China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 453

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CHINA REPORT
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REAGAN SENDS AWACS TO MONITOR CHAD FIGHTING

OW071830 Beijing XINHUA in English 1624 GMT 7 Aug 83

[Text] Washington, 7 Aug (XINHUA)—United States President Ronald Reagan Saturday ordered two AWACS electronic surveillance aircraft and accompanying fighter aircraft to the North Africa region to monitor the escalating fighting between Hissene Habre's government troops and Goukouni Oueddei's rebel forces, announced the State Department Saturday night.

The State Department spokesman Joe Reap said "after consultations with other concerned governments, including French," "we are sending two AWACS and a number of support aircraft including some protective fighter aircraft and tankers" "to where they could be most useful to help in monitoring the situation in Chad."

Reap said the U.S. planes would follow "normal peacetime rules of engagement" while on the Chadian mission. "They are not intended to engage in combat," he added.

"President Reagan approved these activities Saturday morning and congress has been notified," he said.

The U.S. action came after Chadian President Hissene Habre called on the United States and France to send more help to counter what he called Libyan air attacks against his country in support of Goukouni Oueddei's rebel forces. He said Saturday that Libyan warplanes were pounding Chadian army positions in the northern oasis town of Faya-Largeau and in eastern towns near the border with Sudan.

Washington has earlier pledged a total of 25 million dollars in military aid to Habre's government in two separate packages to show its "increasing concern" over the U.S. "strong strategic interest" in that Central African country.

France, which has already sent some 45 million dollars in military aid to N'djamena, has reportedly refused to send men or planes to take part in the conflict in Chad.

Libya has all along denied its involvement in the fighting in Chad.

CSO: 4000/235
U.S. FLEET ENDS EXERCISE OFF CENTRAL AMERICA

OW061922 Beijing XINHUA in English 1901 GMT 6 Aug 83

[Text] Washington, 5 Aug (XINHUA)--The American naval task force led by the aircraft carrier Ranger will head for the Western Pacific after it ends its first phase of exercises in Central American waters off the coast of Nicaragua tomorrow, Pentagon sources said today.

The U.S. military exercises started on July 25 when the Ranger and the seven ships accompanying it arrived in waters off Nicaragua's Pacific coast. The exercises are planned to last for half a year.

Earlier, the Pentagon announced that a five-ship task force headed by the aircraft carrier Coral Sea and another six ships led by the battleship "New Jersey" are on their way to Central American waters to take part in the exercises.

Defence sources also said that the second phase of the exercises will begin as soon as the aircraft carrier "Coral Sea" arrives.

As the U.S. games went on, President Reagan and his senior government officials are out trying to win over public support and diffuse concern and criticism at home. At a luncheon today, Reagan called on the U.S. Central American neighbors to back his policy in the region. Secretary of State George Shultz told the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee yesterday that the U.S. administration was determined "to prevent a wider crisis and to bring about a lasting peace" in Central America.

According to the WASHINGTON POST, 54 percent of its readers feared that Reagan's Central American policy would drag the United States into war.

The NEW YORK TIMES said in an article on August 3 that unless stopped by congress and the force of public opinion, this policy of the Reagan administration "could plunge this country into the most unwanted, unconscionable, unnecessary and unwinnable war in its history."

CSO: 4000/235
UNITED STATES

UNITED STATES SPECIAL ENVOY CONTINUES MIDEAST TOUR

OW061834 Beijing XINHUA in English 1611 GMT 6 Aug 83

[Text] Beirut, 6 Aug (XINHUA)--United States special envoy Robert McFarlane is expected to leave here for Syria today while dark clouds still overshadow the region.

Some 20 people were killed in Lebanon's northern port city of Tripoli yesterday when a car bomb exploded outside a mosque as worshipers emerged from midday prayers.

More than 30 people have been killed and 70 wounded since Friday in explosions in Tripoli, Beirut, Sidon and other cities, while fighting between Christian and Druze militiamen still continues in the al-Shuf and 'Alayh Mountains.

It is reported that Israel has rejected the setting up of a time-table for its troop withdrawal from Lebanon.

Syria radio in a commentary yesterday put forth three suggestions to solve the Lebanese crisis in addition to the Lebanese-Israeli agreement: first, to implement the 1949 ceasefire agreement and the UN Security Council Resolutions 425 and 508; second, resume Lebanon's 1943 constitution to prevent one-party rule and third, maintain Lebanon's nature as an Arab country.

Observers here said that the United States is aimed at maintaining the present situation in Lebanon and the rest of the Middle East until the next U.S. presidential election comes to an end.

They said the real goal of McFarlane's Middle East tour is to work out a disengagement between Syrian and Israeli troops so that the situation in Lebanon could become stabilized after the partial withdrawal of Israeli troops. As for the total withdrawal of all foreign forces, it will be taken as a long-term goal and be pigeonholed for the time being, they said.

CSO: 4000/235
UNITED STATES

UNITED STATES MOVES TO LOWER EXCHANGE RATE FOR DOLLAR

OW061852 Beijing XINHUA in English 1831 GMT 6 Aug 83

[Text] Washington, August 5 (XINHUA)--The U.S. administration has recently intervened, together with the governments of Federal Germany, Japan and Switzerland, in the international money market to bring down the sharply rising exchange rate of the U.S. dollar.

American officials revealed that Washington will sell one billion dollars to buy in deutsche marks and Japanese yen to stabilize or lower the value of the dollar.

Observers here indicated that the U.S. Government is compelled to take the move amid growing dissatisfaction among its allies and under the pressure of its own manufacturers and exporters.

The U.S. currency has gained unusual strength as its exchange rates to the French franc, the Italian lira and the Japanese yen all set a new record and it was trading at an all-time high rate in eight years with the deutsche mark early this month at the world's major money markets.

Some analysts in the United States believe that many factors can be attributed to the strong dollar--the high interest rates, the low inflation rate and the seemingly faster economic recovery than in other Western countries. In addition, foreign investors helped increase the value of the dollar as they flocked to buy American stocks and assets.

Though the strong dollar attracts foreign investment to boost the economic recovery in the country, it is hurting U.S. exports. In May, this year, the U.S. trade deficit soared to 6.9 billion dollars compared with the latest record of 6.5 billion dollars last August. Current official projections put the deficit this year at 70 billion dollars and as much as 100 billion dollars in 1984.

The unusually strong dollar has caused mass capital outflow from the West European countries although it proved beneficial to their exports. As a result, European countries had to raise their bank interest rates in order to protect themselves. This is apparently hampering the slow economic recovery in these countries.

CS0: 4000/235
MOBUTU HOLDS TALKS WITH REAGAN, OTHERS

OW051131 Beijing XINHUA in English 1101 GMT 5 Aug 83

[Text] Washington, 4 Aug (XINHUA)—President Reagan discussed with President Mobutu Seso Seko of Zaire here today the economic situation in Zaire and the situation in Chad.

Mobutu said after the meeting they also discussed the situation in Namibia and Central America.

President Reagan praised Mobutu's "courageous action" in sending troops to assist the government of Chad. Zaire has reportedly sent 1,800 troops and six aircraft to support the Habre government of Chad.

A senior government official told reporters that President Reagan indicated that the United States "will continue to watch the situation in Chad very closely" and is considering measures that might be necessary to support the Habre government.

With regard to economic assistance, the senior U.S. officials said the Reagan administration had asked congress to approve an economic and security assistance to Zaire totalling 51.5 million dollars for FY1984.

It is reported that Mobutu's government owes a total of 5 billion dollars to the West, including 800 million dollars due to the United States. U.S. aid to Zaire in recent years has been running at approximately 30 million dollars a year.

The official added that the Reagan administration has committed itself to closer relations with Zaire "in all possible way."

President Mobutu, who is here for an official working visit, has met with Vice President George Bush and Secretary of State George Shultz. He will also meet with Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger and Secretary of the Treasury Donald Regan.

CSO: 4000/235
ANDROPOV ON CHANGES IN ECONOMIC MECHANISM

OWL60732 Beijing Xinhua in English 0717 GMT 16 Aug 83

[Text] Moscow, August 15 (Xinhua)--Soviet leader Yuri Andropov called for changes in planning, management and economic mechanism here today.

While meeting veteran party members here, Andropov said the tasks set by the latest congress of the Communist Party are far from being accomplished and expressed the need "to increase the role of veterans in all spheres of economic and social life."

The Soviet leader stated that his country has entered a new stage of economic development--"a stage when the grown possibilities and increased social requirements dictate the need to seriously raise the level of the entire economic work, to substantially enhance the efficiency of the economy, and to turn our entire huge economy into an uninterruptedly functioning well-adjusted mechanism."

He said he is not satisfied with "the pace of the transfer of the economy to the lines of intensive development."

He added that the reason is that "we were not vigorous enough, that not infrequently we resorted to half-measures and could not overcome the accumulated inertia fast enough."

Andropov called for a "resolute struggle" against instances of "parasitism, passiveness in one's work in the social life and lack of discipline, characteristic of a certain part of youth" which have become particularly conspicuous.

He said only a combination of "spiritual, material and organizational factors may produce a high culture of work—the most reliable guarantee of order and discipline in production."

CSO: 4000/236
SOVIET UNION

SOVIET UNION ENFORCES LABOR DISCIPLINE

OW071836 Beijing XINHUA in English 1426 GMT 7 Aug 83

[Text] Moscow, August 7 (XINHUA)—Local press today published a party-government-trade union resolution to strengthen labor disciplines and straighten up working order in the country.

After a seven-month-long nationwide campaign to fix the country's slackened labor order, the resolution was jointly adopted by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Council of Ministers and the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions.

It said the country now is faced with such problems as great loss in working hours, irrational use of labor force and flow of cadres.

It criticized the system of equal pay and material benefits for people with different working attitudes and criticized leaders in some of the economic sectors who fail to create organizational and economic conditions necessary for normal work.

To straighten up labor disciplines, the resolution calls for a resolute shift of the reconciliatory attitude toward violation of the disciplines. All the leaders who cannot guarantee the implementation of labor disciplines will be considered unqualified and will thus be deprived of bonuses and investigated for responsibility, it said.

Meanwhile, the Council of Ministers and the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions adopted a resolution on supplementary measures to consolidate labor disciplines.

It demands the country's planning committee and all departments concerned create proper organizational and economic conditions for various labor organizations to work continuously and with high efficiency. It also requires them to raise the consciousness of responsibility of various labor organizations in fulfilling their production plans.

CSO: 4000/236
REPORTAGE ON MCFARLANE'S MIDDLE EAST TRIP

Beirut Radio on Trip

OW060456 Beijing XINHUA in English 0136 GMT 6 Aug 83

[Text] Beirut, 5 Aug (XINHUA)--United States President Reagan's special envoy Robert McFarlane will go to Syria tomorrow on the third leg of his shuttle diplomacy aimed at effecting the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Lebanon.

Beirut Radio announced McFarlane's trip to Damascus after the special envoy informed Lebanese Prime Minister al-Wazzan of his talks with Israeli Prime Minister Begin in Jerusalem. He was originally scheduled to visit Saudi Arabia from Israel, but changed his plan.

McFarlane had reportedly failed to persuade the Israeli officials to set a timetable for the final withdrawal of Israeli troops from Lebanon, which is demanded steadfastly by the Lebanese Government.

The radio quoted Lebanese official sources as saying that Lebanon has continued to refuse to discuss the question of partial troop withdrawal and is "not willing" to pay any price for such a withdrawal.

Talks Begin in Syria

OW070320 Beijing XINHUA in English 0247 GMT 7 Aug 83

[Text] Damascus, 6 Aug (XINHUA)--Newly appointed U.S. special envoy Robert C. McFarlane began talks with Syrian leaders on the troops withdrawal from Lebanon today immediately after his arrival here.

Syria Radio said McFarlane met Syrian Deputy Premier and Foreign Minister 'Abd al-Halim Khaddam and their talks "focused on the situation in the Middle East and Lebanon." McFarlane will have talks with President Hafiz al-Asad tomorrow.

McFarlane made no statement at the airport upon his arrival.
McFarlane, replacing his predecessor Philip Habib, started his mission in Beirut on July 31 and shuttled between Beirut and Tel Aviv in the last five days to explore the possibilities of withdrawing Israeli and Syrian troops from Lebanon.

The government-controlled daily TISHRIN set the tone for Syria's talks with McFarlane today, saying that the United States must recognize Syria's security, its strategic interests and its special relations with Lebanon.

Press reports speculated that McFarlane is eager to persuade the Syrians to abandon their positions on the Beirut-Damascus highway. If this is accepted, he would at a later stage secure time-tables from Israelis and Syrians for their total withdrawal from Lebanese territory.

But the Syrians are interested in getting the Israelis out of their present positions in the al-Biqa valley which threaten Damascus itself, the reports said.

Observers here expressed doubt as to whether McFarlane's mission in Damascus will succeed. Syrian Minister of Culture Mrs. Najah 'Attar said in an article that Washington changed its Middle East envoy, but did not change its policy. "In light of this fact, what success do they (Americans) expect for McFarlane," she asked.

President al-Asad himself has rejected the U.S. role as an intermediary between Arabs and Israelis. He said in a message to the armed forces on August 1 to mark the Syrian army day: "How could the U.S. be a just arbitrator between any Arab country and Israel while it encouraged and supported every Israeli aggression during its long history of expansion in Arab land?"

Meets Syrian President

OW071449 Beijing XINHUA in English 1420 GMT 7 Aug 83

[Text] Damascus, 7 Aug (XINHUA)--Syrian President Hafiz al-Asad met U.S. President's special envoy Robert C. McFarlane here today, Syrian Radio reported.

A well-informed source said that McFarlane had gained no result in his current Syrian tour. The U.S. proposal on disengaging the Syrian and Israeli armed forces in Lebanon has not been responded by Syria.

McFarlane will leave here today after ending his 24-hour tour of Syria.

Arrives in Saudi Arabia

OW081908 Beijing XINHUA in English 1830 GMT 8 Aug 83

[Text] Kuwait, 8 Aug (XINHUA)--Kuwaiti Deputy Premier and Foreign and Information Minister Shaykh Sabah al-Ahmad al-Jabir al-Sabah arrived at Ta'if today on a short visit to Saudi Arabia, according to a report from that city.
He called on Saudi King Fadh bin 'Afb al-'Aziz al-Sa'ud and handed him a message from the Amir of Kuwait dealing with bilateral relations and the Arab situation.

The visit coincided with U.S. special envoy McFarlane's visit to Saudi Arabia. McFarlane is expected to seek King Fadh's backing to his efforts for the withdrawal of foreign forces from Lebanon.

Meets With King Fadh

OW091202 Beijing XINHUA in English 1151 GMT 9 Aug 83

[Text] Kuwait, 9 Aug (XINHUA)---United States Middle East envoy Robert McFarlane last night held talks with King Fadh of Saudi Arabia in an attempt to win Saudi's support for American moves in the region.

No word of the talks was disclosed from the Saudi summer capital of Ta'if, where King Fadh finally received McFarlane after keeping him waiting more than 24 hours.

McFarlane flew to Ta'if Sunday night following a six-hour talk with Syrian President Hafiz al-Asad in Damascus. He reportedly failed to persuade the president to accept the U.S.-sponsored Israeli-Lebanese accord, which calls for a simultaneous withdrawal of 40,000 Syrian troops from Lebanon.

Saudi Arabia has been actively mediating in Syria's relations with Lebanon and the Palestine Liberation Organization. But little progress seems to have been made in the past few months.

McFarlane is scheduled to visit Egypt and Jordan. Earlier he had visited Lebanon, Israel and Syria.

Meets King Husayn

OW100114 Beijing XINHUA in English 0106 GMT 10 Aug 83

[Text] Amman, 10 Aug (XINHUA)---A closed-meeting was held between King Husayn of Jordan and U.S. special envoy Robert McFarlane who came here from Saudi Arabia earlier today, according to Jordan TV.

Briefing the king on the outcome of his visit to a number of Arab countries, McFarlane said the U.S. administration is determined to pursue a comprehensive Mideast settlement and reinstate stability in the region.

On his part, the king reaffirmed Jordan's full support for Lebanese sovereignty and national integrity.

McFarlane left here for Beirut this afternoon.
Meets With Lebanese Officials

OW11124 Beijing XINHUA in English 1112 GMT 11 Aug 83

[Text] Beirut, 10 Aug (XINHUA)—Robert McFarlane, U.S. special envoy to the Middle East, held talks with the Lebanese President Amin al-Jumayyil and Foreign Minister Elie Salim here this afternoon, briefing them on his visit to Syria and Saudi Arabia.

Although nothing about his talks was disclosed, public opinion in Beirut believes that McFarlane's aim is to seek the disengagement of the Syrian and Israeli troops in the al-Biq'a Valley and thus to freeze the situation in Lebanon. It is disclosed the U.S. proposed that both Syria and Israel pull back 10 km from the Damascus-Beirut international highway and then produce their respective timetables of troop withdrawal. Israel was reportedly interested in the U.S. proposal and would give up its demand for Syria's simultaneous troop withdrawal provided Syria could give a timetable of its troop withdrawal. The Syrian press opposed the U.S. proposal of disengagement, but the Lebanese officials believe such opposition by Syria was "a matter of tactics."

Official sources here have explained Lebanon's position on the disengagement proposal. They were quoted by the National News Agency as saying that disengagement must be linked with total troop withdrawal, otherwise it would be the first step in the division of Lebanon.

McFarlane arrived in Beirut yesterday and left for Israel today.

Meets Lebanese Foreign Minister

OW150249 Beijing XINHUA in English 0224 GMT 15 Aug 83

[Text] Beirut, 14 Aug (XINHUA)—United States Middle East envoy Robert C. McFarlane met Lebanese Foreign Minister Elie Salim Sunday to try to find ways of stabilizing the situation in Lebanese central mountains where clashes between Druze and Christian militiamen continued.

The armed flare-ups in the Alayh and al-Shuf Mountains during the last few days has led to the closing of Beirut International Airport and the kidnapping of three Lebanese cabinet ministers. McFarlane's shuttle between Beirut and Jerusalem has so far yielded little tangible result.

The Lebanese Government has demanded the right to fill the vacuum left by Israel's withdrawal from the mountains with its own troops in addition to asking Israel to present a timetable for a phased pull-out of its occupation forces.

According to Radio Beirut, McFarlane will be back in Washington to brief his mission and his deputy, Richard Fairbanks, will go to Syria to prepare for a visit there by McFarlane for a second meeting with President Hafiz al-Asad, who repeated his rejection of the Lebanese-Israeli accord after his first meeting with the U.S. special envoy.

CSO: 4000/240
SRI LANKAN PRESIDENT TO SEND EMISSARY TO INDIA

OW062016 Beijing XINHUA in English 1840 GMT 6 Aug 83

[Text] New Delhi, 6 Aug (XINHUA)---Sri Lankan President Junius Jayewardene is sending his brother H. W. Jayewardene to India next Tuesday for talks on the situation arising out of violence in the island republic, a spokesman of the Indian External Ministry said here this afternoon.

Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi yesterday announced the visit of the special emissary for discussions with her after President Jayewardene had talked to her on telephone. She described the visit as a welcome development and hoped that the dialogue would be constructive and fruitful.

Mrs. Gandhi said India poses no threat to Sri Lanka, nor does it have any desire to interfere in Sri Lanka's internal affairs. India wants the unity and national integrity of Sri Lanka to be preserved, she added.

During the telephone conversation, she asked the president of Sri Lanka about reports that Sri Lanka had sought foreign help and said that "we must make every effort to minimize any opportunity for foreign involvement, as this weakens our two countries," the local press reported today.

She said developments in Sri Lanka also affected India. In this matter, India could not be regarded as just another country. Sri Lanka and India are two countries which are directly concerned, she said.

CSO: 4000/240
GANDHI SAYS INDIA WILL NOT INTERFERE IN SRI LANKA

OW121903 Beijing XINHUA in English 1630 GMT 12 Aug 83

[Text] New Delhi, 12 Aug (XINHUA)--Indian Prime Minister Mrs Indira Gandhi said she had told the Sri Lanka Government that India stood for unity, integrity and sovereignty of Sri Lanka and India does not interfere in the internal affairs of other countries.

Mrs. Gandhi said this in a statement at a parliament session this afternoon following her talks with H. W. Jayewardene, the special emissary of the Sri Lanka president.

She said Jayewardene had told her that the situation in Sri Lanka was fast returning to normal and that most people were returning to their homes.

Mrs. Gandhi said President Jayewardene had informed her of his intention to call a round-table conference and place before it certain proposals for a lasting solution to the internal crisis in Sri Lanka.

She said through his special emissary, President Jayewardene had invited the Indian parliament to send an all-party delegation to Sri Lanka.

Describing the situation in the island republic as "serious and highly complex," Mrs. Gandhi appealed to the parliament and the Indian people not to take any steps which would aggravate the situation in that country and make it more difficult to find a lasting solution.

The prime minister announced the setting up of a "Sri Lanka Relief Fund Committee" to be under her chairmanship. "The government is dealing with the situation appropriately and will continue to remain in close touch with the government of Sri Lanka and the others concerned," she said.

H. W. Jayewardene left here for home this evening. In the talks with Indian leaders, he was reported to have been told of the feelings of the people in Tamil Nadu and other South Indian states about the situation in Sri Lanka.

CSO: 4000/240
EGYPTIAN OFFICIAL VIEWS COMING U.S.-EGYPT EXERCISES

OW061429 Beijing XINHUA in English 1249 GMT 6 Aug 83

[Text] Cairo, 6 Aug (XINHUA)—Egyptian Deputy Premier and Foreign Minister Kamal Hasan 'Ali said today that the forthcoming joint Egyptian-U.S. military maneuvers are not intended to pose a threat to Libya.

'Ali's statement came amid reports that the Libyan forces were placed on alert yesterday in a general mobilization and the official Libyan News Agency, JANA, voiced attacks against what it called Washington's "insolent contempt" and plans for "an invasion" of the Arab world.

In an interview with Cairo weekly AKHBAR AL-YAWM, 'Ali said the joint Egyptian-U.S. military maneuvers are aimed at promoting the combat efficiency of the Egyptian armed forces. The maneuvers will begin within a few days and last for a long time, he said.

Egypt and the United States, he said, both sensed the Soviet threat to the oil-rich Gulf area which supplies a considerable proportion of the West's energy consumption. Hence, Egypt committed to offer facilities to the United States for ensuring the security of any Arab or Islamic country that might feel it is under threat, he added.

'Ali dismissed the claims that Egypt was helping the United States achieve political gains in the Middle East. "In any given situation in the Middle East, the Egyptian political leadership is motivated only by what it sees as Egyptian and Arab interests," he said.

'Ali said that Egypt supports the legal leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization chairman Yasir 'Arafat and opposes any move that might curtail the PLO's independence in making its own decisions.
NEAR EAST/SOUTH ASIA

PLO GROUPS CALL FOR END TO INTERNECINE CONFLICT

OW092034 Beijing XINHUA in English 1835 GMT 9 Aug 83

[Text] Damascus, 9 Aug (XINHUA)--Major Palestinian resistance organizations today called for an end to the armed conflict and verbal war within the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) in accordance with the resolution adopted at the recent PLO Central Committee meeting.

The call was made in a statement by the media of five PLO groups--FATAH, the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine, the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, the Palestine Liberation Front and the Palestine Popular Struggle Front—and the Palestine Communist Party.

The statement said they want democratic dialogue, not killings, and unity, not discord within the PLO and its main group, FATAH.

It said adherence to the principles of unity, independence and self-determination will guarantee the Palestine revolution.

They called for democratic reform within the PLO but made only on the basis of safeguarding its unity.

The statement came four days before the PLO Central Committee delegation departs for Damascus to mediate Syrian-PLO relations and the factional disputes within FATAH. The delegation, led by president of the Palestine National Council Khalid al-Fahm, met in Tunis for three days to prepare for the talks. They will arrive in the Syrian capital August 13.

Palestinian sources here told XINHUA that differences have developed between Abu Musa and Abu Salih, the two rebellious leaders.

Sources said Abu Musa favors a ceasefire and an end to the killings within FATAH and the PLO. He decided not to take part in the conflicts in the al-Biqa' Valley and left there for Damascus 10 days ago.

CSO: 4000/240
NEAR EAST/SOUTH ASIA

BRIEFS

SOVIET CASUALTIES IN AFGHANISTAN--Islamabad, 10 Aug (XINHUA)--Afghan guerrillas wiped out more Soviet and Karmal troops during attacks in various provinces late last month, according to recent reports of AGENCY AFGHAN PRESS. In two different operations in Qandahar Province on July 29, the guerrillas damaged several tanks, killed 24 Karmal troops and wounded many others. They also mounted a surprise attack on a Soviet patrol jeep in Qandahar City on July 28. Five soldiers were killed by a hand grenade thrown at the jeep. On July 27 two tanks were destroyed as they rumbled onto mines planted by guerrillas at Rafhan Village in the Panjwai area of the province. Also on July 27 in Kabul Province, guerrillas ambushed a jeep going toward the Pagtagai military post, close to the provincial capital of Kalat. The local Soviet intelligence chief and three soldiers were killed in the attack. On July 25, guerrillas of Helmand Province killed four Soviet officials in their lodge near the Lashkar Gah headquarters. [Text] [OW102020 Beijing XINHUA in English 1453 GMT 10 Aug 83]

LIBYAN INTERVENTION IN CHAD--Cairo, 10 Aug (XINHUA)--Egyptian Deputy Premier and Foreign Minister Kamal Hasan 'Ali said today that Egypt supports the legitimate Chadian Government of Hisssein Habre and denounced foreign intervention in Chad. Speaking at the end of a meeting presided over by Egyptian President Husni Mubarak, 'Ali said that Libya's intervention in Chad represents an act of aggression by an African state against another one, escalating the situation and threatening to have the issue internationalized. 'Ali said that Egypt wants the Organisation of African Unity to mediate between Chad and Libya. Referring to Israeli settlements on the occupied lands, 'Ali said that Egypt sees the settlements as illegitimate which alter the demography of the West Bank and violate the United Nations Charter and the Geneva Conventions and should be dismantled. 'Ali disclosed that today's meeting also dealt with the Lebanese crisis, the present Arab situation and the need for a unified Arab stance on Arab causes. [Text] [OW101850 Beijing XINHUA in English 1833 GMT 10 Aug 83]

U.S. TANKS TO LEBANON--Beirut, 7 Aug (XINHUA)--United States President Ronald Reagan told Lebanese President Amin al-Jumayyil yesterday that the United States agreed to sell 68 m-48 tanks to Lebanon, according to Radio Beirut. In his message to the Lebanese president, Reagan said the tanks will be transferred from the U.S. National Guard as an expression of U.S. support to Lebanon. The U.S. president believed that the Lebanese government troops will be able
to extend the nation's authority to the occupied territory in the near future. The sale was seen as one of the results achieved in al-Jumayyil's visit to Washington last month. [Text] [OW071229 Beijing XINHUA in English 1150 GMT 7 Aug 83]

LEBANESE MINISTERS KIDNAPPED—Beirut, 10 Aug (XINHUA)—Three Lebanese cabinet ministers were kidnapped this afternoon by armed Druze who demand that the government resign. The ministers had been empowered by a cabinet session to intercede with the Druze Muslims' leader to end fighting between the Druze and government forces in the Aley region. The three kidnapped ministers were named as Finance Minister 'Adil Hamiyyah, a Druze, Health Minister 'Adnan Nuruwwah, a Shi'ite Moslem, and Public Works Minister Pierre al-Khuri, a Maronite Christian. Beside demanding the resignation of President Amin al-Jumayyil and his government, they also insist on the withdrawal of government troops from Druze-inhabited mountain regions. Early this morning Lebanese government forces stationed in Kfar Matta of the Aley region were pounded by a Druze artillery barrage. Nine soldiers were injured. Prime Minister Shafiq al-Wazzan has denounced the attack and the cabinet has decided to gather at any time to discuss the situation. The government troops were garrisoned in Kfar Matta last October at the request of the local residents. The region is about 15 kilometers away from Beirut, which is still under the control of Israeli forces. [Text] [OW110824 Beijing XINHUA in English 0751 GMT 11 Aug 83]

PDY OPPOSES EXERCISES—Aden, 9 Aug (XINHUA)—The cabinet of Democratic Yemen charged today that the forthcoming U.S. military exercises in the area will jeopardize the peace and security of Democratic Yemen and its neighboring countries. The United States is to carry out military exercises jointly with Egypt, Sudan, Somali and Oman beginning August 10. The cabinet, in a meeting presided over by President 'Ali Nasir Mohammad al-Hasani, also discussed measures to safeguard the country's territorial security from the "threats" posed by the maneuvers. Meanwhile, Foreign Minister 'Abd al-'Aziz al-Dali today sent messages to his counterparts of Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, Qatar and the United Arab Emirates in protest against the maneuvers. Similar messages were also sent to Secretary General of the Arab League Chadli Khihi and Secretary General of the United Nations Perez de Cuellar. [Text] [OW092002 Beijing XINHUA in English 1927 GMT 9 Aug 83]

U.S., SUDAN MILITARY EXERCISE—Khartoum, 9 Aug (XINHUA)—A joint U.S.-Sudanese military exercise will begin tomorrow in the context of upgrading the competence of the Sudanese Army, the Sudan News Agency quoted an official source as saying today. The joint exercise (the Bright Star) is designed to allow Sudanese and American forces an opportunity of conducting joint training on air defence operations, airborne troops and other special moves, declared a July 2 statement by the general command of the Sudanese People's Armed Forces. In a letter to congress yesterday, U.S. President Ronald Reagan claimed that two airborne warning and control system (AWACS) and eight F-15 fighter aircraft with air and ground logistical support forces began to arrive in Sudan on August 7. He said that his decision to despatch the troops to Sudan is aimed at assisting the Government of Chad against "armed aggression by Libyan forces." Some units from the Sudanese Army were involved in a similar manoeuvre with Egyptian and U.S. units last year. [Text] [OW091309 Beijing XINHUA in English 1255 GMT 9 Aug 83]
SRI LANKA AID DENIED--Colombo, 6 Aug (XINHUA)--Sri Lanka President Jayewardene has told Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi that Sri Lanka does not need foreign military help since its own armed forces and police are capable of meeting any situation that could arise, according to the radio here this evening. The president also told Mrs Gandhi in a telephone conversation yesterday that rumours to the effect that Sri Lanka had requested military help from foreign countries were untrue. On the same day, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs firmly denied the UPI reports that Sri Lanka had asked for military aid from certain countries to be used against India. [Text] [OW071132 Beijing XINHUA in English 1111 GMT 7 Aug 83]
FRANCE TO SEND MILITARY INSTRUCTORS FROM CAR TO CHAD

[Text] Paris, 9 Aug (XINHUA)—France decided today to send 180 military instructors stationed in the Central African Republic to leave for Chad to support the government of Hissene Habre, a French Defense Ministry communique said.

Referring to the decision, French Defense Minister Charles Hernu said it was not France which had made the Chadian conflict internationalized.

The communique said the move conformed to the 1976 Franco-Chadian accord which allows France to supply arms and military personnel to Chad should Chad require them.

The French government has provided Chad with some weapons since the conflict began but refused to send its planes and troops to intervene in the conflict in spite of repeated appeals from the Chadian Government.

According to Western news agencies, Libya has sent warplanes and armored vehicles to Chad and involved directly in the conflict. More than 1,500 Libyan soldiers are reportedly in the north of Chad in support of ex-president Goukouni Oueddei who was ousted by Habre's force last year.

An important Libyan military delegation is reportedly visiting Moscow.

Meanwhile, the United States has sent two AWACS radar planes to Sudan to monitor Libya's military movements.

CSO: 4000/238
ANTINUCLEAR DEMONSTRATIONS SWEEP WEST GERMANY

OW071818 Beijing XINHUA in English 1555 GMT 7 Aug 83

[Text] Bonn, 6 Aug (XINHUA)--Participants of the peace movement today held national protest activities such as demonstrations, sit-in and hunger strikes to mark the 38th anniversary of the atomic bomb attack against Hiroshima.

The commemorative activities coincide with the beginning of a campaign against the planned deployment of medium-range nuclear missiles in Europe. The campaign is reported to last for several months.

In Bonn, a West German, 52, and a Frenchman, 26, joined a worldwide open-ended hunger strike involving nine people.

The two men said they will not end their hunger strike unless the politicians adopt concrete disarmament measures. They declared they will "fast to the death if necessary." The other seven people taking part in the joint hunger strike are in Paris and Oakland, California.

According to a spokesman of the peace movement, more than 1,000 West German peace campaigners, including six members of parliament from the green party, also began a four-day hunger strike to support the nine people.

In Heidelberg, more than 1,000 people staged a silent march from the city center to the nearby headquarters of the U.S. army in Europe.

In Heilbronn, about 20 peace campaigners began a 150-kilometer hunger march that will take them to future missile deployment sites in West Germany. The march is scheduled to end on August 9--the anniversary of the atom bomb on Nagasaki.

In Munich, more than 50 demonstrators laid down on the square in the city's center to stage a "die-in" in protest against nuclear arms race.

In Frankfurt, the church called on the people to take part in anti-nuclear religious ceremony or hunger strike. At noon, thousands of people rallied in the city's center, at which representatives of the peace movement, trade unions and various parties made speeches. Similar activities were also held in Hanover and Hamburg.

In addition, youth of West Berlin played a concert today, entitled "No Repetition of Hiroshima Incident."

CSO: 4000/238
ITALY'S NEW PREMIER SUBMITS GOVERNMENT PROGRAM

OW100801 Beijing XINHUA in English 0734 GMT 10 Aug 83

[Text] Rome, 9 Aug (XINHUA)--Italy's new Prime Minister Bettino Craxi today presented the government's program to the Chamber of Deputies and made a speech there.

The leader of Italy's first socialist government since 1946 told parliament that Europe remained to be the center of Italy's external relations. He said his government would be firmly committed to safeguarding and developing the European Community's ideals.

He said Italy would continue to have special relations with other West European countries and the United States and defend the NATO's targets and the solidarity between European countries and the United States.

He also said Italy would maintain good relations with Asian countries, especially Japan and the People's Republic of China.

To defend peace and to solve regional conflicts through peaceful negotiations were of primary importance in Italy's external relations, Craxi said.

On the economic policy, Craxi said, the chief aims of his government were to bring down the country's inflation rate from the current 16 percent to 10 percent in 1984 and reduce the country's public deficits and unemployment.

Craxi will submit his government program to the Senate and a vote of confidence is expected within this week after a debate in both houses.

CSO: 4000/238
REPORT ON NEW ITALIAN GOVERNMENT

Vote of Confidence

OWL30346 Beijing XINHUA in English 0244 GMT 13 Aug 83

[Text] Rome, 12 Aug (XINHUA)—The new Italian government led by Socialist Bettino Craxi won a vote of confidence 361-243 from the Chamber of Deputies this afternoon.

Voting for the eight-day-old center-left coalition government were the five coalition partners—Socialists, Christian Democrats, Republicans, Social Democrats and Liberals. Opponents included the Communist Party.

In a final off-the-cuff statement before the vote, Prime Minister Craxi stressed his government's concern over Italy's economic problems, terrorism and unwieldy public institutions.

On the issue of medium-range missiles in Europe, he described the Soviet proposals as unacceptable and said his government will continue its efforts toward a reciprocal solution to the problem instead of taking a position that would likely invite catastrophe.

The Senate is expected to give Craxi its vote of confidence tomorrow.

Senate Approval

OWL40221 Beijing XINHUA in English 0213 GMT 14 Aug 83

[Text] Rome, 13 Aug (XINHUA)—The Senate gave the government of Socialist Bettino Craxi the final approval this afternoon with a 185-122 vote of confidence.

Voting for Prime Minister Craxi's five-party coalition were members of the five partners—the Socialists, Christian Democrats, Republicans, Social Democrats and Liberals. Members of the Italian Communist Party were among the opponents.
The Senate vote was needed to set Craxi's eight-day-old government in motion. Yesterday, the Chamber of Deputies gave it a 361-243 vote of confidence.

In an impromptu speech before the vote today, Craxi said that if the Soviet-U.S. arms talks in Geneva should fail, Italy would first of all coordinate its position with France and the United States. He also said the Third World must become an important and unique force in his government's activities.

CSO: 4000/238
BRIEFS

LIBYAN INTERVENTION IN CHAD--Paris, 8 Aug (XINHUA)---French Minister for External Relations Claude Cheysson said here today that if Libya continues its "intervention" in Chad, the conflict in that country "will be internationalized." "This will have consequences in Chad and in relations between Paris and Tripoli," Cheysson warned. He told a television station that France wants good relations with all countries, even those with different systems, but it cannot be indifferent to what those countries do to nations that are friendly with France." The minister said there had been no consultations between France and the United States over Chad. The U.S. dispatch of military advisors and AWACS planes to Chad was carried out without consulting Paris. But he expressed satisfaction over Washington's aid to Chad and other African countries. [Text] [OW091702 Beijing XINHUA in English 1617 GMT 9 Aug 83]

EUROPEAN PEACE MARCH--Brussels, 7 Aug (XINHUA)---Over 1,000 participants in the "peace march 1983" walked into this capital this morning, calling for denuclearization of Europe and the dismantling of all medium-range missiles in Europe. Some 400 West German women from Ruhr started the march on July 9 from Dortmund of Federal Germany and their ranks increased as 750 people from 18 European countries joined them in route. An organizer of the peace march told XINHUA that they demanded the dismantlement and a halt to the deployment of all nuclear missiles, including Pershing-IIIs, cruise missiles and SS-20s. The peace marchers reportedly are to meet tomorrow with a representative of NATO's Secretary General Joseph Luns as well as representatives of the U.S. and Soviet [word indistinct] here to present their case. The peace march, sponsored by a peace organization in Dortmund, is one of the several that have taken place in Europe in recent years. [Text] [OW081339 Beijing XINHUA in English 1205 GMT 8 Aug 83]
ROMANIAN PRESIDENT RECEIVES JAPANESE FOREIGN MINISTER

OW050429 Beijing XINHUA in English 0228 GMT 5 Aug 83

[Text] Bucharest, 4 Aug (XINHUA)—Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu met Japanese Foreign Minister Shintaro Abe at the "Neptune" health resort by the Black Sea this afternoon. They discussed international questions and bilateral relations.

The Romanian News Agency AGERPRES said they both held that the central question of the present world is to check the arms race, realize disarmament, first of all nuclear disarmament, check the deployment of new medium-range missiles so as to realize military balance at a lowest possible level.

On bilateral relations, they stressed the need to increase trade and improve the balance of payments between their countries.

Kishichiro Amae, head of foreign correspondents office, who accompanied Abe on the visit, told a press conference today that Abe appreciates Romania's stand on the questions of disarmament, Kampuchea and Afghanistan. The two countries have the same views in many fields. Abe said that as the Soviet Union has deployed SS–20 missiles in Asia, Japan is especially concerned about the deployment of medium-range missiles. The Japanese foreign minister is not satisfied with the economic relations between Japan and Romania and hopes that the problem be solved gradually. The trade between the two countries was valued at 125 million U.S. dollars in 1982, compared with 244 million dollars the year before.

Abe and his delegation leave here tomorrow morning for Bulgaria.

CSO: 4000/239
ANTI-GOVERNMENT DEMONSTRATION STAGED IN GDANSK

OWL60757 Beijing XINHUA in English 0740 GMT 16 Aug 83

[Text] Warsaw, 15 Aug (XINHUA)--Several thousand people of the Polish northern Baltic port of Gdansk yesterday held the first anti-government demonstration since the lifting of the 20-month-old state of siege on July 22, and a number of demonstrators were arrested during clashes with the police, according to local press.

On August 14 three years ago, workers of several northern coastal cities staged strikes, which led to the government-striker agreement on August 31, 1980 on a series of strike committee's demands. The solidarity union found that following the agreement was outlawed during the state of siege imposed on December 13, 1981. [sentence as received]

The Gdansk demonstration yesterday was held in response to the call of the underground solidarity "provincial coordinating committee" to "boycott the public traffic for two hours" or to stage other protests on August 31.

The march followed a mass at St. Brigid's Church. Witnesses said when former solidarity leader Lech Walesa and his family came out of the church, he joined other people and marched to the three-crosses monument outside the Lenin shipyard, which is in memory of the workers killed in 1970. The marchers chanted "solidarity, solidarity," and "long live Walesa." The demonstration was dispersed in a few minutes when riot police intervened.

CSO: 4000/239
EASTERN EUROPE

BRIEFS

HONECKER IN POLAND--Warsaw, 16 Aug (XINHUA)--The German Democratic Republic's leader Erich Honecker arrived here today at the head of a party and state delegation to pay a three-day official visit to Poland. Erich Honecker is the first foreign party and state leader to visit Poland since the workers' movement in the summer of 1980. In March last year, Polish leader Wojciech Jaruzelski visited Democratic Germany. Official sources here revealed that an important subject in the summit talks will be economic cooperation between Poland and Democratic Germany. GDR is Poland's second trade partner after the Soviet Union. [Text] [OW161814 Beijing XINHUA in English 1619 GMT 16 Aug 83]

CSO: 4000/239
REPORTAGE ON ACTIVITIES IN CHAD

French, U.S. Military Aid

OW070926 Beijing XINHUA in English 0815 GMT 7 Aug 83

[Text] Beijing, 7 Aug (XINHUA)--Chadian President Hissene Habre yesterday reiterated his call for a direct French air support to counter alleged Libyan air strikes conducted in support of former President Goukouni Oueddie, according to reports from N'djamena.

Habre told a press conference in the Chadian capital that the Chadian Government once again asked France for a direct air intervention because Libyan tanks and armoured personnel carriers had advanced to places near the northern town of Faya-Largeau and U.S. military aid was not enough.

Washington provided the Chadian Government with 25 million U.S. dollars and redeye missiles while Paris airlifted anti-aircraft guns to the Chadian troops loyal to President Habre.

Habre said the Soviet Union was using Libya in undermining Africa's stability for its own purpose. Hence nobody should accuse Chad of calling for U.S. aid, nor should one charge the United States with offering aid to Chad, he added.

Soviet-Made Libyan Warplane

OW081140 Beijing XINHUA in English 1118 GMT 8 Aug 83

[Text] Beijing, 8 Aug (XINHUA)--The Chadian Government troops have shot down a Libyan fighter plane, Soviet-made Sukkoi-22, over the northern town of Faya-Largeau in Chad, announced a spokesman for the Chadian Embassy in Paris yesterday.

A report from Paris quoted the spokesman as saying that the plane was shot down last Friday with a Sam-7 missile and the captured Libyan pilot was identified as squadron leader Abdel Salam Mohamed Charfadin who was the commander of Libyan aerial operations with 16 aircraft under his command.

The Libyan Government and the Chadian anti-government troops headed by Goukouni Oueddei have denied charges of Libyan air attacks on Chad.
U.S. AWACS Sent

OW090908 Beijing XINHUA in English 0810 GMT 9 Aug 83

[Text] Washington, 8 Aug (XINHUA)—President Ronald Reagan today notified congress of his decision to send two airborne warning and control systems (AWACS) and eight F-15 fighter planes, along with air and ground logistical support forces, to the Sudan to assist the Government of Chad against "armed aggression by Libyan forces."

These forces, which began to arrive in the Sudan on August 7, "will be available to operate in close coordination with the Government of Chad and other friendly governments assisting it," the president said in a letter to congress.

The F-15 aircraft are "equipped for combat" and their mission is to be "prepared to provide protection to the other United States aircraft, if necessary," he said.

These forces, Reagan said, "will remain for only a limited period to meet the urgent requirements posed by the present situation." But he added that it is not possible to "predict the precise duration of this deployment of United States forces in the region."

This action by the United States will "support the objectives of helping to preserve the territorial integrity, sovereignty, and political independence of Chad," Reagan said in the letter which the president is required to send to congress under the 1973 war powers act within 48 hours any time he sends combat forces to a foreign land.

In addition to the aircraft, according to the Pentagon, a total of 550 U.S. military personnel, including ground support forces, are in the Sudan in connection with the Chad mission.

John Hughes, the State Department spokesman, today described the situation in Chad as "serious," saying he estimated Libyan troops in Chad to number 1,500 to 2,000. He also said that the two U.S. AWACS surveillance planes and support aircraft are "on the ground" in the Sudan and "are not being used" and that they are there "for a monitoring role should that become necessary."

Soviet Union Accused

OW091650 Beijing XINHUA in English 1619 GMT 9 Aug 83

[Text] Beijing, 9 Aug (XINHUA)—Chad Monday called on the Soviet Union to halt its "flagrant interference" in Chad's internal affairs, according to reports from N'djamena today.
In a statement, the Chadian Foreign Ministry said the Soviet Union has "ulterior aims" in Chad and accused it of "awaiting the moment to extend its domination in Africa as it has attempted to do in Asia and Latin America."

According to Chadian Information Minister Soumaila Mahamat, Libyan planes resumed bombing Monday on the strategic town of Faya Largeau in northern Chad after a 48-hour lull. He added the Libyans also bombed Oum Chaloubia in eastern Chad.

Liberia Opposes Subversion

OWL01847 Beijing XINHUA in English 1830 GMT 10 Aug 83

[Text] Monrovia, 9 Aug (XINHUA)--Liberia said today it is against "any attempt by any state" to undermine the security of the Chadian Government, subvert Chadian sovereignty and impose its will on the Chadian people.

A statement issued by the Foreign Ministry said that the Liberian Government expressed grave concern over the reported intensification of Libya's intervention in Chad and the escalation of fighting there.

"If these reports are correct, then Libya's intervention in Chad should be regretted as a gross violation of the territorial integrity of Chad," the statement said.

The statement said, peace must be restored to Chad at all costs and "all uninvited foreign forces" must be withdrawn immediately and unconditionally from that troubled country.

Faya Largeau Evacuation

OWL11730 Beijing XINHUA in English 1627 GMT 11 Aug 83

[Text] Beijing, 11 Aug (XINHUA)--The Chadian Government forces evacuated the northern oasis town of Faya Largeau yesterday after an all-out Libyan tank and air assault, according to reports from N'djamena.

Information Minister Soumaila Mahamat today admitted the fall of the town but claimed that government forces continued to resist insurgents in parts of the 100-square-mile palm grove surrounding it.

The town was recaptured by ex-President Goukouni Oueddei's forces after five days of intensive bombing by Libyan aircraft, said Western military sources in the capital of Chad today.
Internationalization Threat

[Text] Beijing, 12 Aug (XINHUA)--The Chadian war which has been focused on capture and recapture of the strategic town of Faya Largeau has become more complicated since the government troops had pulled out of Faya Largeau yesterday.

The flames of war rekindled on June 24 in Faya Largeau, a key point about 800 kilometers northeast of the Chadian capital of N'djamena. After two days of fierce fighting, the anti-government forces led by former President Goukouni Oueddei, using sophisticated weapons and under the cover of Libya-supplied warplanes and tanks, drove the government forces out of Faya Largeau. The occupation of the strategic northern town has cut off supplies to the government, will give the Goukouni forces control over one-third of the country, and open the way for an advance toward the capital.

The seesaw battles around Faya Largeau began with the government troops recapturing the town on July 30, and then retreated from the place yesterday after 11 days of fierce fighting.

The Chadian war has gone far beyond Chad. The whole world, and those countries having special relationship with Chad in particular, have taken quite different attitudes toward this matter of emergency and some countries been involved more and more deeply in the war which is in danger of being internationalized.

Libya has from the very beginning supplied the anti-government Goukouni forces with war materials and sophisticated Soviet-made weapons. Its warplanes, tanks and troops took part in the Chadian war. France, the former colonial power and Chad's main aider, has sent 35 tons of military supplies to the government forces. It has also dispatched hundreds of war experts and paratroopers to Chad upon repeated appeals by the Chadian Government. The United States has sent 25 million U.S. dollars worth of war materials to the Chadian Government. It has also sent two AWACS planes and eight F-15 warplanes to Sudan to keep watch on military development in Chad. Upon the invitation of the Chadian Government, Zaire has also dispatched some 3,000 soldiers to Chad to fight beside the Habre troops.

The involvement of big powers in the Chadian civil war has aggravated the already turbulent situation in the African Continent. The intensified Chadian war is in danger of being internationalized.

The Organization of African Unity, the United Nations and other international communities have called upon the two conflicting forces to stop fighting, to bring a just and permanent peace on the basis of national reconciliation. They called on all foreign forces which have been involved in the internal affairs of Chad to stop such involvement and let the Chadians solve their own problems.
Peace in Chad

[Text] United Nations, 12 Aug (XINHUA)--Representatives of African countries today called on the U.N. Security Council to take effective measures to restore peace in Chad and end all foreign intervention in its internal affairs.

Representative of Niger Ide Oumarou said that "the situation in Chad has gone beyond an internal conflict. Armed penetration into Chad deeply disturbed the peace and stability of the region."

He hoped the Security Council would help Chad to regain its territorial integrity and peace as soon as possible.

Ousmane Kaba, representative of Guinea, called for energetic steps to be taken to bring about an immediate cessation of hostilities in Chad and a way to be found to put an end to all foreign intervention.

Cheikh Sylla, representative of Senegal, noted that "the situation in Chad presented a grave menace to peace and security in that part of Africa."

He criticized the proposal for a division of Chad as a dangerous opinion. "In no circumstances would Senegal go along with such a proposal," he said.

Representative of Kenya Michael G. Okeyo stated that the OAU had decided that all African states should respect the frontiers that existed at the time of their independence.

He said that "Libya should withdraw, without any pre-conditions, its troops from Chad's territory. The Security Council should make recommendations that would bring about a peaceful settlement to the conflict in Chad."

Representative of Liberia Marcus M. Kofa said that "peace must be restored to Chad at all cost and all uninvited foreign forces must be withdrawn immediately and unconditionally from that troubled African country."

Nguayila Mbelo Kalanda, representative of Zaire, noted that the troops of Zaire were in Chad at the request of the legitimate government of Chad.

"The Zairian troops will not intervene in the civil war in Chad but will help create conditions to restore peace and reconciliation in Chad, as is asked by the OAU," he stressed.

Representative of Benin Saturnin Soglo denied that his country was providing a place of transit for alleged mercenaries from Libya.

He said that "an African solution must be found. A reconciliation council should be set up under the auspices of the OAU."
'Condemnation' of Libya Requested

OWL31145 Beijing XINHUA in English 1107 GMT 13 Aug 83


According to an AFP report from Ndjamena, the cabinet headed by President Hissain Habre met in the capital to discuss the "national and international situation."

"The government renewed [word indistinct] pressing appeal to the governments of France and the United States for direct, massive and urgent intervention," the report said.

It also quoted the U.S. State Department as saying that the Libyans were consolidating their positions in Faya-Longaue after driving away the Chadian Government troops on Thursday.

Chad-Libyan Negotiations

OWL141533 Beijing XINHUA in English 1449 GMT 14 Aug 83

[Text] Beijing, 14 Aug (XINHUA)--Chadian Information Minister Soumaila Mahamat told a press conference in Ndjamena yesterday that the Chadian Government agrees to negotiate with Libya, reports from Ndjamena said.

But, he added, in the eyes of Libyan leaders the government of Hissene Habre simply doesn't exist.

The minister declared that the government army had abandoned the desert outpost of Koro Toro 200 kilometers south of the strategic town of Faya-Longaue, and established a new line of defense 350 kilometers north of the capital.

In another development, the chief African affairs adviser of French President Francois Mitterrand arrived in Chad today for a short visit. Guy Penne is expected to hold talks with President Hissene Habre, who commanded his forces in the first retake of Faya-Longaue at the end of July.

In Brazzaville, the visiting chairman of the Organization of African Unity Mengistu Haile yesterday called for the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Chad. He stressed that "the Chadian issue is a problem of Africa and... neither African nor non-African interference could do any good" to the settlement of that issue.

Ethiopian President Mengistu Haile arrived in the Congolese capital to attend a three-day meeting of several African leaders attempting to solve the Chad problem.

CSO: 4000/241
BRIEFS

U.S., SOMALIA MILITARY EXERCISE--Mogadishu, 6 Aug (XINHUA)--A joint U.S.-Somali military exercise will be held at the Somali port of Berbera in mid-August, a Somali Defense Ministry spokesman said today. The spokesman was quoted by the Somali National News Agency as saying that the exercise, code-named "Eastern Wind 83," was designed to allow the forces from both nations to conduct combined training and to enhance Somalia's ability to defend itself. The spokesman said a total of 2,800 U.S. military personnel will take part in the exercise at Berbera, 960 kms north of Mogadishu. The "USS Vinson" Carrier Battle Group in the Indian Ocean, the 31st Marine Amphibious Unit and the 3d Marine Aircraft Wing will take part in the exercise, he said. [Text] [OW061232 Beijing XINHUA in English 1211 GMT 6 Aug 83]

CSO: 4000/241
DIGNITY OF SOCIALIST LEGAL SYSTEM STRESSED

Commentator's View

Beijing GONGREN RIBAO in Chinese 27 Jun 83 pp 1, 2

[Commentary by staff writer: "Let Us All Uphold the Dignity of Our Socialist Legal System—Some Lessons Derived From the Zhu Xiuchun [2612 4423 2504] Incident"]

[Text] In his speech at the First Session of the Sixth National People's Congress, Peng Zhen, chairman of the Standing Committee, pointed out: "Among our state personnel today some still fail to recognize the importance of our need to strengthen our democracy and build up our legal system according to the constitution. In certain aspects and localities there still prevail the practices of people paying scant attention to the constitution and to law, not operating according to law or even knowingly violating the law and violating it while supposedly implementing it. This must be rectified earnestly. Whoever despises the constitution or the law or violates the constitution or the law, no matter what organ that may be, no matter what cadre he may be, must be solemnly criticized and rectified until the necessary legal punishment is meted out." The fact revealed by the investigation report "A Case Involving Serious Trampling of the Law" published in this newspaper on 29 May is one such example. The incident in which people like Peng Hong [1756 1347], secretary of Tangshan Municipal Party Committee, and Zhang Jie [1728 2638], president of the Intermediate Court, caused an erroneous case of litigation to result is by no means merely an isolated one. Today there are indeed a small number of leading cadres who "issue approval slips" and "hand down directives" in violation of the constitution and regulations by the party Central Committee, thus oppressing people with their power and substituting their power for the law. There are also actually judicial personnel who "know the law" but "refrain from implementing it"; they are afraid of those who are in power and who throw their weight around, thus knowing that a certain practice violates the law, but still "obeying he who is powerful." To put it truthfully, they do so merely to protect their own official positions. It is unavoidable that such persons should cause erroneous cases of litigation to result.

The occurrence of such conduct in contempt of the legal system is by no means accidental. It is a reflection of feudal, autocratic legal thinking which has its profound social and historical roots in our country. First of all, ours
is a country with a very long feudal history; ever since antiquity, "I [the Emperor] am the state," and "the power of the monarch is supreme" [have held true]. After our country fell to the status of a semifeudal and semicolonial society, the feudal, patriarchal workstyle, bureaucratic and warlordly workstyle, and comprador workstyle permeated all strata of our society. Second, our democratic revolution relied on armed struggle to seize power; the revolution thoroughly bashed the old legal order. Thus people often failed to perceive the role democracy and a legal system should play under a people's regime, and this tended easily to lead to the mistaken idea that the law is something one can take or leave and a legal system is something one may or may not pay attention to. After the founding of our state, while we have thoroughly gotten rid of the feudal land system and formulated the constitution as well as over 1,500 categories of laws, decrees and regulations, the long period of "Leftist" error in our guiding ideology resulted in our having never really seriously liquidated the feudal, autocratic legal thinking and its various manifestations; nor have we been able to handle well the relationship between party leadership and observance of the law. The concept of the legal system by not a few party cadres remains extremely thin; they are still used to the old way of running mass campaigns, thinking always that "the secretary is no other than the party itself; what the secretary says counts." Also, because of the historic change of our party becoming the party in power, some party members and cadres claim merit for themselves and become arrogant, paying no attention to the masses; they even degenerate to the point of substituting their power for the law and doing away with the law by their words in the name of the party, and in some individual cases they went further by using favoritism at the expense of the law and engaging in malpractices for selfish ends. All of these served to create the propitious conditions under which the Lin Biao counter-revolutionary clique trampled on democracy, encroached on the legal system, and promoted its feudal fascism. Lin Biao and his ilk did their best to trumpet "power rules supreme," "neither law, nor Heaven"; they set up kangaroo courts, exacted confessions by threatening the defendants with cruel punishment during interrogation, adjudicated cases with the "Quotations," and, in doing so, they attacked founding elders of the state above and persecuted the common people below, with the vast ranks of the masses cruelly subjected to their venomous practices and unjust, false and erroneous cases of litigation perpetrated all over the country.

Our party and people have suffered considerably under such practices of "substituting power for the law" and obeying "neither law, nor Heaven." At a high price, we have gained a precious experience, and this is that it is necessary for us to thoroughly criticize feudal, autocratic legal thinking and establish a healthy socialist legal system. A socialist legal system is a magic wand from which the people can never depart even for a moment. Once a law is promulgated, it must be observed by all, high and low, in the country; whosoever violates it should then be punished.

The constitution and law of our country are formulated under the leadership of our party; they embody the people's will as well as our party's correct policies; they are the institutionalization of our party's line, principles and policies. Hence, the practice of party cadres at all levels obeying the law and assuring the implementation of the law is the same as protecting the
interests of the party and the people. Judicial personnel of the law-enforcing agencies must not only get acquainted with the law but must also implement it without resorting to any expediency. They must not shun those in power and those who throw their weight around; they must be courageous in resisting interference from all quarters; they must insist on implementing the independent power of adjudication of the people's courts. They must adhere to the equality of all citizens in the application of the law. All our people should also seriously study, obey and protect the law.

In his speech, Comrade Peng Zhen pointed out, "Assurance of the implementation of the constitution, fundamentally speaking, depends on the power of the masses of the people." Trade union organizations at all levels must mobilize the masses of the staff and workers to study, master and protect the constitution, defend the legitimate rights and interests of the masses of the staff and workers, and expose and criticize various law-violating activities.

Equality Before Law

Beijing GONGREN RIBAO in Chinese 28 Jun 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by Zhang Youyu [1728 0645 3342]: "We Must Adhere to the Principle of Equality Before the Law for All Citizens"

[Text] For the sake of protecting the legitimate rights and interests of the masses of the staff and workers, we have, on the basis of veritable facts exposed the mistake of Peng Hong [1756 1347], secretary of the Tangshan Municipal Party Committee, and the responsible person of the Municipal Intermediate People's Court in seriously trampling on the law and thereby we made it possible for the erroneous adjudication of the case concerning Zhu Xiuchun [2612 4423 2504] to become rectified: this is a good thing, helpful toward strengthening our socialist legal system. In the past, newspapers seldom dared to expose erroneous cases and unjust cases wherein the protection of the legitimate rights and interests of the masses of the staff and workers was at stake. Today, they begin to have the courage to speak in behalf of the masses of the staff and workers in these aspects. This is fine. While reinforcing our propaganda and education on the legal system, we must at the same time relentlessly expose and solemnly handle those who are responsible for creating such erroneous and unjust cases in violation of the law and discipline; only thus can we stop and prevent such erroneous and unjust cases resulting from adjudications in violation of the law for selfish purposes. Of course, exposing such cases must correspond to the facts. Daring words not corresponding to facts would not constitute a correct expose. The reason why this expose by GONGREN RIBAO is good is precisely because it is based on veritable facts.

The law is a concrete reflection of policy. Implementing the law is equivalent to implementing the party's policy. What people feel most concerned about today is whether we can resolutely run things according to the law and whether we can adhere to the principle of equality before the law for all citizens. This is a great question directly related to the reputation of our party and state; only by really succeeding in obeying all existing laws, implementing
all laws strictly and punishing all violations of the law can we protect the legitimate democratic rights of the people and maintain the normal work, production and order of life of the masses; only thus can we consolidate and develop a political situation of stability and unity, vividness and liveliness of our state and assure our socialist "four modernizations" of reliable protection. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee our party and state, in order to strengthen our socialist legal system, have already done a great deal of work and created many beneficial conditions. But we should see that the old China before liberation was a semifeudal and semi-colonial society. The feudalism, bureaucracy, ideas about privilege and the patriarchal workstyle left over by the old society still more or less prevail among certain people even today. On the other hand, because we have opposed the old legal system during the revolution, some cadres think that we may fundamentally discard the legal system and that the law is something we can take or leave. In our process to strengthen the socialist legal system, we must uproot such obstacles of the force of habit. Meanwhile, we cannot underestimate the remnant poison of the "neither law, nor Heaven" disposition of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," either. Today, in certain individual areas and units, factionalism and anarchy still play serious havoc with us. We must make up our minds to get rid of these obstacles, resolutely change and rectify all law-violating erroneous ideas and behavior, and we must treat all citizens equally in applying our laws in order to earn our credibility among the people. Secretary Peng Hong of the Tangshan Municipal Party Committee interfered in the exercise of power by a judicial organ; this both ran counter to our party discipline and violated the laws of the state. As the secretary in charge of the political and legal work of the Municipal Party Committee he, through his leadership over ideology and politics as well as principles and policies, should have earnestly assured the opportunity for judicial organs to independently and responsibly exercise the office and power conferred upon them by the constitution and the law and strictly implement the law. But, in the case concerning Zhu Xiuchun, he somehow failed to do so. He violated the provisions of the constitution and the law, regarded his personal views as the law, and forced the judicial organ to carry them out. This is permitted by neither party discipline nor the laws of the state. Once he exceeded his functions and meddled in someone else's affairs, this erroneous case immediately resulted. If he were not unaware of the law, then it must have been an unhealthy workstyle which gained control of him.

The lesson we should draw from the expose of this case is that leading cadres at all levels, especially leading cadres in charge of political and legal work, must take the lead in observing the law, studying the party constitution, the state constitution and the law well, must give full scope to the role of the judicial organs, must earnestly make sure that the people's procuratorates independently exercise their procuratorial power, must earnestly make sure that the people's courts independently exercise their power of adjudication, so that they are spared from interference by other administrative organs, groups and individuals. Party and government leaders at all levels, no matter how high their office or how great their power, must abstain from substituting their words for the law or regarding their personal views as the law, thus forcing others to implement them. If and when this situation should occur, anyone should have the right to resist, expose, complain about and report
them. In the case concerning Zhu Xiuchun, certain responsible persons of the Tangshan Municipal Intermediate People's Court and Lubei District People's Court not only failed to resist Feng Hong's interference but, on the contrary, functioned by observing his glance and thereby helped Feng Hong create that erroneous case. The small number of judicial cadres whose selfish thinking and impure ideas are so numerous and who are only afraid of offending a direct superior but forget to consider the very bad effect an erroneously adjudicated case like this would create for the party and the state should be subjected to solemn investigation and punishment. In the case of the fine judicial cadres who are forthright and who handle their cases in the public interest, who dare to protect the dignity of the law, and who resolutely struggle against law-violating behavior, they should be given commendations and awards. In the case of those who proceed to attack and retaliate against the people who have exposed, reported and resisted the persons rendering an erroneous adjudication in violation of the law, even more strict punishment should be meted out to them.

Only by making our party discipline and laws of the state strict can we assure the thorough implementation of our laws and really make sure that all citizens are equal before the law.

9255
CSO: 4005/1002
EAST REGION

PARTY, GOVERNMENT DIVIDE WORK IN JIANGXI'S HUICHANG COUNTY

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 11 Jul 83 p 3

[Article: "How We Divide Work Between Party and Government"]

[Text] In July 1980 the Fourth Party Congress and the Eighth People's Congress were convened in our county one after another so that party and government are clearly separated. The county party committee has gradually changed the state of the party not minding the party, stressed party building as a basic task of the county party committee and has done relatively well in giving play to the role of the party committee as a leading nucleus, the party branch as a fighting bastion and the party member as a vanguard and model.

First, the key to dividing work between party and government is to solve the problem of the party not minding the party but substituting the party for government. We must begin by clearly differentiating the scope of duties of each. The primary task of the county party committee is to safeguard the implementation of the party's line, principles and policies, study and stress the ideological and political work inside and outside the party, discuss and formulate key production plans and check fiscal discipline. The primary task of the county government is to do its best in building the economy and political power, stress cultural, scientific, educational and sanitation work and manage the work of civil administration, public security, judicial administration and planned parenthood. The county party committee should allow responsible persons in government to independently do the work within their scope of duties. It should give sincere assistance when something goes wrong in their work and should give vigorous support when they encounter difficulties. The government should frequently report to the county party committee on important matters, not to bother it with trivial ones, and give full play to its enthusiasm, ability to take the initiative and creativeness.

Second, persist in the system of combining the collective leadership of the party committee and the division of work and responsibility among individuals and place the question of the party's own building on the important daily agenda. We stipulate that the two levels of county and commune party committees must conduct special study on the questions of party members' education and the party's own building at least once every quarter.
Third, conscientiously improve the methods of leadership. For a prolonged period in the past the standing committee of the county party committee divided and assigned work to individuals and groups, acting as the "assignment chief," the "great area chief" and the "chief of linking with the communes." Now, the standing committee carries out the work of the party in accordance with the division of work. Formerly it held frequent and long meetings and did not have much time to do actual work, but now it persists on holding infrequent and short meetings. Leaders of the county party committee generally do not attend and speak at work conferences and specialized conferences held by various departments. Work conferences held in the name of the county party committee and county government or jointly by them are only attended by leaders who are in charge of running them. In this way we are spending even more time and energy on becoming more involved at the grassroots level, on investigation and study and on summing up experience. Since 1981, the county party committee has summed up 36 documents of experience and materials on party members' education and party building, which have been printed and distributed to all levels of the party organization throughout the county.

Because we have made a relatively earnest effort to implement the division of work between party and government in the past 3 years, we have initially opened up a new situation in the work of party building.

The leadership of the party has been strengthened. Leading members of the county party committee have self-consciously maintained political consistency with the party Central Committee and have earnestly implemented the party's principles and policies. Proceeding from the actual conditions in our county and respecting the wishes of the peasants and people, we comprehensively popularized the great contract production responsibility system throughout the county in the spring of 1981, adopted measures, encouraged, protected and helped specialized and key households which mushroomed in the countryside. At the same time, we adroitly guided action according to circumstances, contracted barren hills, bodies of water, beaches and land to peasant households to develop, thus stimulating the rural economy.

We have increased the combat strength of the party organization and given play to the role of party members as vanguards and models. Since 1981, the county party committee has spent a great deal of energy on teaching communist ideology; the party's character, work style and discipline; the party's current policies; and the revolutionary tradition among party members. In two and a half years the county party committee has run 18 terms of study classes for party members and leading cadres at the county and commune levels, trained party cadres on rotation 2,316 person-times; on the average, each commune party committee held 174 sessions of rotational party member training and trained party members on a rotational basis 38,730 person-times, with each rural party member attending 6 times in rotational training. Since the 12th Party Congress all levels of the party organization in the county have strengthened party members' education with the new party constitution as the main substance. So far, each commune has operated two terms of party training classes. Since May 1981, we have launched activities on the "10 initiatives" and "link households" among the broad masses of party
members. Before July 1 each year every level must evaluate and select advanced party branches and outstanding party members. In the county as a whole, good rural production brigades of party branches have increased from 30 to 56 percent and poor ones decreased from 32 to 10 percent. According to incomplete statistics, 1,245 party members are cultivating contract plots for family members of revolutionary martyrs and soldiers, households enjoying the five guarantees and households with material difficulties.

Party work style has tangibly improved. There was a time when the cadres and people were very critical of the incorrect work style in "recruitment, transfer and housing" that appeared in the county. We promptly transferred a force from concerned departments and organized it into several work groups which earnestly investigated and put the situation into order. So far, 70 households and 257 individuals of unlawfully transferred peasants have been returned.

9586
CSO: 4005/971
SHANDONG'S YANTAI PREFECTURAL PARTY COMMITTEE HOLDS STUDY CONFERENCE

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 4 Jul 83 p 4

[Report: "Yantai Prefectural Party Committee Holds Study Conference Among Prefectural, County and Municipal Leading Cadres; Further Clean Up 'Leftist' Ideology, Be Promoters of Progress Through Reform"]

[Text] Shandong's Yantai Prefectural CPC Committee recently held a study conference among prefectural and county leading cadres and organized the prefectural and standing committees, deputy administrative officers, county and municipal committee secretaries as well as responsible persons of the municipal party committee, administrative departments, committees and offices to study a total of 49 essays including some of the writings of Comrade Deng Xiaoping from 1975 to 1982, parts of the "Selections from the Manuscripts of Chen Yun [7115 0061] (1949-1956)" and the writings of leading comrades of the party Central Committee since the Third Plenary Session. Comrades who participated in the study indicated that this study conference has increased their level of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought and has helped them in further cleaning up "leftist" mentality. Everyone felt that in the midst of busy work it is necessary to spend a little time concentrating on systematically studying the writings of leading comrades of the party Central Committee.

Comrades who participated in the study paid particular attention to linking ideological reality and work reality and combining the study of theory with summarizing experience and lessons and purifying ideology. In the study, everyone kept in mind the historical time sequence, compared documents and reviewed the history of the party since the Third Plenary Session, and used the momentous changes of China in recent years to understand how the party Central Committee overcame one difficulty after another and led the people of the whole country to gradually realize the great historical change and how it summed up historical experience at home and abroad and scientifically expounded a series of important theories and questions of principles, vigorously excluded interference from the "left" and the "right" and led the people of the whole nation onto the path of initiating overall conditions for a new situation. In this way, by combining theory and practice, everyone gained a relatively profound understanding of the correctness of the line of the Third Plenary Session.
Due to their former confusion over the meaning of liberating the mind, some comrades have mistaken the bourgeois liberalizing trend that has emerged in society as something "released" from the liberation of the mind and the reaffirmation of the Four Basic Principles as "rectification of a deviation." Through study, everyone deeply felt that these questions were caused by a lack of indepth discussion of the questions of standards of truth and incorrect ideological lines. The supplementary role of this lesson is truly too important.

In the study and discussion, many comrades related with their personal experience and understood that in order to correct ideological line it would be necessary to liberate themselves thoroughly from the yoke of the "left," persist on seeking truth from facts and proceed from reality in everything. Some comrades said that since the Third Plenary Session our party has persisted on the ideological line of seeking truth from facts and has popularized various forms of the responsibility system in agriculture so that within a few short years it has found the correct path to develop our socialist rural economy. However, at first we always felt that this was an expedient measure to deal with poverty in a backward area which was unsuitable to the actual conditions in Yantai Prefecture. Later we removed the hindrance of the "advanced" and "special" but became involved in investigation and research, concretely analyzed the actual conditions in Yantai Prefecture and determined the contract responsibility system linking specialized trade with fixed output quotas which was promoted and popularized in the entire prefecture. This ultimately brought new life and vitality to the rural economy which was strongly welcomed by the broad masses of peasants and people. Some comrades said: We formerly felt that the production responsibility system did not suit actual conditions in Yantai mainly because we treated things from the point of view of the "left" and were biased toward the responsibility system. Through study, everyone also understood that in order to correct the ideological line we must persist on the mass line of the party, have a clear understanding of the demands and wishes of the masses and correctly estimate and treat the enthusiasm of peasants in socialism. In the future, we must frequently become involved with reality and the masses, continue to study new conditions and resolve new problems.

Through learning in the study class, everyone has understood that the spirit of reform runs through our party's theory and practice since the Third Plenary Session. Without reform it would not be possible to realize the great historical change or to have the favorable situation today. Through their analysis of the conditions of industrial production in Yantai Prefecture, everyone also enhanced their understanding of the urgency to carry out reform. The growth rate of industrial output of Yantai Prefecture in the first quarter of this year dropped from fifth to next to last place in Shandong as a whole and profit growth showed a negative number. The causes are numerous but an important one is that reform of the economic system has not been carried out well. The production responsibility system is not practiced in 25 percent of the workshops in the prefecture and responsibilities are unclear for a third of the groups, teams and individuals and half of the leading cadres. These existing problems in
management have affected the masses in giving play to socialist enthusiasm and have hindered the development in production. From these problems, everyone has profoundly felt that reform is necessary for the survival and progress of enterprises and that there will not be a way out without reform. Many comrades have indicated that we must learn the lesson of starting out late in carrying out the agricultural responsibility system, stop worrying, be flexible, rouse ourselves to catch up and become promoters of progress through reform.
MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY AFFAIRS

GUANGMING RIBAO URGES BUILDING MODERN ARMY

HK180402 Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 8 Aug 83 p 3

[Article by Wang Jun [3076 6511]: "Build a Modernized, Regularized Revolutionary Army With Chinese Characteristics"]

[Text] According to the spirit of the 12th CPC National Congress, strengthening the building of the army means that we must integrate the universal truth of Marxism with China's concrete practice, take our own road, and build a modernized, regularized revolutionary army with Chinese characteristics.

Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, particularly since Comrade Deng Xiaoping took charge of routine work of the Central Military Commission of the CPC Central Committee, the whole party and the whole army, in order to build our army into a powerful, modernized, regularized revolutionary army, have made great efforts to make the army make great achievements in strengthening military training and ideological and political work, in improving the relationship between the army and the government, and between the army and the people, in safeguarding border areas and defending the motherland, and in building socialism. The army is smaller in size than before but more capable, remarkable achievements have been made in lowering the average age of cadres, progress has been made toward a combined army in the organization and commanding of our army, and scientific research in national defense and the development of sophisticated weapons have entered a new stage. Meanwhile, we have started new exploration on the problem of how to build a modernized revolutionary army with Chinese characteristics. In order to speed up the building of a modernized revolutionary army with Chinese characteristics, we must make greater efforts in many fields at present and in the future.

It must be made clear that in building a modernized revolutionary army with Chinese characteristics, we must follow the basic principles of Marxism on a proletarian army. Replacing the special armed forces, which are divorced from the people and are keen on suppressing people by armed force which are directly mastered by the people and are not divorced from the people, is the spiritual essence of the experience of the Paris commune affirmed by Marx. As for replacing it, whether by armed people or by a new type of people's army (regular army), it depends on the situation and needs of class struggle. After the October Revolution, Lenin personally established the Red Army of the Soviet Union, and
explicitly pointed out: The Soviet Union, a new type of country, "guarantees the existence of armed forces of workers and peasants, which, unlike the previous regular army, are not divorced from the people, but are closely linked with the people" ("Selected Works of Lenin" Vol 3, p 308). Not being divorced from the people but instead closely linked with the people are the basic principles of Marxism which we must follow in building a modernized and regularized revolutionary army with Chinese characteristics.

During the historical period of building a modernized revolutionary army with Chinese characteristics, how can we keep our army from never being divorced from the people and maintaining close links with them. The activities of army men and civilians jointly building "civilized villages" and "civilized streets," which have appeared in recent years, have not only carried forward the glorious tradition of our army of supporting the government and cherishing the people and unanimity of army men and civilians, and restored and developed the previous relationship between our army and people just like fish and water, but also have greatly stimulated the building of socialist material civilization inside and outside the army, the building of socialist spiritual civilization in particular. They are good methods for implementing the spirit of the 12th CPC National Congress and for carrying out comprehensive treatment and overall construction, good channels to establish and develop a new kind of relationship, which reflects socialist spiritual civilization, between the army and government and between the army and people, and important parts of strengthening the building of a modernized and regularized army.

Learning science and culture, cultivating multitalented people for both the army and localities are new things which appeared in the building of a modernized army under new period. As early as 6 years ago, Comrade Deng Xiaoping, according to Mao Zedong's military thinking and the reality of our army, explicitly pointed out: It is necessary to "build the army into a large school in which cadres can learn not only knowledge of modern war, but also knowledge of modern science and production, as well as political work and management. In this way, our army cadres can bring into full play their role not only in army building, but also in local work. They not only can fight, but also can bring into full play their role in a war and become qualified cadres both for the army and localities." ("Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," p 76). Comrade Deng Xiaoping's idea reflects the needs of the era and China's national condition. It must be realized that the construction for the four modernizations is a unified entity which promotes and complements each other. We must educate cadres and soldiers to earnestly study military knowledge, policies, and science and culture so as to build a powerful, modernized, and regularized revolutionary army. They must, on the basis of performing their own duties and fulfilling various tasks for military training and war preparation, learn some professional knowledge and skill which they will need in the future when they are demobilized or transferred to civilian work, so as to train themselves into multi-talented people for both the army and localities. Only in this way can our army become a great wall of steel guarding our motherland, and an important force for building socialist material civilization and spiritual civilization. This is a prime issue of strategic significance in building a modern and revolutionary army with Chinese characteristics.
The fundamental problem for building a modern and revolutionary army is that the weaponry of our army must be modernized. To achieve this, we must proceed from China's national conditions and adhere to the attitude of seeking truth from facts. Vast territory and many troops, a wide range of topography and climate, great disparity between the south and the north, and between the east and west, these are several aspects of our country's national condition. For this reason, in modernizing our army's weaponry, we can neither purchase foreign weaponry nor copy them, but must, based on self-reliance and according to our own strategic policy and guiding ideas, and our country's geography and climate break a new path and manufacture modern weaponry to meet the needs of our army. Poverty and insufficient financial power and scientific and technological strength, these are other aspects of our country's national condition. Under such circumstances, while developing weaponry, we must scientifically use our limited strength, selectively carry out scientific research, pilot projects and production in weaponry, and speed up the replacement of old technological installation with new ones so as to continuously strengthen our army's defensive power to meet the needs of new international situation.

The PLA is not only an army for national defense, but also an army for carrying out production. This is a glorious tradition of our army and also an important part of building a modernized revolutionary army with Chinese characteristics. The army carrying out agricultural and sideline production is a practical action to take part in the national construction, an important measure for strengthening the building of the army, and also a concrete expression of wholeheartedly serving the people.

We have already taken a gratifying step on the road of building a modernized, regularized revolutionary army with Chinese characteristics, but there are still many important problems which we must explore, research, and resolve.

CSO: 4005/1098
RENMIN RIBAO PRAISES PLA SUPPORT FOR KEY PROJECT

HK180415 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 16 Aug 83 p 1

[Editorial: "The People's Army Fought To Win State Power and Is Building Up the Country--Fifth Discourse on the Whole Nation Giving Support to Key Construction Projects"]

[Text] One of the key projects of the nation, the large, comprehensive diversion works of the Luanhe River into Tianjin has been completed victoriously, and has undergone trial operation. The PLA railway engineering corps and the PLA troops stationed in Tianjin shouldering the task of the major construction of this key project have performed deeds of valor in stepping up its construction. Facts have once again illustrated that our PLA has proved itself to be a people's army not only capable of fighting to win state power but also capable of building up the country.

To divert the Luanhe River into Tianjin to solve the shortage of water for industrial production and for people's daily life in Tianjin is a matter of great importance that has a direct bearing on Tianjin and the development of the whole national economy. The project started in urgency, the period for construction was short, and the requirements were high. The PLA units taking part in the construction were eager to meet the needs of the state and the people, and of their own accord took up the most difficult task of the construction in hewing a tunnel through the mountain for the diversion of water. In the process of the construction, they fought against the bitter cold of winter and the scorching heat of summer, carrying forward the revolutionary spirit of bearing hardships and withstanding hard work and giving expression to the lofty spirit of braving hardships and dangers and advancing courageously. Under the circumstances of insufficient technical forces in the process of construction, they studied diligently and trained hard, learning in earnest modern science and technology, and learning scientific management and scientific methods of construction. Relying on their vigor and science, they have produced speed, quality, and economic results in the diversion works of the Luanhe River into Tianjin.

Ours is a good army, it has a strong sense of organization, and a high level of ideological consciousness, it is highly disciplined, and has a style that is able to pass the stiffest test. It was in the latter part of September 1981 that the
troops participating in the diversion works of the Luanhe River accepted their tasks, and it was in mid-November that the advance unit arrived at the work-site and joined the parties concerned in surveying, designing, and drawing up plans for the construction. In May 1982, the construction started in an all-round way. In July 1983, the major construction was completed. Having gone through intense construction for a year or so, overcoming numerous occasions of cave-in and dangerous situations, they succeeded in building a large tunnel for water diversion, with a length of over 12 km in most complicated strata, creating an amazing wonder. This unit has a powerful leading body. From higher to lower levels, all the commanders participating in the construction project earnestly practiced what they advocated, charged at the head of their men, directed operations on the spot, and shared the joys and sorrows of the fighters. After construction began, leading cadres could be found wherever the work was most intense, and most dangerous. In the practice of construction, good ideas and style were cultivated, along with a large number of technical cadres, including a number of technical backbone cadres. In praising them, the masses said, "The people's army was capable of fighting to win state power, and is also capable of building up the country." All this has proved that our army is invincible.

The participation of the army in the construction of the key projects of the country is an important form of carrying on the four modernizations. This will not only be advantageous to stepping up the construction of key projects, pushing ahead the process of the four modernizations, but will also promote closer ties between the army and the people and the building of the army itself, and raise the quality and prestige of the troops. The unity of the army and the people, the unity of the army and the localities is our fine tradition, and it is where our strength lies. During the 10 years of internal disorder, such relations suffered some damage. Now, the troops have plunged themselves into economic construction in the concerted efforts of the army and the people in the construction of socialist material and spiritual civilization, they have strengthened their unity, and have written a new song of friendship between the army and the people. The army has marched from the camps to the society, which has enabled them to broaden their outlook and draw nutrition from the masses. This is advantageous to raising the ability of the commanders in overall command, to cultivating a large number of talents useful to both the army and the localities, to strengthening the combat effectiveness of the troops, and to providing talented people for the four modernizations. From now on, wherever the conditions apply, some of the troops will be drawn on in a planned way to take part in the construction of the key projects of the country; in particular, they will be organized to undertake some constructions of great technical difficulty and high labor intensity. This is very necessary for accelerating the construction of projects.

The magnificent contributions of the troops taking part in the diversion works of the Luanhe River into Tianjin will always be remembered by the people of Tianjin as well as by the people of the whole nation. It will inspire people with enthusiasm, and accelerate the four modernizations and the invigoration of the Chinese nation. It is our belief that with the participation of the people's army in the construction of key projects, the cause of building up our nation will surely win greater achievements.

CSO: 4005/1098
MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY AFFAIRS

ZHU DE'S 'SHAKE-UPS' IN ARMY AFTER NANCHANG NOTED

HK120352 Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 3 Aug 83 p 3

[Article by Wang Jianhua [3769 1696 5478]: "Zhu De's Three Shake-ups of the Remnant Units of the Nanchang Uprising"]

[[Text] In his article "From the Nanchang Uprising to Going to Jinggangshan," Comrade Zhu De mentioned the three shake-ups [san ci zhengdun 0005 2945 2419 7319] he conducted in southern Jiangxi after the failure of the Nanchang uprising and before he led the remnant units of the insurrectionary army to Jinggangshan to join forces with Comrade Mao Zedong. The three shake-ups, namely, the shake-up at Tianxinxu, the reorganization of Dayu, and the training and consolidation at Shangbao, played a major role in preserving and developing the troops; at the same time, they were of great significance to the formulation of principles for army building and of strategy and tactics in the initial period of the founding of our army.

The Shake-up at Tianxinxu

Due to various subjective and objective reasons, the main force of the insurrectionary army of the "August 1" Nanchang uprising was defeated in Guangdong's Shantou area after fighting in one place after another for 2 months. Comrade Zhu De led the remnant units of the insurrectionary army to the west along the borders of Fujian, Guangdong, and Jiangxi in a strong effort to quickly throw off the pursuing enemy, to extricate themselves from the harassment of bandits and of the civil corps organized by despotic gentries, and to find a foothold. The situation at that time was very complicated: we were surrounded by the enemy and did not receive any reinforcements; we lost our contacts with the party and failed to get any instructions from the higher authorities; and cold and hungry, many people were sick but did not receive supplies or treatment. Originally, these troops consisted of three groups (one commanded by Comrade Zhou Shidi, one withdrawn from Shantou area, and another formerly commanded by Comrade Zhu De) and, being in bad shape, the morale of the troops was unstable.

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Confronted with this grim situation, it was extremely difficult to prevent the troops from being defeated and dispersed and to enable them to go on fighting. Comrade Zhu De was conscious of the necessity to shake-up the troops conscientiously but, owing to the urgent situation, this could only be carried out gradually. Comrade Zhu De decided to pay attention to ideological reorganization first because, in an effort to turn the people staying behind into a fighting collective, it is, first of all, necessary to enable them to have a common ideal and a clear-cut objective of struggle and to be prepared to devote themselves to the realization of this objective. On the evening the troops arrived at Tianxinxu of Jiangxi's Anyuan County, in October 1927, Comrade Zhu De convened a meeting of soldiers. He delivered a strong speech to all fighters and commanders to the effect that: 1) The great revolution has failed and our insurrectionary army has also failed. But our failure is temporary as was the case with the Russian revolution which failed in 1905 but succeeded in 1917. The Chinese revolution also will have a "1917." 2) Now, the enemy pursues us every day but there are contradictions between these feudal warlords, who fail to coordinate their actions. When they fight among themselves, they will not be able to give a thought to pursuing us and we can expand our forces. 3) We stand for revolution, "those willing to continue to make revolution may follow me. Those unwilling to make revolution may go home because we do not force them to make revolution." (Su Yu: "Torrents Return to the Sea--Recollecting Comrades Zhu De and Chen Yi," published as a selected article in "A Single Fire Can Start a Prairie Fire," p 91, second edition of the Fighters' Publishing House, November 1979, p 23).

In his words, Comrade Zhu De clearly pointed out the revolutionary situation and tasks so that everyone could see the bright future and thus strengthen his confidence in victory. After this ideological mobilization and the ideological and political work conducted during the subsequent march, the morale of the troops gradually stabilized and the phenomenon of desertion dropped sharply. Overcoming laxity through ideological and political work constituted a principal measure which Comrade Zhu De adopted with the aim of preserving the revolutionary army, which was on the brink of collapse, and developing it.

It should be emphatically pointed out that Comrade Zhu De's principle of voluntary participation in the revolution army--"those willing to continue to make revolution follow me, those unwilling to make revolution may go home for we do not force them to make revolution"--was very important. At that time, some vacillating elements left the army and those left behind were the pick of the troops who entertained a strong sense of glory in joining the revolution and cherished confidence in the sure victory of revolution and the determination to fear neither hardship, bloodshed, nor sacrifices for the revolution. For this reason, the quality of the troops improved notably and this fundamentally drew a clear line of demarcation between a revolutionary army and a mercenary one.

The Reorganization at Tayu

At the end of October 1927, Comrade Zhu De moved the troops to Dayu. By this time, Comrade Zhu De's prediction at Tianxinxu had been confirmed: The warlords from Guangdong, Guangxi, Hunan and Jiangxi were entangled in warfare and were unable to give a thought to pursuing and attacking our troops.
At Dayu, Comrade Zhu De spent several days reorganizing the troops. On this occasion, he chiefly reorganized the establishments and the party and league organizations of the units. First, he canceled the organizational system of army and division, which had become mere skeletons, and merged the remaining 800-900 people into a column with three subordinating detachments. In this way, the establishment of the army units was more compact, small in number but highly trained, and convenient for fighting.

Second, while reorganizing the troops, he also reorganized the party and league organizations of the units. Party and league members were registered once again, new party members recruited, and party branches set up. The system practiced during the revolutionary period by which the party managed only political work was replaced by one which the party guided all fields of work directly and in an all-round way. This constituted a major change in the system of strengthening the party's leadership over the army. At that time, there were only 50-60 party members, accounting for a little over 6 percent of the total number of troops. Moreover, most of them either worked in the upper leading organs or were officers. When reorganizing the troops, Comrade Zhu De transferred party and league members in a unified way and assigned some of them to the grassroots companies. At the same time, party members were also assigned to all companies to work as political instructors. In this way, the party's leadership over companies was greatly strengthened. It should be said that under the extremely difficult conditions of marching and fighting and in such a short time, Comrade Zhu De succeeded in developing a series of methods for strengthening the party's leadership over the army. This was not an easy job and was of great significance to army building in the early period of the founding of our army.

Training and Consolidation at Shangbao

After the reorganization, the troops quickly moved to Shangbao, Chongyi County, in late November 1927. Due to the tangled warfare among the KMT warlords, big and small, our troops maintained their positions at this time. Thereupon, Comrade Zhu De conducted a new round of training and consolidation among the troops.

The purpose of the training and consolidation was to consolidate the achievements of the previous shake-up and reorganization and to solve some more important issues so as to wage new struggles.

1. Redefine the tasks of the troops. The old army was fed to fight but the revolutionary army should fight for the people. Therefore, the army should not have a single task of fighting. Moreover, due to the failure of the uprising in the city, the insurrectionary army was forced to move to mountainous and rural areas. This made it necessary for the army to do mass work in the rural areas, to mobilize the peasants to rise in revolution, to organize the masses to overthrow local tyrants and distribute their grain and property, to reduce the hardships of the masses, and to solve the ration of the troops.
2. Start to shift from regular to guerrilla warfare in our military strategy. Comrade Zhu De had practical experience and brilliant ideas on guerrilla warfare. As far back as in 1913 to 1915, when he led a unit of the Yunnan provincial army in garrisoning Mengzi, Gejiu and their surrounding areas in Yunnan, he accumulated experiences in guerrilla warfare and won victories in fighting against the bandits supported and equipped by the French imperialists. Later, in fighting against the northern warlords, he also defeated the many with the few by combining regular warfare with guerrilla warfare. From 1925 to 1926, he studied military affairs in the Soviet Union. When an instructor asked him how he would fight after his return to the country, he said: "Fight when we can win and move away when we cannot" and "when necessary, move the troops to the mountains to wage guerrilla warfare" ("Selected Works of Zhu De," p 126). When his troops moved to Tianxinxu after the failure of the Nanchang uprising, someone asked him how he would carry on the fight in the future and he replied: "Wage guerrilla warfare!" (Yang Zhicheng: "Arduous Fighting in One Place After Another," published as a selected article in "A Single Spark Can Start a Prairie Fire," p 111, second edition of the Fighters' Publishing House, November 1979, p 25) By that time, the troops had already maintained their positions at Shangbao and its surrounding areas. Comrade Zhu De dispersed the troops to wage guerrilla warfare with a company or platoon as a unit and to fight against the armed forces of landlords and bandits.

At that time, quite a few commanders of these troops were graduates from the Huangpu Military Academy who had learned regular warfare; many fighters who had taken part in the Northern Expedition had also fought regular warfare. Therefore, effecting a strategic change from regular to guerrilla warfare in army units was not an easy job. However, Comrade Zhu De often gave military lessons and discussed tactical issues. For example, he changed the traditional line formation into a wedge formation. On the other hand, he waged guerrilla warfare through practical fighting in order to train the troops and sum up experience. With Comrade Zhu De's numerous efforts, this transformation was effected smoothly.

3. Continue to strengthen discipline. Without strict discipline, it is impossible for an army to fight. Without revolutionary discipline, it will be impossible for a revolutionary army to preserve its revolutionary character and to achieve unity within and outside the army. Even before this, Comrade Zhu De paid very close attention to discipline toward the masses by frequently telling both commanders and fighters to observe discipline and conducting a preliminary shake-up of the troops at Xinfeng. Following the change in the tasks of troops, both the commanders and fighters should go deep into the rural areas to mobilize the masses to overthrow local tyrants and to divide their property. This made it necessary for the troops to observe stricter discipline. For this reason, it was stipulated at that time that all donations collected and all goods and materials seized should be turned over to the rightful public authorities and that only the confiscation committee had the right to confiscate and dispose of properties.
Talking about the gains of this training and consolidation, Comrade Zhu De said: "The troops have moved toward unity, their discipline has been strengthened, and their fighting capability has also been improved."

To sum up, we can see that the measures Comrade Zhu De took during these shake-ups were of very great significance to the building and fighting of our army in the early period of its founding. Naturally, the principles of army building and the strategy and tactics were still in embryonic stage at that time. They were later systematically and perfectly solved through protracted revolutionary struggle and practice by Comrade Mao Zedong and other proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation.

CSO: 4005/1098
TAIPEI PAPER URGES U.S. NOT TO ARM PRC

OW081131 Taipei CHINA POST in English 2 Aug 83 p 4

[Editorial: "Teng Hsiao-ping's Wild Accusations"]

[Text] Recent accusations levelled by Teng Hsiao-ping against the United States accusing the United States as "being unstable and inconsistent" are nothing but another display of Chinese Communist united front tactics to intimidate the United States.

Teng was quoted by the NEW CHINA NEWS AGENCY, the Peking regime's mouthpiece, as having told a Chinese American professor last month that despite U.S. accusations that Red China's policies were unstable, "our policies are far more stable than those of the U.S." He said that "people in power in the United States have never given up two Chinas or one China, one Taiwan."

To show his contempt of the U.S., Teng said that "the United States has lauded its system to the skies. But a president says one thing during the campaign, another when he takes office, another during the mid-term election and still another near the next general election."

The above remarks by the top leader of the Peking regime betray his inner feelings about the United States and its leaders. They provided a sharp contrast to the various friendly gestures shown by the United States to the Peking regime by its promises to relax a ban on exports of advanced technology with potential military uses as well as the announcement of U.S. Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger's visit to Peking in September.

It is apparent that those U.S. gestures of friendship would not be appreciated but would be considered as a sign of weakness by Teng and his cohorts which can be exploited to further their blackmail tactics and extortion games. President Ronald Reagan should, therefore, reappraise his China policy and stop the process of rearming Peking with lethal arms and missiles which would in the end endanger the security of other Asian nations as well as the Republic of China.

The peace and security of the Asian and Pacific region must be of primary concern for the United States. A rearmed Chinese Communist regime would unquestionably pose such a threat to all nations in this vast region. At the same time, Peking would not be able to contain or restrain the Soviets in any appreciable way in the foreseeable future.
The United States should indeed stick to its anti-Communist stand and not be anti-Soviets and pro-Chinese Communists thereby losing its consistency and ideological rationale. It has pronounced a ringing democratic movement and anti-Communist and anti-terrorist campaign. It should not defeat its own purposes by collaborating with the Chinese Communists only to fall into the latter's united front traps. In this way, the United States should adopt a consistent and stable policy of not pursuing any policies in favor of communism, whether it be Soviet or Chinese communism.

CSO: 4000/242
VOICE OF FREE CHINA DISCUSSES REUNIFICATION PLAN

OW060803 Taipei CNA in English 0236 GMT 6 Aug 83

[Text] Taipei, 6 Aug (CNA)—The Voice of Free China, on its English-language broadcast Saturday, aired the following commentary on "Teng's double talk."

By clarifying Teng Hsiao-ping's recent interview with a Chinese American scholar, HSINHUA NEWS AGENCY has succeeded only in exposing the communist dictator's remarks about "reunification" with Taiwan as nothing but double-talk.

The most notable part of Teng's remarks about the Peiping proposed reunification talks with the Republic of China is his assurance that it would not be negotiations between a central government and a local government. He was referring to Premier Sun Yun-suan's straight-to-the-point warning about the traps Peiping has set for Taipei.

But Teng nullified his assurance in the same breath. He said Taiwan would remain as a virtual entity independent of the Peiping regime's control. So, Teng argued, there would be no question of the mainland swallowing up Taiwan or vice versa.

However, Teng said once reunification is achieved, only the "People's Republic of China" would be allowed to represent China in the world. That's another way of saying that there would be no more Republic of China and the Chinese Government in Taipei would be a local government.

The fact is that Peiping has left no stone unturned to destroy the sovereignty of the Republic of China. It has time and again warned foreign countries not to set up representative offices in Taipei or issue visas to the nationals of the Republic of China.

Teng said the talks for national reunification would be conducted as talks between the Chinese Communist Party and the Kuomintang to show that Taipei and Peiping would be on equal footing at the proposed negotiations.

Here, Teng is either ignorant or pretends to be so. On the Chinese mainland, the Communist Party is everything. It can impose its will on the people without bearing anybody lifting a finger to oppose it.
In the Republic of China, the Kuomintang is the ruling party, not the government. The Kuomintang has been long in power only because it has been working for the interests of the people. It would lose its power as soon as it turns against the interests of the people. Negotiating with Peiping on terms of surrender is the one thing that would surely bring down the government party in Taiwan.

As to Teng's promise that Taiwan would be allowed to keep its armed forces after reunification with the mainland, he is unable to fool the most simple-minded people.

He said the armed forces of free China must not constitute a threat to the security of the mainland. In plain words, the armed forces of the Republic of China would be reduced to the status of a local militia force incapable of putting up an effective resistance when Peiping decides to take over Taiwan.

That's why Peiping has consistently opposed to U.S. sale of defensive arms to the Republic of China.

Even in offering the supposed olive branch, Teng did not forget to drop a dark hint about a military solution. He said Peiping would not wait indefinitely while seeking a peaceful reunification with Taiwan, because he is getting old and wishes to see reunification achieved in his lifetime. What he was saying is that Peiping would resort to other than peaceful means to achieve reunification before he dies.

CSO: 4000/242
BRIEFS

DEFENSE MINISTER TO PARAGUAY—Taipei, 5 Aug (CNA)—Defense Minister Soong Chang-chih, as President Chiang Ching-kuo's special envoy, Friday left for Paraguay to attend President Alfredo Stroessner's inaugural ceremony to be held August 15. During his stay in Paraguay, Minister Soong will also call on overseas Chinese in addition to holding talks with Paraguayan officials for the strengthening of relations between the two countries. Seeing Minister Soong off at the airport were Paraguayan. Charge d'affaires Anibal Raul Casal, Ambassador Raymond Peredin of Haiti and other officials.
[Text] [GW051435 Taipei CNA in English 1349 GMT 5 Aug 83]

CSO: 4000/242
PROFESSOR LECTURES IN BEIJING ON TAIWAN, DEMOCRACY

Hong Kong CH'I-SHIH NIEN-TAI [THE SEVENTIES] in Chinese No 6, Jun 83 pp 62-65

[Article by Ch'iu Ch'ui-liang [6726 0987 0081]: "Discussing Taiwan and Democracy at Beijing University"]

[Text] Political science professor Ch'iu Ch-ui-liang of Australia's Queensland University visited mainland China for about a month last April and lectured at Beijing University. This article gives an account of the contents of his lecture and his personal impressions. The lecture briefly summarized the progress of democracy in Taiwan. The discussion of this topic in Beijing University and the reaction of the audience have a special significance.

Beijing University

Though basically I understand Marxism and also agree with certain Marxist tenets, in terms of the long-range merits and demerits, especially in regard to the actual results of Marxism as a political ideology, I feel that the demerits exceed the merits. Therefore, I am opposed to Marxism. After two decades of searching, I remain a liberal democrat.

When I went on my first study trip to mainland China at the end of 1980, I was apprehensive. In the past 2 years, I continued to write a number of articles highly critical of Marxism, Mao Zedong Thought and the CPC regime. On my second study trip in March 1983, I felt even more apprehensive.

When the direct flight from Hong Kong to Beijing landed, I was uneasy. Leaving the plane and entering the airport building, I was promptly welcomed by representatives of four units. The scene was much more animated than last time. Thus, I was much relieved.
The greetings were much warmer than before. Nevertheless, at the begin-
ning I had no confidence in being granted approval of my requests for
academic activities, especially the request to meet with the faculty and
students of Beijing University and discuss world politics. In the first
few days, the planning of my activities was not ideal, and the CPC schol-
ars specializing in international relations at the forums appeared to be
cautious and guarded.

Thus, when I was finally notified that the Beijing University student
association would very shortly arrange a public lecture and a forum, I
didn't quite believe it. I thought that most likely there would be re-
strictions and the occasion would not be well attended or very free.

I arrived at Beijing on 24 March and was scheduled to lecture at Beijing
University at 4 pm on 3 April. The topic was decided only through the
phone with a student representative: "Taiwan's Economic, Political,
Social and Cultural Developments," a rather broad field.

That morning I held a forum, which was not well attended, at the Chinese
Academy of Social Sciences to discuss the study of Australia's foreign
policy in China. We had some arguments on China's and Australia's Viet-
nam policies.

A little after 3 o'clock in the afternoon, a student representative from
Beijing University came to pick me up. The moment the car entered the
school gate, I felt tense. The university's influence on the development
of China's politics, culture and ideology is tremendous and important.
Besides my alma mater Taiwan University, to give a lecture here was a
strong desire in my academic life. More importantly, the main content of
my lecture today would certainly differ from the general understanding of
mainland China, and would even contradict the propaganda and policies of
the CPC these past three decades. Naturally, I was apprehensive.

When I walked into the building where the lecture was to be given, I was
surprised to see the huge crowd, packing even the corridors and hallways.
The two lecture rooms with a capacity for five or six hundred people were
filled; about seven or eight hundred people were already seated or stand-
ing, forming a veritable sea of people. I was simply dumbfounded.

After a brief rest, I forced my way on to the rostrum. The chairman in-
troduced me, but the microphone failed to work. After much fiddling, it
still didn't work. The technician was unable to force his way in, and
the scene grew rather desperate. To ease the rapidly rising atmospheric
pressure, I picked up a chalk and wrote on the blackboard in large let-
ters: "proof of the failure of science." Laughter exploded in the lec-
ture room.

Actually, one can't help discussing science when lecturing in Beijing
University. Naturally, I intended to lead from science to democracy.
More than 10 minutes later, the technician finally made his way into the room and fixed the microphone. After a simple introduction by the chairman, I began my first lecture at Beijing University in a tense atmosphere. The following was arranged from the recording. Though the ideas were not unusual and, using no lecture notes, I could not be considered as methodical and systematic in my talk, what was important was that it was a public lecture at Beijing University in 1983, only 7 years after the Cultural Revolution, and should be of some timely and historical significance to a certain extent. The full text of my lecture is as follows.

Taiwan

Chairman, Teachers and Students:

Until now I have not completely calmed down. Naturally, the "failure of science" a while ago is one reason, but what is more important is my feelings resulting from a hurried visit to the university campus 2 years ago. Indeed, in the past half century or more, especially since the 4 May Movement in 1919, Beijing University has served as the birthplace of China's modern scientific, social, political, cultural and ideological revolutions. In the course of modernizing China's science and democracy in the future, the university will certainly continue to play an important leading role. Because of such deep feelings, I am particularly excited over giving a lecture here today.

When I visited mainland China 2 years ago, I said to myself that, whatever place I missed, I had to see Beijing University. This time, I was asked to come and give lectures. I said: Fine, as long as I can speak at Beijing University, I will certainly come.

I took exception to the frenzied welcome accorded the great Russian author Solzhenitsyn when he visited Taiwan at the end of last year, and I wrote an article of criticism. At the end of the article, I deplored the tortuous and distant path of China's science and democracy.

The idea of modernizing China's science and democracy originated in Beijing University.

Naturally, science and democracy alone are not enough. When we study the major philosophical thinking since the beginning of human history, from China's Confucius, Greece's Plato and Aristotle, to the relatively modern Marx, Locke and Montesquieu, we may find that their goal cultures are nothing more than moralism (or humanitarianism), freedom, equality (both including democracy and socialism) and rationalism (including scientism and legalism). The ideal society pursued by man must include the four goal cultures. In such a society, man will be able to develop his latent capacities and create the value and meaning of life.

In the development of the human society, from the traditional to the modern, the goal cultures pursued in the different stages are often
different. Generally speaking, moralism was the central thinking of the
traditional society, and served as the cornerstone, guiding principle and
goal of its human relations, social systems and political actions. What
the modern society pursues is often rationalism, viz., scientism and
legalism. It is determined by the developmental course of production
relations and productive forces. To increase the productive forces,
there must be, in production relations, clear and precise labor division,
specialization, legalization and science and technology, i.e., moderniza-
tion.

In the developmental course of this society, there is often a transforma-
tive phase, which we call a transformative society. It is also often a
revolutionary society, and its goal cultures are often freedom (e.g., the
French revolution), equality (e.g., the Russian and Chinese communist
revolutions) or democracy (e.g., the American revolution).

Some people maintain that China's transformative society began around the
time of the Opium War in 1840, while others feel that it started with the
democratic revolution in 1911, but I think that the students of Beijing
University should insist on the 4 May Movement of 1919 as its inception.

The simplest and most commonly used gauge of the developmental course of
this society is the economic productive forces, viz., the average national
income (production value). It was created by American economist Rostow.
According to the present world economic indexes, for instance, some people
feel that only when the average national income is around $5,000 can a
country be considered developed. In terms of this index, Singapore and
Hong Kong (over $4,000) will soon join the ranks of developed countries,
while Japan (close to $9,000) has long been included.

Now we will use this simplified mold of social development to analyze
Taiwan's economic, political and social developments.

I think that Taiwan entered the phase of transformative society in 1949.
After the war, it possessed several factors favorable to economic develop-
ment, e.g., the scientific and technical personnel and educated laborers
left by the Japanese in their control of 50 years, the excellent bureau-
crats and management talents brought to Taiwan after Kuomintang failed on
the mainland, and the land reform introduced by Ch'en Ch'eng [7115 6134]
the moment he took office, plus the outbreak of the Korean war immediately
thereafter, which resulted in the entry of U.S. fleet into the Taiwan
Strait, military and economic aid to the island, the opening of the Ameri-
can market in the course of reaching the height of its prosperity, and
the gradual development of large-volume marketing of Taiwan's labor-in-
tensive light industrial products, mainly processing.

In the light of similar models of economic development, these factors
enabled Taiwan, in the 5 to 10 years after Japan's withdrawal, to rapidly
increase its average national income from the $100 plus of the 1950's to
$2,500 plus in the 1980's, at a rate of growth of more than 10 times.
Its economic development is rather successful and amazing. This point we must affirm.

When discussing the social developmental course a while ago, I mentioned that, when a society develops from a traditional society with morals in human relations as the main body to a modern society with reason and legality as the main body, the value systems pursued by it differ. Actually, according to the courses and results of the experimental development of most developed Western countries (including Japan), democratic politics (including socialist democracy) is often the most common and concrete authoritative political system in the distribution of resources and value. Therefore, many political scientists, especially Western scholars, feel that modernization and democratization often go hand in hand and emerge simultaneously. These scholars find that the four goal cultures mentioned above are often unavoidably mutually contradictory and mutually conflicting, and that there is no perfect system—a utopian political system which can simultaneously and completely embody the four goal cultures. They feel that only under a truly rational, legal and democratic political system will the people, in a state of imperfection, gain the maximum (not complete) goal cultures mentioned above.

As the people, with modern economic development, are becoming ever wealthier, more middle-class, more educated and more intelligent, naturally they demand more strongly for political participation and possess a greater capacity to do so, thereby automatically promoting the modern political democratization of their society. Consequently, they are growing ever more "political," democratic and modern. This is the developmental course of American sociologist Lipset's "political man."

Therefore, economic modernization will certainly lead to political modernization, to democracy. At given levels, this development conforms to the principles of determinism.

The rapid development of Taiwan's economy, politics, society and culture must also be interpreted according to the theory explained briefly above. Thus, we may say that the years before 1968, during the Chiang Kaishek regime, can only be considered a continuation of the political system under the dictatorial regime of a strong leader in a transformative society. Lei Chen's [7191 7201] and Yin Hai-kuang's [3009 3189 0342] (Taiwan University professors educated in Beijing University) TZU-YU CHUNG-KUO [FREE CHINA], which advocated democracy, can be regarded as a serious challenge to the Chiang Kaishek regime, except that its certain suppression was inevitable.

By 1968, the ascent of Taiwan's economy had reached a great height. Assuming the post of National Defense minister, Chiang Ching-kuo began to move from backstage where he was in charge of political work to the foreground. In 1972, when Taiwan faced political (the United States began to normalize relations with the PRC) and economic (the first oil price hike in 1972) crises, Chiang Ching-kuo became the head of the Executive Yuan

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and formally took control of and exercised political power. To deal with
the new economic and political changes, the moment he assumed power, he
immediately adopted a succession of liberal measures, such as reflecting
the central public opinion representatives and promoting a number of Tai-
wan natives to the Kuomintang power center.

Under the leadership of Huang Hsin-chieh [7806 0207 0094] and K'ang Ning-
hsiang [1660 1380 4382], Taiwan's anti-Kuomintang extraparty forces also
took the opportunity to develop and expand their activities. TAIWAN
CHENG-LUN [TAIWAN POLITICAL COMMENT], issued by them in July 1974, was
even more vociferous than TZU-YU CHUNG-KUO in demanding political reform
and political participation. Their torrential political current finally
alarmed Kuomintang's ruling class. At the end of December, the Taiwan
government, on ground that my article "Two Inclinations" (actually the
inclination toward democracy) appearing in the periodical was "suspected
of inciting rebellion," closed it down and began to stifle the development
of the extraparty forces.

Nevertheless, the desire for democracy had formed, the tide had grown
powerful, and Kuomintang's policy of blockade had lost its efficacy. In
a by-election of central public opinion representatives in 1975, K'ang
Ning-hsiaung became a legislative councillor. In the 1977 elections for
Taiwan province's county magistrates and municipal mayors and for members
of the provincial parliament, not only the extraparty forces won brilliant
victories, resulting in the election of Chang Chun-hung [1728 0193 1347]
and Lin I-hsiung [2651 5030 7160] as parliamentary members, but there was
also the Chung-li incident when Hsu Hsin-liang [6079 0207 5328] campaigned
for magistrate of T'ao-yuan county and the people supported him against
the Kuomintang, which ended in a riot, setting fire to the police station
and police vehicles.

Meanwhile, K'ang Ning-hsiaung published PA-SHIH NIEN-TAI [THE EIGHTIES]
and YA-CHOU JEN [THE ASIAN] and Huang Hsin-chieh, Yao Chia-wen [1202 0857
2429], Hsu Hsin-liang and Chang Chun-hung put out MEI-LI TAO [BEAUTIFUL
ISLAND]. These were publications which sternly criticized the Kuomintang
and strongly demanded the achievement of democratic politics. In coor-
dination with actual political actions, MEI-LI TAO extensively launched
activities to participate in politics in various areas throughout Taiwan.

At another by-election for central public opinion representatives at the
end of 1978, all the extraparty figures participated. It looked like
that the Kuomintang was going to suffer a heavier blow. Unfortunately,
the United States declared normalization of relations with the PRC, and
the Kuomintang made use of the chance to suspend the election. Feeling
indignant, members of MEI-LI TAO intensified their activities, leading to
the Kao-hsiung incident, the demonstration march on Human Rights Day on
10 December 1979. The Kuomintang mounted a massive crackdown, making in-
discriminate arrests and rounding up almost all the cream of the extraparty
forces in one single night. Today, a large number of the extraparty
leaders is still in jail.
At the time, many felt that the future of Taiwan's democracy was finished and that there was no hope. Dangers lurked in the soughing of the wind and the cry of the birds, and desolation permeated the atmosphere. It was the most drastic instance of political persecution since the incident of 28 February 1947.

Nevertheless, as I have related, the desire for democracy had long formed; it was an irresistible tide of the times. In 1980, the by-election for central public opinion representatives suspended in 1978 was resumed. Undertaking the mission of the times, the grieving wives and the barely emerged newborn generation left behind by the jailed extraparty figures fought an outstanding battle for democracy. Yao Chia-wen's wife Chou Ch'ing-yu [0719 3237 3768], Chang Chun-hung's wife Hsu Jung-shu [6079 2837 3219] and Huang Hsin-chiieh's younger brother Huang T'ien-szu [7806 1131 6337] were all elected legislative councillors with large margins. Moreover, K'ang Nung-hsiang, Chang Te-ming [1728 1795 6900] and Cheng Yu-chien [6774 0151 6966] further consolidated the extraparty leadership, while Yu Ch'ing [1429 3237], a PhD in jurisprudence from Germany, who served as the defense lawyer in the MEI-LI TAO incident, became, in a surprise move, a supervisory councillor.

In Taiwan's local elections thereafter in 1981, members of the extraparty newborn generation, such as Lin Cheng-chiieh [2651 2973 2638], Ch'en Shul-pien [7115 3055 2078], Hsieh Chen-ch'ang [6200 6297 2490] and Hsieh Ch'ang-t'ing [6200 7022 1694], exerting an unrelenting effort and scaling new heights, continued the cause of Taiwan's extraparty democratic movement, brought forth their new political wisdom and skills, vanquished the Kuomintang candidates and became county magistrates and provincial and municipal parliamentary members.

They also published numerous extraparty periodicals: SHEN-KENG [DEEP PLOWING], KUAN-HUAI [CONCERN], MIN-CHU JEN [DEMOCRATIC MAN], CHENG-CHIH CHIA [STATESMAN] and PO-KUAN-[BROAD VIEW] were all publications vociferously demanding democratic reform. Members of the newborn faction even challenged the "senior faction" of K'ang Nung-hsiang and others, finding them too conservative and too conciliatory toward the Kuomintang and declaring that their "reform within the system" was futile and that "reform of the system," reforming Kuomintang's political control system, was called for. There was actually more or less a touch of revolution.

In short, with its economic, political, social and cultural developments, Taiwan has decisively and rapidly moved on to the path of the "political man's" democratization and modernization. On the eve of entering the gate of modern society, Taiwan is facing crucial difficulties in upgrading its economy and politics. In economics, it must upgrade the system of depending on labor-intensive processing as the main body to one of producing by means of intensive capital and science and technology. In politics, it has the necessity to promptly shift from the strong-man dictatorship in the transformative phase to the rational, legal and democratic modern system. Only thus will it be able to overcome the difficulties.
confronting it today, and only thus will it be able to continue to sur-
vive, develop and grow.

The hour is up, and my lecture ends here. I thank you all.

Democracy

It was actually a rather simple and commonplace lecture, merely introduc-
ing very briefly a social theory and the development of Taiwan since 1949. List-
ening to the tape afterward, I discovered that I did not speak well because I was too tense. However, I felt that the applause and interest of the Beijing University students were sincere. Not one student left the room during the 1 hour of lecture and 40 minutes of question and answer period.

A professor privately told me afterward that it was the most liberal pub-
lic lecture in the past three decades or more in terms of political sen-
sitivity.

About 40 students asked questions, many in connection with the issue of unification. As I really had no simple answers, I did my best to side-
step the issue. One student asked: "What is the greatest factor blocking the unification of the two shores of the strait?" "The Taiwan Strait," I answered. "What is the most effective factor promoting the unification of the PRC and Taiwan?" asked another student. My answer was: "The suc-
cess of PRC's four modernizations, plus a fifth one, viz., democratiza-
tion."

The chairman of the student association announced that, as I still had a pro-
gram in the evening, the lecture meeting must be concluded, but there were still 20 or 30 students surrounding me and continuing to ask ques-
tions. Finally, without prior consultation with one another, they all asked for my autograph as a souvenir. I don't know how many times I signed my name on books, notebooks and pieces of paper; I only remember that they all liked "Carry on the Spirit of Beijing University," the six large letters written by me.

Finishing a hurried meal with several student representatives, I rushed to the student association forum. The issues discussed at the forum were fairly profound, especially on Marx's human nature theory, determinism and dialectics, leading to a debate between me and the students. I don't know whether I changed their views to any extent, but I feel that I prob-
ably planted some seeds of doubt in their minds. On Western capitalist democracy and socialist democracy, for instance, they finally all agreed that the basic theories and principles of democracy are identical and that both forms of democracy must possess the fundamental element of "popular ownership, popular control and popular enjoyment." In addition, on the issue of the ownership of productive resources, I made them realize that "public ownership" does not solve the problem, that the socialist public ownership system will likewise suffer the corruption of power, the privileged class (a new class) and exploitation, and that, because of the
state's or party's dictatorial monopoly, the corruption, prerogatives and exploitation may possibly be even worse. Finally, on the issue of human nature, I succeeded in stopping them from continuing to blindly accept Marx's human nature theory of material determinism. Amidst the atmosphere of economic system reforms widely introduced on mainland China today, e.g., the "responsibility system," "contracting system" and "individual economy," such "non-Marxist" or even "anti-Marxist" ideas were probably already in existence among this group of Beijing University student leaders (mostly majoring in world economy, philosophy and law). Therefore, our discussions and their acceptance were not too difficult.

Most importantly, I think that both sides agreed that only true democracy, whether the liberal Western or socialist democracy, will avert the corruption of the regime and attain the enjoyment of morals, reason, freedom and equality, the four important goal cultures, by the maximum number of people.

The forum of 1 hour actually lengthened to 1 hour and 40 minutes before it ended. Beijing University in the dim light of nighttime was extremely silent, calm, ancient and sturdy. When the students walked me to the car to return to the hotel, I felt that we were all reluctant to part. Finally, the student association chairman removed the school badge from his chest and pinned it on my coat, and everyone waved farewell amidst the sound of blessings.

In the dimness of the night, the car traveled slowly out of the campus. I couldn't help feeling downhearted, wondering just how much we truly understood one another.

Next morning, two student representatives rushed to the hotel, bringing several souvenir gifts from the student association and their hope that I would come again to lecture.

Such lovable students of Beijing University! How could I not visit them? How could I not talk about democracy?

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