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POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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CHINA REPORT
 POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 443

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UNITED STATES

TAIWAN ISSUE IN SINO-U.S. RELATIONS DISCUSSED

Beijing LIAOWANG [OBSERVATION POST] in Chinese No 5, 20 May 83 pp 8-9

[Article by Peng Di [1756 6611]: "What Course U.S. Policy on China?"]

[Text] My article entitled "On 'Change'" appearing in this publication last February mentioned that the Reagan government, to adapt to the needs of internal and external situations, seemed to want to make changes in its foreign policies, but, due to subjective and objective restrictions, whether there would be changes and whether the changes would be for the better or worse remained to be seen.

It was likewise with the U.S. China policy in this period: It appeared that the United States had made no decision to change to the better, yet was hesitant to change to the worse.

The Reagan and the Chinese governments issued a joint communique last August, reaffirming the fact that the United States recognizes only the PRC and that Taiwan is a part of its territory, clearly expressing U.S. respect for China's territorial sovereignty, nonintervention in its internal affairs, and abstention from promoting "two Chinas" or "one China and one Taiwan," and declaring that U.S. arms sales to Taiwan will gradually diminish and the issue will be thoroughly solved after a time. It appeared to be a positive a step, a sign of improvement.

Nevertheless, after the joint communique was issued, certain pro-Taiwan anti-communist cliques in the United States made an uproar, criticizing the State Department for excessive concessions and putting pressure on the White House. Thereupon, government officials issued dubious statements in quick succession, in distortion of the spirit of the communique, in order to calm the criticisms of the opportunist pro-Taiwan politicians. A typical example was President Reagan's statement in his interview with the rightwing weekly (WORLD AFFAIRS) in February, arbitrarily asserting that the whole and only substance of the communique is: Only when China implements the policy of peaceful reunification with Taiwan will the United States be able to reduce its arms sales; as long as there is no

unification, the arms sales will continue; aside from that, there is no other agreement. It was equivalent to canceling by one stroke of the pen the basic principles recognized in the communique and the specific obligations enumerated in it. In Reagan's statement, China's peaceful reunification with Taiwan, an issue of its internal affairs, was made a condition to the reduction and cessation of U.S. arms sales to Taiwan. In itself, it was a denial of the basic principles discussed above. It appeared that Sino-U.S. relations were again on a downhill trend.

Under this situation, the U.S. State Department hurriedly drafted an outline of statement in preparation for answering reporters' queries and handed it to the Xinhua correspondent, solemnly declaring that it had been approved by the White House. While making some explanations of Reagan's statement, the outline also added some amendments and clarifications, indicating that "there has been no change in the President's China policy." State Department officials also made supplemental explanations to our correspondent, saying that the President's statement to the (WORLD AFFAIRS) weekly was made casually, not an accurate and complete document, and not to be regarded as an official policy announcement, and that it could not replace the joint communique of the two governments.

One may say that the United States resorted to all means in its attempt to calm down the storm.

One trouble follows another. Capitol Hill immediately followed with hearings and resolutions, always manipulating China's territory Taiwan as an independent political entity apart from China. A draft resolution of the House and Senate Foreign Affairs Committee published on 28 February openly declared that "the future solution of (China's territory) Taiwan should conform to the laws formulated by the (U.S.) Congress," again attempting to manipulate and control China's internal affairs with U.S. law. Actually, the "Taiwan Relations Act," an American law which wantonly interferes in China's internal affairs, is ready-made and more than ample. Why must anything more be added now? Naturally it aroused China's vigilance. But U.S. officials again explained that these resolutions merely expressed the intentions of certain congressmen and had no force of law, that China had no need to be suspicious, etc.

Let us, for the time being, leave aside the question of whether their words are true or false. But one point is absolutely certain: The modern reprint of the 19th century power politics will not be accepted.

What deserves attention is that, beginning from the first day when the joint communique was published on 17 August 1982, the United States accelerated the shipment of arms to Taiwan in an endless stream, continuously raising the quotas, and the amount was considerable, reaching \$800 million in quota for the 1983 fiscal year. After China issued warnings and posed questions, the U.S. side defended itself by saying that the factor of inflation was taken into account and that the actual amount did not exceed the level of the peak year in the past, attempting thereby

to gloss over its impatient large-scale arms sales to Taiwan by means of mathematical games. It only added another layer of dark cloud to the relations between the two countries and gave us ground to wonder whether it was earnestly fulfilling the obligations enumerated in the joint communique or playing politics and setting traps.

Thereafter, there was the incident of granting "political asylum" to China's teenage tennis player Hu Na. Young, immature and lacking in good sense, Hu Na was unable to withstand the temptations and pressure in America. There was absolutely no question of "political persecution" or "political asylum" with Hu Na who had been under the state's concern and training since infancy. Yet the seasoned and "sensible" U.S. government not only refused to fulfill its obligation as the host country to guarantee the safety of foreign athletes, but deliberately made trouble and even created excuses, arbitrarily claiming that Hu Na was under "political persecution" and granting her "political asylum." With neither factual basis, nor thought of the relations between the two countries, deliberate provocations of this type injuring China's national feelings could only add a new crack to the already considerably weakened relations. Such is the present status of the relations. From the correspondent's observations during his contact with American figures in various fields, Americans in general are dissatisfied with the situation. The problem is that, aside from voting once every few years, they have not much real power to speak of. Among the many Americans met by this correspondent, except a small number of individuals in charge or studying the China issue, there were few who knew what "Taiwan Relations Act" was, let alone reading the articles which brazenly intervene in China's internal affairs. Those who drafted this law and insist on utilizing it to block China from exercising its sovereignty on its territorial Taiwan are merely a handful of glib politicians in Congress who are experts in manipulation. Nevertheless, this kind of law, once passed, is not subject to questioning by ordinary citizens.

Among U.S. political figures, whether in or out of power, there are many who have vision and understand the times, and they are concerned over the state of Sino-U.S. relations. Some, after reading the "Taiwan Relations Act," found it not quite right, but they could only shake their heads and sigh. As for the Hu Na incident, there were some in the executive branch who suggested appropriate handling by seeking the truth from the facts, but their suggestion was turned down by the authorities. Thus the so-called "political asylum" was arbitrarily granted, to the detriment of the relations between the two countries. House Speaker O'Neill held a dissenting view, but aside from expressing himself, there was not much he could do.

Thus have Sino-U.S. relations staggered along in a few short months. As for whether the conditions are good or bad and which side the problems come from, the facts are all there, and the public naturally form their own verdict.

Does it mean that U.S. authorities have decided to let Sino-U.S. relations retrogress? Unwilling to reach such a conclusion prematurely, people are continuing with their observations. Nevertheless, in view of the moves made by the United States, it is very difficult to say that it truly has any determination to improve relations. It is actually not hard to improve relations. The major obstacle is the Taiwan issue. To put it more precisely, the United States must cease meddling in the Taiwan issue. Since it established relations with China and issued the joint Shanghai communique and the joint communique of last August, the United States should stop its meddling in Taiwan. In terms of the United States, not only it has the obligation to fulfill the agreement, but the matter is easily accomplished, involving only the labor of letting go of its hands. It is called for by obligation and reason. Doesn't the United States also verbally express its support of the Chinese in solving the unification issue by peaceful means without outside intervention? Beneficial to others and to itself, to the China mainland and Taiwan, it is the only correct way out. Why does the United States refuse to do so?

Nevertheless, the United States, no matter what, refuses to let go, thereby showing the obvious lack of determination. It uses fine words in principle: No "two Chinas," nor "one China and one Taiwan." Actually, it sticks to its old ways. With one foot in each camp, it wants the advantages of maintaining relations with China and refuses to release its grip on Taiwan. Yet it cannot have both.

How can such relations be maintained for long? The situation is pressing. Whether to change to the better or worse and what course to follow--the United States must make a decision sooner or later.

6080

CSO: 4005/917

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

ACCELERATE BUILDING OF KEY UNIVERSITIES

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 11 Jun 83 p 4

[Text] The 9 June issue of ZHONGGUO JIAOYU BAO [CHINA EDUCATION NEWS] published a suggestion, under the joint signatures of Kuang Yaming [0562 0068 2494], honorary president of Nanjing University, Liu Dan [0491 0030], honorary president of Zhejiang University, Li Shusen [2621 2562 2773], honorary president of Tianjin University, and Qu Bochuan [1448 0130 1557], honorary president of Dalian Engineering College, to accelerate the building of a group of key universities. The following is a summary of the article.

The characteristic of modern scientific and technological development is the high degree of specialization and comprehensiveness of the subjects of study. Almost all the famous institutions of higher learning in the world are multi-subject universities. China's higher institutions are mainly divided into liberal arts and science universities, multi-subject engineering colleges and single-subject colleges. Looked at today, such setup is not completely compatible with the laws of scientific and technological progress and the developmental tendency of higher education, and nor the most effective and economical way to train personnel.

China's higher institutions today are growing more comprehensive and multi-subject in nature. The development takes three forms: 1. Adding some science and a few liberal arts majors, the multi-subject engineering colleges are developing toward multi-subject universities (with some special emphases), such as Qinghua University, Central China Engineering College, Shanghai Jiaotong University, Tianjin University and Dalian Engineering College. 2. Moving toward integration, some universities are launching interschool cooperative activities. Zhejiang, Hangzhou, Zhejiang Agricultural and Zhejiang Medical Universities, for instance, have formed an interschool cooperation committee, preparing to integrate. 3. Some new universities, such as Xizang University, are multi-subject universities. The tendency is favorable to accelerating the development of higher education and training high-level personnel and compatible with

the developmental laws of science and technology and higher education, and should be affirmed and encouraged.

It is suggested that, among the 700 plus higher schools throughout the country, several dozen large ones with good foundation, strong faculty, superior teaching quality and scientific research level, and the capacity to train high-quality Master's and PhD candidates as well as undergraduates be selected as the strategic focuses in the building of higher education and listed among the key construction projects of the state. With additional investments, more school buildings, and more books and modern equipment, these schools will be propelled to expand their recruitment of undergraduate and graduate students and launch scientific research work. It is estimated that, in the 7 or 8 years before 1990, these universities will be able to train, in all fields, several hundred thousand high-quality undergraduates, tens of thousand Master's candidates and several thousand PhD candidates, and cultivate numerous professorial level leading scholars of all kinds. It will provide not only personnel for the economic construction of the nineties, but also high-level teachers to other higher institutions in the country and lay a solid foundation for the development of China's higher education as a whole.

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CSO: 4005/916

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

CONCENTRATE STRENGTHS ON KEY CONSTRUCTION PROJECTS

Beijing LIAOWANG [OBSERVATION POST] in Chinese No 5, 20 May 83 p 2

[Article by staff commentator: "Consider the Overall Situation; Guarantee the Key Projects"]

[Text] "The whole country must support the key constructions:" It is a guiding principle for China's capital construction and the long-range plan to lay the foundation for the economic development of the nineties. It has a strategic significance in accelerating the pace of China's socialist modernization construction, enhancing its economic strength and improving its living standard.

China's key projects today include two large categories: The first category consists of the 70 priority projects requiring concentration of strengths for their completion. The second includes the 279 projects which will be started during and after the Seventh Five-Year Plan but which need early-stage appraisal and capital construction preparation now. Most of the key projects are capital construction projects playing a decisive role in China's economic lifeline and constitute the strategic focuses of its economic development. The projects to be undertaken in the near future include Gezhouba and Qinglongxia, the two large hydroelectric stations, the seven pairs of large modern mines in Shanxi and Huaibei, and other important projects connected with energy, communication, light and textile industries and building materials. Their prompt completion and operation will not only inject new blood into the economic development of China's southeast coastal regions and add vitality to the construction of the western and northern regions, but also supply new energy sources and building materials for improving urban and rural living standard. The 70 key projects of the first category include the electrification of Long-Hai, Jing-Qin (Beijing-Qinhuangdao) and Jing-Bao (Beijing-Baotou) railways and the building of Qinhuangdao and Shijiusuo harbors, facilities which will improve the communication arteries between the east and the west and between the north and the south. As for the many projects whose early-stage appraisal has been decided on (e.g., the water conservancy projects of the three Changjiang river gorges, the hydroelectric stations of Sichuan's Ertan and Guangxi's Longtan, and the

electrification of the Jing-Guang and Jing-Shan railways), they are even more heartening.

Like stars in the sky, the projects will, on the vast land of our socialist father country, form a magnificent panorama and emit a dazzling light on the course of our modernization construction. If we say that the 156 projects built in the early fifties with the support of the whole country formed the cornerstone of the economic development of the new China, then the 349 projects today will serve as the "reinforcing bars" to the mansion of our "four modernizations." In face of such projects which concern the future and destiny of China's economic development and the basic interests of the people of all nationalities, how can each and every Chinese, who ardently loves the fatherland and socialism, not entrust his hopes in them and contribute his strengths?

"The whole country must support the key constructions:" It is a glorious task assigned us by history. Nevertheless, one problem calling for attention today is: The self-raised part of the capital construction investments throughout the country has exceeded state plans, yet there is a shortage of funds for the key projects of the state. Therefore, the pressing matter of the moment is to exercise strict control over the scale of capital construction, curtail the general projects funded by local areas and the enterprises themselves, suitably restrict the scale of nonproductive constructions and, by concentrating financial and material resources, guarantee the successful completion of the key projects of the state. In his recent conversation with the comrades of the State Planning Commission, Comrade Deng Xiaoping said: "It will be good to raise 20 billion yuan for the key projects during the Sixth Five-Year Plan period. The self-raised funds this year for capital construction have far exceeded the goal, and they are not even for the processing industry. Once built, operation cannot start without energy. It appears that energy and key projects have to be undertaken." These words fully indicate that, to pursue economic construction, serious attention must be given to the key projects. In regard to the key projects, we must concentrate superior forces and fight a battle of annihilation. Only by building the key projects will the general projects produce the proper economic results.

The key projects must have the support of the whole country. One of the advantages of China's planned economy is that we can, through fiscal channels, concentrate funds for the key projects which local areas are incapable of undertaking. Naturally, we must, in the future, continue to develop the initiative of the central and local governments in capital construction. It is a firm and unshakable principle. However, only by laying a nationwide material and technological foundation in a planned way will there be a basic guarantee for the development of local construction. Comrade Chen Yun pointed out as early as 1959: In building an industrial system, we can only start first in a national scope, before reaching the various cooperative regions, and finally the qualified provinces and autonomous regions. If all the capital constructions are

launched together, advancing simultaneously, it will inevitably scatter the strengths, retard the speed of construction and hamper the overall deployment. The result will be detrimental not only to the national industrial construction, but also the constructions of the provinces and autonomous regions. These words still possess a momentous practical significance even today, and must be firmly kept in mind.

An important historical experience in China's economic construction in the past 20 plus years is to focus on the key points and act according to our capability. We must not always think of "full steam ahead" and blindly undertake matters not completely compatible with the national strength. We must firmly keep in mind the historical experiences and properly handle capital construction first, especially the key projects, which are matters of prime importance. On this issue, placing centralizing and unifying by the central government and developing the initiative of the local governments on opposite sides and splitting the key projects from improving the people's living standard are both incorrect.

To properly handle the key constructions, first we must unify understanding and envision the overall situation; next we must reinforce planning and exercise strict management. The party committees of the various levels and government departments must continuously teach the broad cadres and masses to understand the national conditions, consider the overall situation, break down departmentalism, and establish the idea of taking the whole country into account. In planned management, we should coordinate the key projects more successfully with the economic system reform and technological transformation. We must unify planning, organize specialization and regional cooperation, mobilize the strengths of the whole country, concentrate the manpower, material and financial resources, and concretely guarantee the needs of the key projects. We must firmly curb and rectify such unhealthy trends as disregarding the overall situation, arguing over trifles, crowding out the major with the minor, and damaging the interest of the whole. We must earnestly improve and strengthen the leadership of key projects, properly organize the strengths of all sides, and promptly form a comprehensive construction force. In regard to the 200 plus key projects whose early-stage work is underway, we must also promptly complete the comprehensive reconnaissances and scientific appraisals.

Tiny streams converge into a river; a hundred rivers converge into an ocean. So long as all areas in the nation render support to the key projects, the magnificent blueprint of China's socialist modernization construction will become a reality.

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CSO: 4005/916

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

IDEOLOGY, POLITICS CONSIDERED SCIENCES

Jinan DAZHONG RIBAO in Chinese 28 Apr 83 p 4

/Article by Hou Shaowen /0186 1421 2429/: "Ideological and Political Work Is a Branch of Science"

/Text/ Specialization is a key measure in the CPC's strengthening the building of cadre ranks. Then how should cadres who engage in ideological and political work "specialize"? Are they to change their profession or are they to gain a foothold in their own profession, mastering the work of ideology and politics? It must be made clear that this work is itself a branch of science, and the specialization of these cadres requires them to study intensively and master this branch of science, becoming experts in ideological and political work and going out to fulfill the mission bestowed upon them by the new age.

Why can the claim be made that ideological and political work is a science? This is not too difficult to comprehend. The so-called science is a system of knowledge which concerns itself with nature, society and thought. Specialized sciences, then, investigate the intellectual systems of particular phenomena or particular fields. Since the study of positive and negative numbers and differential and integral calculus are called mathematics, research into affective and reactive forces and positive and negative electricity are called physics, research into atomic compounding and fission is called chemistry, and research into production relations is called economics, why, then, cannot ideological and political work which takes human thought, concepts and opinions as its research objects be considered a branch of science? For over half a century, under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism and Maoist thought, our party's ideological and political work has evolved a whole set of policies, principles and theories. It possesses a great amount of rich practical experience and an excellent traditional workstyle, such as that in Comrade Mao Zedong's "On Correcting Erroneous Thought in the Party" and "The Workstyle of a Rectified Party" and in Comrade Liu Shaoqi's "On the Cultivation of Communist Party Members" and other works, all of which are scientific summaries of ideological and political work. In the forest of science, it is natural for this work to fly its own colors.

The work of ideology and politics is a branch of science that governs the party and the country. Its fundamental purpose is to use communist thought and the basic theory of Marxism to educate the whole cadre body and the masses, to

inspire and raise the people's revolutionary consciousness and, furthermore, through repeated practice, to raise people's understanding and their ability to transform the objective world. This work is the central link in unifying the whole party membership and the masses to encourage the revolutionary spirit and fulfill the party's mission; it is the key magic weapon for gaining the victory in the revolution and in the constructions; it holds a key strategical position throughout the socialist cause. Essentially, the work content of ideology and politics is the thought building party of socialist spiritual civilization. Furthermore, ideological construction also functions as the main support and the decisionmaker for the whole of this civilization. Therefore, whether or not the work of ideology and politics is done well has a great bearing upon the building of socialist spiritual and material civilization, as well as upon the realization of the total goal of the economic strategy and the rise and fall, the flourishing and decline, of the socialist cause. It's very clear that ideological and political work is a branch of science intimately connected to the destiny of our party and nation.

Recognizing that ideological and political work is a branch of science does not necessarily imply denying the necessity for specialization of cadre ranks; rather, it has the purpose of securing the correct orientation for the realization of political cadre specialization. The work of ideology and politics is a social science branch with profound content and broad influence, characterized by multifacetedness and comprehensiveness. This, then, raises particular demands upon the knowledge structure of this cadre branch. Because their weapons for educating people are Marxism-Leninism, Maoist thought and the party's principles and policies, these cadres should have a good command of the fundamental theory of Marxism-Leninism and Maoist thought and of the party's history and its basic knowledge, as well as comprehend some knowledge of history, law, geography, international relations and the natural sciences. Since the aim of their work is man, they should study a little psychology, education and sociology. And, also, because their mode of operation is writing essays and teaching and talking with the masses, they should also command some knowledge of linguistics and logic. Further, because the work objects with which they have contact are involved in many different kinds of professions, they should also have a definite understanding of production, military affairs, management and other professions.

In brief, not only is the position of ideological and political work, this branch of science, significant and its effect farreaching, but its party spirit is distinctive, its content profound and its emphasis useful; painstaking effort is necessary for it to be soundly mastered.

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CSO: 4005/891

EAST REGION

SHANDONG CPPCC RESOLUTION SET FORTH

Jinan. DAZHONG RIBAO in Chinese 29 Apr 83 p 2

[Proceedings: "The Political Resolution of the First Session of the Fifth Shandong CPPCC Committee (approved 28 Apr 83)"]

[Text] The first session of the Fifth Shandong People's Political Consultative Conference was convened under the extremely good conditions of every nationality in our nation having thoroughly entered into the spirit of the 12th CPC Party Congress, of the new phase of building the socialist modernizations being initiated overall and of every front of the endeavor having attained great success.

The conference heard and considered the work report made by Vice-Chairman Zhou Xingfu [0719 2502 1133], representing the Fourth Conference's standing committee; it attended the first session of the Sixth Shandong CPC Congress, listening to and discussing the report "On the National Economy of Shandong Province and the Sixth 5-Year Plan of Socialist Development" by Liang Buting [2733 2975 1656], representing the provincial governor, and the report "on the Fiscal Statement for 1982 and the Draft of the 1983 Budget" by Guo Zhangcai [6753 7022 2088] of the Financial Affairs Office; in accordance with the regulations in the CPPCC rules, the conference elected the chairman, vice-chairman, chief-secretary and standing committee members for the fifth conference. During the conference, the committee members earnestly studied Comrade Hu Yaobang's key report to the meeting commemorating Karl Marx on the 100th anniversary of his death and received profound instruction and inspiration. They unanimously resolved that Comrade Hu Yaobang's report has great guiding significance toward realizing the Four Modernizations and for vigorously developing China, as well as in the current work of overall reform in progress. They also studied the new regulations of the CPPCC, further clarifying the character, mission and role of the modern CPPCC, and deepening understanding of the significance of the work of the united front and the CPPCC. The members took turns fully expressing themselves on political consultation, the role of democratic supervision and their experiences of contributing their strength to the four modernizations and the unification of the motherland. It was a lively conference. From start to finish, it was filled with an atmosphere of democracy and solidarity. The members, who crowded into one hall, spoke out freely, each expressing his own opinions and actively participating in consultative discussions on great affairs of state and important provincial matters. Many

constructive suggestions were made, and the committee members' highest enthusiasm for and high degree of dedication to the cause of socialism was shown.

The conference unanimously approved the work reports of the Fourth Conference's standing committee. They resolved that during the term of the Fourth CPPCC, especially since the 3rd Plenum of the 11th CPC Party Congress, and under the leadership of the Shandong provincial CPC Committee, the party's line, principles and policies were thoroughly implemented, "left-wing" influences were unceasingly eliminated, the line of thought was gradually rectified, organizations recovered and developed, work daily became more lively, everything took on a dynamic new aspect, the whole province's patriotic united front was unceasingly consolidated and strengthened and the prestige of the CPPCC increased daily as it got more and more attention and support from various sectors. This was the result of the whole membership--every democratic party and group, concerned people's organizations and independents--uniting as one and working hard together. Everyone unanimously indicated that they wanted to earnestly summarize and add to their achievements, overcome weaknesses, understand new conditions, study new issues and develop the modern CPPCC's work so that it is even more widespread, down-to-earth and effective.

The conference unanimously endorsed the report of Liang Buting who represented the provincial governor. The committee members joyfully observed that after 5 years under the leadership of the CPC and with all the people in the province working hard together, they had obtained security and solidarity in political sectors, every undertaking was thriving and developing, the people's lives were continuously improving, cities and towns had assumed a bright new image and favorable conditions were created for initiating overall the new phase in our building the socialist modernizations. The conference resolves that our province's national economy and the social development of its sixth 5-year plan will develop steadily in the midst of adjustment and drive the modernizations in our province to advance without faltering. Every task and target which seeks truth from facts and is active and reliable can be completely realized through hard work. After realizing this plan, we will have built up a good foundation for the vigorous development of our province and for a basic melioration of ordinary conditions. The committee members indicated that we must rally around the economic construction, cultivating an arduous pioneer spirit and actively offering plans and policies, and, the people of the whole province going the same way and working as one, actively contribute energy to the overall realization of our province's sixth 5-year plan.

The conference noted that the CPPCC is led by the CPC and, with all democratic parties and groups, democratic independents, people's organizations, individuals from minority nationalities and patriots from various sectors participating, this most far-reaching patriotic united front organization has in the the past performed an important historical role; in the future, it will further perform a major role in state political life, in social life and in the building of the socialist modernizations, protecting the nation's struggle for integration and solidarity. Assembling many intellectuals, experts and scholars, the CPPCC is a "brain trust," and we must fully exercise this

particularity and superiority, making an even greater contribution within the two cultural constructions. We must value and reinforce the work of the intellectuals, and, utilizing the CPPCC's widespread impact on social relations and society, energetically expound upon the key role of intelligence and intellectuals in the Four Modernizations, working hard to create in the whole society a new mood of respect for intelligence and intellectuals. We must constantly be concerned about and understand the situation of intellectuals, reporting their opinions and demands to relevant sectors without delay and actively assisting the party and the people's government in thoroughly implementing the policy toward them. The conference appealed to CPPCC members and individuals of every sector to emulate comrades Peng Jiamu [1756 0502 2606], Luan Fo [2940 5397], Jiang Zhuying [5592 4591 5391], Luo Jianfu [5012 0256 1133], Lei Yushun [7191 7183 7311] and Sun Yefang [1327 0396 2455], to make a great effort to learn Marxism-Leninism and the thought of Mao Zedong, to study assiduously professional knowledge, to succeed in being both red and specialized and, in the great motherland's cause of building the socialist modernizations, to forge to the front courageously and fully express their own wisdom and creativity.

The conference resolved that the new age's CPPCC undertake the initiation of our nation's new phase of building the socialist modernizations proposed by Comrade Deng Xiaoping, that we begin the new phase of the patriotic front and the CPPCC work's splendid mission: "The fortune is bright and many things can be accomplished." We must further liberate our thought in the direction pointed out by the 12th CPC Congress, with enthusiasm and courageous innovation, be promoters of reform, making creative work and remarkable accomplishments and new glories to the socialist cause; we must earnestly and thoroughly implement the communist party's principles of "long-term co-existence and mutual supervision," and of "reflecting utter devotion and standing together in honor and disgrace" with various democratic parties and groups and with independents; continue to eliminate "left-wing" influences, handle every aspect of cooperative relations between fellow workers competently, actively assist the party and the people's government in thoroughly implementing every item of united front policy, motivate all positive factors, unite all possible solidarity power and unceasingly consolidate and expand the patriotic united front; we must, according to the developments and demands of the circumstances of the new age, devote ourselves even more completely to political consultation and democratic supervision; we must enthusiastically support every democratic party and group and workers' and business unions to independently launch various activities and let them play an even greater role in the building of the four modernizations; we must stress and enhance the business of work organizations, broaden and develop many forms of special topic investigatory study, giving full rein to the special skills and abilities of committee members and individuals from all sectors and make new sacrifices for the sake of promoting various reform projects and the socialist construction of a material and spiritual civilization; we must actively propound and participate in thoroughly implementing state principles and policies concerning the unification of the motherland, strengthening our relationship and solidarity with our compatriots in Taiwan, Hong Kong and Macao and with overseas Chinese and promoting the fulfillment of the great cause of unifying the motherland.

The four modernizations must be victorious; unification must succeed. Let us, under the leadership of the Shandong CPC Committee, even more closely united, with one heart and mind and with mass policy and power, exert ourselves in the struggle to initiate throughout our province the new phase of building the socialist modernizations and the new phase in the work of the CPPCC and to realize the three great tasks of the 80's.

12314

CSO: 4005/892

EAST REGION

DEVELOPMENT OF HIGHER EDUCATION ACCELERATED IN SHANDONG

Jinan DAZHONG RIBAO in Chinese 15 May 83 p 1

[Article by Staff Commentator: "Speed Up the Development of Our Province's Higher Education Undertaking"]

[Text] Recently, the CPPCC and the State Council decided that, consistent with needs and possibilities, there should be a rather high yearly increase of student enrollment in higher education. Beginning this year, a few more students will be accepted. The development of higher education must not only take into consideration the needs of the 80's; since the educational period is relatively long, we must also consider competently preparing talent for the economic prosperity of the 90's. This will meet the need to quadruple the gross output value of industrial and agricultural enterprises by the year 2000.

In the 30 years since the founding of our state, the undertaking of higher education in our province has developed greatly, training altogether more than 156,000 students for the country, but, in relation to the needs of the Four Modernizations, both in quantity and quality, there is a far-reaching shortage. In 1982, the rate of high school graduates entering higher levels was only four percent. Nationwide, there are 12 students attending ordinary full-time advanced schools for every 10,000 people, while in our province, there are only 7, making it rank 6th to last in the whole nation. Those with a college-level education nationally amount to 599 for every 100,000 people, but in our province, there are only 353, causing it to rank 3rd from last in the whole nation. The current backward condition of higher education in our province has caused the production technology in enterprises and management and administration to fall behind, a low labor production rate and a severe shortage of scientific and technical personnel. In the collectively owned state enterprises, technical personnel constitute only 2.2 percent, 2.7 for every 10,000 farmers. For this reason, speeding up the development of our province's higher education undertaking has already become a task demanding immediate attention.

Tapping the potential of existing higher-level schools, arousing initiative in every sector and increasing the quantity of enrolled students are the key measures for developing our province's higher education. Premier Zhao Ziyang pointed out: "Under the new circumstances, the principles of construction

must undergo a fundamental change. In future development of the national economy, rather than depending upon the building of new plants or expanding the basic scale of construction, the most important thing is to depend upon the effect of existing enterprises gradually turning away from extensive and toward intensive priorities." The essence of this directive from Premier Zhao Ziyang likewise applies to the development of the higher education undertaking in our province. This development should presently also use the older schools as a basis, exploiting their potential and making them do their best.

Our province's higher-level schools, especially the older ones, have a potential in the areas of teaching resources, equipment etc. which can be tapped. According to the Education Bureau's regulations, the teacher-student ratio should in general be 1 to 6.5; presently, the ratio of teachers to students in our province's higher-level schools is 1 to 4.3, or over 30 percent less. It's obvious that the existing higher-level schools have a 1/3 teaching resource potential yet to be tapped. The potential of the laboratory equipment in these schools is also great; according to an investigation, the utilization ratio of their educational facilities is only 30 percent; not a few instruments and equipment have lain idle for a long time.

Exactly how to fully utilize the potential of existing higher-level schools should be earnestly studied. First of all, while the older schools are running their own disciplines, they should add higher-level vocational training classes.

The engineering and agricultural colleges in our province uniformly have a 4-year curriculum, but they lack the vocational training level; by increasing the enrollment of a definite quota of vocational training students, the structural gaps in the levels of talent could be filled. The vocational training period is short and talent can be produced quickly. Secondly, we must advocate that higher-level schools join up with localities and with systems and business departments to run schools, thus solving the problem of units which can run schools having to run them without money, while those units which urgently need to employ people have money, but cannot run schools. In order to give full rein to the initiative of schools being run jointly with localities and departments, we must promote the joint creation of branch or vocational schools, whereby, under the prerequisite of fulfilling the state enrollment plans, schools will sign contracts with localities and departments for joint administration; they can also conclude and sign agreements to commission the training of specialized talent in related areas. Arousing initiative in all sectors like this is an important channel for training more talent quickly, efficiently and economically. Finance and planning departments should have the situation as a whole in mind, allowing the commissioning units to provide funds to run schools, furnish instructional equipment and make investments in school housing. In the last few years, in our province, the practice of employer units providing money to commission schools to train talent has already made its appearance, and it can be concluded that the joint administration of schools has four advantages: it can with purpose train even more suitable talent; it can exploit the schools' potential; it can increase the schools' financial resources; and it can strengthen the connection

between schools and employer units, which is beneficial toward raising the value of education. Thirdly, the acceptance of commuting students changes the practice of occupying the whole life of the student. In 1980, our province accepted over 900 commuting students. Experience proves that to maintain the commuter system, all we need to do is study and appropriately arrange the lives of the students. Simply with regard to quality, the academic status of these students is not below that of resident students; quality can be guaranteed. This year we began having all new students who live in the area commute; an appropriate transportation subsidy was given by the school and the cities provided convenience of transportation, meals, etc. for these students, promoting the socialization of academic life. Fourthly, correspondence courses run by higher-level schools, evening colleges and independent study colleges, which are all organizational parts of the whole higher-level educational undertaking, should receive more attention and enhancement and be energetically developed. Presently, the students enrolled in the 17 correspondence schools or evening schools already run by higher-level schools in our province number more than 12,000, approximately 1/4 the students attending full-time higher-level schools. Shandong Normal University's subsidiary independent study college has over 30,000 persons enrolled throughout the country, 10 times the number of students enrolled in the ordinary full-time curriculum of this school. In its tapping of potential and with respect to its many forms of management, this school has broadened our outlook.

Gaining a foothold in the exploitation of potential is a key guiding thought for the accelerated development of our province's higher-level education in the near future. We cannot assume that as soon as the development of higher education is mentioned, we have to increase the construction of schools. The presently existing schools must be liberated in thought, breaking through old conventions, nourishing merits and avoiding shortcomings, using the best measures to the utmost, conquering difficulties and actively tapping potential, persisting in reform, fully activating initiative in various sectors, doing their best to expand the enrollment numbers and training more talent for the Four Modernizations.

In order to speed up development of our province's higher education, we must also earnestly balance the implementation of two policies: work hard to develop television colleges and various forms of trade colleges. The capacity of television colleges is especially vast; they can be developed quickly and the results are immediate. At present, the television and trade colleges in our province have over 25,000 students, approximately 1/2 the number of students attending ordinary full-time higher-level schools. Television colleges still need to stress strengthening and developing the liberal arts and to train more students for the specialized areas of politics and law, finance and economics, management, literature and history in order to change the structurally imbalanced state of the arts and sciences in our province's higher education.

Stressing institution of short-term trade colleges and high-level special curriculum schools with short study terms is the priority for future development of higher education in our province. The investment for this

type of school is small, results are seen early, there is a strong career orientation and talent is produced quickly; the specialized courses are flexible and relevant; students pay tuition and commute, assignment is not guaranteed, but the best are selected for employment; matters of livelihood are socialized. Schools developed this year, like Jinan Vocational College and Chingdao Binhai Vocational College are this type of school. Both cities and districts with proper facilities can found short-term vocational colleges and higher-level schools in special fields. These schools will have the important effect of achieving a greater, faster, better and more economical development of the higher education undertaking, of rewarding the advanced, of activating reforms and of spurring students on to study actively on their own accord. Besides this, in accordance with the talent predictions and the training program, the gradual new construction of a number of multidiscipline undergraduate colleges will be necessary.

Of course, in order to accelerate the development of higher education and expand enrollment numbers, the state must provide funds to run schools and investments for capital construction; this should be guaranteed. However, we should to a greater degree stress the economic benefits of running schools, reform bravely, open up new roads, use every possible means to overcome difficulties and, in quantity and quality, better our efforts to train talent for the construction.

In short, speeding up the development of higher education is the country's need and the aspiration of the masses of the people. Various levels of party committees and the government must all provide adequate emphases, the adoption of measures, the implementation of plans and a practical strengthening of leadership to make the higher education undertaking undergo new development in our province.

12314

CSO: 4005/892

CENTRAL-SOUTH REGION

HUNAN MEETING HEARS ADMINISTRATIVE ZONE PLAN

HK170257 Changsha Hunan Provincial Service in Mandarin 2310 GMT 16 Jul 83

[Summary] The second meeting of the Sixth Provincial People's Congress Standing Committee opened in Changsha on 16 July. The main items on the agenda are to study the main documents of the Sixth NPC, listen to a provincial government report on amending the provincial plan for amalgamating prefectures and cities, and adopt resolutions on this amalgamation and on convening city people's congresses ahead of schedule. The meeting will also listen to and examine a provincial government report on antidisaster work in agriculture and adopt a resolution calling on the people of the province to fight natural disasters and reap a bumper harvest. The meeting will also discuss and approve the lists of members of the provincial people's congress' nationalities committees, law committee, financial and economic committee, and education, science, culture, and public health committee.

Standing Committee Chairman Sun Guozhi presided at the meeting. Vice Governor Cao Wenju delivered a report on the amended plan for amalgamating prefectures and cities in the province. Provincial Agricultural Department Director (Wang Shouren) reported on antidisaster work in agriculture.

"In accordance with the spirit of the central instructions, the province's plan for amalgamating prefectures and cities and readjusting administrative areas has been amended. The province will have eight prefectures, one autonomous prefecture, and six cities subordinate to the provincial authorities. The plan is as follows:

"1. Changsha City will have four subordinate counties instead of five. These are Changsha, Wangcheng, Ningxiang and Liuyang. Xiangyin County will come under Yueyang Prefecture.

"2. Zhuzhou City will have five subordinate counties instead of six. These are Zhuzhou, Chaling, Liling, Lingxian and Youxian. Anren County will come under Chenzhou Prefecture.

"3. Xiangtan City will have two subordinate counties instead of four counties and one district. These are Xiangtan and Xiangxiang counties. Shuangfeng and Lianyuan counties and Loudi district, that is, Loudi City, will come under Loudi Prefecture.

"4. There will be no amalgamation of prefecture and city at Shaoyang. Shaoyang Prefecture will continue to have seven counties, namely Shaoyang, Longhui, Dongkou, Wugang, Xinning, and Suining counties and Chengbu Miao Autonomous County. Shaoyang City will have two subordinate counties, Shaodong and Xinshao, previously subordinate to Loudi Prefecture.

"5. Loudi Prefecture will be restored, with three subordinate counties and two cities. These are Lianyuan, Shuangfeng, and Xinhua counties, and Loudi and Lengshuijiang cities.

"6. Yueyang Prefecture will be restored and will exist alongside the city. The counties subordinate to Yueyang Prefecture are Linxiang, Miluo, Pingjiang, Xiangyin, and Huarong. Yueyang City will have one subordinate county, the restored Yueyang County.

"This new plan has been submitted to the State Council for formal approval."

CSO: 4005/1007

CENTRAL-SOUTH REGION

GUANGZHOU CONGRESS SESSION ELECTS MAYOR, OTHER LEADERS

HK200933 Guangzhou Guangdong Provincial Service in Mandarin 1000 GMT 19 Jul 83

[Text] Having completed all items on the agenda as scheduled, the First Session of the Eighth Guangzhou City People's Congress, which lasted 8 days, successfully closed in the Friendship Opera House this afternoon.

The executive chairmen of the Presidium of the congress seated on the rostrum included Fang Wenyu, Ye Xianping, (Xu Shijie), (Zhu Shenlin), (Xu Ruisheng), Li Hui, Ou Chu, (Zhou Xinyou), Liang Ruochen, Jiang Zhanyi, and Bo Huaiqi. Liang Lingguang, secretary of the Guangdong Provincial CPC Committee and governor, and Zhong Ming, vice chairman of the Standing Committee of the provincial people's congress, attended the closing session by invitation as nonvoting participants.

Comrade Ou Chu announced the opening of the closing session at 1500. During the session, the results of various elections by the current people's congress were disclosed. The session adopted the resolution on the Government Work Report and the outline of the Sixth 5-Year Plan for the national economic construction and social development of Guangzhou City, and passed the report on motions examination submitted by the motions examination committee.

Ye Xuanping, the newly elected mayor of Guangzhou City, addressed the session on behalf of the six vice mayors. He extended his heartfelt thanks to the deputies and to the people of the city for showing confidence in them and entrusting them with the posts. He said: Under the leadership of the Guangzhou City CPC Committee, and under the supervision of and with the help of the Standing Committee of the city people's congress, the deputies, the people of the city, all democratic parties, all people's organizations, and those elderly comrades who have withdrawn from the first line, we will set strict demands on ourselves, learn with an open mind, work hard, and live up to the expectations of the people of the city.

Liang Lingguang, secretary of the provincial CPC committee and governor of the province, and (Xu Shijie), secretary of the city CPC committee, delivered speeches to the session. On behalf of the provincial CPC committee, the provincial people's government, and the city CPC committee respectively, they warmly hailed the complete success of the congress, and extended their cordial

congratulations to the newly elected leading members of the Standing Committee of the city people's congress, the city people's government, the city people's court, the city people's procuratorate, and the city CPPCC committee. In their speeches, they stated their belief that the new leading body would certainly unite as one, strive to fulfill its mission, push ahead the socialist construction of Guangzhou City, live up to the expectations of the people of the city, and complete the great tasks entrusted to it.

Ou Chu, the newly elected chairman of the Standing Committee of the Eighth City People's Congress delivered a closing speech to the session. The delegates participating in the first session of the Sixty City CPPCC Committee and the responsible people of the city CPC committee and different departments, committees, offices, and bureaus of the city government also attended the closing session as nonvoting participants.

CSO: 4005/1007

CENTRAL-SOUTH REGION

GUANGXI RIBAO ON SIGNIFICANCE OF DENG WORKS

HK160557 Nanning Guangxi Regional Service in Mandarin 1130 GMT 15 Jul 83

[Report on 15 July GUANGXI RIBAO commentator's article: "Seriously Study the 'Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping'"]

[Excerpts] The "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping" has been published. This is a major affair in the political life of the whole party and the people of the whole country. The people of the whole country are currently studying the "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping" with great political enthusiasm. Our region is currently acting in accordance with the CPC Central Committee's instructions and handling problems left over from the Cultural Revolution. Seriously studying this book is all the more urgent and important for our party members and cadres.

In the selected works, Comrade Deng Xiaoping proposes that we should have a complete and accurate understanding of Mao Zedong Thought; he points out the error of the two whatevers; he profoundly expounds on the dialectical materialist ideological line of seeking truth from facts; and he proposes the basic principle of emancipating the mind, seeking truth from facts, uniting as one, and looking ahead. This laid the foundation for the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee to reestablish the party's Marxist ideological line and bring order out of chaos on all fronts. Studying the "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping" will help to deepen our understanding of the party's line, principles and policies since the 3d Plenary Session and of the resolution of the Sixth Plenary Session. Thus it will spur us to further emancipate our minds, eliminate the influence of leftist ideas, and firmly bring the understanding of the cadres and party members into line with the Marxist line formulated by the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee and the 12th Party Congress, so as to truly maintain political unity with the Central Committee, resolutely handle well the problems left over from the Cultural Revolution, and fulfill the historic task of bringing order out of chaos.

The "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping" contains profound and systematic treatises on how to strengthen the party's building in ideology, work style, and organization and uphold and improve party leadership in light of the actual condition of the party. It is an important book for strengthening ideological education for party members and guiding party rectification work. At the

same time, proceeding from the needs of socialist modernization, it stresses that we must reform the leadership and organizational system, spontaneously renovate the party and government leading organs at all levels, and gradually make the leading personnel revolutionized, younger in average age, better educated, and more specialized. It is, therefore, of major practical guiding significance for us in currently handling problems left over from the Cultural Revolution, purging the people of three or five categories, readjusting the leadership groups, and carrying out structural reform.

Seriously studying the "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping" helps us to strengthen our party concept, strengthen our understanding of the party as the core of leadership in socialist modernization, spontaneously uphold party leadership, and prevent and overcome erroneous trends of weakening or even negating party leadership. It helps us to strengthen party spirit, eliminate factionalism, better take the stand of the party and people, act in accordance with the party's line, principles, and policies, and do a steady and sound job in handling problems left over from the Cultural Revolution. It helps us to enhance our understanding of the great significance of purging people of three or five categories and setting up leadership groups at all levels in accordance with the party's cadre line and policy, so as to resolutely purge the people of three or five categories from leadership groups at all levels and vital departments, select for leading posts middle-aged and young cadres who meet the needs of the four modernizations and possess ability and political reform and party rectification.

The central idea running through the "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping" is to integrate the universal truth of Marxism with the concrete reality of China, follow our own road, and build a socialism with Chinese characteristics. The 12th Party Congress defined as the target of endeavor for the whole party the building of a high degree of socialist spiritual and material civilization. This is a new development of scientific socialism. The "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping" contains many important expositions on the building of the two civilizations. These stress that economic construction is the central task and also attach high importance to the role of spiritual civilization in socialist construction, and point out the way for creating a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization.

Seriously studying the "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping" helps us to proceed from the national and regional condition, emancipate our mind, seek truth from facts, probe a path for building the four modernizations, and create a new situation in all fields.

Through study, we should enhance our ideology, improve our work style, stimulate the work of handling problems left over from the Cultural Revolution and all other work, strive to basically complete this task in organization and policy by yearend, as demanded by the Central Committee, make preparations for all-round party rectification, and create excellent conditions for bringing about a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization in Guangxi.

CSO: 4005/1007

CENTRAL-SOUTH REGION

GUANGXI CIRCULAR CALLS FOR STUDY OF DENG WORKS

HK160504 Nanning Guangxi Regional Service in Mandarin 1130 GMT 15 Jul 83

[Text] The Guangxi Regional CPC Committee issued a circular today on seriously studying the "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping." The circular said: The CPC Central Committee recently issued a circular calling on the whole party to study the "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping." The circular pointed out the aims, demands, and major significance in studying this brilliant work, and called on the whole party to study it seriously. The party organizations at all levels in Guangxi must profoundly appreciate the spirit of the Central Committee circular and resolutely implement it.

1. Party committees at and above county-level must conduct propaganda and mobilization and make specific arrangements for study in light of the actual conditions in their areas and units. The leading comrades at all levels must take the lead in study.
2. In study, it is necessary to uphold the principle of linking theory with reality. On the basis of seriously reading the book and profoundly appreciating its spiritual essence, it is necessary to sum up experiences and lessons in connection with reality, eliminate all kinds of erroneous notions, and enhance spontaneity to implement the line, principles and policies since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee and to maintain political unity with the Central Committee. The focal points in study should be linked to the current situation and tasks, and study should be done in a deepgoing way centering on the four issues raised in the Central Committee circular. At the same time, attention must be paid to linking study with the region's current work of handling problems left over from the cultural revolution. We must enhance understanding of bringing order out of chaos, vigorously strengthen party spirit, eliminate factionalism, and act in the light of the central intentions in solving these problems in an orderly, steady, and persistent way.
3. It is necessary to train backbone elements and step up guidance for study. The propaganda departments, party and cadre schools, and mass organizations such as the trade unions, CYL, and women's federations must adopt various means to train backbone elements and advance ahead of the others.
4. Newspapers, publications, radio, television, publishing and other propaganda units must make full use of all media to publish articles on study, organize lectures, and introduce study materials, to spur the deepgoing unfolding of study.

CSO: 4005/1007

CENTRAL-SOUTH REGION

GUANGXI PARTY SCHOOL WORK CONFERENCE ENDS

HK180702 Nanning Guangxi Regional Service in Mandarin 1130 GMT 16 Jul 83

[Summary] "According to reports from Nanning, the first Guangxi party school work conference, which lasted 7 days, ended on 14 July. The conference stressed doing a good job in running party schools at various levels in order to accelerate the training of cadres for the modernization program. Participating in the conference were leading comrades of prefectural and city CPC committees in charge of party schools; responsible comrades of organizational departments, propaganda departments, party schools of prefectural, city and county CPC committees; and responsible comrades of relevant departments, committees, offices, and schools directly under the regional CPC committee, totaling 260 people.

Jin Baoshang, deputy secretary of the Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Regional CPC Committee, made a speech at the conference. (Liu Yisheng), principal of the regional party school, made a report entitled "On Several Questions Concerning the Regularization of Party School Education in Guangxi."

Participants of the conference studied relevant documents. They unanimously said: "The CPC Central Committee's decision concerning the tasks of party schools, which demands shifting from short-term training to regular training, is a strategic policy with foresight and sagacity, and is a major historical turn in the work of party schools. This is not only the demand of socialist modernization, but is also the eager desire of the broad masses of cadres." They expressed their determination to implement this policy.

"After analyzing the common phenomenon that, at present, most of Guangxi's party and government leading cadres at various levels are too old, their educational level is below requirements, and they lack professional knowledge, the conference felt keenly the importance and urgency of training party and government cadres."

The conference stressed the necessity of attaching great importance to doing a good job in giving regular training to fine young and middle cadres.

"The conference also studied a series of important questions concerning the regularization of party schools at all levels, including organizational system, number of classes, curriculum, teaching material, organs to be set up, the strengthening of teaching staff, the assessment of professional levels and the award of professional titles, expenditure, and capital construction." All participants pledged to do a good job in running party schools.

"In his speech, Comrade Jin Baosheng stressed four points:

1. Regularizing party school education is a new and important question with which we are faced. CPC committees at all levels must attach great importance to it and put it on the order of the day.
2. Do a good job in running party schools at all levels in accordance with Guangxi's national characteristics; pay attention to recruiting teachers from among minority nationalities; offer courses concerning nationality policies and theories on nationalities; pay attention to characteristics of minority nationalities in fixing requirements for enrolling students and in handling funds for party schools; take special measures to accelerate the training of cadres from among minority nationalities and cadres of remote mountainous areas.
3. Do a good job in readjusting and strengthening leading bodies and the teaching staff of party schools at all levels in parallel with the work of handling problems handed down from the Great Cultural Revolution.
4. CPC committees at all levels must hold special discussions on the regularization of party school education in accordance with relevant documents issued by the CPC Central Committee and the regional CPC committee and in light of conditions in the region. They must seriously study and implement relevant documents and do a good job in work in this respect."

CSO: 4005/1007

CENTRAL-SOUTH REGION

GUANGDONG GOVERNMENT ISSUES APPOINTMENT NAMELIST

HK210851 Beijing ZHONGGUO XINWEN SHE in Chinese 0154 GMT 20 Jul 83

[Report: "Guangdong People's Congress Standing Committee Approves Provincial Government Appointments and Dismissals"--ZHONGGUO XINWEN SHE headline]

[Text] Guangzhou, 20 Jul (ZHONGGUO XINWEN SHE)--The Sixth Guangdong People's Congress Standing Committee today held its second session and approved government appointments and dismissals as follows:

Kuang Ji [0562 1679], to be concurrently director of the Guangdong Provincial Economic Commission.

He Xian [0149 2009], director of the Guangdong Provincial Planning Commission.

Yang Kuoqing [2799 9848 1987], director of the Guangdong Provincial Construction Commission.

Luo Jie [5012 2638], director of the Guangdong Provincial Scientific and Technological Commission.

Wei Zhenlan [7614 2182 5695], director of the Guangdong Provincial Physical Culture and Sports Commission.

Zhang Qingping [1728 3237 1627], director of the foreign affairs office of the Guangdong Provincial People's Government.

Cao Xingning [2580 5281 1380], director of the overseas Chinese affairs office of the Guangdong Provincial People's Government.

Zhang Jianxun [1728 1696], director of the family planning office of the Guangdong Provincial People's Government.

Li Maoxuan [2621 5399 5503], head of the Guangdong Provincial Civil Affairs Department.

Zhao Huacheng [6392 5478 2052], head of the Guangdong Provincial Department of Machinebuilding Industry.

Wang Yankai [3769 5888 6963], head of the Guangdong Provincial Heavy Industry Department.

Zhu Yuanjiang [2612 3293 3068], head of the Guangdong Provincial Department of Petrochemical Industry.

Chai Ping [5591 5493], head of the First Light Industry Department of Guangdong Province.

Zhou Qirui [0719 0796 3843], head of the Second Light Industry Department of Guangdong Province.

Li Gu [2621 6253], head of the Guangdong Provincial Communications and Transportation Department.

Xu Shijiang [6079 0099 4148], head of the Guangdong Provincial Agriculture Department.

Li Zhan [2621 1455], head of the Guangdong Provincial Forestry Department.

Li Decheng [2621 1795 2052], head of the Guangdong Provincial Water and Power Supply Department.

Yu Bo [0060 3134], head of the Guangdong Provincial Aquatic Products Department.

Di Changyun [6732 7022 0061], head of the Guangdong Provincial Financial Department.

Zhang Tao [1728 2711], head of the Guangdong Provincial Food Department.

Liu Zhenben [0491 2182 2609], head of the Guangdong Provincial Commercial Department.

Zhang Qin [1728 0530], head of the Guangdong Provincial Public Health Department.

Gong Jianyao [7895 7002 1031], head of the Guangdong Provincial Statistical Bureau.

An Qingming [1344 3237 2494], head of the Guangdong Provincial Labor Bureau.

Feng Xueyan [7458 1331 1750], head of the Foreign Trade Bureau of Guangdong Province.

Yan Sheng [0917 4164], head of the Guangdong Provincial Auditing Bureau.

Ho Jie [0149 2638], head of the Guangdong Provincial Pricing Bureau.

Li Fulin [2621 8111], head of the People's Commune Enterprise Administration Bureau of Guangdong Province.

Tang Yu [0781 3842], head of the Guangdong Provincial Cultural Bureau.

Cai Hui [5591 6540], head of the Guangdong Provincial Television Broadcasting Bureau.

Fang Jun [2455 0193], head of the Guangdong Provincial Personnel Bureau.

CSO: 4005/1007

CENTRAL-SOUTH REGION

HENAN HAILS PUBLICATION OF DENG'S WORKS

HK041123 Zhengzhou Henan Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 1 Jul 83

[Station commentator's article: "Historical and Brilliant Works"]

[Text] At a time when we are warmly celebrating the 62d anniversary of the founding of the CPC, the long-awaited "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping" has been published formally and put on sale. This is an important matter in the political life of the party and the state and in the political life of the people of the whole nation.

Comrade Deng Xiaoping is a proletarian revolutionary of the older generation who has enjoyed high prestige at home and abroad. He is a chief leader of the party, the state, and the army. Since he began presiding over the work in the CPC Central Committee in 1975, and especially since 1977, he has played a particularly important role in the political life in our party and state.

The 47 articles collected in the "Selected Works" are important speeches made by Comrade Deng Xiaoping from 1975 to the 12th party congress in 1982. These important speeches are brilliant records of the most extraordinary history of the party and the state during this period, the crystallization of the collective wisdom of our party, the summation of the experiences of the people in the creative practice of socialist construction, and a new component part of the treasury of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. The publication of the "Selected Works" has not only a very important practical significance in promoting the cause of socialist modernization of our nation, but also has far-reaching historic significance.

The struggle waged against the "gang of four" was a most tortuous, difficult, and magnificent chapter in the history of our party. It was a series of earth-shaking great decisive campaigns that determined the [word indistinct] and the future of the party, the state, and the people. The right important speeches made in 1975 collected in the "Selected Works" are powerful evidence of the tit-for-tat struggle waged against the "gang of four" by Comrade Deng Xiaoping and our party. They are precious documents that have recorded the struggle against the "gang of four."

About five-sixths of the articles in the "Selected Works" are important speeches made during the period from the smashing of the "gang of four" to the convening of the 12th CPC National Congress in 1982. These speeches have fully reflected the policymaking role of and the outstanding contributions made by Comrade Deng Xiaoping in guiding and promoting the whole party to set right things which had been thrown into disorder, to realize the great historic change, and to determine a road of socialist modernization characteristic of China. Most important in this part is that Comrade Deng Xiaoping has concentrated the wisdom of the whole party and the new creations of the masses of the people and put forward the idea to resolutely break through some existing patterns in socialist construction and, based on the national condition, to open up a new road of socialist modernization characteristic of China; and he put forward a series of important strategic ideas, principles, and policies rich in originality in realizing the great historic change. People have witnessed and are witnessing that many important ideas of Comrade Deng Xiaoping have all become important guiding ideas in the socialist modernization of our nation and have brought about great and profound changes in the features of our party and nation: the idea of striving to quadruple the annual gross industrial and agricultural output value by the end of the century; the idea that the living standard of the people will be comparatively well-off by then; the idea of resolutely implementing the principle of distribution according to work, and more work, more pay; the idea of having some people and places getting well-off ahead of others and leading others to take the road of common wealth; the idea of relaxing the policies so as to make the economy lively; the idea of implementing various forms of the contracted responsibility system, including contracting production to households; the idea of carrying out reform in the economic structure and economic system and expanding the decisionmaking power of the localities and the enterprises; the idea of carrying out in a planned way regularized education among a great number of cadres and workers; the idea of implementing the policy of opening to the world under the premise of maintaining independence and keeping the initiative in one's hands and self-reliance; and so on.

After the 10 turbulent years of the Cultural Revolution, how to correctly appraise the rights and wrongs, the merits and mistakes of Comrade Mao Zedong, and how to regard Mao Zedong Thought was a vital question of concern and the focus of attention throughout the party, the nation, and even the people of the whole world. The "Selected Works" have vividly reflected the breadth of vision of Comrade Deng Xiaoping as a proletarian revolutionary and the scientific attitude of a serious Marxist. They have shown that Comrade Deng Xiaoping has made outstanding contributions in upholding and developing Mao Zedong Thought. It can be said that every article in the "Selected Works" is imbued with the spirit of upholding and developing Mao Zedong Thought and sparkles with the brilliance of Mao Zedong Thought.

At present, all departments and localities at various levels throughout the nation are summing up in a deep-going way their own historical experience in accordance with the instruction of the CPC Central Committee and are carrying out reforms systematically in an all-round way. The study of the "Selected Works" will be very important for us in understanding the series of developments and changes in

the party's understanding concerning a whole series of important issues since the fall of the "gang of four," and especially since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee; in deepening the understanding of the party's line, principles and the current policies; in raising our ideological and theoretical levels; in breaking all old conventions, ways and styles that have impeded our advance; and in making a close study of the new situation and setting up new regulations.

It is imperative for us to study this book in combination with the documents of the 12th CPC National Congress, the anthology of important documents issued since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, selected speeches and writings of Chen Yun, and so on and in combination with the party rectification campaign that will soon begin and with theoretical study and education work. Also, it is imperative for us to strive for the fulfillment of the magnificent tasks put forward by the 12th CPC National Congress and the 6th NPC, and the creation of a new situation in socialist modernization.

CSO: 4005/1007

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY AFFAIRS

JIEFANGJUN BAO PRAISES TIANJIN PLA WATER PROJECT

OW141353 Beijing XINHUA in English 1133 GMT 13 Jul 83

[Text] Beijing, 13 Jul (XINHUA)--A railway construction division of the People's Liberation Army completed 99.5 percent of its tunnel excavation by June 30 for a project to divert water to Tianjin, the LIBERATION ARMY DAILY reports today.

The remaining excavation will be done this month, the paper says.

The project, to divert water from the Luanhe River in the northern part of Hebei Province, will supply an annual average of one billion tons of water to Tianjin, a major industrial and port city in north China. The city has suffered an acute water shortage for many years.

Since May 11, 1982, the railway construction division has saved two million yuan (about one million U.S. dollars) in construction cost, by upgrading its equipment and techniques, according to the paper.

Deng Xiaoping, chairman of the Central Military Commission of the People's Republic of China, recently commended a PLA unit which dug China's longest tunnel in the Tianjin project as setting a fine example for builders of all of the nation's key construction projects.

The Tianjin water diversion project--one of China's 70 top-priority construction items--will go into use on October 1, one year ahead of schedule.

CSO: 4005/1006

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY AFFAIRS

JIEFANGJUN WENYI ON DEATH OF MAO ANYING

HK221058 Beijing JIEFANGJUN WENYI in Chinese No 5, 1 May 83 pp 33-40

[Article by Wang Ying [3769 4481]: "Death of Mao Anying"]

[Text]

I.

There was a deep valley stretching from east to west, flanked by two big mountains. In it there was a footpath lined on both sides with simple makeshift sheds clustered one after another on about the same level. At the mouth of a small valley on the mountain there was a round mine shaft. This was the location of Dayutong gold mine in Pinganbeidao, in the northern part of Korea. This mine had been abandoned, it was desolate, with stones and fallen props lying in the dark, wet interior, and the sound of dripping water complementing the silence of nature. About 50 meters above the side of the shaft entrance there was a big rectangular wooden house. This house was the command headquarters of the Chinese Volunteers, from where commander and political commissar Peng Dehuai directed military operations.

It was the end of fall and the beginning of winter and mountain tops were still covered in green. The sun rose on warm mountain slopes while birds were singing. It was morning, and members of the Standing Committee of the Volunteers CPC committee were holding a very important meeting about military operations.

On 19 October 1950, the Chinese Volunteers that crossed over the Yalu River by covert tactics from the north and won their first battle under the command of General Peng Dehuai on 5 November, eliminating more than 15,800 men of the enemy forces. Because one of our armies which was ordered to thrust deep into the enemy position failed to reach the designated place, the First Division of the U.S. Cavalry, and a British Commonwealth division was able to escape. Thus, in this first battle, we only had an opportunity to batter the Syngman Rhee army and had no chance to pounce upon the U.S. imperialists. The arrogant General McArthur made a mistake. He thought that China had only "sent troops symbolically" and consequently he treated the Volunteers lightly. He clamored to finish the Korean war before Christmas (25 December) and continued to command his army to march north on all fronts.

His decision to disregard the enemy and to advance, gave our army a good opportunity to fight. General Peng Dehuai seized upon it and decided to batter the U.S. army even more bitterly. The meeting held that day was to make deployments for the second battle.

Commander Peng Dehuai sat by the window on the eastern side of the room and flanking him were deputy-commanders Deng Hua and Hong Xuezi. Sitting in front of him were Deputy Commander Han Nianchu and chief of staff Jie Fang, and also present were Cheng Pu, deputy director of the Headquarters Operational Department and director of General Peng Dehuai's combat office, and another armyman, Mao Anying, the eldest son of Chairman Mao, who was slightly taller and somewhat younger than Cheng Pu.

Before going to Korea, Mao Anying was the deputy secretary of the party general branch of the Beijing machine building factory. He had worked hard studying factory management and higher mathematics and he wanted to stay there for a decade to make a success in his career. But when U.S. imperialism carried the flames of war to the bank of the Yalu River and endangered his country, he could no longer stay in the factory and he wrote a letter of application to Chairman Mao and the CPC Central Committee in which he demanded to join the Chinese Volunteers. Fortunately, General Peng Dehuai was then forming the headquarters of the Volunteers in Northeast China, and he was on his way to Beijing to report on his work to Chairman Mao and the CPC Central Committee. Chairman Mao entrusted Mao Anying to General Peng Dehuai, asking him to take his son to Korea to be tempered in the flames of war. Before his departure, Mao Anying visited Beijing once more from Northeast China accompanying General Peng Dehuai, to report his situation to Chairman Mao and the CPC Central Committee. When Mao Anying finished his report it was already 1800. First, he rode his bicycle to the factory to say goodbye to his superiors and colleagues. Then he went to the hospital to see his wife Liu Siqi who was hospitalized after an operation. It was already dark when he arrived at the hospital.

The couple had married on 15 October the previous year, less than a year ago. And during this period, Anying lived in the factory or visited Hunan and therefore they seldom met. Siqi was surprised to see Anying visiting her so late in the evening and said: "It is so late now, why are you here?" Anying felt uneasy in his mind because he did not often see her, and now he had finally come to see her, but only to bid her farewell! His leaving the country to join in combat operations was a military secret and he realized that it could not be revealed; yet he felt that he must tell her.

He sat on a chair by the side of the bed and wiped his face with a handkerchief. He said: "Tomorrow I am going to a place far away from here on official business, and that is why I have come so hurriedly to inform you. It will be difficult for us to communicate after I leave, please don't be anxious if you do not receive any letters!"

"Where are you going?"

"Oh, please don't ask.... Have you heard of a place called the Korean Peninsula? The U.S. aggressors are mounting a heavy attack there."

"Why, you...?" she began to understand what it was all about.

Mao Anying soon changed the subject of their conversation and said: "Oh, no, no; I'm just testing your political standard!" He said this childishly, like a big boy comforting a small boy. It was time to go and he reluctantly stood up and said: "I've got to go now. After you are discharged from the hospital, please visit Zhongnanhai every Saturday to see Dad. Please go there even though I am not here. I also hope you will take care of Anqing, OK?"

"Em...", she nodded as she bit her lip.

Mao Anying was a Russian language translator at the Volunteers Headquarters and when there was time, he would act as confidential secretary to take care of telegrams. He was able to attend this important meeting because he was a member of General Peng Dehuai's staff and because the latter had a high opinion of him.

General Peng Dehuai said at the meeting: "... This time I think we had better retreat first so that McArthur may think that we are scared. In this way, he will become more reckless and with frontline enemy forces becoming more exposed we will be able to find their weak points and seize the chance to eliminate them...!"

Upon hearing these words, Mao Anying could hardly control himself. As soon as General Peng Dehuai finished speaking, Mao Anying stood up, left his seat, and approached an operation map that was hung on the wall opposite General Peng Dehuai. Pointing to the map, Mao Anying said: "...As I see it, we must attack! Are not the enemy forces retreating? They have been defeated, haven't they? Why don't we continue to attack them but retreat before making an attack?" During the war in defense of the motherland in the Soviet Union, Mao Anying had joined the massive counterattack against the German invading forces. Soviet forces pursued the enemy forces for thousands of miles and attacked them and overran them. Afterwards, he met Stalin who gave him a small revolver. It seemed that he was used to making attacks!

Hearing this, Cheng Pu, Mao Anying's direct superior and director of the Combat Office was annoyed, and he thought to himself: Anying, as a young and inexperienced man, it is good for you to be bold, but your views are naive. How can you be so impatient as to make suggestions that are contrary to those of General Peng? You know what a temper he has.... Don't you remember several days ago when he was summing up the experience of the first battle at a meeting and he was enraged at the commander of the army which failed to complete its task of making a deep thrust into the enemy position! General Peng Dehuai said: "There were no enemy forces there, why were you so slow in your action? What kind of operation was it? You have violated military order and affected the battle, and according to discipline you should be executed. As commander and political commissar of the Volunteers I have the right to punish anybody who violates military discipline. I am not much good at other things but I have the ability to carry out execution!" What a serious criticism. And if this time he....

But Comrade Cheng Pu was mistaken. General Peng listened patiently to Mao Anying, looked to those around him and said: "What are your views about the opinions of Comrade Mao Anying?"

Deputy Commander Deng Hua was a heavy pipe smoker and during the meeting he kept smoking. He was a calm, quick-witted and quiet man. He did not easily air his views but when he did, what he said was pertinent and carried weight. This time he raised his head and said: "The enemy forces are desperate and their advance will not be flattened just through one setback. If we confront them head-on, we will only suffer losses! I agree with General Peng. That is, we should show our weakness to the enemy first and beat them at their own game. We should dodge their attack then hit them and cut off one of their fingers."

What a coincidence! General Peng solicited the opinions of other deputy commanders and having done this, he said: "Good, we shall retreat 30 kilometers and while moving, look for chances to eliminate enemy forces. I will use the same method as before and let the same section thrust deep into the enemy position again so that it will have a chance to make amends for its faults by good deeds...!"

At the end of the meeting, General Peng looked at his watch and found there was spare time before lunch. He said: "Who will have a game of chess with me?"

There were only three people in the headquarters of the Volunteers who could match General Peng at chess, and they were Hong Xuezhi, Cheng Pu and Mao Anying. Having no other hobby, General Peng would spend his spare time playing chess. But he was not so good at it, and he was often defeated by these three. And yet he had his own "unique skills" of playing. During the game, when his "general" was to be taken by his rival, he would grasp the "general" to prevent his rival from taking it away and say that he would re-consider if his move was right. And his three opponents had different attitudes toward this "unique skill." Deputy Commander Hong Xuezhi would laugh and say: "Oh oh, General Peng is having second thoughts again"; and let the General do so. Cheng Pu found it difficult even to say no, at most he would stare at the General. Mao Anying was different, he was always serious in having a game of chess and when there was a chance he would take "enemy superiors" from the hands of the General.

Mao Anying was the first to respond and he said: "All right, I'll play with you." Having said so, he lost no time getting a chessboard. The officers and men of both sides were in their positions and before the battle began, Mao Anying made a simple rule to be observed and said: "General Peng, no second thoughts this time, OK?"

"OK!" The General's answer was simple and direct.

The disposition of the forces of both sides rapidly changed as they moved their cannons, soldiers, elephants and chariots, and the situation on the chessboard was changing drastically.

General Peng found a weak point in his rival's defense, moved his chariot deep into the enemy position and said: "Check!"

He did not expect a horse belonging to Mao Anying to be waiting there.

Without any hesitation, Mao Anying said: "I take your chariot!" And he put his horse atop the chariot.

"No, I cannot move this way," said General Peng and he grabbed back his chariot.

It was the second time that the General had changed his mind. Consequently, Mao Anying was not too happy and he said: "Damn it, General Peng how can you change your mind again!"

Hong Xuezhi who was watching the game laughed, and did not mind, but Cheng Pu was frowning....

It was lunch time, so Cheng Pu took a big bowl of rice, put dishes on it, took a small chair and said to Mao Anying: "Let us eat over there."

Cheng Pu was only 2 years older than Mao Anying, but he had begun work with the Headquarters at the end of 1943 and therefore he had more experience than Mao Anying in some respects.

He said to Mao Anying: "The rules and regulations of the Soviet army stipulated that in making a combat decision, a chief of staff could only make suggestion to a commander on three occasions. And we are only senior staff officers and our duty is to provide information and not to interfere with our superior when he is making a combat decision. Therefore, I feel that your speech this morning has exceeded the sphere of our duty as senior staff officers. In addition, in speaking before the deputy commanders had aired their views, were you not too rash?"

"Director Cheng, I was just so anxious to beat U.S. imperialism; therefore, when I heard that we were planning to retreat, I became impatient."

"I understand your feelings. But U.S. imperialism is very strong now and they are far superior to us both in weapons and numbers. If we launch tough battles against the enemy and disregard our own conditions, we may suffer losses..."

Mao Anying constantly nodded and said sincerely: "You are right Director Cheng; I behaved wrongly during the meeting!"

"There is another thing. It is about the game of chess. You should know, for General Peng to have a game of chess is a recreation after working so hard, so that by playing this game he can relax. It is not necessary for us to be so serious about having a game of chess with him. You see that Deputy Commander Hong and I are always defeated by General Peng, but it is not because we cannot beat him, but because we want him to be happy. After having a good rest, he will be able to concentrate his efforts and consider combat planning more thoroughly and our chance for victory will be bigger. Also, you said 'damn it'."

Mao Anying was surprised and said: "Yes? Did I say that? It is just a habit of mine!"

"Well, that is alright, just pay attention to it in future. Have your lunch please, it is getting cool." Cheng Pu realized that he had said enough because he understood that it was inevitable for Mao Anying, who was still young, to have immature feelings and deeds.

II.

The volunteer army launched the second attack on 25 November. The skies were clear and the sun was shining brightly warming the cool morning air. In the morning, the commanders had time to relax after the operational orders were issued. General Peng was too tired because he had not slept all night. Mao Anying was signing for three combat telegrams over by the side of a big stove near the northern wall of the room. General Peng slept on a camp bed in a small room near Mao Anying, without taking off his overcoat.

The previous morning, a U.S. army reconnaissance plane had flown over the headquarters of the Volunteers for almost an hour. This unusual event attracted our attention and we presumed that the U.S. army was looking for bombing targets. Therefore, Deng Hua, Hong Xuezhi and other senior staff officers who were not on duty retreated from the wooden house to a nearby cave as a precaution against enemy air attack. In the operations room were commanders and senior staff officers who were on duty.

At about 1100, four U.S. bombers flew over the headquarters toward the north. The senior staff officers in the combat office thought that the bombers were on their way to attack a target in the north and therefore they did not pay much attention. But Cheng Pu was very much concerned about the safety of General Peng Dehuai and he rushed over to the small house where the general was sleeping.

"General Peng, the enemy planes are coming, please go to the air-raid shelter!"

The general opened his sleepy eyes, cut him short and said: "There is nothing to fear, why are you so afraid of death!"

Cheng Pu was silenced by these words. But just then, deputy commander Hong Xuezhi ran into the combat office from the air-raid shelter. He also had rushed to see General Peng when he saw the enemy planes. Cheng Pu was very happy to see Hong Xuezhi coming and urged him to wake up the general.

Everyone in the Volunteers Headquarters knew that only deputy commander Hong Xuezhi was not afraid of the general. He was the happy-go-lucky type and he was responsible for logistics work. He did the work well, but in a light hearted way. He also liked to have a joke with the general and consequently they were very intimate. As soon as he entered the house, he took off the quilt and shook the general, saying: "General Peng, hurry, avoid the enemy planes, quick!"

The general derided him and taunted: "You pockmarked face, why are you so afraid of death!"

"I'm not only afraid of death but also of you!" And he dragged the general up and pushed him forward. They passed by Mao Anying on their way to the air-raid shelter.

Cheng Pu relaxed and had a smoke. Mao Anying finished registering and dispatching telegrams. He did not smoke, but took an apple from a cartridge box. We were well-supplied with apples in Korea. Comrade Kim Il-song sent somebody to bring apples to us while the headquarters also bought some; therefore there were many apples in the combat office. Senior staff officers in the headquarters had their own way of eating apples. After peeling the apples, they put the pieces of skin on top of the stove and baked them until they charred. Such apple skin tasted sweet and it was crisp; it tasted better than the apples. Mao Anying was baking apple peel on the stove.

The enemy planes returned from the north and this time they skimmed over the combat office. Cheng Pu began to wonder: Why had the enemy planes returned so soon from the north, perhaps they were searching for the Headquarters of the Volunteers as their target of attack? He threw the cigarette butt to the ground and hurriedly looked out the door. How fast they were; the four enemy planes were approaching the combat office. But he saw not only the planes, but also hundreds of silver-white points and they were not ordinary bombs! Ordinary bombs were blackish green or brownish yellow. He realized these points were napalm bombs, they were shining and glaring under the sunshine because there were coated with aluminium. He shouted: "Oh, no, hurry, run away!" But it was too late, dozens of bombs were coming and the Headquarters was turned into a sea of flames. He was thrown into a ditch by the blast of the explosions, his clothes and half of his face were burnt. Luckily, he had not fainted so he rolled himself on the ground away from the fire and extinguished the flames on his body.

Those who were not surrounded by the fire, the commander, deputy commanders, senior staff officers, communications staff and body guards were extremely worried, and had tears in their eyes. Efforts were made to put out the fires and rescue those who were trapped; but the temperature in the center of the fires was as high as 800 degrees centigrade. The heat outside the sea of flames was unbearable, ruling out any attempt to dash into the fire to help.

"Mao Anying! Staff officer Gao!"

"Staff officer Gao! Mao Anying!"

The voices became hoarse and the flames remained fierce...!

The doctor applied ointment to Cheng Pu's burns and bandaged them up. He rushed to the combat office and saw that fighters from the guards platoon were searching for the remains of Mao Anying and staff officer Gao Ruixin in the ashes.

Cheng Pu stood motionlessly in the ruins, his burns were very painful. The air was hot and although he wanted to cry, even his tears were dried up by the heat. He could not tell whether the burns or his feeling were causing him the greatest pain.

He remembered that, 15 days ago, he had slept side by side with Mao Anying on the floor and they talked deep into the night. Mao Anying was 28 years old and he himself was 30. They were both from Hunan and they talked congenially. He had learned that night that Mao Anying had experienced many hardships during his life.

When Anying was 8 years old, he and his mother Yang Kaihui were imprisoned. His mother was killed by the enemy but he was saved from prison by party organizations, and by friends and relatives of his mother. He was already ill when he was imprisoned and when he left the prison he was a bag of bones. He was on the verge of death and yet he survived.

In the summer of 1944, he graduated from Soviet military political college as a lieutenant. He became the party representative of a tank company and he took part in a massive counterattack by the Soviet Army. He put on tankman headgear and with a walkie-talkie hanging around his neck he stood in the open turret of the tank. He pursued the enemy heroically for many thousands of miles, passing through several Eastern European countries, including Poland. Passing through a hail of bullets and gunfire, he might easily have been killed and buried somewhere in the forests of another country. But he survived.

Beijing was peacefully liberated on 30 January 1949. Next day, Anying led a platoon of engineer troops of the North China Military Area Command and, accompanied by two mine sweeping experts, they entered the city as advance troops for the organizations of the CPC Central Committee. Their task was to clear away mines, explosives, hand grenades and artillery shells, to guarantee the supply of running water and electricity, and to oversee the safety of transformers and the condition of houses and bridges. On 24 March, when Mao Anying was having his supper, he received a telephone call informing him that the Chairman and other leading comrades from the CPC Central Committee would enter the city the following afternoon. After their arrival they planned to have a rest at Yiheyuan and then host a reception at Jingfu Mansion for democratic party members. Mao Anying and the others were ordered to go to Yiheyuan immediately to eliminate all danger. They worked through the night and by about 0800 next morning they had only just finished checking all the buildings. Outdoors, the Yiheyuan enclosure alone was 18-km long and there were also enemy bunkers and firing points to be checked...and there was only half a day to go! Veteran Comrade Liu suggested to Mao Anying: "Would it not be better for us to form groups composed of five persons, with each group taking one section of the wall to patrol? In order to guarantee the safety of Chairman Mao and other leading comrades in the CPC Central Committee, we are ready to sacrifice our lives!" Without any hesitation, Mao Anying accepted this suggestion and, with four other fighters, they took the lead in charging toward death. But, the god of death retreated and he did not die....

But today, what was wrong today? "To die before winning the battle," and he had died in such an ordinary way without having an opportunity to display his wisdom and bravery, to experience heroism or to kill an enemy.... He had died so suddenly. It was unbelievable!

Cheng Pu was in anguish, and at the same time he was remorseful. He regretted that two days ago he was too straight forward in criticizing Mao Anying. Anying had worked day and night in the combat office and finished an enormous amount of work, and yet Cheng Pu had never praised or rewarded him; instead, he had died after being so severely criticized.... Cheng Pu could no longer control his tears.

The booming of guns from far away could be heard, reminding Cheng Pu that he was on duty. He looked at the scorched land for the last time and hurried to the newly built headquarters.

In another branch of the valley there was a long tunnel. It had originally been a sewer which was converted into the Volunteers new Headquarters. When Cheng Pu entered the new Combat Office he found the atmosphere abnormally strange. Why? It was the silence of grief and anger! The air seemed suffocating, the blood was breezing and amid the silence the fires were burning and hatred was rushing. General Peng Dehuai was sitting by a small desk, writing something. Cheng Pu approached the General and found that the latter was writing a telegram:

Today, the Headquarters of the Chinese People's Volunteers were bombarded by enemy planes; Comrade Mao Anying died.

The General stood up, handed the telegram to a senior staff officer who was on duty and said: "Sent this telegram at once to Chairman Mao and the party Central Committee."

All the faces were stern, no one uttered a word, and if a single needle had dropped to the ground, it could have been clearly heard.

Cheng Pu said nothing, nor did any of the other senior staff officers who were on duty. There was no need to speak. The only thing to be done was to work unremittingly, issue commands constantly and strive to do a good job in the second battle!

Deputy Commander Deng Hua said nothing, and Deputy Commander Hong Xuezhi who was usually so cheerful also kept silent. Just before he was informed of the death of Mao Anying, he had been joking with Cheng Pu who was having his wounds bandaged: "It's a good thing, Cheng Pu, that General Peng was not hit by the bombs--thanks to the soul of Marx in heaven. This time we will win a great victory.... But now he stood on front of the combat map with his hands behind his back and a stern expression on his face--pretending to be looking at the map.

Deputy Commander Han Nianchu was lean and short. He was an experienced fighter and meticulous and down-to-earth in his work. It was decided by the army party committee that he should lead the force which was to thrust deep into the enemy position. As Dr Liu was giving him an injection against infection he was standing at General Peng's side and he said lightly: "General Peng, I think it is time to depart now, please give me your instructions!"

The general spoke very softly but it could be heard that in his voice there was a suppressed strength that could explode at any moment.

He said: "You must thrust deep into the enemy position. Should you fail to do so, don't bother to report back!"

"Yes, sir!"

"And on your way, don't get entangled with small groups of enemy troops. Whatever the cost, you must rapidly cut off the enemy's way of retreat. You must cover 70 km in your march in one day and one night!"

"Yes, sir!"

"After you have reached your position, you must stay there, and order no retreat!"

"Yes, sir!"

"You will be in a very dangerous position because you will have enemy troops in your front and rear. How long can you stay there?"

"We can stay as long as you demand, sir!"

"Alright...start!"

Deputy Commander Han Nianchu stood at attention, turned and quickly walked out of the tunnel. With several guards, he disappeared into the mountain paths.

Telegrams were received and dispatched one after another....

Telephone calls were received and made.... The sounds of bells, and of men talking and walking, and the sounds of guns from far away combined to give a particular combat atmosphere in the headquarters.

General Peng Dehuai did not usually smoke but now he called senior staff officer Xu Muyuan and said: "Cantonese guy, give me a cigarette, will you?" Xu was a heavy smoker and he always kept cigarettes in his pocket. He immediately produced one, gave it to the General and lit it. The General drew on the cigarette, then choked and coughed. He was annoyed; he threw the cigarette to the ground and suddenly turned to Hong Xuezhi: "Pockmarked face, let's play chess!"

Deputy Commander Hong hesitated for a moment but soon brought the chessboard. But how could he be interested in playing chess at such a time?

The game began without any tactical moves. Hong Xuezhi moved his chesspiece just one step and the General quickly made three moves; but after the deputy commander made another few moves, the General just sat there, motionless.

The deputy commander could no longer stand it and said: "General, let's stop!"

"Alright," the General replied, snatched the chessboard and turned it over, and the pieces fell to the ground....

The early winter night began to turn cold and it was particularly cold and silent on the mountain. General Peng took a walk down the valley, with some guards following him. The stars in the sky also seemed to be afraid of the cold, twinkling sporadically. The General did not put on his cap and the hook and eye on his collar were opened to let breeze blow over his face and neck. With his hands behind his back, he aimlessly walked, stopped, and walked again. Suddenly he stood still, raised his head and looked at the stars for a while, without uttering a single word. Then he sighed: "Chairman Mao entrusted his son to me, how can I explain to him!" It could be seen under the dim light of the stars that there were tears in his eyes.

IV.

As Hong Xuezhi had expected, the second battle was fought with flying colors. Under the command of Deputy Commander Han Nianchu, the troops that were to penetrate into the enemy position covered 70 km in one night. Like nail hammered into place, that was to be passed by enemy troops in their retreat to the south and by reinforcement troops to the north, the Volunteers troops led by deputy commander Han Nianchu fought steadfastly in coordination with the two armies that were attacking the enemy troops from the front. As a result of these attacks, more than 36,000 enemy troops, composed of American, British, Turkish and South Korean forces, that were attacking the north for the second time were eliminated. This battle forced the enemy troops to retreat 200 km to the south on all fronts, reaching the 38th Parallel line. American Democratic leader Taft sighed: "It is the most complete defeat ever experienced in American history."

We killed 10,000 enemy troops and lost only 3,000 men. In the first and second battles we eliminated more than 50,000 enemy troops although our own casualties were also heavy. In addition, we were fighting in a foreign country. Our combat lines were too long and there were difficulties in troop reinforcement and food supply. Our men fought the battles, carrying food on their backs, and when the food was finished, they could no longer fight. Even the heavily battered enemy said that the Chinese troops were "one-week troops."

It was then considered imperative to reorganize the troops and report the situation to Chairman Mao!

General Peng Dehuai decided to return to China and report personally to Chairman Mao because it would be too difficult to explain the situation clearly by telephone. This decision was supported by all the deputy commanders. After the headquarters were removed to Junzili, General Peng and Xu Muyuan went north by car in the night.

When General Peng arrived in Beijing, he found that Chairman Mao had already left the city for another destination. The general followed him and was informed that the Chairman was resting. Bodyguards asked him to wait till Chairman Mao woke up. But he was impatient, and pushed the bodyguards aside and dashed into the room.

Chairman Mao sat on the bed. General Peng moved a chair near the Chairman and, without hesitation, he expressed his views.

Chairman Mao considered Peng's words for a while, then said: The supply of the Volunteers must not be carried out according to the method commonly used at home. It requires a particular method. We have troops all across the country and they can be turned into volunteers in turn. This way, the wishes of all the troops can be realized, and their combat capability can be tested. They also will have the opportunity to touch the "backside of the tiger." Chairman Mao then said that only after the arrival of new voluntary troops in Korea would the previous troops return home. He said that preparations and time were needed to do this work and he suggested that General Peng discuss this question with other leading comrades of the CPC Central Committee. He then asked the General if it was possible to make use of the vigorous spirit roused by the victory to launch a third battle. He thought that if we could first eliminate more enemy troops and make them retreat further, the position of our troops along the 38th Parallel could be consolidated. Then, in order to realize their hopes, it was imperative for the army to make persistent efforts and launch another battle.

Without hesitation, General Peng abandoned his own views and agreed to organize the third attack. He said: "Chairman, I want to report to you about the death of Comrade Mao Anying..." Having finished the report, the General said heavily: "Chairman, I must bear the responsibility for the death of Comrade Mao Anying because I did not protect him well. I should be punished!"

Chairman Mao lit a cigarette, smoked it and listened quietly; sometimes he closed his eyes. He raised his head and said slowly: "We have to pay for revolutionary war. For the sake of communism, and in order to resist aggression, the heroic sons and daughters of the Chinese People's Volunteers have fallen one after another and hundreds of thousands of fine fighters have sacrificed their lives. Anying belonged to these revolutionary martyrs. He was a common soldier. Don't consider his death as an important event because he was my son. There is no reason for the son of the Chairman of the party not to sacrifice his life for the common cause of the Chinese and Korean people...!"

V.

On 24 December 1954, vice premier of the State Council of the PRC and minister of National Defense, Peng Dehuai, was writing a letter to Premier Zhou in Yongfu Hall, Zhongnanhai.

Several days before, the headquarters of the Volunteers sent a telegram to the cadres headoffice of the Military Commission of the CPC Central Committee, requesting orders on how to handle the remains of Comrade Mao Anying. The cadres office drafted a return telegram and handed it to Comrade Peng Dehuai for approval. The telegram demanded that the remains of Mao Anying be brought home for burial in Beijing. General Peng felt that it was not proper to do so. He was a frank person and he could not refrain from saying what was on his mind. Therefore, as soon as he finished supper, he began to write a letter.

Before he began, he lit a cigarette.

...Countless fine sons and daughters of the Chinese people have sacrificed their lives in the War to Resist U.S. Aggression and Aid Korea! All the martyrs have been buried in the soil of Korea. There should be no exception made for Mao Anying. Has not the chairman himself said that Anying was an ordinary fighter of the Chinese People's Volunteers!

...As a symbol of the friendship that has been formed in blood between the Chinese and Korean people, and a manifestation of the internationalism of the Chairman himself and of the Chinese people, he must also be buried in Korea. He will represent a bridge over the Yalu River and a monument in the hearts of the Korean and Chinese people!

He extinguished the cigarette and continued to write:

...As commander of the Volunteers I suggest that he be buried in Korea. It should be written that he died as a fighter of the army. He was worthy to be the son of Mao Zedong. I suggest that he be buried together with another senior staff officer Gao Ruixin who died at the same time (both died in Dayu cave). In this way, we will be able to give good example and there will be no complaint from the families of these martyrs. The original telegram was sent to your office. I have not written these opinions previously. Please give your advice on whether my opinions are correct."

Premier Zhou received the letter and wrote his instructions in it: "I agree with General Peng. Please advise the cadres headoffice to prepare another telegram." He also sent General Peng's letter to Comrades Liu Shaoqi and Deng Xiaoping.

After General Peng's letter was dispatched, Premier Zhou put the cap on his pen and the electric waves carried the message across mountains and rivers....

An ordinary monument was erected at the grave of the martyrs of the Volunteers in Nandaoguilun Prefecture, Pingan Province in Korea. In front of the tomb stands a one-meter high granite tablet incised with big characters: The Tomb of Martyr Mao Anying.

CSO: 4005/1006

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY AFFAIRS

BRIEFS

HUBEI MILITARY CONTEST--The opening ceremony of the first military contest of the Hubei force of the Chinese People's Armed Police opened at Xinhua Road Stadium in Hankou this afternoon. Leading comrades of the provincial CPC committee, people's congress Standing Committee, and people's government, the Wuhan PLA units, and Hubei Military District including Shen Yinluo, Wang Qun, Qian Yunlu, Li Jun, Li Haizhong, Wang Hanzhang, and (Hou Yuntao) attended the opening ceremony. (Liu Lin), commander of the Hubei Armed People's Police, declared the contest open. (Li Lang), director of the provincial public security department and first political commissar of the force, delivered the opening speech. A parade and march-past followed. Over 1,300 cadres and policemen took part in the ceremony, organized into 23 squads including flag-bearers, motorcycles, semi-automatic rifles, assault rifles, machineguns, rocket launchers, and recoilless guns. Some 200 cadres and policemen then gave a demonstration of techniques in capturing enemies, motorcycling, smashing bricks and so on. The contest will last 7 days. The participating 544 cadres and policemen of 26 representative teams from all parts of the province will take part in 24 events including capturing enemies, shooting, motorcycling, and climbing. [HK260618 Wuhan Hubei Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 25 Jun 83]

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HONG KONG MEDIA ON CHINA

RECENT CONDITIONS OF GANG OF FOUR DESCRIBED

Hong Kong CHENG MING [CONTENDING] in Chinese No 6, Jun 83 pp 22-23

[Article by Lung Li [7893 7787]

[Text] How are the gang of four since their open trial and sentencing over 2 years ago? By chance, this writer obtained some information on their recent conditions.

Wang Hongwen Strives to Be a Model Prisoner

After sentencing, Wang Hongwen, the youngest among the four, has made the best manifestations, is very active in study and labor and, until recently, continuously wrote to explain his problems. Today, he strives to become a "model prisoner." Though sentenced to life imprisonment, according to the CPC policy, if he reforms successfully, his sentence may be reduced, and he may be able to reunite with his family.

Yao Wenyuan Seeks Early Release

Yao Wenyuan's attitude is fairly good, willing to continue to confess to his problems and cooperate. He has indicated that he will thoroughly remold himself and become a new man. His family has visited him many times, and encourages him to improve himself in order to have his sentence reduced and obtain early release. He was the most timid among the four, and his sentence, 20-year imprisonment, was the lightest. Thus, he has a certain confidence in his future and wants to strive for early release.

Jiang Qing No Longer Raises Tantrums

Jiang Qing has also made "progress." The rumor abroad that she was making rag dolls was indeed true. Capitalizing on her position as Madam Mao and posing as the legitimate successor to Mao Zedong Thought, she was extremely arrogant, always reviling others as "capitalist roaders" promoting "restoration." The most vicious was when she said that Deng Xiaoping, same as Lin Biao, possessed large and small "fleets," that Deng's fleets

surpassed Lin's, and that members of his fleets expressed outrage over his ouster and clamored for his reinstatement. She thought that no one could do anything about her. She often raised tantrums, even took off all her clothes and refused to be tried. But recently she no longer creates disturbances, probably finding them useless, except to make others feel disgusted.

Zhang Chunqiao Will Soon See God

The most stubborn among them, the gang of four's villainous adviser Zhang Chunqiao persevered in "silence," pleading ignorance to every question. His cancer is growing ever more serious. Bedridden, he probably will not have long to live. His daughter from Shanghai visited him. To her, he opened his "metal mouth" and made statements. Though he is dying, the doctors, on the humanitarian standpoint, do the best to treat him, and even use very advanced drugs which are not available to ordinary citizens.

Huang, Wu, Li and Qiu Released on Bail

Many army officers were willing to post bail for Huang Yongsheng [7806 3057 0524], Wu Faxian [0702 3127 2009], Li Zuopeng [2621 0155 7720] and Qiu Huizuo [6726 2585 0155]. They are now all out on bail and serving their sentences outside, and are even given around 100 yuan per month each as living expenses. Huang Yongsheng lives in Qingdao, because his son is a headman in a plant there, and he is permitted to live with the son. He lives in a three-room apartment quite comfortably. The health of these people is very poor. Under close surveillance, they are still isolated from one another.

Many people are also interested in the conditions of Mao Yuanxin [3029 6678 2450]. Reportedly he has been released, but the details are unknown.

Wang, Guan and Qi Handled in Different Ways

Known as the "16 May" clique, Wang Li [3769 0500], Guan Feng [7070 6912] and Qi Benyu [2058 2609 4416] were extremely active during the Cultural Revolution. After the incident of Yao Dengshan [1202 4098 1472] of the Foreign Affairs Ministry, they were jailed. According to the circumstances, they were handled in different ways. Reportedly Wang Li serves as the chief of a research institute, Guan Feng has been released, and only Qi Benyu remains in jail. During the Cultural Revolution, Qi wrote the article entitled "Patriotism or National Betrayal?," which declared Liu Shaoqi's political death sentence. After attaching himself to Mao and Jiang, Qi Benyu became extremely conceited, strutting around arrogantly and wantonly attacking others by name, causing many broken families and deaths. He owes debts of blood.

Qiao Guanhua Again Appeared on Television

Regarded as the gang of four's agents in the Foreign Affairs Ministry, Qiao Guanhua [0829 0385 5478] and Zhang Hanzhi [4545 0698 0037], after a long isolation and investigation, have appeared on television several times this year. Qiao is currently an adviser to the association for friendship with foreign countries. At the time of the gang of four's arrest, Qiao Guanhua and his wife were attending meetings at the UN. Hearing of the gang of four's arrest, Qiao immediately cabled the party organization of the Foreign Affairs Ministry for instructions. The reply was: Think it over yourself. Qiao Guanhua knew that the prognosis was unfavorable, but he returned just the same. Viewed from this angle, Qiao did give consideration to the overall situation. Doubtlessly he was an excellent diplomat. He and his former wife Gong Peng [7895 3403] were given important posts by Zhou Enlai. Just so he is not unduly disrupted again by lung cancer, he will write his memoirs to record the decades of diplomatic activities of which he was a part. It will be an extremely splendid historical material.

A Negative Factor Converted into Positive

The common people cannot reconcile themselves to the fairly good treatment, even to the extent of ease and comfort, enjoyed by the gang of four and its confederates. But my friend said: "Our party will not resort to their practices during the Cultural Revolution to get even with them. Making the liberation of all mankind the ultimate goal, the communist party should be magnanimous. Today, the gang of four may read books and newspapers, write articles, listen to the radio and watch television. Perhaps in the future they may be permitted to visit rural villages and plants to see whether the Deng Xiaoping or the Mao Zedong line is better. People will always recognize facts. They probably will also do so! True, some people find it unfair for them to receive such good treatment, but didn't we do the same with Pu Yi? He was the last emperor of the Qing Dynasty and, after the Japanese came, became the emperor of the puppet Manchukuo. He was both a feudal ruler and a traitor. If his new and old debts were added together, death would be too good for him. After capturing him, the Russians had no way to reform him, and handed him back to China. China had a way and finally reformed and released him. He got married and wrote his memoirs, extolling the new China. Thus, a negative factor was converted into a positive one, thereby benefiting the people's cause. Don't you think it was good?"

6080

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IMPACT OF SINO-SOVIET RELATIONS ON SOUTHEAST ASIA STUDIED

Hong Kong MING PAO YUEH K'AN [MING PAO MONTHLY] in Chinese Vol 18, No 5, May 83 pp 39-43

[Article by Cheng Ch'ih-yen [6774 6375 8827]: "Sino-Soviet Relations and Southeast Asia"]

[Text] Last November, a new prospect emerged in the development of Sino-Soviet relations: The two sides reopened negotiations on normalization. The CPC once vehemently opposed hegemonism, bitterly attacked the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and its support of Vietnam against Kampuchea, and declared that there would be no negotiations with the Soviet Union unless it pulled out of Afghanistan, withdrew its troops from the Sino-Soviet border and stopped Vietnam from continued aggression against Kampuchea. Now, not only the Soviet Union showed no sign or intention to fulfill the three conditions listed above, but the CPC actually took a voluntary step to negotiate with it. The shift in policy has indeed caused a sensation in the whole world, especially the Southeast Asian countries, which are paying close attention to this new development. The Southeast Asian countries feel a special concern over the development of Sino-Soviet relations for the following reasons: First of all, China, the Soviet Union, the United States, Japan, Vietnam, and even India all wish to interfere in the affairs of the region, particularly the United States and the Soviet Union which, a great distance away, naturally stress their intimate interests in the region. As China is right next door, it will be impossible for the Southeast Asian countries to ignore it. In this situation, they cannot but constantly follow the development of relations among the great powers. Next, the leaders of many countries in the region feel that the main political goal of the Soviet Union in vigorously supporting Vietnam to invade Kampuchea and station troops in Laos is to encircle and isolate China and curtail the latter's influence in the region. Thirdly, the development of Sino-Soviet relations is closely linked with the communist movement in the region. About a decade before Vietnam's occupation of Kampuchea, the non-communist or anti-communist governments in the region felt that the communist movement was no longer a threat to their regimes. Nevertheless, after the crisis of Vietnam's invasion of Kampuchea

occurred, the various government leaders have suddenly become alarmed again. The problem is not the size of the strength of the communist parties in their countries, but the fact that their domestic communist parties are subject to utilization by other countries (like Vietnam) to overthrow their regimes. Therefore, they are anxious to keep abreast of the development of the relations of the Chinese and Soviet communist parties with their domestic communist parties and the extent of the support rendered by the former to the latter. In addition, the development of Sino-Soviet relations is also closely linked with the "overseas Chinese" of the region. The most obvious phenomenon is that, should Sino-Soviet relations deteriorate, the Soviet Union is bound to intensify its anti-Chinese agitations in the region. If this happens, the governments of the various countries must step up their vigilance, because the economic contributions of the Chinese in the region are enormous, and any anti-Chinese incident, whether major or minor, will lead to gigantic social economic upheavals, thereby endangering the political stability. What worries the leaderships of the various governments is that certain ambitious domestic politicians may be utilized by external anti-Chinese influences, thereby attaining their goal of seizing power.

This article will concentrate on several points in the Southeast Asian issue which are closely linked with the development of Sino-Soviet relations.

I. Sino-Soviet Relations and Political Stability of Southeast Asia

Most students of international relations feel that the extreme volatility in the Southeast Asian situation caused by the fluctuating undercurrent is mainly because the collapse of the political powers of the former colonial empires during World War II set off the inordinate ambitions of other political influences which, in open strifes and secret struggles, all sought to establish their own power bases. After the disintegration of the Japanese military government, Britain, France and Holland tried to rebuild their former power spheres but failed. The United States took the opportunity to fill the gap. Though the United States seemed to be only stressing anti-communism and containment of communist China in order to check its outward expansion, and had no interest in building its own colony, as a result of the development of the past 30 plus years, the United States, with its strong military bases and ocean fleets and its vigorous support of pro-U.S. forces and attack of anti-U.S. forces, can be said as having established a power base in the region. However, its failure in the Vietnam war proved that its influence in the region is not that strong. Thereafter, the Soviet Union and Vietnam began to entertain ambitions. First the Soviet Union, by means of a military alliance, supported Vietnam to invade Kampuchea and seize Laos, and the Southeast Asian situation became critical. The five ASEAN nations, particularly Thailand, were deeply afraid that they would become the next Soviet targets. The capital invested by the Soviets in Vietnam, their active construction of military bases and their intensified diplomatic activities

in the region indicate that they have long-range plans and wish to build their own influence in the region. For this reason, the United States and the Soviet Union may possibly deploy a protracted power struggle in the region.

According to the concept on this kind of power struggle, the collapse of the old influence in a region inevitably touches off the avarice of various powerful political influences, until the vacuum is filled, for otherwise it will be impossible for the political situation to stabilize. If the Southeast Asian situation is analyzed according to this concept, after the collapse of Japan in World War II, political forces led by the United States have been most anxious to build their influence in the region, and the main challenger is the forces led by the Soviet Union. To date, the dust has not settled, and the two sides are engaged in a fierce contest. It is the main source of unrest in Southeast Asia.

While the accuracy of this concept on power struggle is subject to deliberation, its importance should not be overlooked. At least Western scholars in general analyze the international relations of the various regions on the basis of this concept. Many outstanding political leaders in the East or West also formulate their foreign policies according to it, and it is most widely held among U.S. leaders. Accordingly, they believe that "balance of power" is a model which can be used to maintain regional or world peace. In the Southeast Asian region, many American scholars and political leaders feel that, rather than doing everything possible to curb communist China's natural influence in the region (its geographical proximity), it is preferable to accept communist China and preserve the regional political stability together. Nixon's determination to terminate the Vietnam war was, in theory, to put an end to the existing view that China constituted the gravest threat to the region. In other words, it was to accept the normalization and spread of China's relations with the region. In short, since the power struggle concept is generally applied in the policies on international relations by the leaders of great powers, the practicality of eliminating it is not sufficiently objective.

The development of Sino-Soviet relations will obviously influence the changes in the power struggle in Southeast Asia. In recent years, U.S. leaders, especially Nixon, firmly believed that Sino-Soviet relations had reached the stage where it was impossible for them to bury the hatchet. Based on this belief, Nixon began to befriend communist China and planned to use it to check the Soviet Union. Starting with the Nixon government, U.S. policy on China unfolded around the following focus: reducing the conflicts between the United States and China to the minimum, while encouraging China to devote its full strength against the Soviet Union. In Southeast Asia, the following situation emerged: Countries which were most anti-communist China and most pro-American, such as the Philippines and Thailand, also acted out of character and became pro-communist China. In Indochina, the United States turned very flexible. Sending troops to Vietnam was for the purpose of containing China, but now the United States

has completely lifted the siege and does its best to refrain from offending China. With the change in U.S. policy, the former anti-communist Chinese atmosphere in Southeast Asia has greatly dissipated. Beginning with Nixon's visit to Beijing, countries forming diplomatic relations with communist China have increased year after year, and even those which have not established relations with Beijing have greatly increased their economic and cultural contacts. After Nixon left office, the succeeding U.S. presidents also followed the basic policy of aligning China against Russia. This policy became even more apparent under the Carter regime after Vietnam invaded Kampuchea. Chinese and U.S. Indochina policies were basically identical. Both countries vigorously opposed Vietnam's invasion of Kampuchea and its eviction of refugees out of the country and both expressed support of Thailand in its resistance of the threat posed by Vietnam and the Soviet Union. The series of policy measures were all based on a most fundamental hypothesis, viz., that China and the Soviet Union were hostile to each other. Otherwise, the United States would not have treated communist China this way, because, should China and the Soviet Union form an alliance, the Indochina situation, in terms of the United States and its allies, would become most worrisome. When Vietnam with Soviet support has turned into a major threat, if Chinese support nearby is added on top, the situation will become untenable. If this should happen, one believes that the United States and its allies will immediately adopt an uncompromising policy of containment as in the past, and no longer lightly permit communist China to pursue its present good-will policy and improve its relations with the Southeast Asian countries.

If Sino-Soviet relations do not develop into an alliance, and neither do the two countries remain hostile to each other, but only maintain normal relations, neither friends nor foes, what will be the reaction of the United States and its allies? Such a status of Sino-Soviet relations would seem to be quite normal on the surface, and should be taken calmly by the United States and its allies. Actually, when one studies the matter earnestly, the United States may not be so calm. According to the power struggle concept, the primary U.S. consideration will be whether the Soviet Union and its ally Vietnam will call it quits and refrain from attempting to oust U.S. influence in the region. If the United States feels that the Soviet Union will definitely not quit, courting communist China to deal with the Soviet Union together will become a task of top priority for the United States. From the U.S. point of view, it is impossible for there to be a neutral China--an indifferent China. When the United States feels that China is not on its side, it would rather assume it to be on the Soviet side. In terms of the view held by the strategists around the Reagan government, they feel that Sino-Soviet relations are always suspect, as the two countries have a common ideology and it is easier for them to reach an understanding. On the other hand, due to ideological differences, the "united front" relations with the United States are not easily established. According to Ross Terrill's observations, part of the reason for China's normalization talks with the Soviet Union is because Reagan's strategic advisors all along do not trust China

much. Obviously, a communist China not anti-Soviet is easily regarded as pro-Soviet by some American strategists. It is quite understandable, because one Russia is plenty for them to cope with, and if a China is added on top, the disparity in strengths will become even greater. One believes that, when confronted by such an enormous threat, very few leaders concerned with the security of the nation can make rational decisions. Under this situation, if China wishes to remain aloof from the U.S.-Soviet power struggle, such wish perhaps will be hard to fulfill.

When the true state of affairs of the Soviet external expansion is considered, China's peace offensive toward the Soviet Union will benefit only the Soviet Union, not China or the United States. True, the goal of talking peace with the Soviet Union is to eliminate the tremendous Soviet military pressure on China's border and return China's more than 1 million troops tied up on the border to the farms to do more practical work for the modernization construction. Yet will the Soviet Union truly keep its promises made at the peace table? Will it truly abandon all thoughts of invading its neighbor? On this point, many people have expressed a negative view. As stated by former U.S. Secretary of State Haig, the Soviet Union has continuously pursued external expansions in the past 30 years, averaging an area the size of Holland annually. Vigorously advocating the policy of containment on the Soviet Union, (Kennan), a former high-level policy advisor to Truman, firmly believed in the following theory: Due to geographical reasons, being both vast in area and blocked in, the Soviet Union, in its psychology, strives to expand externally and gain passageways to the outside world. Its pursuit of a passage to sea was out of this psychology. To curb the Soviet tendency to expand externally, the United States must clearly and unequivocally, resolutely and firmly, contend with the Soviet strength, permitting it not one step beyond the bounds. (Kennan) pointed out that, if the Soviet Union was not given this signal, it would reach out for a yard after gaining an inch, growing ever more aggressive, thereby leading to a world war. His theory was later adopted by Truman and became the policy of containment on the Soviet Union. Nevertheless, with the changes in circumstances afterward and the protracted, expanded and unsuccessful cold war, the containment policy on the Soviet Union was actually applied to China and lost its original meaning. It was gradually abandoned, while the Soviet Union time and again took the opportunities and sallied forth in the past 30 plus years. In reviewing the history of the period, had (Kennan's) original meaning been kept intact and the United States devoted its effort to dealing with the Soviet Union, possibly the policy of containment might have remained as effective as it was at the beginning.

The Soviet Union has indeed come up with a set of good methods to deal with the United States: Every time the United States slightly lowers its guard, the Soviet Union immediately takes aim and acts. Take the most recent example: When the United States, due to the failure in the Vietnam war, shifted to the policy of detente and let down its guard, the Soviet Union not only sent troops to Afghanistan, directly threatening the Persian Gulf nations, but also provided aid to Vietnam for its successive

onslaughts in Southeast Asia. This practice of launching surprise attacks demonstrates the external expansion strategy followed by the Soviet Union in the past 30 plus years. Though the Soviet practice has occasionally been discussed, no one has earnestly studied it or advanced any theory, for otherwise it would have been pointed out more clearly to the Chinese and U.S. leaders. This writer tentatively calls the Soviet strategy the "eye of the storm" theory: When a hurricane is at its height, everyone knows enough to avoid its power and not act so stupid as to face it, but there is a moment of calm during the "eye of the storm," and everyone makes use of the chance to grab some things. The moment of the "eye of the storm" is a golden one. The Soviet Union has recognized the "eye of the storm" principle amidst the storm of containment.

If continuous external expansion is the true Soviet essence, and China takes this moment to talk peace with it, will an "eye of the storm" opportunity be created for the Soviet Union? This calls for consideration. Some among Reagan's strategic advisors have proposed: Normalizing relations with China was originally with the intention of using China to tie up the Soviet forces, but the idea does not work, because Sino-U.S. friendship in the past few years has after all failed to avert the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and Vietnam invasion of Kampuchea. Thereupon, this group of Reagan strategists advocates restoring the strengths of former U.S. allies during the cold war, hoping thereby to check the Soviet might. This idea of the Reagan regime highly deserves deliberation. First, rather than blaming the "balance of power" theory for China's failure to curb the Soviet Union, it is more accurate to say that the United States itself has failed to take precautions, or failed to see through the Soviet strategy of attack during the "eye of the storm" moment. Actually, with the U.S. emphasis on detente with the Soviet Union and normalization of relations with China in recent years, and the widespread war-weariness felt by both the U.S. Congress and the people because of the Vietnam war, an "eye of the storm" situation has emerged, providing the Soviet Union an opportunity that can be exploited. If the United States, failing to perceive this point, abandons the balance of power battle formation built painstakingly previously and discards China from the formation, or even turns hostile toward China for this reason, creating a tangled triangular rivalry among China, the United States and the Soviet Union, will not the resulting chaos provide the Soviet Union with the opportunity to carry out its great plans? Though the "balance of power" may not be the best way, when neither China nor the United States can independently resist Soviet expansion, dealing with it together is, in principle, an emergency measure. The sooner China and the United States join hands, casting aside all unnecessary suspicions, the sooner will the prolongation of the "eye of the storm" moment be curtailed and the greater will be the benefit to the peace of the region.

II. Sino-Soviet Relations and China's Relations with the Five ASEAN Nations

After Nixon visited China and decided to normalize relations, U.S. deployment in Southeast Asia to contain China gradually dissolved, and China's

relations with the non-communist ASEAN governments began to improve. One hypothesis under which the United States no longer contains China but encourages the countries in the region to establish contact with it is that there is no way for China to talk peace with the Soviet Union; otherwise, the United States would have continued its hostile containment policy. Now that China is attempting to end the hostilities with the Soviet Union, what changes will occur in its relations with the Southeast Asian nations?

In terms of the five ASEAN nations, as the revolutionary movement of the communist party is found in all of them, they will be most concerned over the results of the Sino-Soviet peace move. Based on the experience of the past three decades, prior to the fifties, before the rift in Sino-Soviet relations, all the communist parties in the region manifested unity and demonstrated a considerable strength. During the Vietnam war, despite the discord between China and the Soviet Union, they still managed, under Ho Chi Minh's leadership, to pull the great powers together to resist the United States, and a considerable fighting capacity was brought forth. After Ho Chi Minh's death, the Vietnamese leaders could no longer keep China and the Soviet Union together; instead, a power struggle between the pro-Soviet and pro-Chinese factions erupted in Vietnam, leading subsequently to a further split in the communist movement, and the pro-Soviet Hanoi regime took the initiative to attack Kampuchea and overthrew the pro-Beijing Pnompenh regime. As a result, not only Sino-Soviet relations further deteriorated, but conflicts on the line issue within the communist parties of the various Southeast Asian countries also erupted. Be it the Philippines, Malaysia or Thailand, splits occurred in all their communist parties and turned into internal strifes between the pro-Chinese and pro-Soviet factions. The communist party of Thailand, in particular, suffered intensely from its internal split: Its central committee, which had all along received Hanoi's aid via the adjacent Laos, now decided to align itself with Beijing; therefore, it was expelled by Vietnam from Laos and Kampuchea. Demoralized, the party members emerged from the forests one after another to surrender to the government troops, thereby greatly diminishing the party's vitality. Thus, as far as the governments of the five ASEAN nations are concerned, the hostile relations between China and the Soviet Union have indeed helped them in eliminating their domestic communist activities.

In another aspect, the hostile Sino-Soviet relations have also benefited the ASEAN nations by reducing communist threat from the outside. Take Indochina for instance: When the Soviets rendered aid to Vietnam to invade Kampuchea and menace Thailand, China immediately took actions to punish Vietnam, and even declared that, if Vietnam had the nerve to invade Thailand, China would send troops in retaliation. In the eyes of the ASEAN leaders, China's reaction was an inevitable outcome of the Sino-Soviet power struggle. It was what is known as the "point zero scheme" in international theories: A's gain is built on B's loss. Based on this viewpoint, many ASEAN leaders felt that they could freely liaise with China to counter the Soviet and Vietnamese aggressions. In terms of the situation of the region, the ASEAN leaders deemed China's strengths

adequate to stop Vietnam from marching south. In fact, many people pointed out that, ever since China attacked Vietnam, 10 crack Vietnamese divisions have been tied up on the Sino-Vietnamese border, which might very well have detracted from Vietnam's concentration on the war on the Kampuchea-Thailand border. With China's aid, the communists of Kampuchea were able to resist Vietnam and held out for almost 4 years. It indicated that Vietnam cannot after all succeed easily in its practice of utilizing the resistance forces within other countries to enable it to send troops and invade such countries, because China will not sit on the sidelines and do nothing. The ASEAN leaders as a whole, especially the Thai leaders, believe that all these advantages are a result of the hostile Sino-Soviet relations.

There are also leaders in the region who hold a contrary view. The Malaysian leaders, for instance, feel that the immediate outcome of the hostile Sino-Soviet relations was the Soviet and Vietnamese invasion of Kampuchea to overthrow its pro-Chinese regime and isolate China. Meanwhile, China is bound to retaliate. Back and forth and time and again, the entire region will eventually be engulfed in the whirlpool of Sino-Soviet contention, a fact detrimental to Southeast Asia. Therefore, those holding this view feel that they should not invoke China's strengths to resist the Soviet Union and Vietnam. They even believe that the Soviet and Vietnamese operations will stop at only the three Indochinese nations and that, after the creation of regimes favorable to the Soviet Union and Vietnam, i.e., after the elimination of the pro-Chinese strengths, they will cease their military actions, thereby ending the worries over the spread of war to Thailand. The leaders subscribing to this view advocate that Thailand and other ASEAN members stay clear of the Indochinese dispute, and that at most they may make motions in the UN, demanding that the Soviet Union and Vietnam promptly end the war, thereby avoiding trouble. As for whether the Soviet Union and Vietnam intend to create a federated regime in Indochina, those in this faction originally advocated that no attention be given to the matter. However, with the insistence of the leaders of Singapore, the Philippines and Thailand, an agreement among the five ASEAN nations was reached: To safeguard the security of Thailand and reduce dependence on China, an alliance among the three anti-Vietnamese factions in Kampuchea is to be formed. The Kampuchean government should, through the representative of the alliance and by means of pressure exerted by the international organ of the UN on the Soviet Union and Vietnam, demand that they withdraw their troops and permit the people of Kampuchea to elect their own government. Thereafter, this government will declare neutrality, favoring neither side, and serve as a buffer zone between the communist and non-communist countries.

According to those of this faction, peace between China and the Soviet Union should bring peace to the region, because, in their interpretation, the tension in Southeast Asia is caused by the attempt of China and the Soviet Union, due to their hostile relations, to expand their own influences in the region. The situation will not continue if there is a

reconciliation between China and the Soviet Union. When Vietnam no longer fears China (Vietnam's argument is that it sent troops to Kampuchea because of its fear of China) and seeks Soviet patronage, China will no longer fear that Vietnam will bring Soviet forces into the region to isolate it. When the vicious circle of a chain nature discontinues, there will be peace.

After studying their thinking, one finds that the matter is not quite that simple. They have all along been wary of communist regimes. In addition, they also have the Chinese issue within their borders. As pointed out time and again by the Malaysian leaders, they want China to formally renounce its support of the Malaysian communist party, for otherwise the relations between the two countries cannot improve. With the Chinese constituting the largest number among the supporters of the Malaysian communist party, the problem of racial conflict is involved. Thus, in terms of Malaysia, even if the CPC indicates its renouncement of the Malaysian communist party, will Malaysia be free from the worry that its communist party may seek Soviet patronage? If there is a Sino-Soviet reconciliation, will it not have the greater worry that China and the Soviet Union may jointly support its communist party? All these are problems. In terms of Indonesia, as China and the Soviet Union (especially China) had close ties with its communist party, as Indonesia even suspected CPC's involvement in the rebellious actions of its communist party, and as the present Indonesian leaders emerged out of the upheaval, Indonesia is wary of its communist party. These two instances indicate that, even if there is a Sino-Soviet reconciliation, one cannot come to the conclusion that these countries will feel more at ease with either China or the Soviet Union; on the contrary, it will only make them more apprehensive. In regard to their true state of mind, rather than hoping for a Sino-Soviet reconciliation, thereby reducing the dangers of their contention in the region, it is more accurate to say that their way of thinking is closer to the advocacies of the cold war or containment of the fifties and sixties, closer to the (Kennan) school of thought. Their thinking has further impelled some Reagan strategists, in their planning, to feel that China is unable to play the role of restraining the Soviet Union, and they also feel that China is after all a communist country and should not be too closely associated with; therefore, an anti-communist alliance of the region, to a certain extent, must be maintained, in order to be prepared for the worst. Due to this viewpoint, a tendency has emerged recently in the region: As the Reagan regime has indicated time and again that it cannot abandon its moral responsibilities toward Taiwan, Indonesia and Malaysia have increased their contact with Taiwan. Malaysia recently upgraded its relations with Taiwan and accepted a higher level "official" Taiwan representative to be stationed there; Indonesia received Sun Yun-hsuan's [1327 6663 3894] visit. The diplomatic relations of the two countries with Taiwan were previously cool due to their recognition of Beijing. ✓ ?

In the light of the foregoing analysis, let us assess the influence of a Sino-Soviet reconciliation on the relations of China with the Southeast

Asian countries. In terms of the way of thinking of Malaysia and Indonesia, obviously, Sino-Soviet relations, whether good or bad, will not affect their attitude on the CPC; a Sino-Soviet reconciliation will actually give them a better reason to exclude China from the region. On the other hand, if Sino-Soviet relations remain in a deadlock and the Soviets and Vietnamese continue their military actions in Indonesia, the view among the ASEAN nations of using China to restrain Soviet expansion will be strengthened, and those holding this view will influence the attitude of the current Malaysian and Indonesian leaders. They will then play for time, waiting for the Reagan regime to step down and hoping that its successor will continue the policy of using China to restrain Soviet hegemonism followed by Nixon and his successors. By that time the situation will become favorable to China in its desire to strengthen relations with the region. In view of their concessions to Singapore, the Philippines and Thailand on the Indochina issue, Malaysia and Indonesia are neither inflexible nor immutable in their stand. Given time, when China's good-neighbor policy truly wins confidence, the standpoint of Singapore, the Philippines and Thailand will evolve, and China will be generally welcomed by the various nations in the region. By then, even if there is no change in the Malaysian and Indonesian attitude, at least China will not be totally isolated in the region.

III. Sino-Soviet Relations and China's Relations with Indochina

From the three conditions proposed by China to the Soviet Union, China, very obviously, wants the Soviet Union to guarantee that it will persuade Vietnam to withdraw from Kampuchea, or at least stop supporting the Vietnamese military invasion of Kampuchea. Therefore, China listed Indochina among the issues in Sino-Soviet talks and declared that the Indochina issue seriously affected the normalization of Sino-Soviet relations.

Does China, by this proposal, wish to solve its conflict with Vietnam through the normalization of relations with the Soviet Union? If so, how much result will it produce? It is an issue calling for exploration.

First of all, is the Soviet Union willing to persuade Vietnam to withdraw from Kampuchea? Even if it is willing, how effective will it be? According to general observations, the Soviet Union will not be willing. It has openly declared that it will not agree to include issues involving third countries in the talks. Naturally, it has real reasons for not wishing to discuss matters involving third countries. To the Soviet Union, Vietnam's military action in Indochina has greatly promoted the Soviet influence in the region. One may say that, in the past 30 plus years, the Soviet Union has never before laid hand on such a powerful, closely associated and willing Southeast Asian country as it has today. Vietnam greatly relies on the Soviet Union to support its control of Indochina, while the Soviet Union also greatly needs Vietnam's consent and cooperation to build military bases and develop its political influence in the region. To date, the Soviet and Vietnamese military actions in Indochina have greatly enhanced their threat against the region,

thereby greatly increasing their strengths in political negotiations. With such strengths, they have a good chance to gain more concessions from the Southeast Asian countries and neutralize the latter's close ties with the United States or China. Will the Soviets and Vietnamese lightly relinquish their present advantages at the peace table without a struggle? One believes not. Furthermore, in the eyes of the Soviet Union, China has no adequate qualifications to persuade the Soviet Union to renounce Vietnam and the entire Southeast Asia. In the military aspect, even if China wishes to align itself with the United States, the Soviet Union appears to be indifferent, for otherwise why did the Soviet Union, when playing the China card in the United States, continue to offend China and send troops to seize Kampuchea and Afghanistan? Since the Soviet Union took a military risk to gain Kampuchea and Afghanistan, how could it relinquish the advantages already gained without military pressure? True, China's vast territory should have a certain weight in the Soviet strategy, but in terms of the military or diplomatic standpoint, China's importance (its threat to the Soviet Union) belongs in the future. In terms of the present, it poses no threat to the expansion of Soviet influence, and there is no need to make any concessions to it. Therefore, one believes that it is not likely for China to be able to gain anything from the Soviet Union through peace talks.

Next, even if the Soviet Union is willing to persuade Vietnam to stop its military venture in Indochina, will Vietnam comply? This is a big question. True, Vietnam relies considerably on Soviet support, but without such support, Vietnam may not necessarily become isolated. As long as Vietnam immediately guarantees that it will not make any military excursion beyond Indochina, one believes that some among the ASEAN nations will immediately support its plan for an Indochinese federation. As the Vietnamese leaders and people, undergoing several decades of wars, have suffered all kinds of hardships, naturally they can live with their present situation. Therefore, it is overoptimistic to feel that Vietnam will promptly give in by means of isolation or economic blockade.

On the other hand, if China persists in its present confrontation with the Soviets and Vietnamese, though it may not be the best way, it is a situation of riding a tiger and finding it impossible to get off. Furthermore, China has, for this reason, gained the cooperation of some Southeast Asian countries to restrain Soviet expansionism together. If Kampuchea's three-way alliance to resist Vietnam continues to produce a diplomatic and military effect, combining all favorable factors into a solid capital for political negotiations and waiting for the chance to seek peace with Vietnam, and if China exerts appropriate military and political pressures, neither stressing the one nor the other, one believes that the conflict with Vietnam will resolve sooner or later. It is perhaps not very hopeful to find the solution through Sino-Soviet talks without dealing directly with Vietnam. In addition, Vietnam has long been tired of having its fate decided by international tribunals. As pointed out by Zhou Enlai, the Vietnamese leaders had long expressed dissatisfaction with the 1954 Geneva Conference, because it placed the

fate of Vietnam under the control of large powers. At the 1971 Sino-U.S. peace talks, the United States wanted to persuade Vietnam, through Zhou Enlai, to end the war, but Zhou indicated that it would not please Vietnam. When China knocks on the door of the Soviet Union now, will Vietnam acquiesce?

As a country in the Southeast Asian region, Vietnam will not always tolerate isolation by its neighbors, and it will not always have no dealings with others in the region. It has no capacity to gobble up the whole region by itself without outside help, and when it comes to outside help, the Soviet Union is the only one. Resisting the Soviet Union can only be accomplished by the concerted effort of the United States, Japan and European nations, and the nations in the region, including China. China's previous strategy was an endeavor in this direction, but turning around now to talk peace with the Soviet Union will only create confusion and undermine the confidence of its fellow travelers in the region.

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KEEP POLITICS OUT OF SPIRITUAL CIVILIZATION

Hong Kong CHENG MING [CONTENDING] in Chinese No 6, June 83 pp 57-58

[Article by Huai Ping [2037 0393]: "Comment on 'Five Stresses, Four Beauties and Three Ardent Loves'"]

[Text] Early in 1981, the CPC Central Committee appealed to the people throughout the country to vigorously strengthen the building of a socialist spiritual civilization while pursuing the four modernizations. On 25 February, the All-China Federation of Trade Unions, the Communist Youth League Central Committee and the All-China Federation of Literature and Art Circles, a total of nine organizations, made the "Proposal on Launching Civilization and Courtesy Activities and put forward the "five stresses and four beauties" slogan to stress civilization, courtesy, sanitation, order and ethics and promote beauty of mind, language, conduct and environment. In March, the CPC launched the second "All People's Civilization and Courtesy Month" and added "three ardent loves" to the "five stresses and four beauties," viz., "ardent love for the fatherland, for socialism and for the party." On 30 March, the CPC Central Committee formed the "Five-Stress, Four-Beauty and Three-Ardent Love Committee," with Wan Li as chairman and Deng Liqun [6772 0500 5028] and Huang Yukun [7806 3768 2492] as vice chairmen. Thereafter, the various provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions successively formed identical committees.

From the above information, it looks like that the movement to build a socialist civilization with the "five stresses, four beauties and three ardent loves" as the main substance will continue on. By adding the "three ardent loves," it appears that the movement will surge forward at an ever greater momentum. Many events launched by the CPC in the past often started with a flourish and petered out, but this movement shows no such sign, as if there would be no stop until the goal is reached. Why is it so? Let us take our time and analyze it.

Why Were "Three Ardent Loves" Added?

When the CPC first launched the "five-stress and four-beauty" movement, the focus seemed to be on the rather sensible and concrete basis of "morals, sentiments and social practices," without linking them with the "three ardent loves," because, according to past experience, the "three ardent loves" were too fancy, and the earnest and repetitious words were often ignored by the listeners, especially the young people. When discussing civilization, the "Handbook on the Five Stresses and Four Beauties" (hereinafter referred to as the "Handbook") issued by the propaganda department of the Communist Youth League Central Committee, for instance, explains it as follows: The reason for focusing civilization on morals, sentiments and social practices is because the problems in these aspects are rather marked. In certain areas and certain aspects are found such backward and uncivilized phenomena as ignorance, failure to distinguish the beautiful and the ugly, vulgar behavior, low-class interest and bad character; therefore, civilized language, conduct, contact, family, environment and bearing are proposed. When it comes to courtesy, it does not involve the class nature, but only a general reference to mutual respect and modesty in human contact, manifesting everywhere one's good upbringing and using the traditional moral criterions, once considered by Mao Zedong as "reactionary" and required to be knocked down, as the maxims, such as "do not do to others that which you do not wish to be done to yourself," "courtesy requires give and take," "respecting each other like guests," and "be gentle, upright, courteous, temperate and yielding".... In short, there is no political flavor when these things are mentioned.

This method of propaganda education employing no fancy words will be much better than the method of using bombastic terms at a fever pitch. We believe that children so trained since infancy will grow up into civilized individuals. By that time, the slogan of "five stresses and four beauties" will become a historical relic.

It is the principal method followed by most countries in the world in their moral education of the young. Take Hong Kong for instance: The subject "society" emphasizes ethical education. It teaches the children to stress courtesy and sanitation, observe order, respect the old and cherish the group, and be a civilized person with a pure and noble mind. It also advocates love for Hong Kong and describes how it developed from a tiny fishing village into a world famous port. What it stresses are the excellent geographical environment, the fine harbor and the endeavor of the industrious people, never mentioning the superiority of the capitalist system, nor the wisdom of the government (or even certain governors). Discussing the facts as they stand, it enables the students to learn automatically, through the text material, the way to conduct themselves. As for politics, it is beyond the scope of the subject.

Nevertheless, it cannot be accomplished in China where everything is politicized. China does not permit people to move to the path of spiritual civilization on a nonpolitical track. Thus, reluctant to give up

"politics," the CPC finally had to add the "three ardent loves" after propagandizing the "five stresses and four beauties" for a while, thereby again closely linking ethical education with politics.

Is it somewhat a violation of the "original intent?" What is the reason for this state of affairs?

I feel that the problem originates from the young people's crisis of confidence in the CPC. After the "civilization and courtesy activities" advocating the "five stresses and four beauties" were launched in 1981, people's minds have not become beautiful; on the contrary, "rebellious" acts have cropped up in an endless stream. Take 1982 for instance: The major ones included Hu Na's "flight to freedom" in June, Zhou Lingfei's [0719 0109 7378] "elopement" to Taiwan in September, and Wu Ronggen's (0702 2837 2704) piloting a plane to Taiwan in October, and also two unconfirmed reports on aborted attempts to hijack planes to Taiwan. All these were major events causing an uproar at the time. Such rebellious incidents in quick succession constituted rather heavy blows on the CPC's leadership stratum. Under this situation, the CPC had to shift somewhat the focus of the spiritual civilization, shifting from the "five stresses and four beauties" to the old path of the communist ideological education. It can be seen in the two commentator's articles appearing in BAN YUE TAN [SEMI-MONTHLY TALKS], Nos 15 and 16, 1982, entitled "Eradicate the 'Theory of the Vagueness of Communism'" and "Communism Progresses in Practice--a Rediscussion of Eradicating the 'Theory of the Vagueness of Communism.'" How anxious and disturbed the CPC has become over the precarious position of communism in people's minds! "Vague" because communism is regarded as "the moon in the sky, visible but unattainable." This is in terms of certain people at home. As for others, those who have fled the country, it can be called "despair." China has an old proverb: "There is no greater sorrow than the death of hope." For those whose "hope has died," words are superfluous.

The Deity Worshipped by Man Is Dead

About a century ago, a German philosopher said: "The deity worshipped by man is dead (translated by some as "God is dead"), and no longer exists." From then on, the idol in man's mind has crumbled, and "dogmas" no longer have any hold over him. Man is absolutely free; man is his own god--this thinking, through Sartre's existentialism, has spread over the whole world. Same as the people in other countries in the world, the Chinese people, who have freed themselves from the yoke of a deity which shackled them for close to 30 years, value freedom as much as, or more than, air and bread. The spread of the "existentialist" trend in the minds of the broad intellectuals is ample proof. Under this situation, to shackle them again with communist moral dogmas will not only fail to subjugate them, but create resistance. Therefore, we hope that the CPC will focus the "five stresses and four beauties" on morals, sentiments and social practices and refrain from taking the same disastrous road of politics

and, like replacing the beams and pillars with rotten timber, substituting the "three ardent loves" for the "five stresses and four beauties."

"The deity worshipped by man is dead" is the voice of the times. We hope that the CPC leaders who were hoodwinked in every possible way by the "deity" will keep it mind firmly and refrain from dragging out again the dogmas long found boring by people. According to an old dogma, the proletarian "courtesy," coming from the heart, is a genuine respect for others, identifying the outward expression with the inner feeling and totally different from the hypocritical bourgeois surface politeness which conceals underneath intrigues against each other, with each side trying to outwit the other. Only useful for bombastic "political studies," this dogma cannot guide practical conduct. No doubt the proletariat wants the outward and the inward to be identical, but does it mean that there is no inward and outward identity among the bourgeoisie? Furthermore, compared with showing others a cold shoulder, or even using coarse language and dirty words, isn't the politeness of "thinking one way and behaving in another" more pleasant and acceptable? And who is to ask whether you are thinking one way and behaving in another? To get more business, the merchants hoist the sign of "service first," and even go so far as to say that "the customer is always right," handling the customers with courtesy in every possible way. Their motive is profit, and they may not mean what they say, but is there anything calling for criticism?

Plant One's Feet on Solid Ground; Start with the Trivialities

Reading a few copies of "Student Rules" from inland, I find that they are almost all slogans, without anything concrete. Article 1 of the "Higher School Rules (Trial Draft)," for instance, states: "Ardently love the fatherland, support the leadership of the CPC and resolve to serve socialism and the people." Article 2 states: "Earnestly study Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought and gradually establish the proletarian viewpoint, labor viewpoint, mass viewpoint and dialectic materialist viewpoint." The rest of the articles are all rather general, without much substance. The "Rules for Technical Secondary School Students" are completely identical with the higher school rules. I felt as if I were reading rules for CPC members. These articles were indispensable in the fifties and sixties, and even the "gang of four" period, but had they been truly efficacious, today's "five stresses and four beauties" would have been unnecessary! It goes to show the uselessness of bombasts and dogmas.

Grandiose but impractical political dogmas should have long been discarded like old shoes. I feel that, to turn China's youths into civilized individuals, education should start by planting one's feet on solid ground and taking care of the trivial yet concrete things. There is no need for "deification!"

In addition, in the building of a spiritual civilization today, too many points are included in the slogans. The "five stresses, four beauties

and three ardent loves" total 12 items. Is it possible to simplify them again and again into just one or two? Is it alright if they are simplified to two, viz., honest words and humanitarianism, and called "two stresses?" It will embody not only Marxism-Leninism, but also the tradition of man's spiritual civilization of several thousand years!

In the past 30 years, especially the 10 years of Cultural Revolution, what harmed the young people most was the casting aside of the "two stresses," and even Mao Zedong was not lucky enough to be spared! It was why the CPC has to rebuild a spiritual civilization today. Telling lies, hiding one's true feelings, concealing and deceiving from the top to the bottom--these are poles apart from civilized conduct. With everyone sharing the same bed but dreaming different dreams, how can the country become wealthy and strong? Therefore, people must be trained from infancy to be honest toward others, not toward the party or the organization.

The core of the "two stresses" is actually "love." Humanitarianism now under rehabilitation by the CPC stresses love of mankind. Therefore, I feel that, when discussing civilization, this point must be emphasized. Spiritual civilization should center on "love," with a red thread running through it. Only when love, when the humanitarian spirit, overflows the minds of the majority will the sunlight of civilization illuminate every corner of this great land!

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