercise their right of self-determination. To counteract the resolutions and the declaration, Vietnam exhausted all means to seek a "group dialogue," thereby sidestepping the basic issue of troop withdrawal.

Next, while seeking a "dialogue" with the ASEAN nations, Vietnam sets a trap in the substance of the "dialogue." According to Vietnam's formulation, the "seven-nation dialogue" suggested by it is to discuss the issue of "making Southeast Asia into a peaceful and stable region" and to explore that of Vietnam's "peaceful coexistence" with the ASEAN nations. Nguyen Co Thach explained Vietnam's intent even more clearly: Vietnam hopes that the ASEAN nations "will lay the Kampuchea issue aside" and "coexist peacefully" with Vietnam. It indicates that Vietnam is attempting to evade the Kampuchea issue, the root of the tense Southeast Asian situation. The basic cause for the severe disruption of peace and stability in Southeast Asia today is Vietnam's regional hegemonist policy, invasion of Kampuchea and threat to the security of Thailand and other Southeast Asian nations. To bring peace and stability to the region, it is necessary to force Vietnam to cease its expansionist activities and withdraw all its troops from Kampuchea. Otherwise, "peace and stability" is only a hollow phrase.

Thirdly, for many years, the ASEAN nations have firmly opposed Vietnam's invasion of Kampuchea, supported the anti-Vietnamese patriotic struggles of the Kampucheans, exposed Vietnam's aggressive conspiracies at the international forum, and placed Vietnam in a passive and isolated position. Under this situation, Vietnam has resorted to both hard and soft tactics, attempting, by means of a "dialogue," to drag the ASEAN nations to the negotiation table and soften their stand on the Kampuchea issue.

Whether the Heng Samrin regime participates in the "dialogue" or not is not the key of the issue, as it is a puppet propped up by Vietnam's bayonets and basically cannot represent the interest of the Kampucheans. As far as Vietnam is concerned, whether it is there or not makes no difference.

What deserves attention is that, anxious for a solution to the Kampuchea issue, some people on the international scene place their hopes in the "sincerity" of Vietnam's "dialogue" suggestion and fantasize that some concessions or compromises will make Vietnam stop its expansionist policy. Some people even advocate the resumption of aid to Vietnam and use money to wrench Vietnam out of the Soviet orbit. It will only inflate Vietnam's regional hegemonist ambitions.

The only way to solve the Kampuchea issue and ensure peace in Southeast Asia is for Vietnam to withdraw its troops in accordance with the UN resolutions. To reach this goal, it is necessary to continue the political, economic, diplomatic and military pressures on Vietnam and force it to leave Kampuchea.

6080

CSO: 4005/39

WESTERN EUROPE

ITALY'S CRAXI REITERATES COMMITMENT TO DEPLOY U.S. MISSILES

OW210309 Beijing XINHUA in English 0252 GMT 21 Oct 83

[Text] Washington, 20 Oct (XINHUA)--Italian Premier Bettino Craxi today reiterated Italy's commitment to deploy new U.S. missiles in the absence of an agreement at the U.S.-Soviet Euromissile talks and jointed President Ronald Reagan in saying the talks must continue even if deployment begins.

The Italian socialist premier had a two-hour meeting with President Reagan during which they discussed world problems including U.S. missile deployment in Europe.

Reagan said that in the discussion, Craxi and he reviewed the intermediate nuclear forces negotiations and "reaffirmed our goal--an equitable and verifiable agreement."

"If Soviet intransigence continues, we're committed to NATO deployment of U.S. missiles. We remain hopeful that an understanding will be reached and we'll continue negotiations even after initial deployments," he declared.

At Craxi's suggestion, Reagan agreed to begin a joint talks exploring initiatives for reconstruction of war-torn Lebanon, where both the United States and Italy have stationed peacekeeping forces, said an administration official.

Craxi called for "providing incentives for the various factions to come together to build a more prosperous and democratic Lebanon."

On economic issues, craxi stressed "Italy and the United States must promote a further increase in the volume of their trade and cooperation," prodding the United States for more open American markets for Italian goods.

The two leaders agreed to establish a joint Italian-American working group to combat organized crime and narcotics trafficking.

Craxi, who is on a visit in the United States, separately met U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz and Secretary of Commerce Malcolm Baldrige this morning. He will host a dinner in honor of U.S. Vice President George Bush in the evening.

CSO: 4000/52

EASTERN EUROPE

ROMANIA'S CEAUSESCU ON SETTLING MIDEAST ISSUE

OW190726 Beijing XINHUA in English 0713 GMT 19 Oct 83

[Text] Bucharest, 18 Oct (XINHUA)--Romanian President N. Ceausescu has proposed that the United Nations or its Security Council sponsor an international conference for settling the Middle East issues, reported Romanian News Agency today.

All the countries concerned, including Arab countries and all the countries and political forces that favor a political settlement of the Middle East problem, should contribute to the convening of such a conference, he said.

Ceausescu made the proposal when answering questions posed by reporters of the Egyptian newspaper AL-AHRAM on 13 October before his departure for a visit to Egypt.

He said that Egypt plays "an important role" in the solution of the Middle East problem.

He told the reporters that recently he discussed with Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhaq Shamir the possibility of bringing about lasting peace in the Middle East through the settlement of the Palestinian problem and the convening of an international conference.

While talking with Shamir, he "stressed the importance of Soviet participation in solving the Middle East problem," he said.

Ceausescu urged the Palestine Liberation Organization to iron out its internal discord and preserve its unity in the struggle for the establishment of an independent Palestinian state.

Commenting on the Soviet-U.S. Geneva talks, Ceausescu said Romania maintains that the talks should go on till an agreement is reached.

"The Soviet Union should not deploy any new missiles while the talks are going on and should cut a certain number of the existing missiles as it promised," he said.

CSO: 4000/54

WESTERN HEMISPHERE

POLITICAL SITUATION OF CENTRAL AMERICA DISCUSSED

Beijing BAN YUE TAN [SEMIMONTHLY TALKS] in Chinese No 16, 25 Aug 83
pp 57-58

[Article by Ke Daan [0668 1129 1344]: "A Discussion of the Tense Central American Situation"]

[Text] Central America refers to the long and narrow region between North and South Americas. With the Pacific on the west and the Atlantic on the east, its strategic position is important. Guatemala, Honduras, El Salvador, Nicaragua and Costa Rica, the five countries in the region, have a total area of 430,000 plus square km and a population of about 20 million.

In general, the economy of the Central American countries in Latin America is relatively backward, with a wide gap between the rich and the poor. Most of the countries have long been under dictatorship, and the social contradictions are sharp. Meanwhile, the United States has all along considered the region within its sphere of influence, supporting the dictatorship regimes and upholding the old orders.

In recent years, the national democratic struggles of the Central American people have developed swiftly and violently. In July 1979, the Nicaraguan people, by means of an armed struggle, overthrew the dictatorial Somosa regime, which had controlled the country for more than 4 decades, and founded a new regime led by the Sandinista national liberation front. In the same year, the anti-government struggle of the Salvadoran guerrillas also reached a high tide. About 5,000 or 6,000 guerrillas seized control of some areas, constantly ambushed government troops, and systematically destroyed some economic facilities. Though yet unable to seize political power, the guerrillas constitute a threat to the government. Guerrilla activities have also emerged in Guatemala and Honduras.

The United States is extremely uneasy over the development of the Central American national democratic movement. It feels that the present Nicaraguan regime and the guerrillas are backed by the Soviet Union and Cuba, and that the infiltration of Soviet and Cuban influences threatens U.S. security. External intervention has made the situation more complex.

First, relations between Nicaragua and Honduras are tense. Followers of Nicaragua's previous dictatorial regime fled to the adjacent Honduras and, under U.S. support, organized armed forces to intensify their activities. Around last March, they escalated their sporadic harassment of the Nicaraguan government into large-scale attacks. These people use Honduras as the base and receive U.S. support. Nicaragua accused the Honduran troops for joining the Nicaraguan anti-government forces to infringe on Nicaraguan territory time and again; Honduras charged that Nicaraguan troops entered its territory when counterattacking. Diplomatic protests shuttled back and forth between the two countries, and their troops clashed time and again along the land and sea borders.

On the other hand, the United States feels that the arms of the Salvadoran guerrillas were shipped in by Cuba via Nicaragua; therefore, while exerting pressure on Nicaragua to stop the transshipping, it increased military aid to the Salvadoran government. Today, U.S. aid to El Salvador per capita ranks only next to Israel.

The Central American situation has caused anxiety among the Latin American countries. Mexico, Venezuela, Colombia and Panama, the four countries near Central America, held a meeting for the first time last January on Panama's Contadora Island to study the situation; thus, they are known as the Contadora group. In the past 6 months or more, the leaders of the four countries, through a wide range of diplomatic activities, have exerted their effort for a peaceful solution to the tense Central American situation. On 17 July in Mexico's Cancun, the four presidents of the Contadora group published a declaration calling for control of the arms race, removal of foreign advisers, creation of a demilitarized zone, and an end to subversive activities against other countries, transshipment of weapons, and aggression and intervention. In consideration of the external factors for the deteriorating Central American situation, the heads of the four countries cabled U.S. President Reagan and Cuban National Affairs Committee Chairman Castro, hoping that they would also make the proper effort for peace in Central America.

While the Contadora group strove to ease the situation, the U.S. government intensified its intervention in Central America and approved a massive plan, including military deployments, the most noticeable measures. The United States declared that, beginning in August, the 3 fleets composed of 19 naval vessels will hold maneuvers on the Central American waters for 6 months. In addition, the plan also calls for increase in military aid to its Central American allies, construction of military bases in Honduras, and increase in covert aid to Nicaragua's anti-government forces.

To ensure the implementation of the plan and forestall possible domestic resistance, Reagan also formed a bipartisan commission on Central America headed by former Secretary of State Kissinger.

These measures taken by the United States have encountered not only the general opposition of Latin American countries, but also condemnation by its European allies. More and more people in the United States are opposing the policy, many worrying over a repetition of the Vietnam disaster. Only under the condition of removing external intervention will the Central American issue be properly solved.

6080

CSO: 4005/40

WESTERN HEMISPHERE

RENMIN RIBAO ON CENTRAL AMERICAN SITUATION

HK041026 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 4 Oct 83 p 7

[Article by Zhu Manting [2612 3341 1656]: "The Central American Turmoil and the Contadora Group's Peace Efforts"]

[Text] Central America is one of the hot spots in the world today. The tense situation in Central America has caused extensive concern in the international community. It is also a major topic that will be discussed by the current UN General Assembly.

The contradictions and conflicts in Central America are intricate and complicated. El Salvador has long been a country in turmoil in this region. The civil war between the government army and the guerrillas has lasted for nearly 4 years. Earlier this year, the Nicaragua issue again triggered off new conflicts in Central America. In recent months, Nicaraguan anti-government elements carried out continuous military harassment. Relations between Nicaragua and its neighbor country Honduras became very tense. The armies of both sides are tensely confronted with each other along the boundary, with skirmishes occurring from time to time. The situation there is in imminent peril.

The unrest in Central America has profound internal reasons and complicated external factors. For a long time, the oligarchies in this region maintained military autocratic rule, socioeconomic development was slowed down, and the people strongly demanded democracy and social reforms. In 1979, the Somoza autocratic regime in Nicaragua was toppled. This event had great influence on the rest of Central America and promoted the momentum of the national democratic movements in this region. In particular, the mass movements in El Salvador, Guatemala, and Honduras rose one after another, and guerrilla activities in these countries also developed. The guerrilla activities in El Salvador have the greatest scale and influence. All this prominently demonstrates social contradictions in the Central American region.

Interference by the superpowers in this region has further complicated and aggravated the situation as fuel is added to the flames. In recent years, the Soviet Union carried out political infiltration by making use of the vigorous development of the national democratic movements in Central America. It delivered weapons and dispatched military personnel to this region through its proxies, and tried to expand its sphere of influence in this strategic region. The Soviet infiltration undoubtedly runs against the just will of the Central American people to realize democracy and reforms.

In order to protect its traditional interests in Central America and to prevent the Soviet influence from infiltrating into this region, the United States also tried its utmost to interfere in the affairs in this region. In recent years, the United States always took El Salvador as a key point in its foreign policies, and went all out to support the Salvadoran Government for suppressing the guerrillas. Since earlier this year, the United States has greatly increased its assistance to some Central American countries so as to beef up their military strength. At the same time, it has helped Nicaraguan anti-government elements to invade Nicaragua, trying to press the Nicaraguan Government to submit.

Facts have shown that the superpowers must bear unshirkable responsibility for the deterioration of the Central American situation. The people of various Central American countries are thus extremely anxious about this. Opposing external intervention and seeking reasonable solutions to problems in Central America through political dialogues have become a popular demand of various Latin American countries. The Contadora Group, which was organized earlier this year, has clearly put forward the slogan of opposing the attempt to include the Central American Issue into the scope of rivalry between the superpowers. This group has made unswerving efforts to seek peaceful solutions to conflicts in Central America. In July this year, the government leaders of the four countries in the Contadora Group issued the "Cancun declaration on Central American peace," reiterating the basic principles of noninterference, self-determination, sovereign equality between countries, and peaceful settlement of conflicts. This document, for the first time, outlined the group's principled stand and initial proposals for resolving the Central American issue. It demonstrated Latin American countries' desire to oppose the superpowers' intervention and to settle their own problems by themselves. It has won extensive appreciation and support from the international community.

Through the mediation of the Contadora Group, the parties concerned in the conflicts have changed their attitude to a certain degree in the recent period. On 19 July, Nicaragua put forward a six-point proposal, including signing a nonaggression treaty between Nicaragua and Honduras and ceasing the supplying of weapons for the belligerent parties in El Salvador. It also agreed to hold multilateral talks. After that, the four other countries in Central America also put forward an eight-point proposal on 20 July, calling for stopping the arms race and reducing and withdrawing all foreign advisers. All of these five countries indicated that they supported the efforts made by the Contadora Group.

Cuba has also reacted positively to the appeal made by the Contadora Group. In late July, Castro said that if the parties concerned were willing to withdraw their advisers and sign an agreement on ceasing to deliver weapons to Central American countries, Cuba would "support this practice."

The recent U.S. actions on the Central American issue are worthy of attention. On the one hand, the United States continued to carry out large-scale military exercises in Central America; on the other hand, the U.S. Government has declared that it will make efforts to promote a political solution to the Central American issue.

Under the above-mentioned circumstance, foreign ministers of nine Latin American countries reached an "intention document" at a meeting held in early September. The five Central American countries, for the first time, reached an agreement on adopting some basic measures to stabilize the Central American situation. This was also an initial result of the peaceful efforts made by the four countries of the Contadora Group.

However, because of the acute internal contradictions in Central America and because the superpowers have no intention of ceasing their infiltration and intervention in Central America, it is still difficult to resolve the Central American issue in the near future, and it is still possible that the situation will further worsen.

CSO: 4000/64

WESTERN HEMISPHERE

CANADA REAFFIRMS SUPPORT FOR NATO MISSILE PLAN

OW181856 Beijing XINHUA in English 1848 GMT 18 Oct 83

[Text] Ottawa, 18 October (XINHUA)--Canadian Secretary of State for External Affairs Allan Maceachen yesterday reiterated his government's support for the NATO decision to install new U.S. medium-range missiles in Western Europe unless there is progress in the U.S.-Soviet-Geneva talks.

Addressing a joint press conference in Halifax after talks with U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz on international issues and bilateral relations, Maceachen said, "Canada stands with the United States in supporting the two-track NATO decision and the implementation of that decision as may need be demonstrated in deployment of missiles in Europe in the absence of a satisfactory agreement."

"We have demonstrated our solidarity with the allies and our association with the United States in our decision to test the cruise missile," the Canadian foreign minister said.

Shultz, who was ending a 2-day visit to Canada, said that the United States was maintaining its "determination to go ahead" with the deployment of 572 U.S. cruise and Pershing-2 missiles beginning in December while still "being ready for strong discussions and reasonable positions of give and take in the various fora where we are meeting the Soviet Union."

Referring to bilateral issues, Maceachen admitted that "some progress" has been made on acid rain, but Canada would have been "much better pleased" if William Ruckelshaus, administrator of the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency, had come to Halifax with a U.S. policy on the pollution, indicating some sticking points still remain.

He acknowledged that the two governments could not even bring negotiations on acid rain to the point where bilateral discussions "looking to a bilateral agreement" could be held.

CSO: 4000/58

WESTERN HEMISPHERE

BRIEFS

NICARAGUA ANNOUNCES REBEL ATTACKS--Managua, 19 October (XINHUA)--About 300 anti-government rebels yesterday attacked the town of Pantasma in the north of Ninotega Province, killing six militiamen and 26 peasants, Commander Carlos Nunez announced today. He said that the attackers had destroyed government offices and other buildings and houses. According to figures supplied by Ministry of National Defence sources, during 12 to 17 October, 14 anti-government rebels were killed and many wounded in skirmishes with government troops in Matiguas. At the regular meeting of the Council of State, Julio Ramos, head of military counter-intelligence department of the Sandinista People's Army, said that CIA had moved about 2500 rebels to the border areas in northern Segovias and Chinandega Provinces of Nicaragua for incursions in November and December. [Text] [OW210129 Beijing XINHUA in English 0110 GMT 21 Oct 83]

CSO: 4000/58

'SELECTED WORKS OF DENG XIAOPING' PUBLISHED

Beijing ZHEXUE YANJIU [PHILOSOPHICAL RESEARCH] in Chinese No 7, Jul 83 pp 1-5

[Article by Wang Yuheng [3769 3768 1854], An Qimin [1344 6386 3046], and Zhang Shaowu [4545 4801 2976]: "Adhere To and Develop Mao Zedong Thought Some Understanding of the 'Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping'"]

[Text] "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," long awaited by people throughout the nation, has been published. This is a major event in the political lives of the people of our nation. "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping" is the product of a period of major turns in the course of historical events. It pools the collective wisdom of the party, summarizes historical experience, reflects the needs and aspirations of the masses, and possess far-reaching historical significance and major practical and guiding significance.

"Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping" is very rich in content, its ideology is extremely profound, and it touches upon many of the major problems in the development of socialism in our nation. Comrade Deng Xiaoping scientifically analyzed these problems in accordance with the basic concepts of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and the specific conditions of our nation, and he put forth measures for resolving these problems, among which are included specific measures for resolving the problem of upholding Comrade Mao Zedong's place in history and adhering to and developing Mao Zedong Thought. Whether it be in the theoretical field or the practical field, Comrade Deng Xiaoping has made an outstanding contribution. Below, we will discuss some superficial understanding gained from our study of this problem.

I.

In the course of the historical development of socialism in our nation, the 10 years of the "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution" brought about major catastrophes. Lin Biao and the "Gang of Four" counterrevolutionary clique did their utmost to play up the worship of the individual and the deification of leadership. They completely distorted the fundamental tenets of historical materialism concerning the historical standing and role of the relationship between leadership and the masses, and they distorted, falsified, and isolated Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. After the "Gang of Four" was smashed, there were people who "waved the banner of

supporting Comrade Mao Zedong" ("Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," p 177; further references to this book will note only the page number), who pursued the erroneous policy of the "two whatevers" (namely, "We firmly uphold whatever policy decisions Chairman Mao made, and we unswervingly adhere to whatever instructions Chairman Mao gave"), and who continued to uphold and fabricate the worship of the individual. After the erroneous viewpoint of the "two whatevers" was criticized, there emerged another erroneous tendency, namely, that some people brazenly opposed the fundamental tenets of Marxism-Leninism and opposed the Mao Zedong Thought that combined the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism with the practice of the Chinese Revolution. On the international scene, a few people seized the opportunity to tarnish the image of Comrade Mao Zedong, spewing out the nonsense that our party abandoned Mao Zedong Thought. They vainly attempted to belittle the leadership role of our party and the great significance of Mao Zedong Thought. Thus, the problem of correctly evaluating the achievements and errors of Comrade Mao Zedong and scientifically expounding on Mao Zedong Thought became an extremely important issue that attracted worldwide attention.

In light of these conditions, Comrade Deng Xiaoping on numerous occasions has emphatically pointed out in his speeches and talks that evaluating the achievements and errors of Comrade Mao Zedong and expounding on Mao Zedong Thought is "not merely a theoretical problem; it is particularly a political problem, a major international and domestic problem" (p 263). "Those inside and outside the party at home and abroad are very much interested in the problem of evaluating Comrade Mao Zedong and Mao Zedong Thought. Not only comrades throughout the party but friends everywhere will take note of what we say" (p 256).

This is just how Comrade Deng Xiaoping promptly placed before the whole party and nation the problem that urgently needed to be resolved. Comrade Deng Xiaoping attached great importance to the views of the masses. He understood their hopes and listened to their voices. In his talks with the leading comrades of the drafting team of the "Resolution on Certain Historical Problems of the Party Since the Founding of the PRC," he pointed out that "it would be unsuitable to evaluate the achievements and errors of Comrade Mao Zedong without bringing up Mao Zedong Thought. The older workers would disapprove, the poor and lower middle peasants of the land reform era would disapprove, and the large group of cadres connected with them would also disapprove" (p 262). From this it can be seen that properly evaluating the achievements and errors of Comrade Mao Zedong and scientifically expounding on Mao Zedong Thought was where lay party spirit, soldier's morale, and popular feeling. This was a requirement of historical development that had to be correctly met.

In the course of the development of socialism in our nation, correctly evaluating the achievements and errors of Comrade Mao Zedong and scientifically expounding on Mao Zedong Thought was a major problem of overall importance, for after the "Gang of Four" was smashed we were confronted with the situation of "problems piling up as high as a mountain and numerous work tasks yet to be undertaken." The "leftist" errors of the

"Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution" and those prior to it had a severe impact, and the danger was great. While thoroughly exposing and criticizing Lin Biao and the "Gang of Four," we had to completely clear out the "leftist" mistakes of the "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution" and those prior to it. This, then, could not but touch upon the mistakes made by Comrade Mao Zedong in his later years. Nevertheless, in view of his whole life, his contributions to the Chinese revolution far outweighed his errors. Whether or not a historical, correct evaluation of the achievements and errors of Comrade Mao Zedong could be carried out was a key problem of whether order could be brought out of chaos, and it was a major problem of whether the vast cadres and masses could be united and whether no effort would be spared in carrying out the socialist modernization. Any evaluation of Comrade Mao Zedong would have a bearing on any evaluation of Mao Zedong Thought. Only by correctly evaluating Comrade Mao Zedong could Mao Zedong Thought be adhered to and developed.

In April of 1977, Comrade Deng Xiaoping wrote a letter to the Central Committee, which has already been published, in which he stated that each item of work should be guided by the "precise and intact Mao Zedong Thought." In 1978, he supported discussions of the problem of criteria of truth, incisively elaborated that "seeking truth from facts is the basic characteristic and starting point of Mao Zedong Thought," and called on the whole party to again establish the ideological line of Marxism's seeking truth from facts. Soon afterward, he personally led the drafting of the "Resolution on Certain Historical Problems of the Party Since the Founding of the PRC," and time and again emphatically pointed out that we must "establish Comrade Mao Zedong's place in history and adhere to and develop Mao Zedong Thought. This is the most central line" (p 255). "In the resolution the most central and fundamental question was still the adherence to and development of Mao Zedong Thought. inside and outside the party at home and abroad demanded that we further elaborate, expound on, and summarize this problem" (p 260). To this end, Comrade Deng Xiaoping did vastly effective work. Many of his important views became the guiding principles for the drafting of the "Historical Resolution," and they played a crucial role in uniting ideology throughout the party and correctly summarizing historical experience. The adoption and publication of the "Historical Resolution" unified the ideology of the whole party and people throughout the nation, restored the truth of Mao Zedong Thought, and adhered to and developed Mao Zedong Thought under new historical conditions.

II.

Seeking truth from facts has always been an important principle of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. In the "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," there is the repeated explanation that Comrade Mao Zedong attached great importance to seeking truth from facts and that he raised this principle to new theoretical heights based on the distinguishing features of the new historical period. In the article, "Raise High the Banner of Mao Zedong Thought, Adhere to the Principle of Seeking Truth From Facts," Comrade Deng Xiaoping set forth that "seeking truth from facts" is the "quintessence of Mao Zedong Thought" (p 121). In the article, "Liberate the Mind, Seek Truth From Facts, and Advance Forward United As One," he further elaborated that

"seeking truth from facts is the foundation of the proletarian world outlook" (p 133). Comrade Deng Xiaoping summarized the historical experience of the Chinese revolution in accordance with the dialectical materialist and historical materialist viewpoints, and he emphasized that this principle of seeking truth from facts was of the utmost importance to our nation's revolution and construction. He stated that "in the past, all of the victories gained by launching revolutions were dependent upon seeking truth from facts. Now that we must bring about the four modernizations, we must likewise depend upon seeking truth from facts" (p 133).

For any evaluation of Comrade Mao Zedong and to uphold his place in history, and for any exposition of, adherence to, and development of Mao Zedong Thought, we must likewise adhere to this fundamental principle of seeking truth from facts.

When the erroneous viewpoint of the "two whatevers" emerged in 1977, Comrade Deng Xiaoping immediately seized on its crucial point and criticized the erroneous practice that suppressed discussion of the problem of criteria of truth. He stated that it was "out of the question to shift Comrade Mao Zedong's emphasis on this problem to another problem, to shift his emphasis on this place to another place, to shift his emphasis on this time to another time, or to shift his emphasis on these conditions to other conditions" (p 35). This would not conform to Marxism. On numerous occasions Comrade Mao Zedong himself stated that there were many things he said that were incorrect. "There is no such thing as every sentence that an individual speaks being correct or that the individual is absolutely correct" (p 35). The greatest danger of the "two whatevers" was that under new historical conditions they continued to allow people's thinking to become rigid and they hindered the liberation of the mind, thus affecting the smooth development of socialist modernization.

In seeking truth from facts and liberating the mind, leaders should be looked upon as people, not dieties. In this way, observation and study can be carried out and knowledge can be obtained by placing the relationship between the leadership and the masses within the framework of historical materialism. This will restore the true appearance of leadership, break the spiritual shackles of dogmatism and worship of the individual, and lay the ideological foundation of historical materialism in order to evaluate correctly Comrade Mao Zedong and to expound on Mao Zedong Thought. Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out most incisively that "we destoryed the spiritual shackles placed on us by Lin Biao and the "Gang of Four," we maintained that leaders were people, not dieties, we adhered to mastering completely and precisely the scientific system of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, we persisted in being realistic, and we sought truth from facts. This, then, restored the truth of Mao Zedong Thought and upheld the lofty position that Comrade Mao Zedong should have enjoyed as a great revolutionary in China's revolutionary history and world revolutionary history" (p 151).

After the "leftist" errors and the erroneous viewpoint of the "two whatevers" were criticized and the party acknowledged the mistakes that Comrade Mao Zedong made in his later years, there were some people who exaggerated

Comrade Mao Zedong's mistakes and who vainly attempted to belittle the great significance of Mao Zedong Thought. Comrade Deng Xiaoping promptly put forth four fundamental principles to be adhered to, and pointed out that "the seeking of truth from facts that we advocate is a basic component of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, and we certainly cannot ignore Comrade Mao Zedong's great contributions to this question. At no time can we dim the brilliance of Comrade Mao Zedong in the whole of China's revolutionary history, and we cannot waver in adhering to the principle of raising high the banner of Mao Zedong Thought" (p 243). We must understand that this is not only where lies the benefit to the CPC, but is also where lies the benefit to the international communist movement.

While studying the "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," we clearly understand that the afore-mentioned views of Comrade Deng Xiaoping are quite clear-cut. In his nine talks given to the leading figures of the drafting team of the "Resolution on Certain Historical Problems of the Party Since the Founding of the PRC," he repeatedly explained and defined the utmost importance and necessity of these viewpoints.

III.

In a period of major historical events such as this, upholding Comrade Mao Zedong's place in history and adhering to and developing Mao Zedong Thought both in theory and in practice is obviously a complex yet arduous political task. While studying the "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," we profoundly realize that in order to achieve unwavering adherence to the fundamental principles that are based on seeking truth from fact and to evaluate historically and correctly Comrade Mao Zedong and Mao Zedong Thought, Comrade Deng Xiaoping has put forth the following important viewpoints that possess guiding significance and which will thus guide the entire party in its resolving this problem scientifically and correctly.

An Overall Point of View. Marxism-Leninism informs us that to approach problems we must have an overall point of view, and that to handle matters we must take the situation as a whole into consideration. We must consider the part and we must consider the whole, and we should particularly take note of matters that concern the overall situation and problems that are of decisive significance for the overall situation. Comrade Deng Xiaoping has pointed out that "evaluating Comrade Mao Zedong and expounding on Mao Zedong Thought is not merely a problem of Mao Zedong the individual, but is a problem that is inseparable from the whole history of our party and our state. It must be viewed in this overall situation" (p 263). For a long time past, Comrade Mao Zedong was always the leader of our party and state. The successes that we can now achieve are inseparable from the leadership of the CPC and the leadership of Comrade Mao Zedong. From the "Seventh CPC Congress" Mao Zedong Thought formulated the party's guiding ideology that educated a whole generation and enabled us to achieve one victory after another.

Comrade Mao Zedong made major contributions to the international communist movement. Many of his ideas, such as the theories of the "three worlds," opposing hegemonism, and supporting world peace, to this day are still

glowing brightly. So, an evaluation of Comrade Mao Zedong and Mao Zedong Thought is a matter of overall importance for affairs that concern the entire party, the entire nation, and even the entire world. This is a historical fact which cannot be denied. "In the past, Mao Zedong Thought was the banner of the Chinese revolution. In the future it will always be the banner of China's socialism and antihegemonism. We will forever go forward raising high the banner of Mao Zedong Thought" (pp 158-159).

A Comprehensive Point of View. Any thing is an organic whole that is composed of many aspects and parts. "If a thing is to be correctly understood, we must grasp and study it in all of its aspects, all of its relationships, and 'media.'" This "comprehensive requirement will enable us to guard against mistakes and rigidity." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 4, p 453). Comrade Deng Xiaoping has said that "in evaluating personages and history, we must advocate a comprehensive, scientific point of view in order to guard against one-sidedness and being swayed by emotion. Only this will conform to Marxism and will be in keeping with the interests and aspirations of the people throughout the nation" (p 208). In evaluating Comrade Mao Zedong, all of his historical, theoretical and practical actions had to be thoroughly grasped before the correct conclusion was reached. Comrade Deng Xiaoping stated that "throughout his whole life, Comrade Mao Zedong performed immortal deeds for our party, state and people. His achievements are primary, his mistakes secondary" (p 294). A comprehensive evaluation of Comrade Mao Zedong enables us to understand that his mistakes cannot be compared with the immortal feats that he performed for the people throughout his great life. In the process of evaluating Comrade Mao Zedong, Comrade Deng Xiaoping all along opposed the one-sided viewpoint that saw only one aspect without considering the overall situation. He pointed out that "to dare not mention his mistakes because of his achievements is not a materialist attitude. To negate his achievements because of his mistakes is likewise not a materialist attitude" (p 294). In this way, Comrade Deng Xiaoping carried out an extremely objective and comprehensive evaluation of Comrade Mao Zedong's achievements and errors, and then put forth a convincing thesis that was fully based on fact. Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out that Mao Zedong Thought is a proper part of Comrade Mao Zedong's whole life, that the scientific system of Mao Zedong Thought should be distinguished from the faults of individual judgments, and that Mao Zedong Thought should be distinguished from the mistakes that Comrade Mao Zedong made in his later years. Mao Zedong Thought is the crystallization of collective wisdom to which many comrades have made contributions, but it is mainly the thought of Comrade Mao Zedong. Mao Zedong Thought is the victory banner of the Chinese revolution, and we must adhere to and develop Mao Zedong Thought under the new historical conditions.

A Historical Point of View. Lenin stated that "while analyzing any social problem, an absolute requirement of Marxist theory is that the problem must be placed within a certain historical framework," and he also stated that "we certainly must have a historical attitude in observing and studying problems," otherwise, it "will be equivalent to not understanding the minimum requirements of dialectical materialism." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 2, p 512; vol 1, p 673). Any thing, process or problem happens under

certain historical conditions and within a certain historical framework. If its true appearance is to be understood, accurate analysis and observation must be carried out by placing it in the historical environment of its time. Comrade Deng Xiaoping stated that "we are historical materialists. In studying and resolving any problem we cannot deviate from certain historical conditions" (p 114). Obviously, only by placing Comrade Mao Zedong and Mao Zedong Thought in the more than 50-year history of our party's arduous struggles and then realistically observing and studying the problem can we clearly understand that he spent most of his life doing extraordinarily good deeds, and that on numerous occasions he rescued the party and state from crises. Without Comrade Mao Zedong our Chinese people at the very least would still be groping in the dark for a much longer period of time. Comrade Mao Zedong's achievements were great, and we cannot waver in upholding the leading position of Mao Zedong Thought. He made mistakes, some severe ones, but they can be understood. When we analyze the shortcomings and mistakes of Comrade Mao Zedong, "we must of course acknowledge individual responsibility, but what is most important is that we must analyze the complex setting of history. Only in this way can we fairly, scientifically, and thus based on Marxism, approach history and historical figures" (p 158). Comrade Deng Xiaoping placed Mao Zedong Thought within a certain historical framework and then observed and studied the problem. He expounded and proved that Mao Zedong Thought was not only the thought of Mao Zedong the individual, but was at the same time the thought of his comrades in arms, the party and the people. It is the crystallization of more than a whole half century of the experience of the Chinese people's revolutionary struggles.

While analyzing the complex social and historical causes of Comrade Mao Zedong's making mistakes, Comrade Deng Xiaoping profoundly pointed out from the point of view of summarizing historical experience that "only stressing the mistakes of Comrade Mao Zedong the individual would not solve problems. What was most important were the problems in the system. Comrade Mao Zedong spoke many fine words, but because some systems were poor, what he said was twisted around" (p 261). Of course, this is not to say that individuals are without responsibility, but is to say that the problems in the leadership and organizational systems were of a much more fundamental and protracted nature, and were problems of stability and overall importance. These systematic problems could have an effect on whether the party and state could change, and they should be of the highest importance to the entire party" (p 293).

A Developmental Point of View. A developmental viewpoint is a basic feature of materialist dialectics. Just as Lenin has pointed out, materialist dialectics is the "doctrine concerning development that is the most complete and profound, yet is without the drawback of one-sidedness." Comrade Deng Xiaoping criticized the metaphysical viewpoint that is characterized by rigid thinking, and he adhered to using a developmental viewpoint in observing and studying the formation and development of Mao Zedong Thought. He pointed out that while drafting the "Historical Resolution," the formation of Mao Zedong Thought had to be described. Mao Zedong Thought was quite completely formed in the Yanan period. He stated that the "Resolution on Certain Historical Problems" that was adopted by the Seventh Plenary Session of the Sixth CPC Central Committee mainly criticized the three "leftist" lines.

In contrast to the correct line that was represented by Comrade Mao Zedong, there was no special emphasis on the total content of Mao Zedong Thought. Now, on this occasion, if Mao Zedong Thought were to be correctly evaluated and its leading position scientifically established, the principal content of Mao Zedong Thought would have to be described in rather general language, particularly the content that would continue to be applicable in the future" (p 256). The "Resolution on Certain Historical Problems of the Party Since the Founding the PRC" that was adopted by the Sixth Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee freshly expounded on and generalized Mao Zedong Thought, and it has given us powerful guidance in studying, adhering to and developing Mao Zedong Thought.

Mao Zedong Thought and Marxism-Leninism are alike in that they formed and developed under certain historical conditions. To observe Mao Zedong Thought without the foresight of development and to ignore the development in Mao Zedong Thought do not conform to Marxism-Leninism, and an evaluation of it cannot be correctly carried out. Comrade Deng Xiaoping stated that "to say that Mao Zedong Thought did not comprehensively develop Marxism-Leninism and to say that it is not a new stage of Mao Zedong Thought is the application and development of Marxism-Leninism in China. In the process of applying Marxism-Leninism in solving China's real problems, there must indeed be much development in our party. This is an objective existence and a historical fact" (p 264). Comrade Mao Zedong creatively applied Marxism-Leninism to each aspect of the Chinese revolution, including philosophy, politics, economics, military affairs, literature and art, and other areas, and he enriched and developed Marxism-Leninism. With this knowledge, we can further understand the historical significance and great leading role of Mao Zedong Thought.

After the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, Comrade Deng Xiaoping urged that our party should above all, and from many aspects, "accomplish what Comrade Mao Zedong had already proposed but did not accomplish, correct the mistakes that he opposed, and do the good deeds that he did not do" (p 264). At the same time, Comrade Deng Xiaoping also combined the fundamental tenets of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought with the reality of China's new historical conditions, and he brought up and expounded on many theoretical and policy problems in the building of socialism that has Chinese characteristics. He has devoted himself to using the basic concepts of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought in leading the study of new situations and in solving new problems, he is adept at drawing upon collective wisdom, and he has unceasingly summarized the new experience of practice. On this foundation he has used new theoretical summaries to enrich and develop Mao Zedong Thought.

The "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping" is the model for combining theory with practice, and it is brilliant writing that adheres to and develops Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. It must be seriously studied.

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

NATION'S POPULATION GROWTH DISCUSSED

Xi'an XIBEI DAXUE XUEBAO [JOURNAL OF NORTHWEST UNIVERSITY, SOCIAL SCIENCES EDITION] in Chinese No 2, Apr 83 pp 89-96 and p 48

[Article by Song Zongcheng [1345 1350 2052]: "The Growth and Control of Our Nation's Population"]

[Text] As mankind works to pursue its short-range goals, it must look to the future. Lack of resources, destruction of the environment and overpopulation are problems very likely to occur in the future. Resources, environment and population exist in an intimate relationship of mutual restraint. Mankind and the various resources it consumes both exist in the environment. The environment consists of the elements of mankind's (a specific population volume's) subsistence. In terms of mankind, many resources are really not "inexhaustible," because it is not possible to renew them. Today, owing to sharp increases in population and rapid development of science and technology, the rate of consumption of various resources has greatly increased, and this has led to more and more environmental problems, which in turn has had a negative impact on peoples' level of health. Today, in terms of most nations in the world, population has increased too rapidly and has already become a striking problem. If mankind cannot effectively control itself, easing the trend of excessively rapid population growth, mankind's long-term interests will be threatened by its own inflated numbers. And if we want to improve the environment and solve the resources problem in a basic way and effectively raise the existing living standards of the population, it will not be easy. Only by starting now, with an eye to the future, carrying out effective population control policies and easing the rate of population increase do we have a chance of effectively solving the other problems mankind is facing.

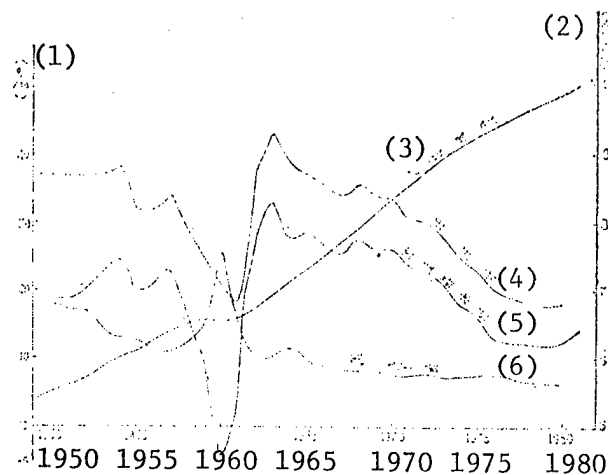
Our nation is relatively rich in various resources, and environmental problems are not yet prominent, but the population truly is increasing too rapidly. Although our nation's natural growth rate has decreased from 3.35 percent in 1963 to 1.17 percent in 1979, a happy achievement; nevertheless, in 1980 a rise in the natural growth rate began (1.2 percent), with a clear increase in 1981 over 1980 (1.4 percent). This truly is the beginning of the third period of population growth in our nation since liberation. An excessively rapid population growth rate will remain a very urgent problem for our nation for a relatively long period of time. In order to achieve clear improvement in the living standards of our nation's people in the near future and for the sake

of our nation's "four modernizations" construction and the future glory of the Chinese race, we must truly and effectively control population growth.

This article will try to analyze: one, our nation's natural growth rate curve and its characteristics; two, birth control work and our nation's population; three, birth control work launched in 1954: the possible population and the actual population; and four, estimates of our nation's population in the year 2000.

I. Our Nation's Natural Growth Rate Curve and Its Characteristics

(Chart 1) Our nation's birth rate, death rate, natural growth rate and annual population accumulation curves from 1949-1980



Key:

- | | |
|------------------------------|-------------------------|
| (1) Per 1,000 | (4) Birth rate |
| (2) Population (100 million) | (5) Natural growth rate |
| (3) Population accumulation | (6) Death rate |

Looking at the growth rate curve on the chart, we can clearly see that our nation's population has passed through two periods of increase: the first period ran from 1949 to 1960, reaching a peak in 1954 at 2.48 percent growth; the second period ran from 1960 to 1979, peaking at 3.35 percent in 1963. In 1980 and 1981 our nation's natural rate of population growth began to rise again and this may be the beginning of the third period of population growth in our nation.

Below, I will carry out separate analyses of the causes and significance of the two peaks.

The 1954 peak: Because the entire nation had not been liberated very long, the party and the government were busy with economic recovery and development. At that time, the population base was relatively small (less than 600 million

persons throughout the nation) and how to use Marxist population theories to guide such a populous nation was a new problem never before encountered. The population policies of the Soviet Union were totally unsuited to our national situation, but we lacked clear understanding at that time and did not launch birth control work, which, in conjunction with economic recovery and development and relatively clear improvement in the lives of the people, was inevitably reflected in increases in population volume.

After this peak was reached, it was significant that Ma Yinchu [7456 1377 0443] adopted a positive, enthusiastic and patriotic attitude in raising the "new theory of population," the heart of which was the notion that our nation's population was growing too fast and that this would affect state accumulation and construction. Therefore, he actively advocated controlling population growth. But this correct and positive advocacy met with mistaken criticism.

At that time, the party Central Committee once raised the slogan "appropriately control population," but because there was no correct population ideology to guide us and we lacked a basic understanding and scientific analysis of the objective laws of population growth, it was not possible to carry out "appropriate control of population" in actuality.

To say that there was no population ideology or population policy at this time does not accord with historical fact, because our nation was influenced by the population ideology and population policy of the Soviet Union. Because of the different national conditions, there was no population control problem in the Soviet Union's population ideology and population policy. But we used a dogmatic attitude to learn from others and criticized and denied our own correct population ideology and population policy which suited our national conditions. This was a profound lesson, one for which we paid a high price.

The 1963 peak: Because of the unique factors in the years just prior to and following 1960, our nation continued to experience a relatively low natural growth rate. That this should be followed by a relatively high growth rate, that is, compensating births, was somewhat inevitable. First, at the time we were still unable to carry out effective population control policies. Second, in the years around 1958, our nation's economic construction excessively displaced agricultural labor forces, leading to a tight labor situation in agriculture and this actually pseudo situation which should not have been created hastened an excessively rapid growth in our population. Third, population theory was unclear and this and the mistaken criticism of Ma Yinchu's "new population theory" created confusion in ideology and understanding. The aforementioned factors produced the highest peak in our nation's natural population growth rate, that is the 1963 peak: the birth rate reached 4.36 percent, with 30.4 million births; and the natural growth rate reached 3.35 percent, increasing the population by 23 million, achieving the highest level in history.

The appearance of the 1954 peak had already made clear: 1) the series of problems that excessive population growth brings with it are difficult to solve, in the short or long run; 2) socialist countries such as China must control their populations. But, at that time, we were still not able to give these matters the attention they should have had. The 1963 peak truly sent

our ideological understanding soaring: not controlling population growth is not acceptable. Except for certain fluctuations in the curve during several years (1965, 1968, 1969, 1970), the natural growth rate steadily declined after the 1963 peak to 1.17 percent in 1979.

The above makes it clear that because of complex reasons, we committed errors in understanding our nation's population problem. After our mistakes, we quickly understood the problem of our nation's excessive population growth rate and actively advocated instigating population control, seeing to it that our population control work was highly effective.

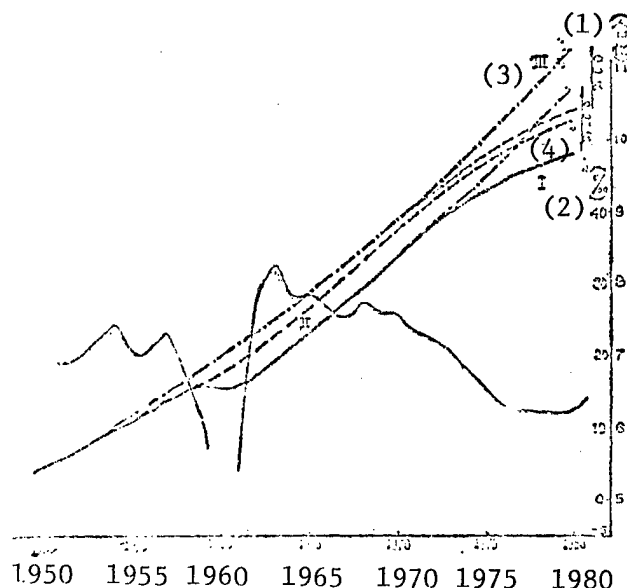
II. Birth Control Work and Our Nation's Population

Since beginning birth control work, we have achieved clear results. In order to concretely explain this matter, we have specially estimated the possible changes in our nation's population size prior to the end of 1980 due to our launching birth control work. The estimates required:

1. Calculating the changes in annual population accumulation in our nation from 1949 to 1980, and plotting the curve, that is the year-by-year population accumulation curve (see Table 1 (1), Chart 2 I).
2. Calculating and plotting our nation's theoretical population line. Our nation's actual population accumulation line has seen relatively large changes because of the special factors at play during the several years prior to and following 1960 and the effects of birth control work after 1973. When seeking the fixed growth rate of the theoretical population curve, we select from the actual natural growth rate. We selected the natural growth rate values for each year from 1949 to 1980, the values ranging from 1.9 to 3.35 percent, with the average value (2.426 percent) being the fixed growth rate of the theoretical population line. The natural growth rates of the several years prior to and following 1960 and of the years following 1973 (on average less than 1.9 percent) were not selected because the change in population volume during these years did not fully reflect the reasons for the natural growth of population (see Table 1(2), Chart 2 III).
3. Calculate and plot the approximate actual population curve. If we take the population accumulation line and the theoretical population line listed above and compare them, we see that the only difference between this line and the actual population line is that we have carried out adjustments of the actual growth rates for years 1958, 1959, 1960 and 1961, using the average of 1.9 percent for calculations. The growth rates for every other year were held unchanged. The goal in doing this is to eliminate the influence of the special factors at work in the years prior to and after 1960 on the actual population accumulation line (see Table 1(3), Chart 2 II).

I will now carry out separate comparisons between the I and III lines and between the II and III lines mentioned above.

Chart 2. Comparison of theoretical population and actual population
(1949 - 1980)



Key:

- | | |
|------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| (1) Population (100 million) | (3) 0.9 100 million = 90 million |
| (2) Per 1,000 | (4) 0.97 100 million = 97 million |

Comparison between lines I and III: Primarily because of the influence of special factors during the several years prior to and after 1960, there is a wide distance between lines I and III and direct comparison is not possible. In order to compare them, we must eliminate the influence of these special factors, the method used is to shift the line in a parallel path. Line III moves down (or line I moves up) a distance of 0.55 (hundred million) and the lines make contact at the year 1970. The figure is: 11.35 (II 1980) - 0.55 = 10.80 (I 1980) = 0.97 (100 million).

Comparison of lines II and III: Because line II does not show the influence of the unique factors at work during the several years prior to and after 1960, lines II and III are closer together, with only a 14 million population difference between them. Using a similar method of shifting line II up (or shifting line III down) a distance of 14 million, the lines come together at the point representing 1970. The figure is 11.35 (III 1980) - [10.31 (II 1980) + 14] = 0.9 (100 million).

We can know from the above calculations that: although our birth control work began shortly after the peak growth year of 1963, it did not actually begin to be effective and did not clearly bring down the natural rate of population increase until 1970. Birth control work in our nation has been effective. Up to the end of 1980, as a result of our birth control work, our population saw 90 to 97 million fewer births or that amount of reduced growth.

Table 1. Birth Control and Changes in Our Nation's Population Size

		(1)	(2)	(3)
	Natural rate of growth (percent)	Actual population (100 million)	Theoretical population (100 million)	Approximate actual population (100 million)
1949		5.4	5.4	
1950	1.9	5.5	5.53	Same
1951	1.9	5.61	5.67	as
1952	2.0	5.72	5.86	actual
1953	2.3	5.85	5.94	population
1954	2.48	6.0	6.09	
1955	2.03	6.12	6.24	
1956	2.05	6.24	6.39	
1957	2.323	6.38	6.54	6.38
1958	1.72	6.49	6.7	6.5
1959	1.02	6.56	6.86	6.63
1960	-0.45	6.56	7.03	6.75
1961	0.38	6.53	7.2	6.88
1962	2.714	6.73	7.37	7.07
1963	3.35	6.96	7.55	7.3
1964	2.78	7.16	7.74	7.51
1965	2.86	7.36	7.92	7.72
1966	2.63	7.56	8.12	7.93
1967	2.56	7.75	8.31	8.13
1968	2.75	7.96	8.52	8.35
1969	2.62	8.17	8.72	8.57
1970	2.6	8.38	8.93	8.79
1971	2.34	8.58	9.15	9.0
1972	2.23	8.77	9.37	9.2
1973	2.1	8.96	9.6	9.39
1974	1.76	9.11	9.83	9.56
1975	1.58	9.26	10.07	9.71
1976	1.27	9.37	10.32	9.83
1977	1.21	9.49	10.57	9.95
1978	1.21	9.6	10.82	10.07
1979	1.17	9.72	11.08	10.19
1980	1.2	9.83	11.35	10.31
Calculations: (1) $(11.35 - 0.55) - 9.83 = 0.97$ (100 million)				
(2) $11.35 - (10.31 + 0.14) = 0.9$ (100 million)				

III. Birth Control Work Launched in 1954: The Possible Population and the Actual Population

According to calculations and analysis, if our nation had truly carried out effective population control work since 1954, then it is entirely possible that the population in 1980 would have been 150 to 200 million less than it actually was. This would have put the population at the end of 1980 at between 783 million and 833 million (the calculation method being similar to that in the charts and tables).

IV. Estimating Our Nation's Population in the Year 2000

Our nation has already achieved a record in population control that we can be happy with, but we remain a nation with a huge population, cultural, scientific and technical levels that are too low and economic development that is too slow. If we want our "four modernizations" construction to move forward smoothly and the standard of living of our people to improve relatively rapidly, then controlling population growth remains an urgent key problem. After a number of years of continued decline, our nation's natural rate of population growth began to rise again (1.2 percent) in 1980, with a clear rise in 1981 over 1980 (1.4 percent). We must give adequate attention to this situation.

What is the primary reason that our nation's natural rate of population growth has begun to rise? What will happen if yearly rises continue? When might the natural growth rate fall below that of 1979? Below, we will analyze the possible population figure for the end of the year 2000 in terms of the three aspects of change in population figures, population policy and possible birth rates and answer these questions.

1. Changes in population figures: After liberation, our nation's population increased 443 million (to the end of 1980), the increase representing 45.1 percent of the total population (983 million), while the birth population of 709 million represents 72.2 percent of the total population (see Chart 3, Table 2). In other words, 72.2 percent of the population is under 31 years of age. It is clear to see that our nation's population is relatively young. Our nation's population base is large and relatively young, and this basic characteristic determines that our nation's natural population growth cannot possibly decline quickly. We can see from II in Table 2 that the population born during the height of our nation's population growth (1962-73) is going to enter the marriage period year by year (see Chart 3). Calculations suggest that the average annual birth population during this period will be 27.2 million, that is to say that starting in 1985 every year there will be 27.2 million persons marrying and giving birth. This situation will continue until after 1997. This is the most basic factor affecting changes in the future population figures of our nation. After 1997, our nation's natural rate of population growth will clearly decline, perhaps falling below 1 percent.

2. Population policy: Our nation now has a population ideology and population policy that suits our national conditions. Since 1963 when the population growth rate reached its peak, our nation's government has paid more attention to population control work. In particular, in his "Report on the Work of the Government" delivered at the Fourth Session of the Fifth National People's Congress (30 November-1 December 1981), Premier Zhao Ziyang pointed out: "In order to guarantee a steady improvement in the lives of the people, we must resolutely control population growth. There are two possibilities in this regard: either we strictly and effectively control population growth, seeing to it that year by year the standard of living of all the people improves and state construction expands; or we are not strict in our control, putting forward weak measures and tolerating continued rapid population

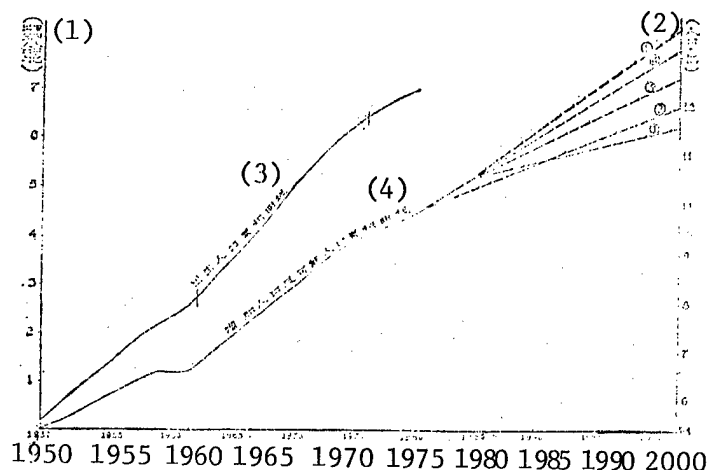
Table 2. Our Nation's Birth Population as Compared With Increased Population (1949-1980)

(1) 年 份	(2) 增 加 人 口				(3) 出 生 人 口			
	(4) 自然增 长率 (‰)	(5) 逐年增 加人口 (千万)	(6) 增加人 口累积 (亿)	(7) 分段平均 (千万 /年)	(8) 出生率 (‰)	(9) 逐年出 生人口 (千万)	(10) 出生人口 累 积 (亿)	(11) 分段平均 (千万 /年)
1949			5.4	(12)	37.0	1.998	0.1998	(12)
1950	19.0	1.00	5.5	$\frac{1.3(千万)}{12(年)} = 0.087(千万/年)$	37.0	2.035	0.4033	$\frac{2.19(千万)}{12(年)} = 2.07(千万/年)$
1951	19.0	1.10	5.61		37.0	2.08	0.6113	
1952	20.0	1.10	5.72		37.0	2.12	0.8233	
1953	23.0	1.30	5.85		37.0	2.17	1.0403	
1954	24.8	1.50	6.00		38.0	2.28	1.2683	
1955	20.3	1.20	6.12		32.0	1.96	1.4643	
1956	20.5	1.20	6.24		31.9	1.99	1.6633	
1957	23.3	1.40	6.38		34.03	2.17	1.8803	
1958	17.2	1.10	6.49		29.2	1.90	2.0703	
1959	10.2	0.70	6.56		24.8	1.63	2.2333	
1960	-4.5	-0.30	6.53		20.9	1.37	2.3703	
1961	3.8	0.30	6.56		18.1	1.19	2.4893	
1962	27.14	1.70	6.73	(12)	37.22	2.51	2.740	$\frac{32.63(千万)}{12(年)} = 2.72(千万/年)$
1963	33.5	2.30	6.96	$\frac{24(千万)}{12(年)} = 2.00(千万/年)$	43.1	3.04	3.044	
1964	27.8	2.00	7.16		39.3	2.81	3.325	
1965	28.6	2.00	7.36		38.1	2.80	3.605	
1966	26.3	2.00	7.56		35.2	2.59	3.864	
1967	25.6	1.90	7.75		34.1	2.64	4.128	
1968	27.5	2.10	7.96		35.8	2.85	4.413	
1969	26.2	2.10	8.17		34.3	2.80	4.693	
1970	26.0	2.10	8.38		33.6	2.82	4.975	
1971	23.4	2.00	8.58		30.7	2.63	5.238	
1972	22.3	1.90	8.77		29.9	2.62	5.500	
1973	21.0	1.90	8.96		28.1	2.52	5.752	
1974	17.6	1.50	9.11	$\frac{8.70(千万)}{7(年)} = 1.24(千万/年)$	25.0	2.28	5.980	$\frac{12.43(千万)}{7(年)} = 1.92(千万/年)$
1975	15.8	1.50	9.26		23.1	2.14	6.194	
1976	12.7	1.10	9.37		20.0	1.87	6.381	
1977	12.1	1.20	9.49		19.0	1.80	6.568	
1978	12.1	1.10	9.60		18.3	1.76	6.744	
1979	11.7	1.20	9.72		17.9	1.74	6.918	
1980	12.0	1.10	9.83	(12)	18.0	1.77	7.095	(12)
(13) 总计		4.43亿				7.095亿(14)		

Key:

- | | |
|--|--|
| (1) Year | (8) Birth rate (per 1,000) |
| (2) Increased population | (9) Annual birth population (10 million) |
| (3) Birth population | (10) Cumulative birth population (100 m) |
| (4) Natural growth rate (per 1,000) | (11) Stage averages (10 million/yr) |
| (5) Annual population increase (10 m) | (12) 10 million/yr |
| (6) Cumulative population grow (100 m) | (13) Totals |
| (7) Stage averages (10 million/yr) | (14) 100 million |

Chart 3. Comparison of Our Nation's Birth Population and Increased Population (1949-1980)



Key:

- (1) Birth population and increased population compared
- (2) Population (100 million)
- (3) Birth population accumulative curve
- (4) Increased population and possible population accumulation line

growth, with the result that we can neither improve the lives of the people, nor do well in carrying out economic, cultural and defense construction. One or the other will be the case." He also pointed out that: "strictly enforcing birth control and strictly controlling population growth is a long-term strategic task." "The countryside is the key area of birth control work." On the foundation of handling this basic understanding, he raised the ideas of "limiting population size and improving population quality" and "continuing to thoroughly carry out the method of rewarding couples that have only one child and limiting second births and multiple births." And he requested that "everyone at all levels throughout the nation made persistent efforts in the interest of our people for the future of our peoples, and in order to achieve the goal of keeping our nation's population at or below 1.2 billion at the end of this century." This is a further elaboration, on the foundation of achieving an understanding of population, of population policy, methods and struggle goals. Now it is a matter of how to thoroughly implement and realize these policies and methods in actual life.

3. Estimate of the birth rate: To calculate future changes in population size, in addition to needing to know the present population size and the age breakdown of the population, we must calculate the birth rate, and doing this is relatively difficult. Because our nation takes the lowest birth rate to be its goal, we can assume the average birth rate to be between 1 and 2 percent and use the four different possible average birth rates of 1, 1.5, 1.8 and 2 percent to do our calculations. Based on the average birth population between 1962 and 1973 (27.2 million/year), entering the marriage years (starting in 1985) and the birth years (1986-1997), with the several birth

birth rates we hypothesized, we calculated the regenerated populations. The difference between the regenerated population and the death population (calculated thusly: at a death rate of .05-.06 percent, the death population would be approximately 6 million/year) is the yearly increase in population. (See Table 3.

Table 3. Annual Childbearing Population and the Reproduced Population and Increased Population (1986-1997)

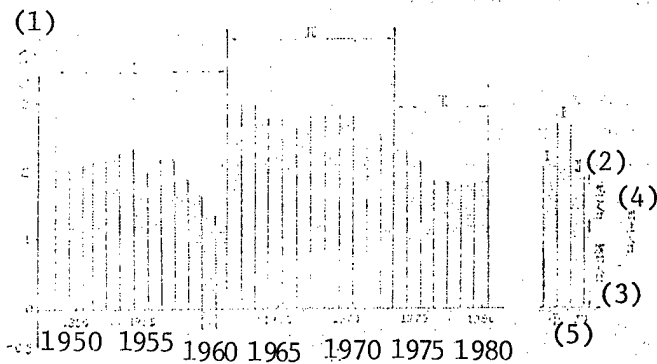
Child-bearing population (couples)	Birth rate	Single child		Second child		Third child		Reproduced population (10,000)	Increased population (10,000)
		Percent	10,000	Percent	10,000	Percent	10,000		
13.6 million/yr	1.0	100	1,360	--	--	--	--	1,360	760
	1.5	50	680	50	1,360	--	--	2,040	1,440
	1.8	20	272	80	2,176	--	--	2,448	1,848
	2.0	--	--	100	2,720	--	--	2,720	2,120
	2.0	100/3	453.3	100/3	960.7	100/3	1,360	2,720	2,120

Looking at the calculated results from each hypothesized birth rate in Table 3, we see that the third situation is closest to the actual situation, with a birth rate of 1.8 percent and an average annual increase of 18.48 million. There is still a long way to go before the one-child-family concept catches up with rural actualities (this is primarily expressed in the fact that cultural and economic development levels are low and in the former custom of having many children) and it will be difficult to realize this in a short time. Using an average of two children per family to calculate leads to a contradiction with the demands of population policy as well as to worry over excessive population size. In addition, let us suppose that the natural rate of population growth for the years 1982-84 and 1997-2000 is 1.4 and 1.0 percent respectively, and use a base figure from the end of 1981 (999.22 million) to attempt to estimate the total population size in the year 2000. See Table 4 for the results.

We know from the calculations in Table 4 that: the total population of our nation at the end of the year 2000 will reach more than 1.3 billion.

In addition, we can calculate the total population at the end of the year 2000 based on the overall birth population for the years 1985-2000, that is the total birth population from 1962 to 1977 matched with several hypothetical birth rates, and an average yearly death population (approximately 60 million). See Table 5 for these calculations.

Chart 4. Statistics on Our Nation's Birth Population, Death Population and Increased Population (1949-80)



Key:

- (1) (10 million)
- (2) Death population
- (3) Increased population
- (4) Birth population
- (5) Averages

Table 4. Estimates of Our Nation's Population Size at the End of Year 2000

Year	Rate of growth (percent)	Annual increased population (10 million/year)	Yearly population accumulation
1981	1.4		999,220,000
1982	1.4	1399	1,013,210,000
1983	1.4	1418	1,027,390,000
1984	1.4	1439	1,041,780,000
1985	1.4	1458	1,056,360,000
1986			1,074,840,000
1987			1,093,320,000
1988			1,111,800,000
1989			1,130,280,000
1990			1,148,760,000
1991			1,167,240,000
1992			1,185,720,000
1993			1,204,200,000
1994			1,222,680,000
1995			1,241,160,000
1996			1,259,640,000
1997			1,278,120,000
1998	1.0	1278	1,290,900,000
1999	1.0	1291	1,303,810,000
2000	1.0	1304	1,316,850,000
Total		317,630,000	

Table 5. Comparison of the Impact of Different Birth Rates on the Total Population of Our Nation at the End of Year 2000.

Total population at the end of 1985 (100 million)	Child- bearing popula- tion (100 million)	Birth rate	Reproduced population (100 million)	Death popula- tion (100 million)	Increased popula- tion (100 million)	Total popula- tion (100 million)
10.5936	3.892	1.0	1.946	9000	1.046	11.5826
"	"	1.5	2.919	(600x15)	2.019	12.5826
"	"	1.8	3.5028	"	2.6028	13.1664
"	"	2.0	3.892	"	2.992	13.5556

The above estimates and comparisons merely make it clear that it is going to be an extremely arduous task to realize our nation's population plans and keep our population at less than 1.2 billion at the end of the year 2000.

We can see from the analysis of the aforementioned problems that our nation's population has trended toward rapid growth; and for various reasons, our work of controlling the population was launched relatively late, but in spite of that, the work has seen specific results. The estimated results of our nation's future population make it clear that we are facing the third period of population growth since liberation.

The natural growth rate of 2.48 percent in 1954 was the peak of the first period and the natural growth rate of 3.35 percent in 1963 was the peak of the second period, which was also the historical peak of the high-tide period of population growth. The peak of the third period of population growth will very likely occur during the period of the Seventh 5-Year Plan (1986-90). This period of population growth and its peak rate will definitely come to pass and will certainly occur before our eyes. But unlike past periods, we now have a correct population ideology and a population policy suited to our national situation, and we have a very good mass base. Therefore, it is possible that the coming period of population growth will not see a peak rate and an average rate of natural population growth that exceeds those of the earlier two periods. Even though this is so, our nation's work of controlling population is still extremely pressing. We absolutely cannot relax our efforts to implement our nation's population policy and to carry out birth control work. Especially, while several policies are being carried out at the same time, we cannot lower the priority given population policy, and can even less allow population policy to suffer attacks. We can say that this is a profound lesson drawn from many years. Additionally, research into population theory should be strengthened, bringing a high degree of unity to theory and actuality, seeing to it that theory guides practice and using practice to enrich and develop theory. Profound elaboration and explanation of theory is still extremely important in order to effectively control our nation's population.

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9705

CSO: 4005/1086

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

REASONS FOR MISTREATMENT OF INTELLECTUALS CITED

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 12 May 83 p 2

/Article by Lu Liangmei /4151 5328 2734/: "Where Is the Resistance to the Implenetation of Policy on Intellectuals"/

/Text/ A senior engineer of a certain research institute requested a transfer so that he could take care of his disabled wife. This reasonable request of an old engineer who had made a substantial contribution to our nation was stalled for 2 or 3 years for various farfetched "reasons." It was finally approved by the leadership of the research institute after a department concerned of the CPC Central Committee had made repeated reminders and two ministers of the central government had personally intervened. The CPC Central Committee has established a good policy toward intellectuals. Then why is it so difficult for some lower level units to enforce it properly? The reasons can be summed up as follows:

1. The influence of erroneous "leftist" ideas. Some party members and cadres, including some in leadership positions, have not been able to get rid of their colored glasses. In the back of their minds they still regard intellectuals as "outsiders to be won over" and "objects for whom the program of reform through education is designed."
2. Bureaucratism. Bureaucrats are those who do not investigate and who do not get to the bottom of things. They will meet to discuss matters without reaching any decision. When they do reach a decision, they do not act on it. As they are "marking time," unresolved matters are piling up mountain high.
3. Unsoundness of organization and system. Responsibilities are ill-defined. Red tape abounds. As a result, passing the buck and shirking responsibility is a common practice.
4. Lack of true understanding of intellectuals and lack of enthusiasm to help them in the leadership structure. Some leading cadres are used to persecution, narrowminded and selfish. They are unlikely to lift a finger when intellectuals need help. One exception is the Capital Steel Mill where the policy toward intellectuals was properly implemented mainly because the leading cadres had a good sense of party direction, were aware of the importance of relying on intellectuals, and had selected a number of intellectuals with good moral and intellectual standing to staff the personnel department and to see to it that the policy toward intellectuals would be enforced properly.

5. Lack of supervision. This means neglecting to keep an eye on how policy is implemented. The upshot is that mental resistance and physical obstruction, and, in some cases, even deliberate acts of violation of the party's policy toward intellectuals are not corrected in a timely manner. How can we overcome the obstacles that lie in our path? We can do two things: One is a program of education to persuade all the cadres and the people to do the right thing. One is a determination to enforce the policy toward intellectuals to the fullest extent. Once we can cultivate the right attitude toward the policy, we will meet less resistance to it. Here mere rhetoric will not do the job. We must take action. We must tackle each problem as it arises. We must bring the party's and the government's disciplinary action to bear on the more serious of the offenders who refuse to enforce the policy toward intellectuals or who continue to oppress and persecute the intellectuals.

9055

CSO: 4005/1111

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

LEADERS URGED TO GIVE ATTENTION TO PERSONNEL MANAGEMENT

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 27 Sep 83 p 4

[Article by Sun Qimeng [1327 6386 1322]: "Manage Both Affairs and People"]

[Text] Comrade Mao Zedong once said: The responsibilities of leaders are mainly supplying ideas and using cadres. To simplify it, one may say that managing affairs and managing people are the duties of the leaders.

In practical life today, often the leaders manage only affairs, but not people, or stress the management of affairs, but not that of people. Some comrades feel that, with the thousands of loose ends, it is not easy to manage the affairs properly. How can there be time to manage people? Others feel that managing affairs is a hard task which has to be done, while managing people is a soft task which can be ignored. Still others feel that managing people is the task of the party organization, and that some of their subordinates rank above them in age and seniority. How can they be managed? There are also those who complain of a headache the moment a personnel problem comes up, claiming that they are men of action and can only conduct affairs, not manage people. Etc., etc. Comrade Deng Xiaoping said: "The implementation of the ideological and political lines must depend on the organizational line." Therefore, whether to manage people or not is not a question of doing more or less work, but a fundamental issue of how to correctly treat the organizational line. The failure to manage people is a dereliction of the leaders.

It all depends on human effort. To follow the correct political lines and ensure the implementation of good ideas, the leaders must organize and train cadres and employ them skillfully. All these belong in the realm of "managing people." If "people management" is ignored, affairs will not be successfully and properly handled; any temporary success will not endure. The key to enduring success is a firm and strong work team to ensure the sustained implementation of the correct political lines and strive for perfection according to the new conditions. Leaders who are truly enthusiastic in managing affairs are bound to be enthusiastic in managing people.

The term "personnel" ["human affairs"] includes both the issue of people and that of affairs. When encountering a personnel conflict, a good leader not only will not take an evasive attitude, but will start with the "people" problem to solve the "affair" problem. Once human awareness is improved and personnel trained, the "affair" issue will be easily solved.

6080

CSO: 4005/37

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

COMMERCIALISM IN PERFORMING ARTS CRITICIZED

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 7 Jul 83 p 3

/Article by Ling Xi /3249 2569/: "The Long and Short Is in the Eye of the Beholder"/

/Text/ Recently people have begun to express serious concern over the invasion of commercialism into the spiritual domain and growing irresponsibility of the performing arts toward society. Many readers are writing to their newspapers to offer pointed criticism and suggestions.

The evidence for social irresponsibility and growing commercialism in the performing arts can be found in the growing number of recent theatrical productions which make up for their lack of ideological and artistic merits with a strong appeal to depraved tastes. Some theatrical troupes, especially those performing folk arts and provincial operas, shun new creations. They organize their entire repertoires around moneymaking numbers. When they stage historical pieces, they put on really old stuff that they have zealously dug up. They refuse to handle any material unless it is very "old," the older the better, in obvious contradiction with the guideline of "bringing forth the new from the old" for literary and art creations, a guideline that has been with us since the founding of the People's Republic. By so doing they are setting the performing arts on a course of retrogression. Some folk music and folk dance groups, motivated by money, are resurrecting vulgar and tasteless numbers that have been banned from the stage since liberation. Recently there has also been a rise in the number of performing artists who are booked through "literary and art brokers" to work in commercial productions for extra income without the approval from their own units. They are touted and billed as stars from the capital or stars from a certain theatrical group to draw crowds. Then they put on some ill-rehearsed and trashy acts and charge a huge admission for them, to the total disgust of the audience.

Some poor stage productions are the result of the misconception that theatrical groups are to be reorganized for the convenience of being hired. Thus large groups are broken down into smaller groups and manpower, props and equipment are spread thin. Incapable of putting on a good show under such circumstances, these smaller groups resort to increasing the number of shows a day as a means of increasing box office receipts. The artists and their groups all suffer tremendously because of that.

Some money-hungry theatrical groups are known to charge high admissions even when performing in rural areas. Some groups or individual performers are seen singing and dancing at wedding and funeral parties to earn extra income.

The practices mentioned in the earlier paragraphs are not yet widespread, but they must not be ignored. If they are allowed to spread unchecked, they will have a corruptive influence on the public and the literary and art workers alike. At a playwrights discussion meeting held in February 1980, Comrade Hu Yaobang quoted Lu Xun as saying: "Literature and arts are the sparks ignited by the national spirit as well as the torchlight that guides the national spirit forward." As our nation is embarked on the lofty undertaking of socialist construction, the literary and art workers must take it upon themselves to satisfy the evergrowing cultural needs of the people, to cleanse the souls of the people, to help shape a new generation of socialist men and women, and to inspire the society to a higher standard of ideological, cultural, moral and behavioral achievements. Through their creative activities, literary and art workers are to constantly educate the people in the ideals of patriotism, collectivism, socialism and communism. Their work must be related to the effort to brighten the future of our nation and the destiny of our state. Their work must be related to our great struggle to realize the ideals of communism. The promotion of literature and arts as well as the various steps taken to invigorate literary and art creations, including the experiments to reorganize the ranks of literary and art workers, must all proceed in line with communist ideals. Literary and art works, like any other types of work, will be judged on their contribution to the progress in building a socialism with distinctive Chinese features, to the prosperity of the nation, and to the happiness and wellbeing of the people. It is our hope that our comrades on the literary and art front will set their sights higher and further ahead. "The long and short is in the eye of the beholder." They must not just see their immediate gains and not see the lofty goal of achieving the four modernizations and the ideals of communism. They must do more to stir up the revolutionary fervor of the people and make them more aware of their responsibilities to the society. They themselves must try to temper themselves in trials of real life and turn out more high-quality "products of the mind" in order to be of service to the people and the cause of socialist construction.

At the First Session of the Sixth National People's Congress, Premier Zhao Ziyang warned in his "Report on Government Work" that all serious, patriotic and revolutionary writers and artists should not regard their writing and performing as a mere means of winning fame and money. In those words, he was expressing a feeling of warmth and concern for all literary and art workers, particularly those already well-established in their profession. Literary and art workers are engineers of the soul. They must have a beautiful soul themselves: to create things of beauty to appeal to the higher instincts of man. The more accomplished a performing artist is, the more pride he should feel toward his own profession and himself. He cannot think of himself as a commodity nor will he allow himself to be used as such. As long as all performing artists discipline themselves, remind themselves of the corruptive influence of social irresponsibility and commercialism in the performing arts, and as long as the departments concerned take effective steps to discourage and curtail such activities, the spread of such bourgeois liberalism that conflicts with socialist aspirations of literary and art creations will soon be checked.

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

BRIEFS

CADRE EDUCATION--Beijing, 22 Sep (XINHUA)--This reporter learned the following from the Central Propaganda Department of the Party Central Committee: The cadres theoretical studies lecturers group which produced a positive impact in the fifties has now been resumed successively in various areas. The party committees of 11 provinces and autonomous regions have approved the organizing of the groups, and some groups have already started work. An additional 14 provinces and autonomous regions are planning to organize such groups. In organizing lecturers groups, the various areas clarified the main tasks: Guide the cadres in studying the basic Marxist theories, and compile, write, print and distribute study guidance material; centering on the central tasks of the party and the study tasks arranged by the local party committees, pursue theoretical studies, hold discussions, write articles and answer the questions posed by the cadres and masses in the course of studying; train key guidance personnel for basic level theoretical studies; guide the cadres and masses in learning current affairs and policies. Members of the lecturers group must support the party's lines, maintain political unity with the Party Central Committee, desire to further the party's theoretical education cause, and possess university or equivalent cultural level, certain theoretical competence and teaching ability. [Text] [Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 23 Sep 83 p 1] 6080

CSO: 4005/37

EAST REGION

SHANGHAI ORGANIZATIONS SPONSOR READING DRIVE

OW211212 Beijing XINHUA in English 1107 GMT 21 Oct 83

[Text] Shanghai, Oct (XINHUA)--"Read-to-reconstruct-China," a movement started here in April 1982, now includes 10 percent of the workers of Shanghai, China's biggest industrial center.

This is the fourth such campaign among Shanghai workers since liberation in 1949. Earlier drives took place in the 1950's and the late 1970's.

Among the works on philosophy, political economy, history and communist ethics are Karl Marx's "Capital," "Modern Chinese History," Nikolay Ostrovskiy's "How the Steel Was Tempered," "From Opium War to May Fourth Movement," and "Stories of Old Shanghai."

More than 20,000 reading groups have been set up, each with six to a dozen or more members. Around 80 percent of the 2,500 readers in the Shanghai machine-building plant are young workers.

The present reading campaign is sponsored by the Shanghai Municipal Trade Union Council, the Municipal Committee of the Communist Youth League of China, the LIBERATION DAILY and the Publication Administration Bureau of Shanghai.

CSO: 4000/53

EAST REGION

SHANDONG HOLDS ARMY-CIVILIAN GET-TOGETHER

SK020514 Jinan Shandong Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 1 Oct 83

[Excerpt] On the evening of 30 September, Shandong Province, Jinan PLA units, and Jinan City held an army-civilian get-together at the Bayi Auditorium to warmly greet the 34th anniversary of the birth of the PRC.

The get-together was attended by Liang Buting, secretary of the Provincial CPC Committee and governor of the province; Lu Maozeng, Li Changan, Li Zhen, and Jiang Chunyun, deputy secretaries of the Provincial CPC Committee; Yang Xingfu, Yang Yanyin, Cui Weilin, Zheng Weimin, and Xu Shulin, Standing Committee members of the Provincial CPC Committee; Gao Keting, chairman of the Advisory Commission under the Provincial CPC Committee; Wang Jinshan and Wu Kaizhang, vice chairmen of the Advisory Commission under the Provincial CPC Committee; Zhu Benzhen, Li Zhongqian, Zheng Zijiu, and Sai Feng, Standing Committee members of the Advisory Commission under the Provisional CPC Committee; Wang Zhongyin, secretary of the Discipline Inspection Commission under the Provincial CPC Committee; Zhang Ye, Chen Lei, Xu Jianchun, Li Ping, Yang Jieren and Wang Baomin, vice chairmen of the Standing Committee of the Provincial People's Congress; Ma Shizhong, Liu Peng, and Lu Hong, deputy governors of the province; Song Yimin and Zhu Qimin, advisors of the province; Li Zichao, chairman of the Provincial CPPCC Committee; Zhou Xingfu, Yu Xiu, Li Sijing, and Tian Haishan, vice chairmen of the Provincial CPPCC Committee; and Li Yuang and Wang Zhe.

The get-together was also attended by leading comrades of the Jinan PLA units, including Rao Shoukun, Chen Renhong, Zhang Feng, Li Suiying, (Bai Bing), Pan Qiqi, Zhang Zhi, (Ren Sizhong), Xu Zhongyu, Xu Chunyang, Shen Hongyi, Zeng Shaoshan, Xiong Zuofang, Zhao Bingan, Fang Zheng, (Ouyang Ping), (Qu Fuyun), Chen Meizao, Li Bo, and Zuo Qi. (Lin Jigui), leading comrade of the air force of the Jinan PLA units, also attended the get-together.

Among the participants, there were also Zhao Lin, Xiao Wandong and Kong Shiquan, members of the Central Advisory Commission; Fan Chaoli, member of the Central Commission for Discipline Inspection; and responsible comrades of the work groups of the CPC Central Committee.

Participating in the get-together were Wei Jianyi, secretary of the Jinan City CPC Committee; (Zhai Yongguo), deputy secretary of the Jinan City CPC

Committee; (He Zhonggui), deputy secretary of the Jinan City CPC Committee and mayor of Jinan City; and Li Yuanrong, chairman of the Jinan City People's Congress Standing Committee. (Liu Haisu), a great artist and president of the Nanjing Art College, also attended the get-together.

Also attending were responsible comrades of the leading organs of the Jinan PLA units, various major PLA units stationed in Jinan City, the Shandong Provincial Military District, and various people's groups and departments under the provincial and Jinan City authorities. Foreign professors, specialists, technicians, and students who are working or studying in Jinan City also attended on invitation.

CSO: 4005/71

EAST REGION

JIANGXI CPPCC STANDING COMMITTEE HOLDS SESSION

OW241253 Nanchang Jiangxi Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 21 Oct 83

[Excerpts] The Third Session of the Standing Committee of the Fifth Jiangxi Provincial CPPCC Committee concluded this morning at the Zhongshan Hall in Nanchang after a 5-day meeting. Lu Liang, vice chairman of the Provincial CPPCC Committee, presided at the session. Wu Ping, chairman of the Provincial CPPCC Committee, and Vice Chairmen He Shikun, Shen Hanqing, Li Huafeng, Liu Jianhua, Zhu Danhua, Guo Qingfen, Li Shanyuan, and Wu Yongle attended the session. Also attending were (Liu Yurui), secretary general of the Provincial CPPCC Committee, and (Yang Yongfeng), Standing Committee member of the Provincial CPPCC Committee and director of the United Front Department of the Jiangxi Provincial CPC Committee.

Participants in the session earnestly studied instructions by leading comrades of the CPC Central Committee on United Front and CPPCC Work, studied the documents of the Second Session of the Standing Committee of the Sixth CPPCC National Committee and the guidelines of relevant meetings of the CPPCC National Committee and heard a report by (Sun Shufen), director of the Provincial Public Security Department, on how our province is severely cracking down on crimes.

The session adopted resolutions on further earnestly studying the "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," on implementing guidelines of the Second Session of the Standing Committee of the Sixth CPPCC National Committee, on severely cracking down on crimes and on inspecting policy implementation toward CPPCC members. The session also adopted resolutions on the summary report on the work of the Provincial CPPCC Committee in the third quarter of 1983 and the report on the major tasks of the fourth quarter.

The session also decided to appoint Comrade (Sun Dianjia) as deputy secretary general of the Provincial CPPCC Committee and concurrently director of the committee's office.

CSO: 4005/71

EAST REGION

FORUM VIEWS WORK OF CPPCC COMMITTEE MEMBERS

OW070551 Shanghai City Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 6 Oct 83

[Text] The Shanghai Municipal CPPCC Committee and the Municipal Party Committee's United Front Work Department held a forum on the afternoon of 6 October for responsible persons of various democratic parties, representatives of nonparty personages, and some members of the National CPPCC Committee who were in Shanghai. The forum carried out consultations and discussions on examining the implementation of policies by CPPCC Committee members, on preparations for an exhibition of achievements of the municipality's various democratic parties and its federation of industry and commerce in serving the four modernizations, and on other issues.

Zhang Chengzong, vice chairman of the Municipal CPPCC Committee and director of the Municipal Party Committee's United Front Work Department, presided over the forum. Jin Renqiu, vice chairman of the Municipal CPPCC Committee and deputy director of the Municipal Party Committee's United Front Work Department, delivered a speech concerning the National CPPCC Committee's plan to organize an investigation group to come to Shanghai to examine the implementation of policies by CPPCC Committee members.

In their speeches, personages from various circles expressed the opinions that it is necessary to cooperate positively with the National CPPCC Committee's investigation group and to assist the party and the government in performing the work of examining the implementation of policies. The forum held: Over the past past few years the various democratic parties and members of the federation of industry and commerce in the municipality have scored many achievements in building material and spiritual civilization on all fronts. To commend the advanced and exchange experience, a decision was made to jointly prepare an exhibition of achievements of Shanghai Municipality's various democratic parties and its federation of industry and commerce in serving the four modernizations. The exhibition will be held in 1984.

CSO: 4005/71

EAST REGION

SHANGHAI PREPARES FOR PARTY RECTIFICATION

Shanghai DANG DE SHENG HUO [PARTY LIFE] in Chinese No 4, 1983 pp 3-5

[Article by Yang Ti [2799 1029], secretary of the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee: "Strengthen Party Members' Education and Do a Good Job in Preparing For Party Rectification"]

[Text] It has been 62 years since the establishment of the great, glorious and correct Communist Party of China.

Over the past 62 years, the CPS, stepping into the breach as another fell, has fought heroically for the liberation of the nation and the well-being of the people. Enduring countless difficulties and setbacks, it has found a correct road that combines the basic principle of Marxism with the concrete practice of China's revolution and scored a great victory in China's revolution and construction undertakings.

Historical experiences have proved that all victories in China's revolution and construction are closely linked to strengthening party leadership and enhancing party fighting capacity. Conducting all-round, systematic party rectification in a given period with emphasis on ideology, workstyle and organizations is an extremely important measure to strengthen party building, raise the level of understanding of Marxism and Leninism, correct party workstyle and enhance party fighting capacity. In 1942, the Yanan rectification movement, opposing subjectivism to rectify the style of study, opposing sectarianism to rectify the workstyle of the party and opposing the party's stereotyped writing to rectify the style of writing, substantially raised the ideological and theoretical levels of all party members, realized the great unity of all party members on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, made important preparations for the convocation of the Seventh Party Congress and laid an ideological foundation for victory in the War of Resistance Against the Japanese and nationwide victory in the new-democratic revolution.

Now that our country has entered a new historical period, the heavy responsibility of socialist modernization has fallen on the shoulders of the CPC and the people throughout the country. This requires us to build our party into a strong core of leadership in socialist modernization. At present, the party's main tasks are stepping up economic work and strengthening

party building. These two tasks complement each other, because economic work is the center of the four modernizations and party building is a political and organizational guarantee for the four modernizations. Failure in doing a good job in party rectification, party building and correcting party workstyle not only can seriously affect the popular trust in the party but also affect the success and failure of the magnificent cause of the four modernizations and the rise and fall of the country and the nation. Strengthening party building and continuously increasing the party's fighting capacity has become an extremely urgent issue confronting us. Only when the party is built into a united contingent with a high level of political consciousness, iron discipline and powerful fighting capacity can it really become the force at the core in leading the four modernizations.

To strengthen party rectification and building, it is first of all necessary to strengthen the building of party workstyle and achieve a fundamental turn for the better in party workstyle. In his speech, "Upholding the Four Basic Principles," Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out: "In order to accelerate the improvement of social practice, we must first improve party workstyle. Particularly, party leading comrades at all levels must set an example for others. The party is the model of the entire society, and party leaders at all levels are the model of the entire party. If party organizations set aside and show no interest in the masses' opinions and well-being, how can they ask the masses to trust and support their leadership? How can we expect party leading cadres to reform social practice if they are not strict with themselves, do not abide by party discipline and state law, violate party principles, go in for sectarianism, seek personal privileges, secure advantages through pull or influence, pursue extravagance and waste, seek private gain at public expense, do not share weal and woe with the masses, refuse to be the first to bear hardships and the last to enjoy comforts, do not follow the decisions of the party, refuse to accept supervision by the masses and even attack and retaliate against people who have criticized them." Comrade Deng Xiaoping said: "Strengthening party leadership and correcting party workstyle is of decisive significance." Comrade Chen Yun pointed out: "The workstyle of the ruling party is a life or death issue for the party." The profound exposition of the leading comrades of central authorities on the issue concerning party workstyle has pointed out a clear orientation for rectifying party workstyle and strengthening party building.

In light of the scientific analysis of our party's current situation and the historical tasks confronting our party in the new period, the 12th CPC Congress set forth a fighting task for the whole party; that is, to conduct party rectification step by step and in a planned manner and strive to achieve as soon as possible a fundamental turn for the better in party workstyle. The party Central Committee has decided to conduct an all-round rectification of party workstyle and organizations group after group at different times beginning this winter. This is a major event in strengthening party building and is of great immediate and far-reaching historical significance. We should conscientiously study a series of directives of the party Central Committee and leading comrades of central authorities on the work of party rectification, in light of the actual

situation of Shanghai, fully understand the urgency and necessity of party rectification under the new situations and make full ideological preparation for conducting an all-round party rectification.

We should notice that Shanghai's party organizations are generally good. Especially since the 5th Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, Shanghai's party organizations at all levels, under the leadership of the municipal party committee, have adhered to the four basic principles, conscientiously implemented the party line, principles, policies and various resolutions, enacted the party constitution and the guiding principles for intraparty political life, emphatically conducted education in the spirit of the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee and education in party spirit, workstyle and disciplines, resolutely ended turmoil and restored order, conscientiously improved deficiencies in implementing the party's ideological, political and organizational lines, continuously corrected various unhealthy tendencies and have done a great deal of work in this regard. By doing so, Shanghai's party organizations have raised their fighting capacity, strengthened the ties between the party and the masses, brought into better play the exemplary role of party members as vanguards and achieved an obvious turn for the better in party workstyle. These are exactly the foundation and conditions we need in quickly achieving a fundamental turn for the better in party workstyle as well as an important basis we need in doing a good job in party building and rectification.

However, we should also notice that Shanghai's contingent of party members still have the problem of impurities in ideology, workstyle and organizations and that a fundamental turn for the better had not yet been achieved in party workstyle. Among part of the party members and party cadres, some have an incorrect attitude toward the line, principles, policies and resolutions adopted by the party since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee and are not conscientious in studying them, nor resolute in enacting them. Some whose communist ideals are fading and whose faith in realizing the four modernizations is inadequate pay attention to and seek material benefits. Some lack the concept of the party, violate the principle of democratic centralism, engage in sectarian activities and advocate disunity. Some are divorced from reality and the masses, are irresponsible in their work, indifferent toward the well-being of the masses and adhere to excessive bureaucracy. Some fail to deal correctly with relations between the state, collectives and individuals, give priority to individual interests, engage in malpractices and even conduct illegal and criminal activities in the economic field and other fields. The "three kinds of people" still exist in a few leading bodies. A few party members still have problems of one kind or another. Although these are not major problems, they are noteworthy and need to be conscientiously solved. The existence of these problems also proves that the party Central Committee's decision to conduct an all-round party rectification is extremely necessary and absolutely correct. In accordance with the unified plan of the party Central Committee, we must carefully, actively, prudently and conscientiously do a good job in Shanghai's party rectification work.

In order to greet an all-round party rectification movement, party organizations at all levels should, in accordance with the requirements of the

party Central Committee and the municipal party committee, conscientiously do a good job in making all necessary preparations, especially the education of party members by focusing on the party constitution.

Strengthening the ideological education of party members and party cadres and enhancing party members' quality is an important aspect in preparing well for the party rectification as well as a long-term strategic task for strengthening ideological party building. Since the party Central Committee and the municipal party committee held party members' education work conferences in the beginning of this year, party members' education work has begun throughout the municipality. The vast numbers of party members have used the new party constitution as their basic teaching material, studied important political works such as the documents of the 12th CPC Congress and "The Selections From Works Published Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee," and, on the basis of raising ideological understanding and in light of actual situations in work and ideology, voluntarily compared themselves with others, reviewed their problems, worked out some solutions and scored relatively good achievements. However, the development is uneven. Party organizations at all levels especially leading cadres at all levels, should fully understand the importance of the party members' education work, continuously pay attention to and do a good job in this work and achieve a real success. Through education, we ask the vast numbers of party members, especially party cadres, to emphatically do a good job in the following areas:

First, it is necessary to further heighten the awareness of implementing the line, principles and policies adopted by the party since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee and be politically in accordance with the party Central Committee. The party line, principles and policies represent the fundamental interests of the masses. The most important way to judge whether a party member can be politically in accord with the party Central Committee and examine his political attitude and work performance is to see whether he resolutely supports and implements the party line, principles and policies. Since its 3d Plenary Session, the CPC Central Committee, after ending turmoil and restoring order, has put forward correct political, ideological and organizational lines and a series of correct principles and policies, making it possible for our country to score great achievements in all fields. This is obvious to all. Suspecting and even resisting the party line, principles and policies, obstructing the implementation of the party line, principles and policies with leftist or rightist ideas and violating the party's four basic principles are expressions of dissension and discord with the party and not permitted by party discipline. All party members must strengthen the building of party spirit, safeguard party interests, uphold the four basic principles and voluntarily agree with the party Central Committee in politics to secure the smooth progress of the four modernizations.

Second, it is necessary to firmly establish the thought of wholeheartedly serving the people. Wholeheartedly serving the people is the basic purpose of our party and the basic stand of party members. The most important criterion for judging whether a party member has party spirit is to see whether he can wholeheartedly serve the interests of the people and is

willing to sacrifice himself for the interests of the people. The history of the CPC is a 62-year history of honestly fighting for the people's interests. Devoting all of their energies and even their precious lives to the interests of the people, the revolutionaries of older generations have set glorious examples for us. During the years of revolutionary wars, many party members who died rather than surrender died a heroic death in prisons, and numerous party members fought bloody battles and gloriously laid down their lives for the country on the battleground. In the four modernizations, a large number of outstanding party members such as Sun Yefang [1327 0396 2455], Zhao Chune [6392 2504 1230], Luo Jianfu [5012 0256 1133], Jiang Zhuying [5592 4639 5391] and Zhu Boru [4281 0130 0320], who wholeheartedly served the people, have emerged. They are all examples from whom we should learn. Every party members should work cautiously and conscientiously at his own post, correct the relations between himself and the masses of the people, eliminate individualism by studying the new party constitution, and really live up to the standard of being honest in performing his official duties by not seeking personal interests and wholeheartedly serving the people.

Third, it is necessary to strengthen the concept of the party and safeguard the unity of the party. The CPC is the vanguard of the Chinese working class and the core of leadership for the peoples of all nationalities throughout the country. The reason the party is so powerful and able to lead hundreds of millions of people in conducting socialist modernizations is, of course, because the party has correct theory, guiding principles and political lines, as well as solid organizations. All party members need to be in accord not only ideologically and politically but also organizationally and in action. Therefore, all of our party members must strengthen the concept of the party, step up the building of party spirit and strictly abide by the party principle of democratic centralism and discipline. Due to the sabotage of the 10-year turmoil, among some party organizations and members there exists an abnormal phenomenon, that is, to be "benign and uncontentious persons" who, instead of criticizing and stopping violations of party principles and destruction of the people's interests, let them go unchecked. This unhealthy tendency must be resolutely corrected. Comrade Chen Yun said that party members should be concerned about the truth and not face-saving. This is very important. Every party member must be able to stand up and fight malpractices and erroneous ideas and deeds that undermine the unification and unity of the party. There should be regular political and organizational life in our party. It is necessary to correctly carry out criticism and self-criticism and bring about a political situation in which there is centralism and democracy, discipline and freedom and unity of will and personal peace of mind and liveliness so as to enable our party to always maintain youthful vigor and continuously increase its fighting capacity.

In order to greet an all-round party rectification movement, except for doing a good job in party members' education work, we also need to continuously pay attention to consolidating party organizations at the grassroots level and complete by a given date the consolidation of grassroots party organizations with many serious problems. We need to conscientiously implement the guidelines of the Second Plenum of the Commission for

Inspection of Discipline under the CPC Central Committee, resolutely correct various unhealthy tendencies in the party and achieve as soon as possible a fundamental turn for the better in Shanghai's party workstyle. We should also strive to do a good job in unfolding experimental work of party rectification in selected units to acquire a better understanding of the situation in the party and to gain and accumulate some experiences for conducting party rectification under the new situation. Doing a good job in these tasks is extremely significant in carrying out an all-round party rectification.

The broad masses of party members in Shanghai are ardently looking forward to and have high expectations for the all-round party rectification that will begin this winter. Many comrades have pointed out that it is very difficult to achieve the four modernizations without a correct party workstyle. The key to fulfilling the various fighting tasks put forward by the 12th CPC Congress is to do a good job in rectification and party building. Some veteran comrades ardently hope that, through party rectification, party members at higher and lower levels will unite as one and the fine tradition that the army and the people are as inseparable as fish and water will be restored and carried forward. We firmly believe that as long as party organizations at all levels throughout the municipality and the broad masses of party members work together and make full preparations, Shanghai's party rectification work will progress smoothly in accordance with the arrangements of the party Central Committee and score the expected achievements. This party rectification will inevitably cause a profound change in the mental outlook of the broad masses of party members and party leading cadres, further normalize the political life in the party, practically correct unhealthy tendencies and substantially strengthen the close ties between the party and the masses. By doing so, our party will be able to continuously increase its fighting capacity and continuously advance all work and, therefore, make greater contributions to realizing the magnificent blueprint of the four modernizations drawn up by the 12th CPC Congress.

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CSO: 4005/1065

EAST REGION

BRIEFS

SHANDONG BIRTH CONTROL ACHIEVEMENTS--Taian Prefecture, Shandong Province, has made rapid progress in family planning. During the January-July period of this year, the prefecture's figure of new babies was 5,227 persons less than that of the corresponding 1982 period. Its rate of population growth was 2.4 per thousand. Its rate of fertile couples who voluntarily have one child in their life was increased from 87.3 percent in 1982 to 91 percent in 1983 and its rate of fertile couples who had received one-child certificates reached to 96 percent. [Excerpt] [Jinan DAZHONG RIBAO in Chinese 29 Aug 83 p 1 SK]

ANHUI THEORETICAL STUDIES PUBLICATION--With the approval of the provincial CPC committee, the inaugural issue of LILUN XUEXI [THEORETICAL STUDIES] was officially published by the lecturers' group under the committee in early October. The inaugural issue carries 39 articles organized into 11 columns. In the column for studying the "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," principal leading comrades of the provincial CPC committee including Huang Huang, Yang Haibo, Wang Yuzhao and Yuan Zhen contributed articles. LILUN XUEXI is a journal for guiding theoretical studies. The journal's major aims are guiding cadres in the study of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, expounding the party's line, principles and policies and studying and answering questions regarding theories, ideology and understanding which are of interest to cadres and the masses. [Excerpts] [Hefei Anhui Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 7 Oct 83 OW]

CSO: 4005/71

CENTRAL-SOUTH REGION

HAINAN UNIVERSITY HOLDS OPENING CEREMONY 5 OCTOBER

HK061344 Haikou Hainan Island Service in Mandarin 0330 GMT 6 Oct 83

[Summary] The ceremony to mark the establishment of Hainan University and to mark the opening of the first classes of the new students of the university was held in the hall of the Hainan District CPC Committee yesterday afternoon. "Hainan University is a comprehensive university which has been, with the approval of the state council and the provincial people's government, founded to meet the needs of speeding up the exploitation and construction of Hainan. Hainan University has been founded on the basis of the original Hainan teachers college and medical college. The university includes the Hainan Agricultural College. The university now has 19 professors and associate professors, 136 lecturers, and 373 teaching assistants and teachers. The university has 21 specialized subjects, has enrolled students for 12 specialized subjects this year, and has enrolled 677 students for its regular college courses and other specialized courses."

Those attending the opening ceremony were Yang Yingbin, Provincial CPC Committee Standing Committee member; Zhuang Tian, and Ma Baishan, advisers to the Guangshou PLA units; (Fu Liantian), deputy director of the Propaganda Department of the Provincial CPC Committee; (Li Xiuhong), director of the Provincial Bureau of Higher Education; (Hu Hewei), director of the Education Division of the Propaganda Department of the Provincial CPC Committee; (Hu Rongding), vice chairman of the Provincial Overseas Chinese Affairs Committee, and responsible comrades of the party and the government in Hainan District, Hainan Li-Miao Autonomous Prefecture, and Haikou City, including (Yao Wenxu), (Lei Yu), (Meng Xinjie), (Lei Hefeng), (Pan Xiongqiong), (Li Taogen), (Cao Wenhua), (Zhang Jingchao), (Wang Xing), (Chen Yuyi), (Dong Fanyuan), (Xie Dongfei), (Chen Shuhen), (Lian Anbin), (Zhou Xintang), (Xiao Huanhui), (Lin Shulan), (Zhao Guangju), and (Chen Yuan). (Shu Zhuang), adviser to Xian Jiaotong University, and (Hu Zhiruo), adviser to the Hainan Military District, also attended. The participants in the ceremony totaled 1,300 people.

(Li Sibin), responsible person of the university, presided over the opening ceremony. Professor (Lin Ying), responsible person of the university, spoke at the ceremony, encouraging all teachers and students to run the university well. (Yang Wenju), Hainan District CPC Committee secretary, and Yang Yingbin also spoke at the ceremony.

CSO: 4005/72

CENTRAL-SOUTH REGION

HUBEI FORUM ON ORGANIZATIONAL WORK CONCLUDES

HK170104 Wuhan Hubei Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 13 Oct 83

[Summary] A Hubei provincial forum on organizational work concluded yesterday after 8 days in session. Provincial CPC Committee Deputy Secretary Qian Yunlu attended and spoke. Provincial CPC Committee Standing Committee member and Propaganda Department Director Liu Qizhi conveyed the spirit of the National Forum on Organizational Work and the important speeches of leading central comrades, and gave a summation report.

The meeting concentrated discussions on reforming the structure of the leadership groups and the cadre system, strengthening the building of the third echelon, improving the quality of the cadre force, carrying out party rectification, and the building of the organization departments. The province has scored notable success in organizational work since the 3rd Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee.

"In order to speed up the four transformations of the leadership groups at all levels in the province, the meeting proposed an 8-year plan and laid down steps and measures for accomplishing the plan. To fulfill this plan, the meeting demanded that party organizations at all levels further carry out serious study of the relevant instructions of the Central Committee and the work report of the Central Organization Department, to enhance understanding of the great strategic importance of speeding up the four transformations of the leadership groups, unify thinking, and strengthen the sense of urgency and responsibility. It is necessary to make specific arrangements in accordance with the goals and demands on four transformations set by the Central Committee and in conjunction with the actual conditions in the province. It is necessary to seize the favorable opportunity of structural reform to take the key first stride in this work and make a relatively great breakthrough in the four transformations of the leadership groups. "At present, it is necessary to get a good grasp of two points. First, we must strengthen the building of the third echelon and put the reserve cadre system on a sound basis. Second, we must do a good job in cadre training and strive to raise the quality of the cadre force." Various systems regarding the cadres should be established and put on a sound basis.

"In order to do a good job in party rectification, the meeting demanded that the party committees at all levels organize the party members, especially the leading cadres, to seriously study the 'Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping,' to grasp the ideological weapon for party rectification."

The meeting also called on the organization departments to step up their own building and raise their work to a new level.

Comrade Qian Yunlu stressed in his speech: "In current organizational work, we must grasp to the end the work of purging the people of three categories. Not a single backbone element in stirring up factionalism and not a single person who took part in beating, smashing, and looting can be promoted to the leadership group, and all those who are already in the groups must be totally purged, to ensure the purity of the party's cadre force."

CSO: 4005/72

CENTRAL-SOUTH REGION

BRIEFS

GUANGDONG SHANTOU UNIVERSITY OPENS--Shantou University held an opening ceremony for its first undergraduate courses this morning. Attending the opening ceremony were Wu Nansheng, secretary of the Guangdong Provincial PCP Committee and chairman of the University Preparatory Committee; Zhang Juhui, commander of the Provincial Military District; and leading comrades of the Provincial Bureau of Higher Education, the Shantou City CPC Committee, the city government, and the city Education Bureau. The founding of the university was approved by the State Council in August 1981. Mr Li Chia-Cheng donated an enormous sum of money to build this comprehensive university. The university has enrolled the first group of 209 new students from the country for its first courses. The university has set up four special courses, including Chinese, law, and English. Wu Nansheng spoke at today's opening ceremony. [Summary] [HK171446 Guangzhou Guangdong Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 12 Oct 83 HK]

HUBEI RURAL WOMEN'S CONGRESSES--The work of consolidating and building rural grassroots women's congresses in Hubei Province has been basically completed. According to statistics compiled by eight prefectures, the province now has 31,678 rural grassroots women's congresses, of which 29,160 have been consolidated. After consolidation and building, more than 95 percent of rural grassroots women's congresses in the province have elected chairmen and vice chairmen. After the consolidation of rural grassroots women's congresses, grassroots women cadres' political quality and professional level have been enhanced. Many cadres of grassroots women's congresses have aroused their enthusiasm and have shouldered the heavy burdens to do work concerning women. [Summary] [Wuhan Hubei Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 17 Oct 83 HK]

CSO: 4005/72

NORTH REGION

SHANXI'S YUNCHENG CRACKS DOWN ON UNHEALTHY TRENDS

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 8 Sep 83 p 1

[Article: "Shanxi's Yuncheng Prefecture Focuses on Major Cases to Check Evil Trends and Rectify Party Style"]

[Text] According to a report in SHANXI RIBAO, since last March, Shanxi's Yuncheng prefectural party committee, with the aid of the joint work group of the Central Discipline Inspection Commission and the provincial party committee, started by focusing on the major cases, and earnestly solved the problem of the weak and helpless prefectural and county leaderships. The prefectural party committee firmly and forcefully checked the unhealthy trends and made an obvious improvement of the party style.

In rectifying the party style, Yuncheng prefecture focused on two typical major cases. When investigating the illegal construction of private houses by cadres, assistant secretary Zhang Ge [1728 2047] of the Yuncheng prefectural party committee discipline inspection commission was successively threatened, attacked and retaliated against. The prefectural public security office investigated and found out in July last year that the threatening letters were written by secretary Jie Gaojie [6043 7559 2638], religion section, prefectural party committee united front department, but it was unable to proceed. Another case involved the abuse and desertion of Yang Yanju [2799 5333 5468], a teacher in a school run by the people in Ruicheng county, and her three children, by her husband Zhang Lin [1728 2651]. For 2 years, Yang Yanju appealed to the party and government organs of the prefectural, county, commune and brigade levels, the public security and procuratorial organs, and the courts, making over 100 trips and covering over 10,000 li, but still failed in her attempt.

The two cases and others indicated the gravity of the unhealthy party style in the prefecture. According to the investigation, Jie Gaojie's threatening letters were a counterattack against party discipline and state law launched by the responsible cadres who utilized their offices to illegally build private houses. Yang Yanju's case involved some party

member cadres on the political and judicial front who accepted bribes to bend the law and perpetrated outrages. The vivid facts attracted the serious attention of the prefectural party committee and the party organizations of the various levels and enhanced the consciousness and sense of urgency in improving the party style. In the first third of May, the prefectural party committee held an enlarged standing committee meeting, focused on why the handling of the "two cases" were delayed and why the offenders were left untouched over a long time, started discussions and launched criticisms and self-criticisms. According to the consensus, the basic reason was the weak and helpless state of the leading group of the prefectural party committee which had no courage to confront the tough cases; some leading cadres themselves followed the unhealthy trends and lacked integrity.

On the basis of improving understanding, the prefectural party committee formed a leading team to rectify the party style. It decided that all major cases and all problems involving the party style are to be discussed at standing committee meetings and followed through to the end until complete solution. The prefectural party committee first examined and corrected its own unhealthy trends. During the enlarged standing committee meeting, two assistant directors voluntarily examined their problems of utilizing their offices to send their children to the prefectural finance and accounting school, and immediately recalled the children. With the determination of the prefectural party committee, the examples of the leading cadres and the painstaking ideological work, all the illegally admitted students of the school were withdrawn in 7 days. Leaders of the assistant director level and above in the standing committee sorted and returned the gifts accepted by them in the past. After the meeting, the prefectural party and government leaders severally proceeded to the counties and units which had more problems and helped solve the major and important cases. In the past several months, with the aid of the joint work group of the Central Discipline Inspection Commission and the provincial party committee, they directly investigated and handled 17 major cases and effectively cracked down on the evil trends. When reinvestigating the hoodlum rape case involving the son of the prefectural party committee assistant secretary, the prefectural judicial organ firmly broke through the "connections network," arrested the offender, successfully interrogated, according to legal procedure, the individuals participating in reversing the verdict for the offender, and ordered the leading cadres who had sought leniency for him to write self-examinations.

In rectifying the party style, the prefectural party committee focused on the problems which had aroused most dissatisfaction among the masses and concentrated forces on a battle of annihilation. After investigating and handling the case of Zhang Ge who was attacked and retaliated against because of housing investigation, the prefectural party committee adopted resolute and forceful measures on housing investigation work. To date, the prefecture has reached a 99.12 percent housing case conclusion rate, confiscated 10 public housing units which were built in excess of standard, seized 13 private houses, and punished according to party and

government discipline 89 cadre workers whose cases involved large sums and who used odious means. It has refunded more than 1,052,000 yuan in illegally acquired money, constituting more than 80 percent of the total involved. In regard to the 16 county level leading cadres whose problems were relatively serious and whose attitude was not upright, the prefectural party committee adopted the method of holding centralized special topic meetings to solve the problems one by one.

Assessing and rectifying the party style by means of investigating and handling the major cases and reorganizing the leading groups, Yuncheng prefecture has unfolded a new phase in achieving the basic improvement of the party style. Currently, such unhealthy trends once followed by the cadre workers as illegal housing construction, recruiting employees against the rules, converting household status, using public funds for banquets and gifts, etc. have been basically checked. The broad party cadres have begun to consciously resist the various unhealthy trends; some voluntarily examined and corrected themselves; others who seriously disrupted law and discipline have found it impossible to slip by in face of the powerful public opinion. When the bad people are isolated and attacked, a healthy atmosphere emerges, enhancing the unity between the cadres and the masses. Finding the situation hopeful, the broad cadres and masses have enhanced their spirit. They declare happily: "Today the Communist Party dares to arrest the bad people!"

6080

CSO: 4005/38

NORTH REGION

NEI MONGGOL URGES BETTER CIVIL AFFAIRS WORK

SK250442 Hohhot Nei Monggol Regional Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 25 Oct 83

[Excerpts] After a 7-day session, the autonomous regional civil affairs conference concluded in Hohhot City on 23 October. The conference urged localities throughout the region to proceed from the actual regional situation to enhance and improve civil affairs work so as to fulfill various tasks and measures in this regard down to grassroots units and to vigorously create a new situation in the work.

During the conference, participating comrades earnestly studied the spirit of the 8th national civil affairs meeting, summed up and exchanged the experience gained by the region in the civil affairs work done in the period since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee and discussed the documents of the region's plan for helping impoverished households and the trial acts of mapping out civil affairs budget. They pointed out that in the new historic period, the civil affairs department is assuming the tasks of building political power at the grassroots level, making arrangements for households that are under the preferential treatment, providing relief to disaster areas, offering social welfare, compiling or improving administrative divisions, improving the grade of commodities, and registering marriages. These tasks are closely related to the state's construction of the economy, political power and armed forces and to the people's immediate or vital interests. Success in conducting civil affairs work has a vital bearing on consolidating the people's democratic dictatorship; developing socialist democracy; making progress in building modern national defense, in maintaining social stability and unity, and in building socialist spiritual civilization; on bringing every positive factor into play so as to strive to fulfill the general task set forth by the party for the new historic period.

The conference pointed out: The central task imposed on the civil affairs departments is to exert efforts to create a new situation in the civil affairs work in line with the spirit of the 12th CPC Congress by concentrating efforts on conducting the drive for reform, and to pave a road that reflects the region's characteristics of multiple nationality and autonomy. Under the current situation, the civil affairs departments at all levels should earnestly implement the policy on reform set forth by the CPC Central Committee; actively participate in the reform of the commune system; and vigorously do a good job in building political power at the grassroots level. It is necessary to straighten

out the thinking of eating from a common big pot and the ignoring of social forces in giving preferential treatment to servicemen's families and providing disaster relief. Efforts should be made to adopt various measures to actively help impoverished peasants and herdsmen and preferentially treated households develop production and go along the road of becoming rich through labor. By integrating the state's offer with social material resources, concerted efforts should be made to do a good job in giving preferential treatment to servicemen's families and providing disaster relief. It is necessary to actively introduce various economic responsibility systems to improve management, to bring into full play the role of social welfare, and to increase the social affect and economic result of production units and business firms.

During the conference, Bai Junqing, vice chairman of the regional people's government, delivered a speech.

Attending the opening ceremony of the conference were leading comrades of the regional party and government organs, Qian Fenyong, Tian Congming and He Yao. Attending the conference were responsible comrades from various leagues, cities, banners and counties throughout the region and comrades from the civil affairs departments across the region--more than 300 persons in all.

CSO: 4005/83

NORTH REGION

SIXTH HEBEI PROVINCIAL PEOPLE'S CONGRESS HELD 20 APR 1983

Shijiazhuang HEBEI RIBAO in Chinese 15 Apr 83 pp 1, 2

[Article: "Resolved by Standing Committee in Its 20th Session of the 5th Hebei Provincial People's Congress: the 1st Session of the 6th Provincial People's Congress Will Convene on 20 April 1983"]

[Text] As reported by a correspondent of HEBEI RIBAO, yesterday marked the beginning of the 20th session of the 5th Hebei Provincial People's Congress Standing Committee. The main task of this session is to make preparations for convening the first session of the Sixth Hebei Provincial People's Congress.

At the session, it was decided that the first session of the Sixth Hebei Provincial People's Congress will be convened at Shijiazhuang on 20 April.

At yesterday's meeting of the standing committee, Director Ge Qi [5514 0796] of the delegate credential committee of the Fifth Provincial People's Congress made a credential report on delegates of the Sixth Provincial People's Congress. The session passed a resolution on announcing a delegate list of the Sixth Provincial People's Congress and related subjects.

An acting chairman, Niu Shucui [3662 2885 2088], and vice chairmen Cao Youmin [2580 1635 3046] and Huang Hua [7806 2901] presided on separate occasions at yesterday's session. Vice chairmen Wu Qingcheng [0702 1987 6134], Ge Qi, Ding Tingxin [0002 1694 7451] Zhao Zhenzhong [6392 2182 0022], Zhang Da [1728 6671], Geng Changsuo [5105 7022 6956], Pan Chengxiao [3382 2110 1321], Zhou Xue'ao [0719 1331 7663], and Yang Dingan [2799 1353 1344] also took part at the session yesterday. Vice Governor (of Hebei) Li Feng [2621 6912], President Lu Zhiguo [7120 3112 0948] of the Higher Provincial People's Court, Deputy Chief Liu Zhiqi [0491 1807 0796] of the Provincial People's Procuratorate, and others attended the session.

List of Delegates to the Sixth Hebei Provincial People's Congress
(arranged in Chinese stroke order of the delegates' surnames)

Shijiazhuang Municipality (60 delegates)

Li Shi [0500 4247], Yu Guang [0060 0342], Wang Zheng [3769 6927], Wang Youhui [3769 1635 6540], Wang Huosheng [3769 3752 3932], Deng Biaoxiang [6772 2871 4382]
Shi Lianxiu [4258 5571 4423] (f), Shen Minru [3947 2404 1172] (f), Shi Yifan [0670 0001 0416], Feng Yumin [7458 7183 3046], Feng Shongshu [7458 1813 2562]
Liu Jun [0491 6511] (f), Liu Lifu [0491 0500 1133], Liu Zhiqi [0491 1807 0796],
Liu Xizhe [0491 1585 0772], Liu Rongsen [0491 2837 2773]
Liu Shumin [0491 3219 2404] (f), Li Shiyong [2621 1102 5391], Li Zengshu [2621 2582 2885], Yang Caikui [2799 2088 7608], Yang Zhenxing [2799 2182 5281]
Yang Liying [2799 3769 0448] (f), Yang Jixiang [2799 7162 4382], Wu Shengxun [0702 5116 3410], Wu Zhende [0702 2182 1795], Wu Shuzhen [0702 3219 3791] (f)
He Jihai [0149 3444 3189], Gu Junheng [6253 0193 1854], Leng Yucheng [0397 5940 2052], Zhang Maorong [1728 5399 2837], Zhang Bingdong [1728 1456 2639],
Zhang Heyong [1728 7729 6978], Chen Zhongquan [7115 0022 3223]
Wu Shutong [2976 5289 6639], Jin Taikang [6855 1132 1660], Zhou Aihua [0719 1947 5478] (f), Zheng Duo [6774 6995], Meng Wugui [1322 0063 6311]
Zhao Fengtai [6392 7685 0669] (f, Hui), Zhao Yushi [6392 3768 1102], Zhao Zhuoyun [6392 0587 0061], Zhao Jianliang [6392 1696 5328], Wu Rulei [5170 1172 7191]
Du Benjie [6757 2609 3381], Gao Yang [7559 2254], Guo Wenye [6753 2429 6777],
Guo Zhongmin [6753 0112 3046], Tang Xiaoxuan [0781 1321 1357], Ling Tong [0407 1749]
Tan Dai [6151 6649] (f), E Tingquan [6759 1694 0356] (Manchu), Chang Naiying [1603 0035 3853], Cui Bugeng [1508 2975 8676]
Wei Xianglian [7136 7449 5571] (f), Zhang Rirong [4545 2480 2837], Liang Shujin [2733 2885 0093] (f), Ge Yunzao [5514 5686 5679] (f)
Han Qun [7281 5028], Chu Runde [5969 3387 1795], Zhai Shumin [5049 3219 2404] (f)

Tangshan Municipality (61 delegates)

Ding Guoqian [0002 0948 6197] (Hui), Wang Li [3769 0500] (f), Wang Yu [3769 3768], Wang Ming [3769 2494], Wang Zhen [3769 7201]
Wang Xuemin [3769 1331 3046], Wang Zhongsheng [3769 1350 5110], Wang Suqin [3769 4790 5367] (f), Wang Xiajun [3769 1420 2504], Wang Dezeng [3769 1795 1073], Wang Lubin [3769 1462 1755]
Yin Zhesheng [1438 0772 3932], Ai Youqin [5337 2589 0530], Tian Huicun [3944 1979 1317] (f), Feng Xiaochun [7458 1420 2504], Zhu Xiuping [2612 4423 5493] (f)
Liu Ren [0491 7282] (f), Liu Weinian [0491 4850 1628], Du Zhongxun [2629 0112 0534], Li Feng [2621 6912], Li Pingzhi [2621 1627 0037], Li Baoshan [2621 1405 1472]
Li Shufen [2621 3219 5358] (f), Li Yaosan [2621 5069 0005], Yang Yuan [2799 6678], Yang Yumei [2799 3768 2734] (f), Su Shibin [5685 4311 3453]
Lian Chengbi [6647 2052 3880] (f), Wu Ruiqi [0702 3843 3825] (Manchu), Yu Sheng [0151 3932], Zou Renyun [6760 0088 9462], Xin Ming [6580 2494]

Wang Qin [3076 2953] (Manchu), Song Shuyuan [1345 2885 6678], Zhang Da [1728 6671], Zhang Maolin [1728 5399 2651], Zhang Qiying [1728 1142 5391], Zhang Xingwu [1728 2502 0063]
 Chen Yueyun [7115 1471 0061], Chen Hongjia [7115 3163 5401] (f), Chen Fuhai [7115 4395 3189], Shao Yuefen [6750 2588 5358] (f)
 Lin Yicai [2651 0001 2088] (f), Jin Dayuan [6855 1129 3293], Jin Yuhuai [6855 3768 2037] (f), Zhao Benyin [6392 2609 6892], Jiang Dongcang [1203 0392 0221]
 Geng Lingqiu [5105 5376 4428] (f), Geng Ruixing [5105 3843 5281], Yuan Deli [0626 1795 4409], Qian Wansheng [6929 5502 3932] (Hui), Xu Shouwen [1776 1343 2429]
 Yin Ruiyu [3009 3843 6877], Gao Zhengqi [7559 2398 2978], Guo Biao [6753 1753], Mei Deshan [2734 1795 1472], Jian Shaohong [4675 0664 3163], Pan Gongping [3382 0361 1627], Pan Chengxiao [3382 2110 1321]
 Huo Chunfang [7202 2504 5364] (f), Wei Zhang [7614 4545]

Handan Prefecture (126 delegates)

Yu Jixiang [0060 0679 4382], Wan Xihe [5502 0823 3109], Ma Zhao [7456 2507], Ma Kenian [7456 0344 1628], Ma Aihong [7456 1947 4767] (f, Hui)
 Ma Binru [7456 1755 0320] (Hui), Wang Jiude [3769 0046 1795], Wang Zihe [3769 1311 0735], Wang Shaomin [3769 1421 2404] (f)
 Wang Yuling [3769 3768 3781] (f), Wang Zhanxian [3769 0594 0341], Wang Xiushan [3769 4423 1472] (Hui), Wang Gengjie [3769 1649 2638], Wang Zonghan [3769 1350 3352]
 Wang Yanchen [3769 1750 5256], Wang Qiulin [3769 4428 2651], Wang Shufang [3769 3219 5358] (f), Mao Xitian [3029 1585 3944], Chou Hua [0092 5478] (f)
 Wen Yao [2429 2565] (Manchu), Shen Jianzhou [3947 1696 3166], Tian Chengqing [3944 2052 1987], Shi Zhi [0670 2535], Bai Lutang [4101 6922 1016], Bai Zhenhai [4101 2182 3189]
 Feng Ziyang [7458 1311 5391], Qu Zhenhua [2575 2182 5478], Wu Xiuwu [0124 0128 2976], Ren Chengxi [0117 2052 0823], Liu Zhen [0491 4176] (f), Liu Shengrui [0491 3932 3843]
 Liu Xingya [0491 5281 7161], Liu Bingyan [0491 4426 1750], Liu Xianjun [0491 2009 0689], Liu Manquan [0491 3341 0356], Qi Qingtang [7871 1987 1016], Mi Jingwen [4717 2417 2429]
 Qi Bingzhang [4359 4426 4545], Xu Liang [6079 5328], Xu Shizhong [6079 1102 1813], Yuan Zhengguo [7086 2973 1613] (f), Sun Guizhen [1327 2710 3791] (f)
 Sun Shenli [1327 1957 4409], Sun Defeng [1327 1795 6265] (Manchu), Du Ershan [2629 0059 1472], Du Jingyi [2629 4544 0001], Li Zhonghua [2621 0022 5478], Li Zhonggao [2621 0022 7559]
 Li Yukun [2621 3768 0981], Li Youming [2621 2589 2494], Li Huilin [2621 2585 2651], Li Lisheng [2621 0536 3932], Li Xiurong [2621 4423 2837] (f), Li Mingjun [2621 2494 6874]
 Li Luohai [2621 5012 3189], Li Yanqing [2621 1484 3237], Li Zhenzhong [2621 2182 1813], Li Runsheng [2621 3387 3932], Li Fuli [2621 4395 0448], Yang Huimin [2799 1920 3046], Hua Gui [5363 6311]
 Lao Ziyang [0525 1311 5391] (f), Su Qixiang [5685 0366 4382], Wu Yujun [0702 3768 0193] (f), Song Molu [1345 1075 4389], Zhang Yunpei [1728 0061 1014]
 Zhang Wenling [1728 2429 7881], Zhang Lifeng [1728 7787 1496], Zhang Xueren [1728 1331 0088], Zhang Jianhua [1728 1696 5478], Zhang Runshen [1728 3387 6500], Zhang Qingtian [1728 3237 3944], Zhang Jingjian [1728 6975 0494]

Lu Guanghui [7120 0342 1979] (f), Chen Fengqin [7115 7685 5367] (f), Chen Xueling [7115 1331 3781] (f), Wu Yongchang [2976 3057 2490]
Wu Hongfeng [2976 7703 7685] (f), Lin Guijing [2651 2710 2529] (f), Miao Zhenxu [5379 2182 4872], Fan Jingan [5400 7234 1344], Ou Guozhi [2962 0948 2535]
Zhou Yirong [0719 0110 2837] (f), Jin Jian [6855 1017], Jin Zhu [6855 4591] (f), Zhao Ying [6392 6601], Zhao Kuan [6392 1401]
Zhao Zhiting [6392 0037 1694], Zhao Dahuang [6392 6671 4635], Zhao Zhixiang [6392 1807 7449] (f), Zhao Xianzhen [6392 2009 3791], Zhao Suyun [6392 4790 0061] (f)
Liu Peilan [2692 1014 5695] (f), Feng Zhiming [6646 1807 2494], Duan Moutang [3008 5399 1016], Hou Tongyun [0186 0681 0061], Mo Wei [5459 0251]
Jia Guizhen [6328 2710 3791] (f), Xu Huanan [1776 5478 0589], Xu Zhijie [1776 1807 2638] (f), Xu Lihua [1776 7786 5478] (f)
Yin Renhua [3009 4771 5478] (f, Manchu), Gao Zhu [7559 6519], Guo Lanxia [6753 5695 7209] (f)
Guo Jinfeng [6753 6855 7685] (f), Guo Jintang [6753 6855 1016], Huang Xian [7806 6343], Huang Hanguang [7806 3352 0342], Huang Guo'an [7806 0948 1344], Huang Jinxiang [7806 6855 4382]
Qi Yide [2058 0110 1795], Chang Guoxian [1603 0948 3759], Cui Zemin [1508 3419 3046], Cui Yanfu [1508 5888 1381], Han Zelin [7281 3419 2651], Dong Xianbin [5516 2009 1755]
Jiang Xirong [5592 1585 2837] (f), Jiang Xueluo [5592 1331 2867], Cheng Guangtai [4453 1684 3141], Jiao Zenglong [3542 1073 7893], Wen Qishui [3306 0366 3055], Xie Yubiao [6200 3768 2871]
Xie Fenggao [6200 1144 4108], Cai Zhijie [5591 1807 2638], Xue Shuying [5641 3219 5391] (f), Wei Bengling [7614 3521 7792] (Mongol)

Xingtai Prefecture (100 delegates)

Ma Shaolin [7456 1421 2651], Ma Yongzhen [7456 3057 2182], Wang Wang [3769 4853], Wang Zhun [3769 6150], Wang Lei [3769 7191]
Wang Ergui [3769 0059 2710] (f, Hui), Wang Dongning [3769 2639 1380], Wang Faying [3769 4099 5391] (f), Wang Huimin [3769 2585 3046]
Wang Kedong [3769 0344 2639], Wang Zhiqin [3769 1807 0530], Wang Jihua [3769 1323 5363] (f), Wang Zhixue [3769 3112 1331], Wang Xuezhang [3769 1331 4545]
Wang Hongxia [3769 3163 7209] (f), Wang Suzhen [3769 4790 3791] (f), Shi Zhonghao [0670 0112 6275], Bai Yunsheng [4101 5366 3932], Bao Mengling [0545 1322 1545]
Lu Guiyuan [0712 6311 0337], Liu Shifang [0491 0013 5364], Liu Yiting [0491 5669 0080], Liu Zhihua [0491 1807 5478], Liu Shihe [0491 2514 0735], Liu Mingjie [0491 2494 2638], Liu Bingcai [0491 3521 2088]
Xu Ping [6079 5493], Sun Zhihong [1327 1807 1347], Sun Lushen [1327 3619 3947], Li Yurong [2621 3768 2837] (f), Li Rufang [2621 3067 5364] (f)
Li Xiulan [2621 4423 5695] (f), Li Hongguang [2621 1347 0342], Li Bingliang [2621 3521 5328], Li Hengxin [2621 1854 2450], Li Deyin [2621 1795 0603], Yang Qihai [2799 0366 3189]
Yang Baoqing [2799 0202 1987], Yang Haiying [2799 3189 5391] (f, Hui), Yang Qingyi [2799 3237 5030], Yang Shuyun [2799 3219 0061], Yang Xiangrong [2799 3276 2837]
Wu Huayu [0702 5478 5148], Wu Shoupei [0702 1108 1014], Wu Zengliang [0702 1073 0081], He Xinhua [0149 2450 5478], Song Yongchang [1345 3057 2490], Zhang Naifang [1728 0035 5364] (f)

Zhang Wanying [1728 5502 3602], Zhang Yonghe [1728 3057 0735], Zhang Zhiyuan [1728 1807 6678], Zhang Bozhu [1728 0130 2691], Zhang Yingmei [1728 5391 2734] (f)

Zhang Shulin [1728 2885 2651], Zhang Zhenyu [1728 2182 4416], Zhang Jingcai [1728 2417 1752] (f), Zhang Dianxuan [1728 3013 6693], Chen Yimin [7115 0001 3046], Chen Zhongyan [7115 0022 1484]

Chen Yuanzhen [7115 0337 3791] (f), Chen Fengqin [7115 7685 3830], Chen Yongxiu [7115 3057 0208], Chen Jinhua [7115 6855 5363] (f), Chen Lufu [7115 7627 1133]

Zhou Guoqing [0719 0948 0615], Zhou Enquan [0719 1869 3123], Zheng Yuxiang [6774 3768 7449] (f), Shan Biao [0830 1753], Meng Tao [1322 3447], Zhao Yimin [6392 0001 3046]

Zhao Wanzeng [6392 5502 1073], Zhao Shengju [6392 0524 5468] (f), Zhao Jingchen [6392 2529 6591], Hao Zhihua [6787 1807 5478], Jing Ximin [5427 6932 2404], Liu Jingchang [2692 2529 2512]

Hou Chunlai [0186 2504 0171], Zhu Jiqun [4376 6060 5028], He Zhenduo [6320 2182 6995], Yuan Fanyou [5913 5672 3731], Jia Changsuo [6328 7022 6956], Xu Xiushen [1776 0208 6500], Guo Chi [6753 6375]

Guo Chengzhi [6753 2052 1807], Huang Xueyu [7806 7185 7183] (f), Cao Ziyang [2580 1311 5391] (f), Cao Tongquan [2580 0681 2938]

Cao Quanzhen [2580 0356 3791] (f), Cao Zengyin [2580 1073 0603], Sheng Baolan [4141 0202 5695] (f), Ma Guiping [7802 6311 1627] (f)

Liang Zhengping [2733 2973 1627] (f), Peng Zhongqi [1756 0022 0366] (Tujia), Han Fang [7281 2455], Han Genfu [7281 2704 4395]

Cheng Fengchao [4453 6265 6389], Fu Xuezhou [0265 1331 0719], Hua Fuheng [3323 4395 1854], Jing Yuxing [7231 7183 5281], Pan Yongliang [3382 3057 0081]

Shijiazhuang Prefecture (87 delegates)

Ma Zhihou [7456 1807 0624], Wang Yueming [3769 2588 2494], Wang Yushan [3769 3768 1472], Wang Lanying [3769 5695 5391] (f), Wang Fanyu [3769 5400 1342], Wang Meihang [3769 5019 5300]

Wang Qihua [3769 4428 5478] (f), Wang Kaizhen [3769 0418 2182], Niu Shuangxue [3662 7175 7185] (f), Niu Shuren [3662 2885 0086], Yin She [1438 0772]

Shi Hong [4258 5725], Shi Zhenye [4258 2182 2814], Shi Hengsheng [0670 1854 3932], Bai Heqing [4101 0678 1987] (Hui), Feng Yuming [7458 3768 2494], Bian Yuebo [6708 2588 3134]

Rong Guanxiu [2051 0385 4423] (f), Lu Yulan [0712 3768 5695] (f), Zhu Guangjun [2612 0342 6511] (f), Liu Gang [0491 0474]

Liu Jilai [0491 0679 0171], Liu Hechang [0491 6320 2490], Liu Zhenxiang [0491 4394 4382], Liu Lubo [0491 6424 3134], Liu Xinzhang [0491 2450 4545], Qi Hanying [7871 0698 5391] (f)

Xu Wenfeng [6079 2429 1496], Li Xing [2621 5281], Li Zhongdao [2621 0022 6670], Li Yongjin [2621 3057 6651], Li Quanji [2621 0356 0679], Li Lianzhu [2621 6647 2691]

Li Xiufen [2621 4423 5358] (f), Li Songrong [2621 2646 2837], Li Yingwu [2621 5391 2976], Li Jinshun [2621 6855 7311], Li Minzhen [2621 2404 3791], Li Zhutang [2621 5511 1016]

Li Xintian [2621 2450 3944] (f), Yang Zhengqi [2799 3630 1142], Xiao Xiuhui [5618 4423 1920], Zhang Li [1728 0500] (f)

Zhang Jing [1728 2533] (f), Zhang Jing [1728 7234] (f), Zhang Shixiang [1728 1102 4382], Zhang Zhibo [1728 0037 3134], Zhang Minsheng [1728 2404 3932]
 Zhang Qianzhong [1728 3383 1813], Chen Hui [7115 6540], Chen Shuyu [7115 2631 3768], Chen Qiming [7115 0796 2494], Lin Xiutao [2651 4423 2711] (f)
 Lin Hongjie [2651 3163 2638], Hang Chengxian [2635 2110 6343], Fan Zhenzhou [5400 2182 1558], Shang Cuixia [1424 5050 7209] (f), Zhou Zhihua [0719 3112 5478], Xi Depei [6741 1795 1014]
 Zheng Pingxin [6774 1627 0207], Zheng Qingchang [6774 1987 2490], Guan Jie [1351 2638], Fang Sanwei [2075 0005 4850], Meng Xurui [1322 7312 5605] (f)
 Zhao Tongshan [6392 6894 1472] (Hui), Zhao Xiufang [6392 4423 5364] (f), Zhao Huchun [6392 5706 2504], Hu Huanbi [5170 3562 1084], He Zhi'ou [6320 1807 3917]
 Li Xiulan [2698 4423 5695] (f), Jia Changwen [6328 1603 2429], Dang Shuzhen [7825 3219 6297] (f), Xu Wei [1776 0251], Gao Hushun [7559 5706 7311]
 Gao Nengquan [7559 5174 2938], Guo Zhi [6753 1807], Cao Huidong [2580 0565 2639], Yan Changhai [7051 2490 3189], Yan Guishan [7051 6311 1472]
 Cui Chunjian [1508 2504 0256] (f, Korean), Kang Ruihua [1660 3843 5478], Han Chengming [7281 2052 2494], Han Qiming [7281 0796 3046] (f)
 Fu Liang [0265 0081], Jian Guowu [3542 0948 2976], Jin Yanming [7246 6056 2494], Zhai Shuxia [5049 2885 7209] (f)

Baoding Prefecture (155 delegates)

Ma Jian [7456 0256] (Hui), Ma Huamin [7456 0553 3046], Ma Jintang [7456 6651 1016], Ma Baoshan [7456 1405 1472], Ma Junsheng [7456 0193 3932] (Hui)
 Ma Enxuan [7456 1869 6513], Wang Xiu [3769 0208], Wang Hao [3769 3185], Wang Jian [3769 0256], Wang Tie [3769 6993]
 Wang Qi [3769 3823] (f), Wang Yunxiang [3769 0061 4382], Wang Buxiu [3769 0008 0208], Wang Wenzhong [3769 2429 0022], Wang Zhanlu [3769 0594 6922], Wang Yinkai [3769 0603 2818]
 Wang Lanpo [3769 5695 0980], Wang Chenglan [3769 2052 5695] (f), Wang Huicun [3769 2855 1317] (f), Wang Lianrui [3769 6647 3843], Wang Jinbao [3769 6651 1405]
 Wang Gailuan [3769 2395 2043] (f), Wang Mingqi [3769 2494 0796], Wang Guanying [3769 6306 5391] (f), Wang Xianzhou [3769 2009 0719]
 Wang Haiyan [3769 3189 3601] (f), Wang Suyuan [3769 4790 0337], Wang Sumin [3769 4790 2404] (f), Wang Jufen [3769 5468 5358] (f)
 Wang Yinhua [3769 6892 5478] (f), Wang Deshan [3769 1795 1472], Niu Yingqi [3662 5391 1477], Niao Lan [7680 5695] (f, Mongol)
 Fang Hongquan [2455 3163 3123], Kong Xiangzhou [1313 4382 0719], Gu Xingzhen [0657 2622 6297] (f), Bai Yusheng [4101 3768 3932], Xing Chongzhi [6717 1504 2535], Bi Hengwu [3968 1854 2976]
 Shi Yongchang [1597 3057 2490], Lu Wenyi [0712 2429 7392], Ren Lianfei [0117 5114 7378], Liu Han [0491 3352], Liu Cheng [0491 6134], Liu Zhen [0491 3791], Liu Ting [0491 0080]
 Liu Yonghui [0491 3057 1920], Liu Zhimin [0491 1807 3046], Liu Zhimin [0491 1807 2404], Liu Guolin [0491 0948 2651] (Hui), Liu Zongyao [0491 1350 5069] (Hui)
 Liu Shunchang [0491 7311 1603], Liu Zhendong [0491 2182 2639], Liu Tiesheng [0491 6993 3932], Liu Weihua [0491 4850 5478], Liu Xiling [0491 0823 3781] (f, Hui)

Liu Fu'en [0491 4395 1869], Tang Nianci [3282 1819 1964] (f), An Junying [1344 0193 5391] (Hui)
 An Shufeng [1344 3219 7685] (f, Hui), Sun Cheng [1327 6134], Sun Zhizhong [1327 1013 0022], Sun Xiurong [1327 4423 2837] (f)
 Sun Jianmin [1327 1696 3046], Sun Luosi [1327 3157 0934], Yan Jingbo [0917 6975 3134] (f), Su Fuzeng [5685 4395 1073], Li Wenxian [2621 2429 6343], Li Wenfu [2621 2429 1381]
 Li Yufeng [2621 3768 1496], Li Guanghui [2621 0342 6540], Li Xingyou [2621 5281 3731], Li Kedong [2621 0344 2639], Li Zongsheng [2621 1350 3932] (Manchu)
 Li Yingci [2621 5391 1964] (f), Li Xuegang [2621 1331 0474], Li Guijun [2621 2710 0971], Li Weiha [2621 4850 3352], Li Dengke [2621 4098 4430], Yang Yinong [2799 0001 6593]
 Yang Zaixin [2799 0375 2450] (f), Yang Tingfang [2799 1694 5364], Yang Huaizhen [2799 2037 3791], Yang Junluo [2799 0689 2867], Yang Qixun [2799 1142 6676], Yang Ding'an [2799 1353 1344]
 Xiao Guang [5618 0342], Wu Hui [0702 2585], Wu Jianchang [0702 1696 2490], Wu Furong [0702 1381 5816], He Changyou [0149 7022 2589], Wang Dejian [3076 1795 7003], Zhang Rong [1728 2837]
 Zhang Guangqian [1728 1684 0467], Zhang Fengchi [1728 7685 3069], Zhang Hanyun [1728 3352 0061], Zhang Lanchi [1728 5695 3069] (f), Zhang Zhifang [1728 1807 5364], Zhang Zuozhong [1728 0155 1813]
 Zhang Jinfeng [1728 6855 6912], Zhang Gui'en [1728 6311 1869], Zhang Duzhai [1728 4648 7872], Zhang Chunfu [1728 2504 1381], Zhang Xiaodong [1728 2556 2639], Zhang Caiyan [1728 1752 1750] (f)
 Zhang Qingsen [1728 3237 2773], Zhang Jingyin [1728 2529 1377], Lu Jing [7120 2529], Chen Haishui [7115 3189 3055], Chen Daohou [7115 6670 0624], Fan Guiying [5400 2710 5391] (f)
 Fan Xirong [5400 0823 2837] (f), Lin Fang [2651 2397], Zhou Hang [0719 5887] (f), Zhou Lipai [0719 4539 1014], Zhou Yuxuan [0719 3768 8830]
 Zhou Xue'ao [0719 1331 7663], Zhou Xinyue [0719 2450 2588], Zheng Hou'an [6774 6892 2691], Zheng Deheng [6774 1795 1854], Zhao Bo [6392 3134]
 Zhao Xiaoduo [6392 1420 1122] (f), Zhao Changkui [6392 7022 1145], Zhao Zhongmao [6392 1813 5399], Zhao Peixia [6392 0160 7209] (f)
 Zhao Baoqin [6392 1405 3830] (f), Zhao Guixia [6392 2710 7209] (f), Zhao Zhenjia [6392 2182 3946], Hao Yuting [6787 3768 0080], Hou Guodong [0186 0948 2767]
 Jiang Guoxian [1203 0948 6343], Zu Huaichun [4371 2037 2504], Qin Jinhua [4440 6855 5363] (f), Gu Jinlan [7357 6855 5695] (f)
 Xu Zhihua [1776 1807 5363] (f), Xu Kuiwen [1776 1145 2429], Qian Yingkang [6929 5391 1660], Gao Yifang [7559 0001 5364] (f), Tang Yanming [0781 1750 2494]
 Tang Huimin [0781 1920 3046] (Manchu), Huang Jiali [7806 0857 4409], Cui Daxian [1508 1129 0103] (f), Liang Zuling [2733 4371 7881], Liang Xiangnan [2733 5046 0589]
 Peng Daizi [1756 1486 2737], Peng Suzhi [1756 4790 5347] (f), Han Lianchi [7281 5571 3069], Cheng Ruiju [4453 3843 7467], Guo Junwen [6938 0193 2429], Lu Zhentai [7627 2182 1132]
 Zhen Lingjun [3914 0109 6511], Jin Chongmin [7246 1504 2404] (f), Pei Baohua [5952 0202 5478], Tan Dunwen [6223 2415 2429]

Zhangjiakou Prefecture (99 delegates)

Ding Litian [0002 4409 3944], Yu Enhui [0060 1869 1920], Ma Chenglin [7456 2052 2651] (Hui), Ma Changrui [7456 2490 3843] (Hui), Ma Yaozhang [7456 5069 4545]
Wang Yun [3769 0061], Wang Chuan [3769 0356], Wang Wanchun [3769 5502 2504], Wang Yuhua [3769 3768 5478] (f), Wang Shiqing [3769 0013 3231], Wang Tingbi [3769 1694 1732]
Wang Xiufang [3769 4423 5364] (f), Wang Huaimei [3769 2037 2734] (f, Hui), Wang Kewei [3769 0344 4850], Wang Changhan [3769 2490 3352]
Wang Chunlan [3769 2504 5695] (f), Wang Jichang [3769 4949 7022], Wang Huanchen [3769 3562 5256] (f), Wang Ruijing [3769 3843 2529], Che Xiangqian [6508 0686 0467]
Niu Shucai [3662 2885 2088], Deng Shi [6772 4258], Shi Cuizhen [4258 5050 3791] (f), Lu Mingchang [4151 2494 2490], Ye Guangjin [5509 1684 6651], Shen Qingrong [3947 1987 2837]
Bai Fengyi [4101 7364 5030] (Hui), Feng Aihua [7458 5337 5478], Feng Shukai [7458 1920 5364] (f), Liu Ying [0491 5391]
Liu Zhijia [0491 0037 1367], Liu Shengzhan [0491 3932 1455], Liu Xiaoguang [0491 2556 0342] (f), Zhu Wencai [2612 2429 2088], Zhu Youdian [2612 2589 0368], Ren Jizhou [0117 4949 0719]
Qi Jinwen [7871 6930 2429] (f), Li Cai [2621 1752], Li Shangshu [2621 1424 2579] (f), Li Bingzheng [2621 4426 2398] (Manchu)
Li Guoting [2621 0948 0080], Li Lingui [2621 2651 2710], Li Sumei [2621 4790 2734] (f), Li Yuming [2621 5940 3046], Li Fuwan [2621 4395 5502] (Hui)
Yang Zheng [2799 2398], Bu Shiwei [2975 0013 4885], He Qingfu [0149 1987 4395], Yu Xin [0151 0207], Song Yulan [1345 3768 5695] (f), Song Zhizhong [1345 1807 0022]
Song Shuhua [1345 0647 5478], Zhang Ran [1728 3544], Zhang Yuan [1728 3293], Zhang Wenjun [1728 2429 0689], Zhang Yukun [1728 3768 2492], Zhang Guozhong [1728 0948 1813] (f)
Zhang Guanyi [1728 6306 0001] (Manchu), Zhang Shuguang [1728 2562 0342], Chen Kai [7115 0418], Chen Yingyu [7115 2503 2509], Chen Peihang [7115 1014 5300] (f)
Wu Xinshan [2976 2450 1472], Lin Ke [2651 0344] (f), Miao Yuquan [5379 3768 3123], Miao Yuantian [5379 0626 3944], Fan Bao [5400 1405], Fan Guodong [5400 0948 2767]
Fan Xiaohe [5400 4607 0678], Guo Guanghua [0948 0342 5478], Bao Yin [1405 7299] (Mongol), Xi Guifang [6741 2710 5364], Zhao Bu [6392 0592], Zhao Gang [6392 0474]
Zhao Shixia [6392 1102 0204], Zhao Fenghua [6392 7685 5363] (f), Hu Zhenheng [5170 2182 1854], Jiang Hanjie [1203 3352], Yao Bin [1202 2430], Jia Zhentang [6328 2182 1016]
Jia Huizhen [6328 1920 3791] (f), Qian Xiuzhi [6929 4423 2655] (f), Xu Zhenfei [1776 2182 7378], Xi Rujie [1153 0320 2638] (Manchu)
Guo Fenglan [6753 7685 5695] (f), Guo Yongxian [6753 3057 0341] (f), Guo Lizhong [6753 0536 1813], Huang Shizhong [7806 3219 1813] (f)
Chang Shouyi [1603 1343 1744], Zhang Bingan [4545 4426 1344], Kou Fuhu [1379 4395 4375], Peng Changshou [1756 7022 1108], Ke Qi [5514 0796], Cheng Youzhi [4453 2589 1807]
Zeng Guichen [2582 2710 5256] (f), Jie Feng [6043 1496], Liao Xuanwen [1675 1357 2429], Pan Guozhen [3392 0948 3791]

Chengde Prefecture (71 delegates)

Ding Yulong [0002 3768 7893] (Hui), Wan Guiqin [5502 2710 5367] (f), Ma Gang [7456 0474],
Ma Xiujia [7456 4423 5431] (f, Hui), Ma Ruisheng [7456 3843 4141], Wang Xin [3769 0207], Wang Youwu [3769 2589 2976]
Wang Zhanrong [3769 0594 2837] (f), Wang Yazhen [3769 0068 3791] (f), Wang Kedong [3769 0344 2639], Wang Jinsheng [3769 6651 3932], Wang Zhenxing [3769 2182 5281]
Wang Fulin [3769 1381 2651], Wang Fuyan [3769 1381 5333] (f, Hui), Gan Yuyuan [3927 3768 0337], Ye Donghu [5509 2639 5706]
Ye Mingyuan [5509 2494 6678] (Mongol), Shi Changming [0670 2490 2494], Bai Qing [4101 3237] (Manchu), Feng Xiuzhi [7458 4423 5347] (f)
Lu Xiang [0712 4382], Zhu Xi [2612 2569] (f), Zhu Chenglin [2612 2052 2651], Wu Tianzhu [6762 1131 2691], Liu Haiyun [0491 3189 0061], Liu Zhenbin [0491 2182 2430]
Liu Xinmin [0491 2450 3046], Qi Zongxian [7871 1350 6343], Xu Wenlong [6079 2429 7893], Na Fusheng [6719 4395 3932] (Manchu), Sun Weiqi [1327 4850 3825], Li Zizhuo [2621 1311 3820]
Li Sishen [2621 1835 1957], Li Xiaogang [2621 2400 4854], Xiao Jingsheng [5618 2529 3932] (Manchu), Yu Changqun [0151 1603 5028] (f)
Zou Haowu [6760 3185 2976], Shen Junchi [3088 0689 3069] (Manchu), Zhang You [1728 0645], Zhang Xu [1728 2485], Zhang Ji [1728 1376], Zhang Fu [1728 1381]
Zhang Jiuqing [1728 0046 3237], Zhang Guangren [1728 1684 0088], Zhang Xiuping [1728 4423 1627] (Hui), Zhang Guohua [1728 0948 5478] (Manchu)
Zhang Baolin [1728 1405 2651] (Manchu), Zhang Haishan [1728 3189 3790], Zhang Huanqun [1728 0822 5028], Chen Zhiyuan [7115 1807 6678], Chen Fuhong [7115 4395 3163]
Lin Shushan [2651 2885 1472] (Manchu), Shang Baoyan [1424 1405 1750], Zhou Jiazhen [0719 0502 3791] (f), Zhou Yumei [0719 3768 2734] (f)
Zheng Jie [6774 2638] (f), Hu Guilan [5170 2710 5695] (f), Xia Zhenhou [1115 2182 0186] (Hui)
Gao Changchun [7559 7022 2504], Gao Kuzhou [7559 5388 5297], Huang Guoliang [7806 0948 5328], Cao Zongcheng [2580 1813 6134], Sheng Shida [4141 2514 6671] (Manchu)
Cui Guizhi [1508 2710 5347] (f), Liang Jingfeng [2733 2529 1496], Han Rongji [7281 2837 0679], Fu Dawei [0265 1129 3634], Fu Guiwu [0265 6311 2976] (Mongol)
Jian Qianjun [4675 0241 0689] (f, Zhuang), Wei Sulian [7614 4790 5571] (f)

Tangshan Prefecture 115 delegates--3 seats to be filled)

Ding Chunsheng [0002 2504 3932], Cai Jichang [2088 7162 2490], Ma Yongchun [7456 3057 2504], Ma Xiwen [7456 1585 2429] (f, Hui)
Wang Yu [3769 0151], Wang Yiming [3769 0001 7686], Wang Wenhua [3769 2429 5478], Wang Yulan [3769 3768 5695] (f), Wang Zhanping [3769 0594 1627]
Wang Ruqin [3769 3067 3830] (f), Wang Xiushan [3769 4423 1472], Wang Zuozhe [3769 0155 0772], Wang Xisheng [3769 1585 5110], Wang Yingjun [3769 5391 0193], Wang Jiashu [3769 1367 2885]
Wang Zhenhuan [3769 2182 3883], Fang Yonglu [2455 3057 4389], Fang Baozhi [2455 1405 2655], Deng Changrui [6772 2490 3843], Lu Guangming [4151 0342 2494], Tian Yupu [3944 3768 3877]

Tian Jinling [3944 6855 6875] (f), Tian Jinyu [3944 0193 3768], Bai Luosheng [4101 2867 0524], Feng Chengjiang [7458 2052 3068], Qu Xianzhong [2575 2009 1813], Zhu Wanzhong [2612 5502 1813]
 Liu Wenxin [0491 2429 2450], Liu Yulan [0491 3768 5695] (f), Liu Zhiliang [0491 1807 5328], Liu Guocun [0491 0948 2625]
 Liu Yan'e [0491 5333 1230] (f, Hui), Liu Jinzhao [0491 2516 2600], Liu Ruixiang [0491 3843 4382], Jiang Yuqin [3068 3768 5367] (f)
 Tang Licai [3282 4539 2088], Qi Jingqiao [4539 2529 0829], Sun Yuxiang [1327 3768 7449] (f, Manchu), Sun Xuehai [1327 1331 3189], Li Han [2621 3352]
 Li Dayong [2621 1129 0516], Li Hanchen [2621 3352 5256], Li Jinqing [2621 6651 1987], Li Jingwu [2621 4842 2745], Li Xiuxiao [2621 0208 1320], Li Yanjie [2621 1750 2638] (f)
 Li Xuqun [2621 4872 5028], Yang Wensheng [2799 2429 3932], Yang Yufu [2799 3768 1381], Yang Xiaochun [2799 1321 2504] (f), Yang Peisheng [2799 1014 3932], Yang Qianliang [2799 0051 6852]
 Pang Huanting [1690 2562 1656], Wu Guowen [0702 0948 2429] (Manchu), Wu Zhenhua [0702 2182 5478], Dong Naiqin [0157 0035 0530] (f, Manchu)
 Yu Zhenzhong [0151 2182 0022], Zou Xijun [6760 6932 6874], Song Qian [1345 6197], Song Dezhu [1345 1795 3796], Zhang Rong [1728 2837], Zhang Ziming [1728 1311 2494], Zhang Ziwei [1728 1311 4850]
 Zhang Wenji [1728 2429 4921], Zhang Wenbo [1728 2429 0590], Zhang Yucan [1728 3768 3503], Zhang Qinghua [1728 1989 5478], Zhang Zhimin [1728 1807 2404] (f), Zhang Kerang [1728 0344 6245]
 Zhang Wenqui [1728 3080 2710], Zhang Shangda [1728 1424 6671], Zhang Guoxiang [1728 0948 4382], Zhang Yiqun [1728 0181 5028], Zhang Guizhen [1728 2710 3791] (f), Zhang Zhenhua [1728 2182 5478]
 Zhang Ailing [1728 1947 3781] (f), Zhang Yaying [1728 7161 7336] (f), Chen Shuanglin [7115 7175 2651], Chen Yongxian [7115 3057 0341], Chen Cunguang [7115 1317 0342]
 Chen Xiufang [7115 4423 5364] (f), Wu Lianzheng [2976 6647 0112], Lin Zhenai [2651 6297 1947] (f, Korean)
 Zhou Shixian [0719 1102 6343], Zhou Yuwen [0719 3768 2429], Zhou Yulan [0719 3768 5695] (f), Zhou Zhengxin [0719 2398 2450], Yue Yaya [1471 1246 1246] (f)
 Zheng Guo [6774 0948], Zheng Jiufen [6774 0036 5358] (f), Meng Zhongyun [1322 0112 0061] (f), Zhao Yanjun [6392 1693 6511]
 Zhao Surong [6392 4790 2837] (f), Hu Guifen [5170 6311 5358], Zhong Qingjie [6945 3237 2638], Hou Zaijun [0186 0375 6511], Yao Yuqin [1202 3768 5367] (f)
 Xi Tinggao [1598 1694 7559], Tang Shigong [0781 0013 0501], Huang Guosheng [7806 0948 0524], Cui Ziyu [1508 1311 3768], Cui Fengzhu [1508 7685 5053], Yan Jinglong [7051 2529 7893], Ge Yanzhen [5514 1693 4394]
 Ke Jiguang [5514 4949 0342], Wen Jing [3306 7234] (f), Li Zhicheng [7812 1807 2052], Pan Rugeng [3382 3067 5087], Wei Chunyang [7614 2504 7122]
 Wei Xiangzhen [7614 3276 3791] (f)

Langfang Prefecture (47 delegates--7 seats to be filled)

Ding Yi [0002 0001] (f, Hui), Ma Baoguang [7456 1405 0342] (Hui), Wang Jie [3769 2638] (f)
 Wang Zhilong [3769 0037 7893], Wang Youzhi [3769 2589 1807], Wang Youmin [3769 0147 3046] (Hui), Wang Peiran [3769 3099 3544], Wang Degong [3769 1795 1872], Niu Mengqiu [3662 1322 4428]

Lan Shiguang [5663 1102 0342], Lu Junshan [0712 1498 1472], Liu Yuzhi [0491 3768 5347] (f), Liu Dongliang [0491 2639 0081], Liu Rongfeng [0491 2837 6265] Qi Xuye [7871 4958 8518] (Manchu), Yuan Peishan [7086 1014 0810], Sun Zhenhui [1327 6297 1920] (f), Sun Guiying [1327 2710 5391] (f)
 Li Jianmin [2621 0256 3046], Li Zhaohao [2621 2507 3493], Li Wei ju [2621 4850 5468] (f, Hui), Li Fuqin [2621 4395 3830] (f)
 Li Decai [2621 1795 2088], Yang Xianglin [2799 3276 2651] (Hui), He Fang [0149 5364], Yue Zongtai [1471 1350 3141], Zheng Tongde [6774 0681 1795], Meng Zhaofa [1322 2507 4099]
 Zhao Yonggui [6392 3057 6311], Zhao Lianzhen [6392 6647 3791] (f), Xu Dingke [1776 0002 4430], Xu Younian [1776 2589 1628], Gao Hong [7559 3163]
 Tang Suxia [0781 4790 7209] (f), Tao Rongtai [7118 2837 3141], Huang Wangyou [7806 3769 2589], Cao Xian [2580 3156], Cao Changling [2580 1603 7227], Peng Qingbin [1756 1987 1755]
 Xue Fuyuan [5641 4395 0337]

Cangzhou Prefecture (101 delegates--18 seats to be filled)

Ding Yongfa [0002 3057 4099], Ding Tingxin [0002 1694 7451], Ding Xiuying [0002 4423 5391] (f), Yu Zongzhen [0060 1350 3791], Wan Futian [5502 4395 3944] (Hui)
 Ma Qianming [7456 0467 2494] (f), Wang Shiming [3769 0013 2494], Wang Huaiyin [3769 2037 0603], Wang Jindu [3769 6855 1653], Wang Jingguo [3769 4842 0948], Wang Chunsheng [3769 2504 3932]
 Wang Chunxiang [3769 2504 4382], Wang Baocheng [3769 0202 2052], Wang Junkui [3769 3163 6651], Wang Hongjin [3769 3163 6651], Wang Runhui [3769 3387 1920], Niu Zhuanjiang [3662 0278 3068]
 Kong Xintian [1313 0207 3944] (Hui), Shi Fengshan [4258 7685 1472], Tian Jian [3944 7035], Tian Naigeng [3944 1698 5087], Bai Yuchen [4101 3768 3819] (Hui)
 Feng Baoxuan [7458 1405 8830], Liu Wenhe [0491 2429 0735], Liu Yushan [0491 3768 1472], Liu Shihui [0491 0013 6540] (f), Liu Shurong [0491 6615 2837] (f)
 Liu Xiaowen [0491 2556 2429], Liu Jianmin [0491 0256 3046], Liu Weilian [0491 4850 1670], Guan Chunlan [7070 2504 5695] (f, Manchu)
 Xu Zhenming [6079 2182 2494], Lu Zhenying [0712 2182 3602], Li Xin [2621 0207], Li Zhi [2621 2535], Li Yufen [2621 3768 5358] (f), Li Yufeng [2621 3768 1496]
 Li Quanheng [2621 0356 0077], Li Qingpu [2621 1987 2528] (Hui), Li Shufen [2621 3219 5358] (f, Hui), Li Fuqi [2621 4395 0796]
 Yang Feng [2799 1496], Lu Wei yi [4151 4850 5030], Wu Shan [0702 0810], Tong Yinkang [0157 5593 1660], Song Zishan [1345 1311 1472], Chi Ying [6688 3602] (f)
 Zhang Jieyu [1728 1312 1946], Zhang Jiexuan [1728 0094 6513], Zhang Xiuying [1728 4423 3853] (f), Zhang Guiying [1728 2710 5391] (f, Hui)
 Zhang Huanqin [1728 3562 5367] (f), Zhang Ruiying [1728 3843 5391] (f), Lu Ping [7120 5493] (f), Zhuo Zongren [0587 1350 0088]
 Jin Zhongming [6855 6945 2494] (Hui), Jin Yaolan [6855 5569 5695] (Manchu), Meng Fanshan [1322 0416 1472], Meng Cuiying [1322 5050 5391] (f)
 Zhao Guangqi [6392 1684 0796], Jiang Xingzhou [1203 5281 3166], Hong Yi [3163 3015], Qin Guang [4440 0342], Jin Guixiang [2516 2710 7449] (f), Qian Zhongjie [6929 1813 2638]
 Yin Zhongshan [3009 1813 0810], Guo Rui [6753 6904], Guo Shunyuan [6753 7311 0337], Tang Zhi [0781 2535], Tao Wenbin [7118 2429 1755], Cui Zhe [1508 0772]

Huang Junjun [7806 6511 6511] (f), Huang Zhenfeng [7806 2182 1496], Cao Liping [2580 7787 5493] (f), Qi Xinyan [2058 2450 1484] (f)
Peng Yulan [1756 3768 5695] (f), Cheng Ebin [4453 5501 2430], Sui Jinqi [4205 0193 2978], Cao Gaosheng [5591 7559 0581], Tan Jihong [6223 4764 7703], Zhai Yao [5049 5069]
Dai Shutang [2071 3219 1016] (Hui), Wei Rulan [7614 1172 5695] (f)

Hengshui Prefecture (58 delegates--4 seats to be filled)

Wang Zipian [3769 1311 4638], Wang Yongming [3769 3057 2494], Wang Yongzi [3769 3057 2737], Wang Zhiyong [3769 1807 3057], Wang Jincai [3769 6855 2088], Wang Jinzhou [3769 6855 3166]
Wang Guilan [3769 2710 5695] (f), Feng Changshun [7458 7022 7311], Qiao Ju [0829 1446], Liu Dacheng [0491 1129 2052], Liu Shushen [0491 2579 4800]
Liu Shutang [0491 3219 1016] (f), Qi Guilian [7871 2710 5571] (f), An Yaoguang [1344 5069 0342], Sun Zhiyuan [1327 1807 6678]
Du Fulai [2629 4395 0171] (Hui), Li Shuchang [2621 2579 2490], Li Zhohu [2621 0155 5706], Li Jinrong [2621 6855 2837] (f)
Li Guixun [2621 2710 8113] (f), Li Peihao [2621 1014 3185], Yan Zhen [0917 7201], Yang Chunlin [2799 2504 2651], Wu Yusen [0702 3768 2773], Wu Qingcheng [0702 1987 6134]
Song Xinjia [1345 2946 5401] (f), Zhang Ti yuan [1728 7555 0337], Zhang Meiduo [1728 2734 2614] (f), Chen Liange [7115 6647 7041], Chen Yaomin [7115 5069 3046]
Shao Weijiang [6730 4850 3068], Guo Xiumei [0948 4423 2734] (f), Wan Yuquan [1354 3768 3123] (Hui), Fang Guiru [2075 6311 1172]
Hu Wenyun [5170 2429 0336] (f), Hu Zhongguo [5170 1813 0948], Zhong Shuntian [6945 7311 3944], Geng Changsuo [5105 7022 6956], Jia Huaixi [6328 2037 3886], Xu Fang [1776 5364]
Xu Liwen [1776 4539 2429], Xu Hengshen [1776 1854 1957], Gao Jian [7559 0256], Gao Genji [7559 2704 4764], Cao Youmin [2580 1635 3046], Chang Zhiqin [1603 1807 3830] (f)
Chang Jinshan [1603 6855 0810], Cui Lange [1508 5695 2706] (f), Liang Zhongliang [2733 0022 5328], Xie Peilin [6200 3099 2651], Dong Jinghua [5516 2529 5478] (f)
Han Zhongxin [7281 1813 0207], Han Chunlu [7281 2504 6922], Han Peifu [7281 1014 3940]

Liberation Army (113 delegates)

Yu Shuteng [0060 2579 3326] (f), Ma Junci [7456 0193 1964] (Hui), Ma Liande [7456 5114 1795], Ma Dexin [7456 1795 0207] (Hui)
Wang Ping [3769 1627] (f), Wang Ji [3769 6068], Wang Wei [3769 0251] (f, Mongol)
Wang Rui [3769 3843], Wang Shuangcheng [3769 7175 2052], Wang Shiqian [3769 0013 0467], Wang Jishen [3769 4764 6500], Wang Jianchang [3769 1696 2490], Wang Fuchang [3769 1381 7022], Wang Deguang [3769 1795 0342]
Niu Yingxia [3662 5391 7209], Yin Fengyi [1438 7685 0308] (Hui), Shi Cuiyan [4258 5050 1484], Lu Taiquan [4151 1132 2938], Tian Jiute [3944 0046 1795], Tian Yushun [3944 5280 7311]

Tian Yonghe [3944 3057 0735], Qumu Youqi [2575 2606 0645 7871] (Yi), Qu Jining [2575 4949 1380], Zhu Zhongcheng [2612 1813 6134], Zhu Guanzhen [2612 6306 4394]
 Ren Zhirong [0117 5347 2837] (f), Liu Shihua [0491 1102 5478] (f), Liu Changxing [0491 7022 5281], Liu Bingzhai [0491 0393 7872], Liu Haiwu [0491 3189 2976]
 Tang Qiaocai [3282 1564 1752] (f), Jiang Zhongxiu [3068 1813 4423], Xu Zejun [6079 3419 6511], Sun Ruixiang [1327 3843 4382], Li Fei [2621 7378] (f)
 Li Yan [2621 5333] (f), Li Zhiyi [2621 1807 5030], Li Zhigang [2621 1807 0474], Li Jikui [2621 7139 1145], Li Runwang [2621 3387 2489]
 Li Shucui [2621 3219 1752] (f), Li Zengquan [2621 1073 0356], Yang Wenke [2799 2429 3784], Yang Yudong [2799 3768 2767], Yang Hanzhong [2799 3352 0022], Yang Quanhe [2799 0356 3109]
 Yang Zhenming [2799 2182 2494], Wu Yan [0702 3601] (f), Wu Qingrong [0702 1987 2837], Wu Zhiping [0702 4442 1627], Wu Cairong [0702 1752 2837], Wu Fuheng [0702 1381 5899]
 He Lianshui [0149 6647 3055], Zou Benxing [6760 2609 5281], Zou Benxing [6760 2609 5281], Shen Dongchun [3088 2639 2504], Song Zuxi [1345 4371 0823] (f), Song Enru [1345 1869 0320]
 Zhang Zhi [1728 1807], Zhang Ping [1728 5493] (f), Zhang Bao [1728 2552], Zhang Erfang [1728 0059 5364], Zhang Zhirui [1728 0037 3843], Zhang Shutian [1728 2579 3944]
 Zhang Shirong [1728 0013 5554] (f), Zhang Jiaxing [1728 0502 5281], Zhang Qingen [1728 1987 1869], Zhang Jianshe [1728 1696 6080], Zhang Zhenchuan [1728 2182 1557], Zhang Zhendong [1728 2182 2639]
 Chen Fangliang [7115 2455 2733], Chen Xuezheng [7115 3219 5364] (f), Shao Niankun [6730 1628 0981], Hang Chu [2635 4238], Zhou Wenmin [0719 2429 3046]
 Zhou Qishi [6392 1344 6900], Luo Yang [5012 2254], Meng Lijia [1322 7787 0163] (f, Hui), Zhao Zihui [6392 1311 6540], Zhao Xingyu [6392 5281 1342]
 Zhao Anming [6392 1344 6900], Zhao Enjian [6392 1869 3068], Zhao Zhaogang [6392 2600 0474], Ha Guangcheng [0761 0342 2052] (Hui), Duan Xianglu [3008 4382 4389]
 Jiang Jianli [1203 1696 0448] (f), Jiang Guozheng [1203 0948 2398], Yuan Jingang [5913 6651 0474], Yuan Yingxiang [5913 2019 4382], Geng Zhongdao [5105 1813 6670], Yan Minggang [2518 2494 0474]
 Ni Ziwen [0242 1311 2429], Xu Zhongde [1776 1813 1795], Xu Fuzhi [1776 4395 5347], Gao Weimin [7559 5898 3046] (Mongol), Gao Jiewen [7559 2638 2429], Guo Bingzhao [6753 3521 3564]
 Hai Lan [3189 1526] (f), Huang Shuying [7806 2885 5391], Yan Huayi [7051 0553 0001], Yan Yizhong [7051 5030 1813], Chang Shubin [1603 2885 1755], Cui Chuangfu [1508 0482 4395]
 Gai Xingshi [5556 2502 4258] (Hui), Xie Shiwen [6200 0013 4489], Han Min [7281 2404], Han Jingshan [7281 2529 1472], Cheng Xinxi [4453 2450 0823], Que Xinglong [7067 5281 7127]
 Tan Zhiyong [6623 2784 3057], Xue Xheng [5641 8508]

NORTH REGION

BRIEFS

TIANJIN DELEGATION TO TUNISIA--At the invitation of the Tunisian government, the 5-member Tianjin municipal goodwill delegation headed by Deputy Mayor Wu Zhen left Beijing on the evening of 18 October by plane for Tunisia on its tour and on its mission to cut the ribbon for the opening of the municipal trade fair that will be held at Tunis City. Upon its departure from Tianjin, seeing it off were responsible comrades from the municipal CPC committee, the municipal people's congress standing committee, and the municipal people's government, including Zhang Zaiwang, Li Ruihuan, Tan Shaowen, Bai Hua, Hao Tianyi, Nie Bichu, Shi Jian, Liu Jinfeng and Li Lanqing; and responsible persons from the concerned departments. The 34-member municipal trade fair delegation had left Tianjin for Tunisia before the departure of this goodwill delegation. [Excerpts] [SK211253 Tianjin City Service in Mandarin 0030 GMT 19 Oct 83]

SHANXI PEASANT EDUCATION FORUM--From 9 to 17 October, the Ministry of Education held a forum in Taiyuan on peasant education in north and northwest China. Experiences were exchanged at the forum on conducting peasant education in Zhaodang and Mulan Counties in Heilongjiang Province, Huaide County in Jilin Province, and Tangshan City in Hebei Province. [Summary] [Taiyuan Shanxi Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 17 Oct 83 HK]

CSO: 4005/83

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY AFFAIRS

TRAINING OF DUAL-PURPOSE PERSONNEL DISCUSSED

Beijing BAN YUE TAN /SEMIMONTHLY TALKS/ in Chinese No 14, 25 Jul 83 pp 25-27

/Interview/ by reporters Zhang Wanlai /1728 5502 0171/ and Yi Jianru /2496 0313 1172/ of leading comrades of the PLA General Political Department; date and place not given: "A Major Event That Benefits the State, Army, People and Soldiers--Leading Comrades of the General Political Department of the PLA Discuss Training of Dual-Purpose Personnel"/

/Text/ In the past 2 years, some units of the People's Liberation Army, on the premise of completing military and political training and fulfilling all tasks, have trained dual-purpose personnel for military and local use by organizing the broad masses of commanders and fighters to study science, culture and various professional skills and have achieved very good results. This is something new emerging in the army building of the new period. On the eve of 1 August, Army Day, leading comrades of the General Political Department of the PLA responded to our reporters' questions on this issue.

/Question/ What is the work of training dual-purpose personnel currently carried out in the Army?

/Answer/ The so-called dual-purpose personnel are persons to be used by both the Army and the locality. The work of training dual-purpose personnel was set forth by Comrade Deng Xiaoping, chairman of the CPCCC Military Commission, at the plenum of the Military Commission held in 1977. He pointed out: "We should do a more lively job in the work of the Army. Paying attention to the needs of Army building alone is not enough. We should also pay attention to the needs of cadres and fighters who are demobilized or transferred to local work." He said: "It is necessary to gain broad knowledge. After training, cadres and fighters should be able to fight and carry out socialist construction." Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the broad masses of commanders and fighters have substantially changed their mental outlook under the guidance of the party line, principles and policies. Fighters long to become useful persons, and their parents also hope that they become useful persons. In order to explore new methods to lead soldiers in the new situation, many cadres of grassroots units have conducted multifarious experiments. It was under this situation that the work of training dual-purpose personnel began.

/Question/ What is the significance of training dual-purpose personnel in the Army?

/Answer/ Training of dual-purpose personnel in the Army is in keeping with the trend of history, the orientation of army building and the aspirations of the masses. This is a new method of bringing up revolutionary soldiers who have ideals, morality, culture and discipline in the new situation, a new development in the political work and a new way of supporting local construction undertakings. In sum, this is a great event that would benefit the state, the army, the people and soldiers.

Training dual-purpose personnel, first of all, meets the needs of army building. The PLA needs to strengthen its building of revolutionization, modernization and regularization. Cadres and fighters need to gain more scientific and cultural knowledge in order to master the modernized weaponry; the army needs to have knowledge and skills in many fields in order to fulfill various tasks assigned by the party; and different departments of the army need to be manned with a variety of talented personnel. On the other hand, both urban and rural areas have needed a large number of talented personnel since the party shifted its work focus to economic construction. Every year many cadres and fighters retire from the army or need to be transferred to civilian work. Considering the long-term interests of the four modernizations, the army should transfer to local areas more better qualified construction personnel. In other words, under the new situation, our army should consider the needs of safeguarding the motherland as well as the needs of building the motherland and help cadres and fighters to learn and master the skills needed in both fields.

/Question/ Will the training of dual-purpose personnel affect the Army's military training?

/Answer/ No. It won't. Training dual-purpose personnel can promote the studying of technical tactics and the upgrading of military training, because it helps cadres and fighters develop their intelligence and creativity, raise their cultural level, broaden their knowledge and increase their teaching and comprehensive abilities. Judged by the situation of our investigations, all units which have done a good job in the training of dual-purpose personnel have done relatively well in military training, and most comrades who have mastered professional skills are also relatively outstanding in military training. We may say that scientific and cultural knowledge has become an indispensable factor in upgrading military training and increasing the Army's fighting capacity.

/Question/ What kind of impact does it have on ideological and political work?

/Answer/ Judged by the situation in units where this work is done well, it has enriched the content and methods of political work. It has broadened the field of ideological and political work, solved some ideological problems which existed for many years and, particularly, helped solve some problems to make cadres care about the Army and fighters settle down in the service. It has also enriched the cultural life of cadres and fighters and encouraged them to learn, improve themselves and be more energetic. When we inspected different types of companies, many cadres reflected that it has been much easier for them to lead fighters and do political work since they started the training of dual-purpose personnel.

/Question/ Some people worry that conducting the training of dual-purpose personnel might break the regular order in the army. What is your opinion on this issue?

/Answer/ It is true that some people are worrying about this. Some people questioned this as soon as a certain regiment of the PLA Chengdu Units began this work. Facts have proved that carrying out this work conforms to the aspirations of fighters. As a result, the army is now more manageable.

Cadres and fighters are resolute and strict in enforcing orders and prohibitions. The concepts of organizations and disciplines have been strengthened instead of being weakened. All work is well organized and flourishing. Of course, it is necessary to give proper guidance to this work. We cannot let everyone go his own way and study whatever he wants to study. From now on we should gradually regularize this work by including it in the education training program.

/Question/ What questions are noteworthy in the training of dual-purpose personnel at present?

/Answer/ First of all, we should focus our attention on fostering new communists who have ideals, morality, culture and disciplines. This is our objective of training dual-purpose personnel. Since we are training qualified personnel for the four modernizations and state construction, the trainees must foster a lofty ideal, have the thought and morality of wholeheartedly serving the people and possess the spirit of devoting oneself. Because of this, during the training of dual-purpose personnel, we must strengthen ideological and political work and teach them to establish a correct objective of study. Some fighters from rural areas want to leave rural areas as soon as they have learned a little technical skill. This is not correct, nor practical.

Second, we should conduct the training of dual-purpose personnel on the premise that military training is guaranteed and all army tasks are fulfilled. The dual-purpose personnel are trained to be mainly used in the army. The army should be ready to fight at any moment. Therefore, perfecting skills to protect our motherland is the primary task of our army. As for the techniques for both military and civil use, we should focus our efforts on their improvement. To organize the study of techniques for civil use only, we need overall planning and specific guidance. Different units of different arms have different tasks. Local situations are different. Soldiers' cultural levels are different. Different urban and rural areas need different kinds of people. Therefore, this work should be conducted in accordance with actual situations, not according to a universal model.

Third, cadres should take the lead in studying science, culture and professional skills. This is a major event concerning the changing of the intellectual structure of cadre contingents and the improvement of their knowledge and professional skills. Only when they have learned well, can they better bring along and encourage fighters to learn, and improve their organizing and managerial abilities as well as the art of leadership. At the same time, some cadres have the problem of transfer to civilian work. Only when their scientific and cultural knowledge reaches a certain level and they can master a certain kind of knowledge in industrial or agricultural production can they suit the needs of local work.

Fourth, we must strictly enforce party and government policies and decrees. Training dual-purpose personnel to serve society can involve some questions concerning economic policies. In view of this problem, we must abide by state and local government's regulations and always defend the reputation of the PLA. It is not allowed to set up stalls in market places to do business and compete with civilians. We should not do everything for the sake of money and ruin our reputation.

12302

CSO: 4005/1125

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY AFFAIRS

PLA AIR FORCE COMPANY GIVES MILITARY SHOWS

HK030333 Zhengzhou Henan Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 30 Sep 83

[Text] On the afternoon of 28 September, the Shangganling top-merit 8th Company of a certain unit of the PLA Air Force arrived at Zhengzhou by airplane. The company will give report shows on the development of normalization to the air force units stationed in Henan.

In a recent anti-air raid and anti-airborne force maneuver and military review organized by a certain unit, the Shangganling top-merit 8th Company won four first places and was warmly commended by the leaders of the PLA General Political Department. In order to promote the revolutionalization, modernization and normalization of the air force in Wuhan and to enable various units to deepen the campaign of learning from the company, the Wuhan Air Force unit CPC Committee has decided to have the company tour all the units under its command and give shows on the training of normalized formation there. On the morning of 29 September, the Shangganling top-merit 8th Company gave a series of exemplary military shows for more than 1,350 cadres and fighters of the air force unit stationed in Zhengzhou. The company won applause from the commanders and fighters there for the high standards of appearance and bearing it maintained, for its excellent skill and for its strict observation of discipline.

CSO: 4005/72

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY AFFAIRS

PLA NANJING UNITS CARRY OUT REFORM WORK

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 8 Aug 83 p 4

/Article by reporters Gu Guopu /7357 0948 3877/ and Liu Donggeng /0491 2639 5087/: "The PLA Nanjing Units Actively and Prudently Carry Out Reform Work-- Seeking Truth From Facts and Being Bold in Exploring and Putting Things Into Practice"/

/Text/ In light of actual conditions, the party committee of the PLA Nanjing Units has led commanders and fighters in upholding the ideological line of seeking truth from facts, actively and prudently carried out reforms and brought about a new, vigorous situation in all work of the units.

In the last 2 years, the PLA Nanjing Units, while eliminating the influence of leftist ideas, have bravely explored and carried out a number of reforms in their work, including: reforming the training system by dopting a school system to classify soldiers and training courses; reforming political and ideological work by changing company clubs into fighter's activity centers where fighters can remould their heart and soul and improve their knowledge; reforming the content and structure of trainig by paying attention to scientific and cultural study and bringing up military and local dual-purpose personnel; eliminating egalitarianism of "eating from the same big pot" by adopting a cadre grading system which can promote and demote cadres; studying the relations between the army and the people in the new period; and carrying out activities for the army and the people to jointly build a spiritual civilization. These reforms have scored initial achievements and received attention and favorable comments from leading comrades of the CPCCC Military Commission.

One important experience of the PLA Nanjing Units in actively promoting the reforms is to arm cadres and fighters with the ideological line of seeking truth from facts laid down by the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee in order to break through the shackles imposed on their minds by leftist and conservative ideas. In the past 2 years, the party committee of the PLA Nanjing Units has sponsored 11 study classes for cadres above division level, emphasizing studying the ideological line of seeking truth from facts to enable leading cadres at all levels to emancipate their minds, be bold in destroying the old and establishing the new and continuously bring into play their intelligence, wisdom and creativity. In the past, new and veteran soldiers took military training together, which is described as "being first graders each year in the

3-year training." In order to change this irrational situation, some leading cadres of a certain corps boldly suggested that new and veteran soldiers should be organized into separate groups according to seniority and adopt the school system of classified establishment and training. They first experimented in selected units and, after gaining experiences, expanded it to other units step by step.

Now this experience has been affirmed by the headquarters of the Military Commission as conducive to improving the military and political quality and strengthening the building of the army in all-round way.

Members of the party committee of the PLA Nanjing Units hold that a leading cadre should be bold in raising and solving problems within the limits of his authority. They always ardently support innovative and creative ideas. When the activity of training military and local dual-purpose personnel began in a certain division, some people raised quite a few questions and worried about many things. Main leading comrades of the PLA Nanjing Units went to this division one after another to carry out investigations and inspections and fully affirmed and supported the activity. At the same time, they warmly helped the division correct some improper measures and thus improved its experience and made a great impact on the entire army. The General Political Department held an on-the-spot meeting in this division in May this year to introduce and publicize its experience.

12302

CSO: 4005/1125

HONG KONG MEDIA ON CHINA

GOVERNOR ARRIVES IN BEIJING, MET BY CRADOCK

HK181142 Hong Kong Domestic Service in English 1000 GMT 18 Oct 83

[Text] The governor, Sir Edward Youde, has arrived in Beijing for another round of the talks on the future of Hong Kong. He was accompanied by the political adviser, Mr Robin McLaren, and met by the British ambassador to China, Sir Percy Cradock. The governor, as usual, refused to talk to newsmen before leaving Hong Kong for the talks or on his arrival in the Chinese capital. But Sir Percy, who leads the British team in the negotiations, did have this to say:

[Begin recording] [Cradock] We are going to my house, and as you know, I'm very happy to have the governor up here again for the talks. We're looking forward to some useful talks over the next 2 days.

[Unidentified reporter] Do you think that these will be more useful than the ones in the past?

[Cradock] No further comments, ladies and gentlemen. [End recording]

These are the first discussions to be held since the foreign office minister responsible for Hong Kong criticized the Chinese authorities for breaking the confidentiality of the diplomatic talks. The minister, Mr Richard Luce, accused the Chinese of indulging in microphone diplomacy. This brought a sharp rebuke from the authorities in Beijing. The talks, which start tomorrow, also come hard on the heel of last week's special briefing in London between the governor, Sir Percy, and the prime minister, Mrs Thatcher. Newspapers in London have speculated this week that the British delegation has a letter from Mrs Thatcher setting out new ideas about the 1997 issue, which will be handed to the Chinese leaders.

CSO: 4000/55

THATCHER TAKING 'PERSONAL CONTROL' OF TALKS

HK190106 Hong Kong SOUTH CHINA MORNING POST in English 19 Oct 83 pp 1, 12

[Report by Jill Hartley]

[Text] The prime minister, Mrs Margaret Thatcher, is taking firm personal control of the talks over the future of Hong Kong.

When the Governor, Sir Edward Youde, and the British ambassador to Peking, Sir Percy Cradock, open the fifth round today they will be armed with a brief from the prime minister.

Senior sources at Westminster say Mrs Thatcher is now looking to Hong Kong to give her, and her party, a much needed boost to morale.

She sees the future of the territory as another Falklands and is hoping to pull off a personal diplomatic coup.

The Cecil Parkinson affair has left the party with a much tarnished image following their recent general election success.

And sources say the prime minister is looking to Hong Kong to give a shot in the arm to her personal standing.

Mr Neil Kinnock, the new dynamic leader of the Labour Party, is now only five points behind Mrs Thatcher in the popularity polls.

This is uncomfortably close at a time when the Tories should still be riding high on their election landslide.

Government sources both in London and Hong Kong were unable to confirm the existence of a so-called "Maggie letter."

This was highlighted recently in a report by the FINANCIAL TIMES' Asia editor.

It said that Sir Percy would today deliver a letter from Downing Street to the Chinese side outlining "New British ideas" on Hong Kong's future.

But it is known that Mrs Thatcher is taking a deep personal interest in the negotiations.

It is said to be highly significant that she has appointed Sir Percy as her foreign affairs adviser.

This means could be briefed daily on the state of play over the talks if it ever became necessary.

And it is also being seen as a not too subtle way of upgrading the status of the negotiations.

Despite recent ructions in the Conservative Party the British press has begun to take a much greater interest in Hong Kong.

And the influential DAILY TELEGRAPH speculated recently that Mrs Thatcher was planning to appoint a minister responsible for the talks.

The mood after Sir Edward and the unofficials of the executive council visited Downing Street a fortnight ago was reported to be good.

Mrs Thatcher is said to have delivered an inspired and optimistic "pep talk" to the Hong Kong team and to have also given a firm personal pledge that there will be no "sell out."

And, in turn, Sir Edward is said to have made reassurances to concerned MPS at a private lunch.

Sources say the governor told them not to worry too much about the breaches of confidentiality from the Chinese side.

Some political commentators now fear Mrs Thatcher may be staking too much on a successful outcome to the 1997 talks.

After the Parkinson saga the Labour Party is gleefully searching for more parliamentary trip wires.

And thinking is that Mrs Thatcher could be in for another nasty fall if there is another adverse reaction to this latest round.

Labour's heavyweight foreign affairs spokesman, Mr Denis Healey, and the Social Democratic leader, Dr David Owen, are reported to be taking a renewed interest in Hong Kong.

This is being cynically interpreted as opposition hopes that the prime minister will fail in her search for an acceptable solution.

Meanwhile, Mrs Thatcher also has to battle with opposition to the Hong Kong question within her own ranks.

To date her party is reported to be split no less than four ways over the future of the territory.

There are those staunch Thatcherites who will follow the prime minister whatever her thinking.

Then there are a handful of Heathites who take a pro-China line and prefer to forget the very existence of Hong Kong at the negotiating table.

Some hardliners are anti-Hong Kong for immigration reasons --fearing a sudden influx of dispirited people if things go wrong.

Then there is a small band of Hong Kong "old guard" who want to see things resolved quickly.

They believe firmly in the status quo and unless China accedes sovereignty they want to call the whole thing off.

CSO: 4000/55

'HEALTHY PROGRESS' MADE IN UK-PRC TALKS

HK210102 Hong Kong SOUTH CHINA MORNING POST in English 21 Oct 83 pp 1, 28

[Report by Timothy Jim]

[Text] Peking, 20 Oct--Healthy progress has been made in the fifth round of the Sino-British negotiations on the future of Hong Kong which ended in Peking this morning.

In a joint statement issued after the talks, the Chinese and British sides have agreed that the next round of talks will be held on 14 and 15 November in Peking.

It also described the meeting headed by the British ambassador to China, Sir Percy Cradock, and the Chinese Vice Foreign Minister, Mr Yao Guang, as "useful and constructive."

The same adjectives had been used to describe the first round of talks, which ended on 13 July, after both sides agreed to upgrade the negotiations to phase two.

Sources close to the talks refused to elaborate why the same words were used yet again to describe the just-ended round of talks. But they pointed out that the adjectives meant what they mean in relation to the progress of the talks.

"Talks are going on. There was no fuss and everything is back to normal again," suggested one source.

Diplomatic observers, however, noted that it was a healthy sign that adjectives were again used in a statement.

They suggested that whether the words "useful and constructive" reflected the actual mood during the talks was only of secondary importance.

The more important factor is that both delegations had appeared to better understand public anxiety in Hong Kong for news regarding the talks.

The inclusion of the adjectives therefore would serve to quell public worry, thus preventing further battering of the Hong Kong dollar and instigate unnecessary events to the economy, they believed.

As reported by the SCM Post, no major breakthrough has been scored during the fifth round.

This was natural as the latest session was still regarded as another working session for both sides to exchange views on the complex topic.

The sources said they anticipate a similar development when the talks resume in November which would be a continuation of the current phase.

It is far too early to call in expert advice at this stage to start working on an agreement, they suggested. This is because the real bargaining has only just begun.

It is expected when the talks resume next month, there will be no major changes to the composition of the delegates.

The talk yesterday lasted 3 hours 20 minutes. The British delegates were all smiling and waved to waiting journalists when they left the venue for the talks.

The brief two-paragraph joint statement was issued at 1500 yesterday simultaneously by the Chinese and British Governments.

The Chinese statement was sent through the official New China News Agency while a British Embassy official distributed photocopies of the statement to reporters at the embassy.

Last night, the British negotiation team hosted a banquet for their Chinese counterparts at the embassy. The commercial counsellor of the embassy, Mr Gerald Clark, also attended the dinner.

The governor, Sir Edward Youde, will return today together with the political adviser, Mr Robin McLaren, and the government chief interpreter, Mr Y. P. Cheng.

CSO: 4000/55

OPTIMISM AT TALKS RESULT OF THATCHER MESSAGE

HK210056 Hong Kong SOUTH CHINA MORNING POST in English 21 Oct 83 pp 1, 18

[Report by Jill Hartley]

[Text] Mrs Margaret Thatcher's personal message is said to have made a significant contribution towards the optimistic outcome of yesterday's talks.

Senior sources say the presence of the so-called "Maggie letter" at the negotiating table made all the difference.

The contents of the letter, which is thought to be more in the form of a written brief, have not been disclosed.

But its mere existence, which has been the subject of press reports for the past few days, was finally confirmed yesterday by Downing Street.

However, the official No 10 spokesman would only say: "It is not our custom to comment on letters on this nature.

"The talks are confidential. They are continuing. And when we have something to say we will say it."

The prime minister's personal initiative is said to have been hammered out in London 2 weeks ago when the governor, Sir Edward Youde, led a delegation to Downing Street.

The prime minister has begun to take a close personal interest in the future of Hong Kong.

And it is understood that she asked Sir Edward and the British ambassador to Peking, Sir Percy Cradock, what she could do to help this fifth round go more smoothly.

The mood after yesterday's 2-day round came to a close was in stark contrast to reactions a month ago.

Even the volatile dollar finished trading on a high note and the mood in government circles was of a distinct breakthrough.

The Thatcher letter gets the credit for renewed hopes and a general air of optimism.

It is thought that it helped to clear the air after last month's frosty exchanges by starting on a conciliatory note.

The thorny problem of sovereignty is said to have been diplomatically avoided. Mrs Thatcher's main constructive suggestion being the setting up of a series of working parties to look at all aspects of Hong Kong life after 1997.

The list is endless, but would obviously have to include the role of the present Hong Kong government after the deadline expires, plus financial and trade affairs, the role of the police, the future of the garrison and the legal system.

Even the wording of the statement yesterday, describing the talks as "useful and constructive," is being interpreted as good news.

Meanwhile, there are signs that the government is becoming increasingly sensitive about Hong Kong's freedom under the law after 1997.

The recently-appointed attorney-general, Mr Michael Thomas, would be expected to play a key role in any working group set up to consider the future.

He returns this weekend from a 17-day stay in London where he has been meeting with top legal figures and keeping in touch with the Hong Kong office.

His schedule included meetings with the lord chancellor, Lord Hailsham, the director of public prosecutions, Sir Thomas Hetherington, and senior members of the Law Commission and New Scotland Yard.

CSO: 4000/55

HONG KONG MEDIA ON CHINA

COLUMNIST URGES LESS HASTE IN 1997 TALKS

HK190202 Hong Kong HONG KONG STANDARD in English 19 Oct 83 p 6

["A Chinese Opinion" column by Chang Kuo-sin: "1997: More on the Need for Less Haste"]

[Text] History is full of examples of how men destroyed themselves by being hasty, how men made mockery of what they desired by being hasty and how men made satire of their own intellect by being hasty.

And haste by men, on a closer look at all the facts, is what is endangering history today in regard to the Sino-British talks on the future of Hong Kong.

Of course the danger differs with the different perpetrators of haste. When haste is perpetrated by men in public and in the news media, the danger may take the form of being imprudent. But if haste is perpetrated by governments, it may take the more ominous form of a threat.

In the case of Hong Kong, haste is not only perpetrated by governments; it is even being instigated or incited by governments. Public concern may have played a part in impelling the governments into being hasty, but in the main the public and the news media merely follow the government in being hasty.

British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher might be considered as the initiator of all the haste in regard to the problem of Hong Kong's future. She succumbed to the public demand for early negotiations with China, and when she visited Beijing in September last year, she demanded immediate negotiations.

Mrs Thatcher's haste, as is known now, has been exploited by Beijing. When complications started, Beijing made it known that it was Britain and not China who first suggested negotiations at such an early date.

But, taking the cue from the leader, the British Government from the prime minister down to the British ambassador in Beijing and the governor in Hong Kong persisted in being hasty. Take the governor, for instance. Each time he comes back from a round of talks in China, he cannot wait to report to the executive council and he cannot wait to rush to Longon with a retinue of unofficial executive council members to consult with the foreign office and the prime minister.

All this makes headlines in the press, inciting more public discussion and making even more headlines in the press, thereby giving more urgency and momentum to the talks than is perhaps prudent and warranted.

In China, there appears to be an equally consuming desire to make haste. The Chinese Government is hasty for British concessions on Hong Kong, and when the British are not hasty with their concessions, the Chinese Government becomes hasty with its irritations. The Chinese foreign minister openly castigated the British for their "rigid attitude" and Beijing's news media unleashed a venomous campaign of words against Britain.

Even worse, China has set a deadline for success in the talks--September, 1984. This was announced by none other than Foreign Minister Wu Xueqian.

He said recently in Ottawa, Canada, that the talks on Hong Kong's future are to conclude in the next 11 months, failing which China will unilaterally announce its own decision on what to do with Hong Kong after 1997.

The foreign minister's statement followed earlier editorials in the PEOPLE'S DAILY that China has the right to decide Hong Kong's future in whatever way she considers appropriate and at whatever time she considers appropriate.

There may be a dispute whether China had alone initiated the concept of the 2-year deadline on the talks, for at the time of Mrs Thatcher's visit to Beijing and Hong Kong last year British officials had also encouraged public expectations of some agreement within 2 years.

But whoever might have initiated the concept, it is China that has given reality to the concept, and, needless to say, this Chinese haste for quick success in complicated negotiations is posing the worst threat so far to the future of Hong Kong and to China's own desires for continuing prosperity and stability in Hong Kong.

I have in this column quoted the Roman Emperor Augustus' warning against making haste hastily. If his warning makes no impact on Beijing, I would like to quote the late Chairman Mao whom China's present leaders still claim to respect.

In a speech to the party's cultural workers in October, 1944, Mao urged prudence and patience in dealing with China's masses. He advised them to "start with their (the people's) needs, not from our wishes." Above all, he counselled against being hasty.

Mao said, quoting from Confucius Analects, "Haste brings no success. (But it) does not mean that we should not make haste, but that we should not take reckless action that will inevitably lead to failure."

If China were sincere in wanting to continue the partnership with Britain in achieving the common aim of maintaining prosperity and stability in Hong Kong after 1997, she is beholden to take heed of the late chairman's advice--start from Hong Kong's needs, not from her own wishes, and refrain from taking "reckless action that will inevitably lead to failure."

CSO: 4000/55

NEW ROUND OF UK-PRC TALKS SEEN 'MOST IMPORTANT'

HK190128 Hong Kong SOUTH CHINA MORNING POST in English 19 Oct 83 p 1

[Report by Timothy Jim]

[Excerpt] Peking, 18 Oct--The fifth round of Sino-British negotiations on the future of Hong Kong are likely to be "the most important and most substantive meetings" since negotiations entered their second phase on 12 July, sources here said today.

A brief joint press communique is expected at the end of the 2-day of talks.

But diplomatic sources cautioned against the likelihood of major developments being announced when the talks adjourn on Thursday.

Bound by the mutual agreement to maintain top confidentiality, participants remained tightlipped about the talks today.

But it is generally expected that both delegations will take a more realistic and pragmatic approach at the talks table.

Diplomats here are partly basing their optimism on the "more freindly" atmosphere this time, compared with the sharp-worded attacks launched by Peking papers and the leftwing press in Hong Kong at the time of the last talks.

They also noted the appeal by Chinese leaders, urging the British Government to be more cooperative in the negotiations.

The Chinese position appears to be: Should the British negotiators stop insisting on the sovereignty and administration rights over Hong Kong, anything else can be discussed.

Diplomatic sources also pointed out that the British negotiators did not regard the absence of a new, large-scale propaganda campaign in the Peking-controlled media as "a victory"--and therefore could change their negotiating tactics.

An air of optimism seemed apparent when the governor, Sir Edward Youde, arrived this afternoon.

CSO: 4000/55

'MIDDLE CLASS' GROUP ISSUES VIEWS ON FUTURE

HK200040 Hong Kong SOUTH CHINA MORNING POST in English 19 Oct 83 p 12

[Report by staff reporters]

[Text] A group of people signing themselves as belonging to the middle class in Hong Kong has written to most local Chinese newspapers putting forward a series of suggestions on how to sustain Hong Kong after 1997.

Several of the newspapers published the letter in full, running to some 3,000 characters, while other published abridged versions.

The letter appealed to both sides to retreat just one step in their negotiations and work together to help Hong Kong people reach the stage of Hong Kong people truly administering Hong Kong.

The main suggestions are:

That Britain declares ending its sovereignty over Hong Kong and Kowloon peninsula, at some appropriate time after 1997 and not later than 30 June 2050.

On 30 June 1977, both sides agree to the hand-over, to the Chinese, of the New Territories.

The present situation regarding Hong Kong, Kowloon peninsula and the New Territories will be maintained before 1997. However, in the meantime, the Hong Kong government should further promote democracy so that Hong Kong will move to the stage of Hong Kong people administering Hong Kong.

After 1997, the new Hong Kong government will be empowered by Britain to administer Hong Kong and Kowloon, while China will empower it to administer the New Territories. The new government will be elected through universal election and will take over the executive and legislative councils.

A new constitution will be formulated and be recorded in both Britain and China.

After 1997 but not later than 2050, Hong Kong should be declared as an open international city. Both Britain and China should send their commissioners to

Hong Kong so that Hong Kong will become both a Chinese territory and a member of the British Commonwealth.

After Britain declares ending sovereignty over Hong Kong, it should still send a commissioner of ambassadorial rank to Hong Kong.

The letter also maintained that Hong Kong has the right to send observers to the negotiations, the contents of which in any case must be made public. These observers are to be sent by existing social groups, it added.

CSO: 4000/55

HONG KONG MEDIA ON CHINA

COUNCIL MEMBER SAYS MOST WANT TO KEEP STATUS QUO

HK210110 Hong Kong SOUTH CHINA MORNING POST in English 21 Oct 83 p 1

[Report by Julina Chan]

[Excerpts] The great majority of people who have written to Umelco [Unofficial member of the Legislative Council] on the future of Hong Kong want the status quo maintained after 1997, the senior unofficial member of the executive council, Sir Sze-yuen Chung, said yesterday.

At least 80 percent of the letters received by Umelco on the subject said Hong Kong should retain its present freedoms, legal system and currency, he told reporters after an opening ceremony at a Hong Kong Telephone Company engineering centre.

Sir Sze-yuen said the letters would be sorted, and "all opinion, majority and minority," would be conveyed to the Hong Kong and British Governments.

Bombarded by questions on the representatives of the executive council in conveying to Britain the will of the people of Hong Kong, Sir Sze-yuen said: "I never claimed I represent you at all. I only say that I reflect the people's views--they are two different things.

"But I can say--you can write on paper--I fairly accurately reflect the people's view."

He said that since the middle of last year, hundreds of letters, from individuals and organizations, have been sent to the Umelco.

"Umelco members will receive people at any time. In the Umelco office, we never refuse to receive any person," he said.

Asked whether Exco [Executive Council] is monopolising public opinion, he declared: "No one stops you from seeing or writing to the prime minister."

And he said the prime minister does not listen to the unofficial members alone.

People can write to the governor, all government officials or the foreign office in London, Sir Sze-yuen said.

Since unofficial Exco members took their first trip to London in July to discuss the territory's future with the prime minister, there have been questions as to the accuracy with which they have reflected Hong Kong public opinion.

Sir Sze-yuen remained tight-lipped yesterday on other questions relating to the talks in London or how Hong Kong should be administered after 1997--if the status quo was to be maintained.

He also refused to elaborate on what "complete agreement" meant in a statement issued by No 10 Downing Street after the unofficials' second meeting with the British prime minister.

CSO: 4000/55

APF INTERVIEWS PORTUGAL'S MOTA PINTO ON MACAO, HONG KONG

OW201650 Hong Kong AFP in English 1545 GMT 20 Oct 83

[Text] Hong Kong, 20 Oct (AFP)--Portuguese Deputy Prime Minister and Defence Minister Carlos Alberto de Mota Pinto said today he disagreed with the common view here that Macao's future is linked to that of Hong Kong.

Dr Mota Pinto told AGENCE FRANCE-PRESS shortly before his departure for Lisbon today that "The status of Macao is clearly different. It's territory under Portuguese administration."

The Portuguese leader paid a "courtesy call" on acting Hong Kong Governor Sir Philip Haddon-Cave today as Governor Sir Edward Youde was in Beijing where he attended the just-ended fifth round of Sino-British talks on Hong Kong's future.

Hong Kong is a British colony with a population of 5.3 million people. China intends to regain sovereignty and administration of Hong Kong in 1997 when the lease on the bulk of this territory expires.

Macao, an enclave about 40 miles (64 km) west of here with a population of 400,000, depends for a large part of its revenue on tourists and investors from Hong Kong.

Both territories are situated in the estuary of the Pearl River and over 95 per cent of their populations are Chinese.

Asked if he discussed the future of Hong Kong and Macao with Sir Philip Hadden-Cave, Dr Mota Pinto insisted, "It was a courtesy call. But naturally we talked about many things...." But he refused to elaborate.

He said, "I [words indistinct] in future, there will be peace, stability, tranquility and prosperity in the territory of Macao."

He said, "I am happy with the perspective because under a government directed by me, Portugal established diplomatic relations with China in 1979. Since then, our relations with China have been increasingly better."

However, he added, "Though the status of Macao is different from Hong Kong, I wish a good, reasonable solution will be found for the situation of Hong Kong."

Asked if Hong Kong may pattern its future on the status of Macao--constitutionally a Chinese territory under Portuguese administration--Dr Mota Pinto said this was a question to be dealt with by the parties concerned.

Dr Mota Pinto, who arrived in Macao via Hong Kong last Saturday for a 5-day visit, returned here last night for a 24-hour stay in Hong Kong where he met the Portuguese community and called on Mr Haddon-cave prior to his departure for Lisbon.

CSO: 4000/55

WEN WEI PO CITES CHINESE 'GENTLEMAN' ON HONG KONG

HK170350 Hong Kong WEN WEI PO in Chinese 13 Oct 83 p 3

["Newsletter" by Beijing Correspondent Cheng Hsiang [4453 5046]: "On the 'Administration of Hong Kong by Hong Kong People'"]

[Text] One day, I had dinner with an informed gentleman in Beijing. He is well informed with the Hong Kong issue. During the feast, we talked freely and volubly in an unconstrained atmosphere. Our conversation was focused on the Hong Kong issue, but he did not touch on the contents of the Sino-British talks. However, I did realize something from what he said and understood better China's official attitude toward Hong Kong. Therefore, I decided to write this report to satisfy our readers.

I said: As far as "the administration of Hong Kong by Hong Kong people" is concerned, no one doubts the central authorities' sincerity about this policy, but what people fear is that the policy may change.

The gentleman said: Yes. Thus, some people contend that it is necessary to have Britain act as a "buffer" or to acquire a guarantee through an international treaty. In my opinion, the fundamental guarantee is still the enhancement of the people's political consciousness. Was the cultural revolution of any benefit to us? Although I myself was also a victim of the cultural revolution, I must still admit that the cultural revolution was beneficial in a certain sense. Most importantly, the cultural revolution enabled the whole nation, from top to bottom, to deeply realize the harmfulness of leftism. We have also suffered from "rightism," but "leftism" has brought much more sufferings to us. You may ask common people whether any of them still want to see the policies being turned to the "left." When the people throughout the country realize the truth, they can restrain some "leftist" words and deeds and can prevent the set of "leftist" policies from being applied to Hong Kong. In view of our previous mistakes, Hong Kong and Macao compatriots still have misgivings about our policies. This mood is understandable. In the long run, however, Hong Kong and Macao compatriots still have misgivings about our policies. This mood is understandable. In the long run, however, these misgivings cannot be removed merely with the intervention of foreign influence. We should believe that the Chinese people, who have suffered from "leftism," will conscientiously guard against leftism. When that one billion people are also doing so, Hong Kong and Macao compatriots will have nothing to worry about.

I said: Public opinion in Hong Kong often points out that Britain often pledges that it will "respect the civil will in Hong Kong," but China seldom mentions that it will also do the same. So, this is a puzzling point.

The gentleman answered: By alleging that it will "respect the civil will in Hong Kong," Britain is trying to build up its bargaining power in the talks. Although we did not talk about respecting the civil will, our policy of "the administration of Hong Kong by Hong Kong people" represents our greatest respect for and trust in the people in Hong Kong. We understand and respect their desire to maintain the present style of life and not to merge Hong Kong into the socialist system on the mainland in the near future. The "self-administration" policy also represents the best trust in the Hong Kong people. We believe that they are patriotic and that they will not take the road of separating Hong Kong from the motherland. We also believe that they have the ability to administer Hong Kong well.

I asked: It is said that the central authorities have worked out a set of policies to maintain Hong Kong's prosperity after China recovers sovereignty. As you see it, will these policies be supported by the Hong Kong people?

The gentleman answered: The central authorities' policies toward Hong Kong will be more relaxed and flexible than many people have imagined. When they are published to solicit opinion from Hong Kong compatriots, I believe, they will certainly win the broadest support. In fact, some basic principles of these policies have been well known to all people. Our central leaders have also stated them before foreign visitors on many occasions.

I asked: Many people in Hong Kong do not understand why in the early period after the founding of the PRC, Chairman Mao and Premier Zhou did not recover Hong Kong but allowed British rule to continue. Facts have proved that their decision is correct. Now, why cannot the present leadership follow the same policy?

The gentleman answered: Because the objective circumstances have changed. With the elapse of time, the problem, which did not exist in the previous period, has now come into being. The simple fact is that Britain did not ask us to renew the treaty 30 years ago, but now they have mentioned something like [word indistinct]. Can you say, then, how China should answer Britain's request?

I asked: The present situation is rather deadlocked. Some people have ascribed this to the rigid and intransigent attitude of the iron lady. In other words, the development of affairs is accidental. If this matter is handled by other people, things may be smoother. Do you think that this deadlocked situation was inevitable or is a fortuitous phenomenon?

The gentleman answered: It is true that the iron lady is stubborn. For example, when her economic policies were criticized by some members of the Conservative Party, she even said that if you wanted to make any change, you could do it. We ladies would not make any change! Very few statesmen would be so stubborn as she is. However, it is not quite true if we say that the stubborn and rigid attitude of the British side in the talks is due to the

influence of the iron lady. A few years ago, some British people had already come to sound us out on the possibility of exchanging sovereignty for administrative power. That is to say, Britain has had this idea for a long time. On those occasions, we told those influential British people: Take these dishes as an example; if the food is put in the middle of the plate, which is then decorated with flowers all around, is it reasonable that you yourselves eat those abalones and trepangs but leave the flower decorations for us? In short, the present deadlocked situation is an inevitable result of this idea, cherished by Britain for a long time, rather than a result of the personality of the iron lady.

I asked: In your opinion, what will the outcome of the Sino-British talks be? Hong Kong compatriots are particularly sensitive about this.

The gentleman answered: Some British friends asked me what to do at present. I said: Things are very simple. So long as Britain no longer persists in the problems of sovereignty and administrative power, everything is negotiable.

It is understandable that Hong Kong compatriots will show great concern over the progress of the talks, but they should not be too sensitive. It is not possible to settle such an issue through a few rounds of talks. It is not realistic to hope that each round of the talks must bring about some new breakthroughs. Everybody should remain calm and sober and should believe that the motherland will protect the interests of all social strata. Nothing need be worried about.

CSO: 4005/81

EMIGRATION POLICIES DRAW CRITICISM

Hong Kong CHENG MING [CONTENDING] in Chinese No 71, Sep 83 pp 19-20

[Article by Li Ming [7812 2494]: "Why Has the CPC Let Certain 'Rightists' Go Abroad?"]

[Text] Recently, some writers who had basically been deprived of their creative freedom and even now are not yet rectified "rightist elements" have been arriving one by one in Hong Kong from the mainland. Some are seeking relatives, some to visit friends and some to be reunited. People are all asking: "Why would the CPC let these people out? Could there be a policy change?"

From "Keeping the Bad and Sending the Good" to "Keeping the Good and Sending the Bad"

A Beijing insider has told me that the policy treating these people really has changed! It used to be "keep the bad and send the good"; now it is "keep the good and send the bad." It used to be "bear the burden"; now it is "unload the burden!" Just the reverse. The upper echelons of the CPC have thoroughly studied and considered the question of letting people out. Should they fear that there are people who are going to make trouble? The answer of the CPC "big shots" is "no." They cannot harm the tremendous prestige of the motherland. Should they fear that these people will "reveal secrets"? The answer: "There are only a few people with the capacity." So now, if anybody else is willing to let them in, China will let them out. If these people apply for a one-way ticket, they all can receive permission. Of course, not every person the CPC lets out who comes from a respectable background fits the category of "keep the good and send the bad."

Since China's liberation, many rich landowners and unredeemed rightists who were or had been respectable embraced the policies of reforming and "being digested" on the spot. Even the Manchu emperor Puyi, later emperor of Manchukuo, who had been nabbed by the Soviet Army liberators in the northeast, was later returned to China. The CPC did extensive work on him and set him up as an example of one who had "received reform." Before the Cultural Revolution, there were examples of those who had "received reform" in the Banbu Bridge Prison and other prisons in Beijing.

China Adopts the "Dictatorship of the Masses" Method

During the Cultural Revolution, "capitalist roaders," "traitors," "special agents," and "antirevolutionary elements" were very numerous. Mao Zedong could not help but be afraid of so many enemies. He made it a point to show that these class enemies were to be dispersed among various units and not brought together. They were to be given over to the masses for supervision, reform and carrying out the "dictatorship of the masses." This policy lasted for the long period right down until the fall of the Gang of Four.

Foreigners Adopt "Expulsion" Methods

Yet in countries outside China, how are offenders dealt with? As everybody knows, if you kick such people out, the farther away the better. Especially in the case of political offenders, the burden is not to be borne. After the October Revolution, the Soviets expelled a bunch of "White Russians" from the country. Stalin also expelled his political enemy Trotsky. More recently, the Soviet Union and the East European bloc continuously expelled "those holding dissenting political opinions" from those countries. The renowned author of "Gulag Archipelago," Solzhenitsyn, was driven out of the country and is now residing in America.

The Trouble With Retaining These People

Foreign experiences could not help but make the agileminded Deng Xiaoping think about it: Should China hold onto these people after all?

First of all, their ideology, opinions and feelings of dissatisfaction might prove "contagious" to other people. Especially now, when the "Three Beliefs Crisis" is so serious within the country, if the "germs" of these people should spread, the crisis can only get worse.

Second, if you keep them, you must arrange for numerous labor-reform farms to place them in and exert much effort to supervise and reform these "double offenders." (This is a term of opprobrium for those released from labor reform.)

Third, if you hold onto them you must suppress them and tag them with the ugly name of criminals who have damaged politics or ideology; and this may make people think you are violating human rights.

Based upon these considerations, the previous policy of "digesting them on the spot" was obviously unwise. Now, by contrast, it has gone from "bearing the burden" to "unloading the burden"; and the more, the faster and the farther these people go, the better.

Do Not View "Rightists" As Burdens

Is to view "rightists" and these "holders of dissenting political opinions" as burdens correct or not? History has already proven that many of the opinions suggested by "rightists" in 1957 were correct and verified by the passage of

time. Perhaps the words of some of these people were extreme, but overall their spirit was honorable. If Mao Zedong had not at the time carried out his "anti-right" campaign and had modified the work based upon their opinions, China would have had no Great Leap Forward, no Peng Dehuai question, no Cultural Revolution--how many disasters the Chinese people could have avoided! These people have suffered harm and torment for over 20 years. Some were thrown into prison which devastated their bodies and spirits. Some are not too well mentally. Some have been tainted by evil habits. This has been brought about by the people who harmed them and was no fault of their own. This is the responsibility of the rulers, and not that of these farsighted, brave, forthright, and solicitous benefactors and heroes. For this reason, to carry out a policy of "unloading the burden" against them is obviously not right. To look upon them as "evil people" and talk about "sending the bad" is nothing but an insult to these people!

Let People Freely Come and Go

I personally feel that the present policy of the CPC relaxing the guidelines for leaving the country is correct and will have a positive effect upon China's Four Modernizations. However, adopting a policy of "unloading the burden" against those who were "rightists" or "holders of dissident political opinions" is questionable. They should be allowed to go to freedom, to probe into new questions, absorb new knowledge, and to continue to make contributions to the enterprise of China's advancement.

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CSO: 4005/1166

WU XIUQUAN ON HIS UN MEMORIES DURING KOREAN WAR

HK281223 Hong Kong WEN WEI PO in Chinese 25 Sep 83 p 3

["Special Feature" by Wu Xiuquan [0124 0208 2938]: "Eight Years in the Foreign Ministry--Part 3, first installment"]

[Text] Battlefield Outside the Assembly Hall

On 7 December, under the control of the United States, a resolution was adopted by the UN which decided to place the motion slandering China as having "invaded Korea" on the agenda of the UN Assembly. As the motion confounded black and white, we left the assembly hall angrily after it was passed. When it had succeeded in this plot, the United States then manipulated the UN again in making a decision on 15 December that the UN General Assembly would adjourn indefinitely, and another decision on 18 December that the Political Committee of the UN General Assembly would also adjourn indefinitely.

These decisions of the UN General Assembly had, in reality, curtailed our opportunity of using the platform of the UN to carry out struggles against the United States imperialists. So, we promptly adopted another form of struggle, that is, shifting the struggle from inside to outside the assembly hall. On the afternoon of 16 December, the Chinese delegation held a press conference at Lake Success, where the United Nations was located. At the conference, in accordance with the instructions of the Chinese Government, I told the reporters from various countries that we had come for peace and had put forth a variety of reasonable suggestions to the UN Security Council. "Unfortunately, although it is not beyond our expectations, under the control of the United States and its followers, the UN Security Council has rejected our reasonable suggestions for peace. In view of this, we would like to express our resolute opposition and protest." I said that due to the control of the United States Government, the UN is unable to continue to discuss the case accusing the United States of aggression against China, and we are still unable to continue to take the floor at the UN Assembly on this issue. "However, we hold that the voice of the PRC should be heard by the whole world. For this reason, I would like to distribute among you the speech I was ready to make to the Political Committee. At the same time, we would like to express our indignation at the fact that our opportunity to speak at the UN has been curtailed due to the control of the United States Government." Finally, through these reporters, I expressed our heartfelt thanks to those United States

people who had given us a welcome in various forms and who had been friendly with us. We were convinced that the Chinese and United States peoples would certainly defeat the policy of aggression pursued by the United States ruling clique and further develop the friendship between them.

After I said this, we distributed among the reporters from various countries the text of my speech and other materials, which had been translated into English beforehand. The distributed materials included some historical material proving that Taiwan has always been China's territory since ancient times, some pictures showing the U.S. weapons captured from Chiang's army by the PLA, some pictures showing the bombardment and strafing by U.S. planes on China's territory during the Korean War, and other historical material concerning the U.S. aggression against China. Our speeches on this occasion and the distributed materials were later published or quoted by many foreign newspapers and magazines. This became an important channel through which the people of various countries learned of China's stand and attitude.

During the UN General Assembly, our delegation not only maintained diplomatic contacts with some other delegations, but also had friendly contacts with some progressive personages in the United States. Comrade Gong Pusheng, who had once studied in the United States, knew well-known black singer, Paul Robeson. During our stay in New York, he visited Robeson several times, conveying to him the regards of the Chinese people. Originally, we wanted to invite him to visit our country, but since the United States Government was pursuing a policy of hostility against China and was adopting severe anti-communist and antipeople measures in its country, it was unlikely that Robeson could have accepted our invitation under such circumstances and that the good wishes of both sides could have been realized. Robeson died many years before China and the United States established diplomatic relations. Thus, his wish became an eternal regret. Nevertheless, the friendly feelings of Robeson toward the Chinese people will always remain in the people's memory.

Besides these friendly personages, there were also some other Americans who came to see us for different purposes. Some wanted to establish contact with us, and some were salesmen from big companies, who wanted to do business with us. Through these people we bought some useful things for our country, including several sets of encyclopedias and other books. They were all brought back to our hotel by our U.S. bodyguards. The United States Government, which was pursuing a policy of hostility against China, suddenly announced a freeze on China's deposits in U.S. banks. When our delegation went to the United States, we also deposited our money in some New York banks. We would have met with great troubles if that money had also been frozen. Fortunately, we learned the news earlier than the announcement. So we rushed to withdraw all our deposits before the banks closed and were not affected. However, those salesmen were affected. They did not cash our checks as soon as they got them. So they could not get the money and came back to ask us for help. Then we took back the checks and gave them cash instead. Luckily, the frozen money was finally returned to us.

During the intervals at the assembly, some of the staff of the UN and the U.S. bodyguards accompanied us in sightseeing in New York. We paid a visit to the

great iron bridge, the skyscrapers, and some new installations. We also visited some modern technological and cultural centers in the United States. Later, we presented some small gifts to the Americans, including the bodyguards and the UN staff members, to express our friendly feelings. They, too, were very happy to receive the gifts. The U.S. bodyguards told us things about the United States and themselves after they got familiar with us. They were friendly with us. Our liaison man, assigned by the UN, was an overseas Chinese, surnamed Wang. Sometimes, I had heart-to-heart talks with him and explained to him why "whosoever understands the times is a great man." Just as we expected, he later gave up his advantageous position in the UN and returned to the motherland. The pity is that we heard of his death during the 10 years of turmoil.

During this period, our delegation was always kept very busy. However, as we were united as one and had made a good division of work among us, our work was done in a coordinated manner and in a good order. The texts of some speeches and relevant materials were written after we arrived in New York. Then they were sent back to our country by telegram for examination and approval. Soon after they had been revised in our country, we worked day and night to translate them into other languages and had them printed. Before and after each speech was made, we discussed the texts among ourselves and solicited opinions from all members of our delegation so that we could fulfill the tasks assigned by the motherland more successfully. Since we were tired after work and since, in addition, the United States food did not suit our tastes, we all lost our appetite and ate much less than usual. So we bought some Mexican hot pepper and fermented bean curd made by the overseas Chinese to whet our appetites. During the meals, we chatted and laughed so as to make our busy life more agreeable. In our rooms, the radio was often turned on. We "listened" to all the news reports and advertisements. As a matter of fact, we were not enjoying the programs, but did this just to jam possible tapping devices. Comrade Chen Zhongjing took charge of many concrete jobs in external liaison. He often made contact with the UN working bodies and parties concerned. He really did an excellent job at his post. The comrades in charge of confidential and communication work always stuck fast at their posts and seldom went out. Thus, we were always able to keep in contact with our country. All our comrades cared for and helped each other. We were unanimous in thought and acted in unison.

Powerful Backing and Enormous Repercussions

When we were busy working in the UN, battles were fought most fiercely in the Korean battlefield. Under the attacks of the Chinese volunteers and the Korean People's Army, most of whom were infantrymen armed with light weapons, the so-called "UN troops," which were equipped with planes, tanks, big guns, and other modern weapons, suffered a crushing defeat and fled southward. This brought about differences and confusion within the United States ruling clique. Originally, the United States wanted to take the opportunity, when our delegation spoke at the UN Assembly, to get in touch with us and to see whether we would compromise. However, we always took an uncompromising stand and never contacted those persons in power in the United States, but just openly

denounced the act of U.S. aggression. What they could not get from the battlefield could neither be obtained here. The more the Korean and Chinese armies won victories on the battlefield, the firmer our stand was in the UN. Our delegation, which consisted of only nine people, acted in close coordination with the great Korean and Chinese armies fighting on the frontline. Having them as powerful backing, we feared nothing and went on fighting dauntlessly.

CSO: 4005/63

WU XIUQUAN RECALLS DIPLOMATIC EXPERIENCES

HK290615 Hong Kong WEN WEI PO in Chinese 29 Sep 83 p 3

["Special Feature" by Wu Xiuquan "Eight Years in the Foreign Ministry--Part 3, second installment"]

[Text] The people in the motherland gave great support for our struggle in the UN. The party and government also attached importance to our work. Apart from giving us many direct instructions and support, the press at home continuously carried a series of articles, pictures, and reports on the activities of our delegation after we left Beijing. RENMIN RIBAO specially issued several editorials in this regard. The first speech I delivered at the Security Council session on 28 November was published in full text by RENMIN RIBAO and other newspapers throughout the country. The RENMIN RIBAO editorial on the same day said at its beginning: "Our country's special representative, Wu Xiuquan, made a statement at the UN Security Council session, denouncing the U.S. armed aggression against Taiwan. His statement reflected the Chinese people's strong will to defend their motherland's independence and world peace and to struggle bravely against the U.S. aggression, and also reflected the ever surging just call of the people in all countries for peace. This statement, which corresponds to the brave fights of the Chinese people's volunteers in the Korean forefront, represents a significant act of stopping the United States from expanding the war of aggression and safeguarding peace in the Far East."

Afterward, when I read the newspapers at that time, I found that some workers said after reading the full text of my speech: "Comrade Wu Xiuquan is our good representative. He said what we want to say. After reading his speech, we felt like having given vent to our anger and having given a good beating to U.S. imperialism." Some university professors said: "The kowtow diplomacy practiced by China previously at some international meetings has gone forever. The real will of the Chinese people has been fully expressed through the statement made by their representatives." The Central Committee of the Youth League also issued a statement, saying that our speeches at the UN session are "the documents in the annals of China's diplomacy which fully demonstrate the Chinese people's awe-inspiring righteousness and the Chinese nation's dignity. U.S. imperialism was driven to an extremely awkward position and could find no words to defend itself. What it could do was merely to manipulate the voting machine in order to reject the Chinese statement in a shameless way."

Foreign reactions were similar. The Soviet press commented: "For the first time, the voice of the Chinese people's representatives reverberated in the UN. The government, which was represented by this voice, enjoys the support of the people and is solidly stable. No other governments in Chinese history can compare with it." In particular, some overseas Chinese were greatly inspired by our activities and remarks in the UN. They were filled with pride and elation as members of the Chinese nation. Nie Gannu, a writer, wrote in an article published in a Hong Kong newspaper: "Among the 10 major world news stories in 1950, the first is the Korean War and the second, undoubtedly, should be General Wu Xiuquan's denunciation of the aggression of U.S. imperialism against Taiwan at the UN General Assembly. It is self-evident that his speech was stern and strong with the force of justice. More importantly, what he did was to scathingly denounce the criminal actions of the imperialists by pointing directly at their noses. This was the first case of its kind not only in China, but also in the world." It was precisely under the influence of our speeches in the UN that several famous Chinese scholars made up their minds and overcame various difficulties to return to the Chinese mainland. These people included Dr Wu Zhonghua, who was the first to arrive at the conference hall of the UN Security Council to listen to my speech; U.S. Columbia University Professor Li Tiezheng, who was a former representative to the UN Economic and Social Council dispatched by the KMT government; and Zong Weixian, the former KMT government's consul general to New York. Of course, foreign bourgeois newspapers also could not ignore the first appearance of China's representatives on the UN platform. At that time, this was a lead story in all newspapers. A U.S. magazine could not but admit that since communist China's representatives arrived in the UN, "American people's eyes have concentrated on Lake Success." But some newspapers published misrepresenting reports, saying that "Red China despised the UN at Lake Success and shattered people's hope!" Here, the "hope" meant the U.S. conquest of China. These newspapers even scared the American people and asked them "not to cherish any illusion" and to prepare to "fight a war" against China. The U.S. ambassador to the UN, Austin, said that the Chinese representative's speech "displeased my government;... in particular, we cannot agree with this kind of attack." "Warmonger" Dulles despondently conceded that at that time he was "dominated by a kind of sad feeling." U.S. President Truman said immediately after we made our statement: The Chinese representative's denunciation was "furious and totally absurd." He also threatened to "take action against communist China" and "give consideration to all kinds of weapons." The U.S. attitude precisely indicated that our struggle had hit the sore spot of U.S. imperialism. This made our struggle determination firmer.

CSO: 4005/63

WU XIUQUAN RECALLS HIS EXPERIENCES IN KOREA

HK070901 Hong Kong WEN WEI PO in Chinese 4 Oct 83 p 3

["Special Feature" by Wu Xiuquan: "Eight Years in the Foreign Ministry--installment 16"--number of this and previous installments and/or parts are as published]

[Text] Li Kenong Asked Not To Change the General in the Midst of a Battle

Because it was uncomfortable to wear wet clothes and the car was low on fuel, we decided to find somewhere on the way to dry our wet clothes and have the car refueled. Finally, we found a place where a guards unit of volunteers were stationed. It was a fort half buried in the ground and well sheltered by a hillside, where a platoon of soldiers lived. We explained our situation to them, telling them where we came from and where we wanted to go. Although we did not reveal our status, they could see that we were responsible cadres--our clothing and manners betrayed us. The volunteers warmly received us. They let us share their sheltered place for a good rest, and had our car refueled. Moreover, they dried our wet clothes and gave them a good brushing. The charming image of these "most beloved people" lasted in my mind for a very long time.

At dawn, we arrived at Kaesong. We met with Comrade Li Kenong and others and conveyed our greetings to them. When I talked with Comrade Li Kenong about my intention of replacing him in the work so that he could have a rest and some treatment for his illness, he expressed his attitude of "not changing the general in the midst of a battle." He said that although he was not in very good health, he was, nevertheless, familiar with the overall situation of the talks and with the rules and trends in various fields. If he was replaced, things would have to start all over again, which would be detrimental to the work as a whole. Therefore, he suggested that he not be replaced as long as he could manage. We felt that his proposal had good grounds and conveyed it to the central authorities for approval. At the same time, we could not but express our appreciation for his staunch spirit in persisting in his work despite his illness. Finally, the central authorities approved Comrade Li Kenong's proposal that he continue to take charge of the talks so long as his health permitted.

Peaceful Oasis in the Center of a Battlefield

In order to further observe Comrade Le Kenong's condition and to take the opportunity of gaining an understanding of the situation of the talks which were going on, I remained in this place which had become the center of attention for the world's people. Every day I walked around, investigating and assessing various conditions concerning the Korean War and the stances of both sides in the conflict. At that time, because of wanton and indiscriminate bombing and the trampling and outrages committed by troops of 16 nations, with the United States taking the lead, nearly all the cities, towns, and villages in North Korea were demolished. Since we crossed the border into the territory of Korea, we had hardly seen a house without some kind of damage. The one exception was in the city of Kaesong, where some comparatively intact houses could still be seen, and from which one could still trace the original lifestyle of the people and the culture and customs of the nation. Kaesong was situated on the northern side of the battleline. Apart from this area, every place had already become a battleground resounding with artillery and gunfire. As a distinguishing mark, there were large balloons placed at the corners of Kaesong City in the daytime and there were very strong spotlights at night piercing into the darkness of the sky, which could be seen even at a very far distance. Enemy planes and artillery were not allowed to harass this place, which became a small peaceful oasis in the center of a battlefield. Elsewhere, the situation was entirely different. Throughout the northern part of Korea, the army as well as the people lived a wartime existence in places half buried in the ground. The war had shattered the peace and happiness, but never the will of the people. This people's army used their simple light weapons and a small quantity of heavy weapons in combating the American aggressor troops who were armed to the teeth and were self-styled as invincible. As for the masses engaged in industrial and agricultural production, they persisted in their productive labor under extremely difficult conditions so as to provide support to the front. In the party and government organizations of Korea, the leading cadres shared happiness and hardships with the people, in a common and selfless struggle for the emancipation of their motherland and for the peace of the Far East and of the world. Their staunch spirit and undaunted image left a very deep impression on me.

The American Side Entered Kaesong With a White Flag Hoisted

Because Kaesong was located within our region, American personnel had to enter the city with a white flag hoisted. Every day we could see some vehicles, which belonged to the American troops or to the Syngman Rhee puppet army, moving around in Kaesong with white flags hoisted. Although they were our enemies at the conference table as well as in the battlefield, we still treated them with due courtesy and looked after their safety once they were in our area. At the same time, we still maintained vigilance and continued to expose their sabotage activities. It was precisely because they often resorted to subversive activities that we changed the site for the talks to Panmunjom, located at the military demarcation line, and American personnel were not allowed to enter Kaesong any more. During the talks held in Kaesong, both sides were

engaged in endless and fruitless controversies. Our principle was that the enemy would never get at the conference table what they failed to get in the battlefield. Because the enemy wanted to support their representatives at the talks through military pressure, every maneuver in the frontline was mirrored at the conference table. The tense struggle there coincided with the fierce fighting at the front. Although Comrade Li Kenong was in poor health, for a long time he still persisted in his work, just like a commander persisting in his post in the battlefield, fighting dauntlessly without repairing to the rear. I lived there for a time and saw that he was as tireless as ever, his health improving day by day. Because there was a lot of work waiting at home, I went back by the same car to our motherland together with Comrade Ke Bonian, taking with us the deep impression and excitement gained at the front. Unexpectedly, another hazardous incident occurred on our way back to the motherland.

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WU XIUQUAN CONTINUES FEATURE ON HIS CAREER

HK051212 Hong Kong WEN WEI PO in Chinese 2 Oct 83 p 2

["Special Feature" by Wu Xiuquan [0124 0208 2938]: "Eight Years in the Foreign Ministry--Part 5, installment 15]

[Text] We greeted New Year's Day, 1951, in the motherland, triumphantly concluding our 47-day visit to the UN (during which we stayed in the United States for 26 days). [Sentence as published] As the first delegation of the PRC to the UN, we scathingly denounced the U.S. imperialists to their face for their crimes of aggression and solemnly expounded our government's stand and policy. This played an important role and had great influence at that time and also helped us gain some experience in the diplomatic struggle against U.S. imperialism and hegemonism. All members of our delegation also experienced a rare occasion of training and studying the face-to-face struggle on American soil against the number one imperialists of the present age. After returning home, we reported on our work to the leaders of the central authorities and the foreign ministry. Comrade Liu Shaoqi and Premier Zhou respectively listened to our oral reports. Premier Zhou made detailed inquiries about our activities in the UN and gave us encouragement. Comrade Shaoqi also expressed his appreciation of our activities and instructed us to give wide publicity to this trip to the UN. So, in early 1951, several members of our delegation were invited by the National Committee of the CPPCC, the Peace Committee, the Beijing University, and some other units to give a talk on this matter. Comrade Huang Jing, mayor of Tianjin City, also invited us to make a speech on the trip to the UN to a mass rally attended by tens of thousands of people. From the warm reactions of our people, we deeply felt that once the Chinese nation, which had deeply suffered from imperialist aggression, could justly and forcefully speak out and appear on the international arena in a brand new image, this could certainly arouse the proud feelings of our people. For this reason, our trip to the UN became an important matter and the focus of nationwide attention in new China, which was just a year old. We individual members of the delegation, also became a spectacle for a time because we took part in that work. About this point, I always keep such an idea: Each comrade among us, in a certain sense, works as an actor. When we are carrying out a task, we work as actors play their roles. Once we are on the stage, we must play our part well and must not act in a perfunctory manner. However, once we step off the stage, we are no longer

playing the leading role and we should resume working as ordinary personnel of the party. I often remind myself of this idea and always remember that I myself am merely an ordinary worker of the party.

What I mentioned above was a story of more than 30 years ago. Since then, the world situation has experienced huge changes. The U.S. government has finally changed its attitude toward our country. In October 1971, the UN formally restored the seat of the PRC; after that, President Nixon visited China and signed the Shanghai Communique. In 1979, China and the United States established formal diplomatic relations. A new chapter was then opened in the annals of Sino-U.S. relations. Although obstacles of this or that kind remain and will continue to exist, the historical trend is irreversible and irresistible. The Chinese people and the American people, together with the peoples throughout the world, will certainly throw onto the rubbish heap of history the reactionary policy pursued by Dulles and his like and the superpowers' attempt to dominate the world! Similarly, the call for Taiwan to return to the motherland has struck root in the hearts of the people. Although we have fought face-to-face with many KMT officials on domestic battlegrounds and on international platforms, all of this has become history. Moreover, we have the experience of two cooperations. Now, we should let bygones be bygones and look forward to the future. For the interests of our future generations, we should end the split between the mainland and Taiwan and realize the reunification of the motherland at an early date.

III. [as published] The Month in Kaesong (Winter, 1951)

In the summer of 1951, the battlefield of the Korean War was gradually fixed along the 38th parallel. Both sides found it hard to press the opposite side to move backward. The war was in a deadlocked situation. The U.S. authorities, who were keen on calculating gains and losses, also found that if they still tried to achieve their expected objective of aggression, "the value of that kind of victory would not cover the cost (losses of people) we have to pay." If their army continued to push northward, the battle line and supply line would all be extended. "But Manchuria and communist China have vast territories, which would never be conquered by U.S. resources and capacity." (See the memoirs by Ridgeway, Commander of the U.S. Army invading Korea.) At the same time, the international community called more and more urgently for a ceasefire in Korea. UN Secretary General Lie also indicated that if the armistice was put into effect along the 38th parallel, the United States would not lose face. Through diplomatic contacts, the two belligerent parties decided to open the armistice talks on 11 July 1951 in Kaesong, Korea. In the talks, one side was the Korean People's Army and the Chinese People's Volunteers, and the other side was the so-called "UN Troops" and Syngman Rhee's puppet army. The negotiators of our side were Army Gen Nam Il and Lt Gen Rhee Sang Cho of the Korean People's Army and the representative of the Chinese People's Volunteers. This representative was Gen Deng Hua at the beginning, and then was Gen Bian Zhangwu. The representatives of the Korean People's Army and the Chinese People's Volunteers cooperated closely and harmoniously during the negotiations. Comrade Li Kenong, vice minister of the Chinese

Foreign Ministry, took charge of guiding and coordinating the performance of our side in the talks. Comrade Qiao Guanhua and a large group of comrades were also helping this work. In the winter, when the negotiations were intensely carried out, Comrade Li Kenong suffered from serious asthma. Worried that his health might be broken, the central authorities decided to send me to take over the job of Comrade Li Kenong in Korea so that he could return home to rest and to receive medical treatment. At the same time, Comrade Ke Bonian, director of the Department for American Australian Affairs of the Foreign Ministry, was also sent to Korea to strengthen the negotiation work.

The U.S. Air Force Launched "Strangling Battles"

In November 1951, Comrade Ke Bonian and I, together with Comrade Li Kenong's secretary and private nurse, rode in two jeeps and went directly to Korea from northeast China. In those days, positional warfare was going on in Korea. Although Korea and China had some air forces, their fighting capacity was still very limited. Our fighter planes could act in the areas close to the Sino-Korean border; air domination was largely in the hands of the United States. The enemy ordered its air force to conduct the so-called "strangling battles" in our rear. Enemy planes continuously bombed and harassed us and tried to cut off our supply lines. Because of the frequent harassing activities of U.S. military planes, we could not move in the daytime, so we could advance only at night under cover of darkness. Because enemy planes often launched night attacks, we had to drive our cars without switching on the lights. On those evenings, a crescent moon was in the sky. Through the dim moonlight, we saw many Korean and Chinese soldiers and civilians moving here and there in steady streams. Some Korean soldiers and Chinese volunteers were directing traffic at many intersections. All this presented a tense and serious atmosphere of war. As a veteran in battle, I felt excited when returning to these familiar circumstances of war.

When I was enjoying the night scene of the battleground, a shot rang out in front of us. That was the warning issued by the air defense post. The vehicles on the road immediately took action to guard against the coming enemy planes. Some of them dashed through the blockade area, others took cover beside the road. What could be heard was merely the hum of the enemy planes, which spread strings of star shells with parachutes in the sky. Suddenly, all the hills, wooded areas, rivers, and roads that had been hidden under the cover of darkness, were completely illuminated. The dangling star shells drifted from place to place and threw light on place to place; the scenery lighted by these shells changed as a beautiful mirage. Though this rare scenery was really pleasing to both the eye and the mind, we did not forget that this scenery was carrying the terror of war. If one gave away his position carelessly, that would be no joking matter! We did meet with bombing on our way. A squadron of enemy planes might have discovered some targets and, as a consequence, repeatedly dropped bombs on and strafed a place not far from where we were hiding. The flames were once again licking up the scorched land. Our soldiers called the U.S. aggressor "the boss of a steel company" when they held the aggressor up to ridicule, because the aggressor was trying hard to dump his "steel products" in Korea. We watched the enemy planes "dumping" all the bombs they had brought and humming back to their base. Then, we restarted our cars and drove quickly toward our destination.

The Embassy Hidden in a Valley

By resting during the day and hurrying on with our journey at night, we finally arrived in Pyongyang, the capital of North Korea. This city had been completely devastated by the war. In a large concealed position in a valley, we found the Chinese Embassy. The ambassador was Comrade Ni Zhiliang. After greeting us, he took Comrade Ke Bonian and I to see Prime Minister Kim Il-Sun. Prime Minister Kim lived in a well-covered and strongly guarded spot on the outskirts of Pyongyang. After passing by many sentry posts, we at last saw Comrade Kim Il-Sung, the well-known Korean leader. During this meeting, I briefed Comrade Kim Il-Sung on my missions and requested him to give us instructions. He told me: The Korean people love peace. The Korean Party and Government cherish the same desire as the people and hope that the war can be ended at an early date so that the people can be freed from the disasters caused by the war. However, the armistice must be realized under the conditions that are acceptable to both sides. He also pointed out: The ceasefire line must be drawn along the 38th parallel. We must never yield to the unreasonable demands of the U.S. side. He said that it was his hope that the Chinese and Korean comrades participating in the negotiations would work in perfect union and join hands to defeat the arrogant U.S. aggressors both on battlegrounds and at negotiation tables. In the end, he wished us success in fulfilling our missions.

An Astounding Traffic Accident

After staying in Pyongyang for a few hours to find out about the general situation, we continued on our way to Kaesong in the two jeeps. The closer to the frontline, the worse the condition the roads were in. Traffic also became heavier and heavier. Many drivers of military vehicles drove very fast. We became nervous in view of this situation. We had to drive at night. On the way, we met with an astounding traffic accident: When our car was going on in a dark night, a dark mass suddenly appeared in front of us and dashed straight at us. It was a large truck. At the moment when the two vehicles were about to run into each other, our driver turned the steering wheel abruptly with all his strength. Then, I just felt a shock, and our jeep was knocked over. We were all thrown out of the car. The force of impact was really enormous. If we had been flung onto rocks or tree stumps, we would have been seriously wounded. But fortunately, we were thrown into a small pool. I felt ice-cold when I recovered my consciousness. My decent overcoat, made with woolen cloth, was completely soaked with mud and icy water. We quickly stood up and found that none of us was injured. How fortunate it was! Then, we found our jeep had been turned upside down. We worked together to turn the car over. The driver tried to restart it and we were very glad to learn that the car was still working. We congratulated each other. It was a matter of rejoicing for all people, and the car was left intact in this serious accident. Though our clothes were wet, that did not count! We entered the car and carefully continued on our way.

WU XIUQUAN RECALLS FRIENDSHIP WITH TITO

HK120488 Hong Kong WEN WEI PO in Chinese 8 Oct 83 p 3

["Special Feature" by Wu Xiuquan: "Eight Years in the Foreign Ministry--installment 20"]

[Text] Apart from formal courtesy contacts, President Tito also maintained friendly contacts with us on some occasions. As a hunting enthusiast, he used to invite me and other ambassadors every year to hunt with him in a field on the banks of the Danube. This was not only a very interesting sporting activity but also a liberal form of friendly contact. Hunting was prohibited there throughout the year except in winter. The considerable variety of prey is one of Yugoslavia's export products. While hunting, President Tito invited me to hunt by his right side, which was an honor. As I had never hunted before, I bagged nothing in my first outing. But, in my second try, I did bag something: a fox and a pheasant. A dinner party was held after the hunt. Tito invited each ambassador to present a show. So, many people sang and danced and there was a really lively atmosphere. I did not think singing and dancing suitable for me. So when it was my turn to perform, an idea suddenly came to mind--I decided to perform an aria from a Beijing opera. Actually my performance was poor as I forgot part of the libretto. However, other than me, nobody there understood what I was singing. Therefore, the audience extraordinarily warmly applauded my performance as they thought that it was very special and full of national color. So I finally passed my exam! Several times I also visited those sanatoria and scenic spots like Brioni Island in the Adriatic Sea, where Tito vacationed. Those islands are really nice places, with agreeable weather, beautiful scenery, and luxuriant fruit trees. It is of particular interest to note that a kind of soil on that island can cure arthritis. It was said that Tito vacationed there just because he was suffering from the disease and had to receive the special treatment available there. With no people living there, the island was in fact a forbidden zone, where the only buildings were high-class villas and guesthouses. All these buildings and facilities were built exclusively for high-ranking leaders and foreign guests. During our visit there, Tito also invited us to tour his wine cellar and taste his special collection. It was said that only a few people had been received in such a friendly manner. All these activities in which I engaged were cited during the 10 years of turmoil as evidence of my terrifying crime of "collusion with the Yugoslav revisionist and foreigners." Anyway, I have never felt sorry for this. After all, those contacts in that period enables us to enhance the mutual understanding and to strengthen the friendship between the two countries as well as added to my own knowledge and experience. The achievements which we made through these contacts were essential.