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POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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[Article by Zhu Mengkui [2612 1125 7608]: "Comment on U.S.-Israeli Strategic Cooperation"]

[Text] On 29 November last year, U.S. President Reagan and Israeli Prime Minister Shamir reached the "U.S.-Israeli Strategic Cooperation Agreement." Under the agreement, the two sides will establish a joint political and military group and formulate detailed plans on strategic cooperation, including joint military maneuvers, storage of weaponry in Israel, increased military and economic aid to Israel, etc. According to foreign news dispatches, the agreement also calls for greater intelligence cooperation, use of Israeli military bases by U.S. planes, exempting Israel from repaying U.S. loans, and abolishing U.S. restrictions on Israeli sale of military products to the Third World. Soon after the agreement was signed, the United States launched air attacks on three Syrian positions in Lebanon. Israel also wantonly and indiscriminately bombed PLO positions in Tripoli in north Lebanon and sealed off the nearby sea area in an attempt to block Arafat and his troops from evacuating Tripoli. Such actions taken by the United States and Israel further aggravated the ever deteriorating Middle East situation, gravely endangered peace in the region and the world, and seriously perturbed the Arab countries and the international community.

The U.S.-Israeli strategic cooperation agreement indeed has its ominous goals and complex background.

The policy of overall cooperation and "U.S.-Israeli axis" has been a strategy consistently followed by the two sides for many years. In the Middle East contention, the United States has always used Israel as the assault force, while the latter relies on U.S. protection and support to pursue its continuous aggression and expansion against the Arab countries. The present strategic cooperation agreement indicates that, after the progress of the Middle East peace talks engineered by it was blocked, the United States wants to further reinforce military cooperation with Israel
and gradually expand its military involvement in the region, in order to achieve the goal of controlling and dominating the Mideast situation.

For a long time, the United States has regarded Israel as its strategic "ally" in the Middle East. All previous U.S. presidents considered strengthening the cooperative relations with Israel an important foreign policy measure. Immediately upon taking office, President Reagan also attempted to build a "strategic relationship" with Israel and signed a "memo of understanding" on military cooperation. In 1981, former Israeli Prime Minister Begin also proposed strategic cooperation with the United States. However, as the Reagan government was anxious to start the Mideast peace talks and thereby mend its relations with the moderate Arab countries, while Israel failed to let up on its expansionist standpoint and resorted to certain adventurist actions, thereby disrupting the progress of Mideast peace designed by the United States, a "discord" between the two countries appeared, resulting in the "distancing" phenomenon between them and a setback in strategic cooperation.

The emergence of the U.S.-Israeli strategic cooperation agreement at this time is the need of both sides.

In terms of the United States, the Lebanon-Israel agreement last May as the result of a tremendous effort exerted by the United States encountered, upon its publication, the strong resistance of Syria, the PLO and the leftwing Muslim forces in Lebanon, thereby turning it into a scrap paper and nullifying the U.S. diplomatic effort on the Middle East and the Lebanon issue. With the ever worsening conflicts among the opposing Lebanese factions, the successive attacks on U.S. forces in Lebanon and the bombing of the U.S. military headquarters, the Reagan government, encountering growing domestic pressure to withdraw from Lebanon, found itself in a dilemma. Therefore, it decided to expand the scale of military cooperation with Israel, enhance U.S. military presence in the Middle East, take an uncompromising stand and, by means of military might, force Syria to withdraw from Lebanon and expel the Soviet influence in the region. The United States felt that the Soviet Union, utilizing the rebuffs suffered by the United States in the Middle East, increased its supply of new weaponry and large groups of advisors to Syria and turned the latter into the main obstacle to the U.S. Middle East policy. The United States also wanted to alleviate public dissatisfaction at home on the bombing of its marine headquarters in Beirut by taking an uncompromising attitude and to change the Reagan government's image of helplessness in Lebanon. Moreover, for the sake of winning votes in the coming general election, Reagan had to consider the importance of the support of the 6 million Jews in the United States. In his view, the strategic cooperation agreement is a "trump card" in his election campaign. In terms of Israel, as its new prime minister Shamir continued to follow the aggression and expansion policy of his predecessor Begin, he was beset with difficulties at home and abroad and, under the unstable political situation and shaky position, urgently needed strong U.S. support. The conclusion of the strategic cooperation agreement served to strengthen his
position and enabled him to obtain more U.S. aid. The U.S. House of Representatives has passed an act on foreign aid allocations and decided to increase military aid to Israel from the $750 million of last year to $1.7 billion. After his visit to the United States, Shamir indicated that the current relations with the United States are "at the best moment." Israeli papers also declared one after another that the relations between Washington and Tel Aviv have entered a "new era."

The strategic cooperation agreement indicates that the United States has removed its mask of an "impartial mediator," taken the Israeli side more brazenly, and become directly involved in military conflicts. It also indicates that, with U.S. encouragement and support, Israel is more bold in taking risks. Its recent outrageous announcement that it will not guarantee the safety of the PLO in its evacuation of Tripoli was one example. Utilizing the instance, the Soviet Union issued a warning that it will support the Arab countries in their struggles against U.S. and Israeli aggression and provide military aid.

The dangers of a greater confrontation between the United States and the Soviet Union, the two superpowers, in the Middle East region are growing.

The Arab countries, including some of the moderates, are issuing declarations one after another to censure the U.S.-Israeli strategic cooperation agreement and U.S. bombing of Syrian positions in Lebanon, considering them flagrant aggression and "danger signals." Syria indicated its "determination to resist aggressive actions in any form" and asked the UN Security Council to curb U.S. aggression in the Middle East. At the same time, it also expressed willingness to hold talks with the United States on the Lebanon issue and the Middle East situation.

The U.S.-Israeli strategic cooperation agreement has added a new element of unrest to the turbulent Middle East situation. The development of the state of affairs in the future calls for serious concern. (14 December).
The evaluation of Soviet economic reforms and, in particular, forecasting their development trends are questions which are hard to handle appropriately and pertinently. I wish to offer here my crude views so that readers may form their own valuable opinions.

1. The Positive Results Already Achieved in the Soviet Economic Reforms

Beginning from the mid-1950's, the Soviet economic reforms went through the process of reorganization industry and building construction in 1957, the implementation of the all-round new economic system in the mid-1960's, the comprehensive establishment of corporations in the early 1970's, and the implementation of the "new resolution" on economic reform in 1979. Thus, certain readjustments have been made on the highly centralized and traditional system of economic management, and certain positive results have been achieved. It is manifested mainly in the following.

With regard to the organizational system of management, the USSR is still practicing the system of departmental management, and various specialized departments are still the major bodies administering the industry. However, the new system of departmental management has certain new features compared with the traditional (that is, before 1957) system of departmental management. The features are mainly reflected by: in the organizational system of management within the national economy, the local management power has been expanded on a limited scale; within the departments, the establishment of the corporations has simplified the management links, and the role of the enterprises in economic management has been strengthened to a certain extent; in addition, through the setting up of regional productive composite organs, the integration of departmental management with regional management has been realized to a certain degree; and so on.
With regard to the system of planned management, the USSR still persists in implementing a system of directive planning, but has made certain changes in terms of the content and methods of planning. For example, the system of planned targets has been readjusted (at first, the target of total output value was replaced by the target of the sales volume, and then the target of the sales volume was replaced by the target of the net output value), so that the planned targets can more correctly reflect the practical operation results of the enterprises; a planning system of treating the 5-year plan as the key link, to be complemented by long-, medium-, and short-term plans, is carried out so as to strengthen the continuity of the planning and to encourage the enterprises to accept more challenging annual plans; the procedure of filing, examining, and approving the plans is simplified, and the power of the enterprises in planned management is adequately expanded; and so on.

With regard to the supply of materials, after the popularization of the new economic system, a new form was adopted to implement a direct and long-term economic association and wholesale trade on the means of production. Under this supply system, the connection between supply and demand is designated by the upper-level authorities, the basis for signing contracts between the two sides is still the state plan, the prices of the materials supplied are basically designated by the state, and the supply of the planned transfer of products is effected by means of a permit issued by the upper-level authorities; therefore, the new form of supplying materials does not go beyond the extent of planned distribution of materials. However, this new form of supplying materials which is based on economic contracts, when compared with the original system of direct transfer by the state has, after all, simplified the procedure in material supply, and has, to a certain extent, overcome the shortcomings in separating production from marketing.

With regard to the system of price control, the USSR still practices the pricing principle of cost plus certain profits, with the resulting prices basically unaffected by the demand and supply relationship. Thus, the prices are fixed by the state, and the power of fixing prices is basically controlled by the central authorities (the state prices committee). But at the same time, the method of calculating the cost and profits, which constitute the prices, has been revised to a certain degree, and more flexible and variable price forms are being implemented, resulting in a limited expansion of the power of various departments and enterprises in terms of the control of prices.

With regard to the system of economic accounting and incentive of the enterprises, the basic figure of wages of the enterprises is still stipulated by the state, and the income of the staff and workers is mainly determined by state regulations and policy. However, under the new economic system, the economic incentive funds are established, the system of payment by the funds and fixed payment of fees is implemented, and the function of bank loans is strengthened. All this has led to a change in the distribution of profits, which links the economic benefits of the enterprises and their staff to the operation results of the enterprises and the performance of the staff. Thus, the economic incentive in regard to the enterprises and their staff has been strengthened to a certain extent.
Generally, since the 1950's, economic reform in the USSR has achieved certain positive results. It has expanded the power of the enterprises, and has to a certain degree overcome the defect of the state controlling the enterprises too rigidly, which facilitated the enhancement of the initiative of the enterprises' operations; it pays primary attention to using economic methods to manage the economy, and has in some respects reduced subjectivism and bureaucracy in economic management; it attaches importance to the principle of profits, and emphasizes linking the economic benefits of the enterprises and their staff to their work results, which facilitates the implementation of the system of economic accounting, the enhancement of economic results, and the mobilization of the operation initiative of the enterprises and the labor initiative of the staff and workers; and it implements a bilevel or trilevel industrial management system, thereby reducing the number of levels in management and simplifying the structure, which helps to raise the work efficiency in management. It was precisely because the economic reform measures in the USSR were somewhat effective in overcoming the defects of the traditional economic management system that at the initial stage of implementing the new economic system the speed of growth in production was increased, which put a temporary stop to the declining tendency in regard to the growth rate in production.

2. The Fundamental Defects in the Present System of Economic Management in the Soviet Union

At the beginning of the 1960's, that is, the preparatory stage of the all-round implementation of the new economic system, certain economists in the USSR put forward some rather radical theories on economic reform. However, at the initial stage of the reform, the main trend in economics circles of the USSR and the Soviet leaders had already specified the basic criterion that the fundamental principles of the original management system were not to be altered. And soon after the implementation of the new system, criticism of the so-called "market socialism" was launched. All this determined that, generally, the reform could only be in the nature of methodology and revision. Therefore, even though the Soviet economic reform has achieved certain positive results, it has not altered the basic principles of the traditional system of economic management, and consequently there exist defects inherent in the traditional system of economic management. They are primarily manifested in the following two aspects:

1. With respect to the relationship between plan adjustment and market adjustment, it emphasized one-sidedly that planning plays a decisive role, and therefore the role of market mechanism cannot be brought into full play.

A major defect in the traditional system of Soviet economic management lies in the separation of commodity from currency, the negligence of the function of the law of value, and the negation of utilizing the market mechanism, thereby resulting in an overcentralization of economic management. In the initial period when the new economic system was implemented, Soviet economic theoretical circles were at once rather brisk, and some comparatively radical economists put forward questions on the utilization of the law of value and the adjustment role of the market. But the views of these economists
did not attract the attention of the authorities concerned. In the first
resolution on implementing the new economic system, the Soviet authorities
explicitly expressed that in the economic reform no changes would be made
regarding the principle of unified plan management under centralized state
power. At the same time, in order to suppress any difference of opinion,
in the process of criticizing the so-called "market socialism," they attached
the label of "market socialism" to any idea which advocated the creation
of some objective economic conditions for giving play to the role of market
mechanism, and publicized the theory of "an organized and planned market"
(or, more concisely, the "planned market"). This theory held that under the
socialist conditions, the role of the market could be brought into play only
through the planned adjustment, which completely disregarded the spontaneous
function of the market.

Guided by the theory of "planned market," the Soviet authorities do not use
the function of the market within a certain scope as a complementary measure
to realize the balance of planning, but hold that planning can reflect the
objective proportion of the economic development without regard to the
spontaneous role of the market. As a result, the Soviet economic reform has
never adopted any effective measures to strengthen market adjustment. First,
in the process of the Soviet economic reform, apart from the mid-1950's when
some measures were taken to expand private plots of land and develop family
sideline production, the form of ownership and its structure had not been
dealt with on the whole, and diverse economic elements were not developed
to include collective economy and a small quantity of individual economy in
industry and commerce, consequently no requisite economic conditions were
created to bring into play the role of market mechanism. Second, although
in the Soviet economic reform some measures have been adopted to expand the
power of the enterprises, these measures are mainly in the form of a greater
proportion of profit retention for the enterprises so as to provide some
economic incentive. As for the expansion of the decisionmaking power of the
enterprises regarding their operations and the provision of conditions for
the enterprises to act as relatively independent commodity producers, the mea-
ures taken are weak and lifeless. Because the Soviet industrial and com-
mmercial enterprises are basically unified state-run enterprises, which do
not possess conditions for the enterprises to act as relatively independent
commodity producers, it is natural that the role of market mechanism cannot
be brought into play in an effective way in the economy.

Since the focus of the Soviet economic reform is not to use certain functions
of the market to serve the management plan but to make plans, which falls into
the category of subjective handling, suited as such as possible to the needs
of the market, this reform is bound to center its attention on the perfection
of the planning method. As is well known, after the implementation of the
"new resolution" on economic reform in 1979, the USSR established the new plan-
ning system of taking the 5-year plan as the key link, to be complemented
by long-, medium-, and short-term plans, which demonstrated that its sub-
jective intention was to strengthen the planning in terms of its scientific
aspect, continuity, and stability, so that the enterprises could be encourage
to accept more challenging plans. However, judging from the practice results
of its execution in recent years, the measures have not achieved the aim originally envisaged. According to reports recently carried in PRAVDA on the regular meetings of the "business forum," the speeches of many enterprise leaders and state organ representatives fully reflected the lack of stability and practicability of the Soviet 5-year plans. In the first place, plans are given to the enterprises by the authorities above, and many items are likely to have possible changes at any time, and therefore, the enterprises are not in a position to foresee any change beyond the year in which the task is assigned. In effect, this situation dissociates the annual plan from the 5-year plan, and thus the latter plays no effective role whatsoever. In the second place, under the present economic system, market mechanism does not play a truly effective role, and the function of the law of value in regard to the distribution of labor has been completely nullified, with the result that there exists a wide difference between various economic departments in terms of the level of profits. Therefore, even though the "new resolution" in 1979 rather emphasized the role of material criterion, and the total output value has long been excluded from the system of directive criterion, the results of its execution have proved to be just the opposite. The situation is just as a factory director pointed out at a meeting: "In practice the total output value still occupies a dominant position," and "the attention of the enterprises is mainly centered on the ruble. Without it, all the basic criteria will be to no avail." This situation often jeopardizes the contracts participated by the state (that is, the target units for contracts are designated by the state), with the result that it is difficult for a plan for the entire national economy to appear.

Because the USSR maintains that market mechanism should be one with the regulation of the plan, and negates its spontaneous role within a certain scope, there consequently emerges the following abnormal conditions under the existing economic system: On the one hand, overcentralization of economic management is still persistently practiced, thus inhibiting the normal function of the market; on the other hand, the spontaneous nature of the market plays a mandatory and destructive role in illegal fields, so that requisite plan management is impaired.

2. Another serious defect of the existing system of economic management in the USSR is that there exists a high degree of bureaucracy in the administrative organs as well as an acute opposition between the responsible persons in management and the laborers.

Under the traditional Soviet system, the administrative power of the national economy is concentrated in the hands of the state organs, especially the central organs, and the broad laboring masses do not possess a genuine administrative power. This inevitably gives rise to bureaucracy in management, thus impairing the initiative of the laborers in production. In the course of the Soviet economic reform, various systems in relation to rank and power have not been altered, and bureaucracy still prevails in the administrative organs. Under these conditions, the Soviet laboring people have long used the form of work slowdowns and absenteeism to express their discontent and opposition. At present, this has become a national problem over which the Soviet authorities show much concern. Recently, the USSR adopted rather
stringent measures to strengthen labor discipline so as to solve this problem with a strong hand. However just as some Soviet economists pointed out: The main cause of the problems such as lax labor discipline, indifference toward one's work, and poor quality in discharging one's responsibilities, is the practical contradiction in terms of benefits and interests between laborers and managers. Hence, the above measures adopted by the Soviet authorities do not seem very effective.

3. The Current Trend of Economic Reform

Contradictions and defects still exist in the existing system of economic management in the USSR, which keeps the Soviet economy in a state of slow growth. In order to improve this situation, the USSR is planning to launch a new economic reform. At present, it is rather difficult to definitely assess the depth and breadth of the new economic reform, but judging from recent developments, the following trends seem quite evident.

One of the trends is that some comparatively radical economists have regarded the existing defects in the present economic management system as the unsuitability of the relations of production to the productive forces; and they point out that the existing organizational system of enterprises and the economic management system have become outdated, and can no longer ensure the full and effective use of social labor capacity and intellectual power. This is because the existing decisionmaking power is still overconcentrated, which inhibits the role of the market and restrains the self-decisionmaking of the enterprises and, in particular, "various kinds of economic activities which are not controlled in the fields of production, labor service, and distribution," and all these involve the relations of production, the form of ownership, and the form of operation. That is, some persons in Soviet economic theoretical circles have begun to explore new paths of economic reform from the perspective of relations of production (including the relations of ownership).

For a long time, Soviet economic theoretical circles have equated the socialization of production with the reform of ownership, resulting in a rash advance in terms of the reform of ownership; furthermore, state ownership has been equated with ownership by the whole people and regarded as the highest form of ownership at the present stage, and the transition of collective ownership to state ownership is stipulated as the development orientation for the relations of ownership. At the beginning of the 1960's, that is, the period when public opinion was prepared to carry out the overall economic reform, some radical economists already began to cast doubt upon the traditional concept on the form of ownership. Some of them held that there was no essential difference between ownership of collective farms and state ownership; there were two forms in ownership by the whole people: the state-run units and the collective-run units; and the collective farms also belonged to the category of ownership by the whole people, and they had a higher degree of ownership by the whole people than the state-run enterprises, because the laborers there were more closely associated with the means of production. Some others held that state ownership was not a direct ownership by the whole
people, because the enterprises still owned part of the means of production; and the state ownership was in effect the integration of ownership by the whole people with partial ownership by the enterprises. These two views did not attach much importance to the difference between state-run enterprises and collective enterprises, and they held that the existing collective farms did not necessarily have to turn into state ownership. They also provided a theoretical basis for the state-run enterprises to expand their power. But at that time, these views were treated as unorthodox theories and were criticized and subsequently suppressed. Therefore, in the course of the Soviet economic reform, the problem of ownership was basically not touched upon.

Engering the 1980's, in view of the grave difficulties encountered in the course of implementing the new economic system, particularly the "new resolution" of 1979, some theorists in the USSR seemed to look for other alternatives regarding the problem of ownership, and as a result, there was a relaxation in connection with the theory on ownership. In May of 1982, at a forum on the question of ownership, which was conducted at Leningrad University, although some orthodox economists still emphasized the necessity of the transition from the cooperative ownership to the state ownership, some other economists held that under the current conditions it was no foundation for coming to the conclusion that the ownership of social organizations tended to be withering away or merged into the state ownership, pointing out that these social organizations, which were organized on the basis of their interest and which could satisfy their needs, were necessary to develop their character in an all-round way and to further satisfy their needs. Hence, they asserted that the type and the number of members of these social organizations should be further increased. At the forum, some persons also made use of practical data to prove that the economic efficiency of the collective farms was higher than that of the state farms, and therefore the collective farms should not be hurriedly transformed into state farms. Furthermore, some other economists treated the relative economic independence of the enterprises as one of the characteristics of the state ownership; and they proved the necessity of this relative economic independence by means of the varied economic results brought about by the difference in technical and economic conditions of various productive units as well as the difference in the quantity and quality of their means of production. As a matter of fact, the logical development of this kind of analysis would certainly lead to the conclusion that economic reforms should include the form of ownership as an integral element.

Not long ago, at an academic seminar on the question of ownership, which was held in Kharkov, further studies were conducted on the theory of ownership, and some rather fresh and original ideas were presented. At the seminar, theoretical expositions on the question of ownership centered mainly on two topics: 1) from the perspective of fully utilizing the economic potential, expounding the necessity of simultaneously developed diverse economic elements at the present stage; and 2) distinguish between the form of ownership and the realization of the form of ownership, thereby providing a basis for practicing comparatively flexible forms of operations. At the seminar, some economists explicitly proposed that attention be paid to studying the possibility of utilizing every form of ownership, including ownership by the
individual and ownership by the collective. They pointed out that the viewpoint of making full use of the potential of the national economy is entirely compatible with the current level of development in terms of the productive forces to adopt diverse social economic forms, including state-run enterprises, cooperative-collective farm enterprises, consumers' cooperatives, and private subsidiary economy. Some economists also explicitly held that under the existing conditions, the scope of laboring collective ownership in connection with the production of consumer goods should be expanded.

According to the above views, it seems that the USSR should carry out an economic reform on a comparatively large scale, and this reform should include the form of ownership and its structure, and at least the modes of operations should be considerably changed. However, a large-scale economic reform will greatly simplify the administrative structure at various levels, and will greatly reduce the power of the responsible personnel at various central departments and organs, particularly the power of the high-ranking leaders who know little of management and professional knowledge. Consequently, it will meet opposition from these people. Therefore, there will be great difficulties if the USSR is to conduct a large-scale economic reform. Judging from the relevant resolution passed in July last year by the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers, it seems that the steps of future economic reform in the USSR will not be too great. The resolution decided that beginning from January 1984, a "trial on expanding the decision-making power" would be conducted in the Ministry of Heavy and Transport Machine Building and in the enterprises directly under its jurisdiction. Its main content covered the expansion of the decisionmaking power of the enterprises in regard to the formulation of plans, utilization of the production development funds, strengthening the material incentives for competent technical personnel and designers, and so on. These reformative measures are generally still in the nature of methodology and revision.

Under the condition that a large-scale economic reform will meet with great obstacles, will it be feasible to carry out some minor reform measures? The answer seems to be in the negative. As stated above, this economic reform in the nature of methodology and revision has been proved to be basically ineffective. Since the mid-1950's, various economic reforms in the USSR have been carried out mainly in the following three aspects: 1) reorganize the organizational system of management; 2) perfect the planning methods; and 3) overall implementation of the system of economic, so as to strengthen the material incentives to enterprises and laborers. With regard to the reform in the organizational system of management, although the USSR has made shifts and readjustments between departmental management and regional management, the correct integration of departmental management and regional management has never been actually realized because the power of management is still concentrated in the hands of the upper-level management authorities, with the result that economic management organs are still clumsy and overlapping, lacking in efficiency. With regard to planned management, even though great efforts have been exerted in perfecting planning methods, the plans, due to the failure to effectively use the role of market mechanism, still cannot correctly reflect the needs of the market and fail to execute the role of rational labor distribution in various departments. With regard to the system of economic accounting, although a series of reforms have been carried
out concerning the sharing of profits and the distribution of income, because the enterprises still lack decisionmaking power and the laborers lack a sense of being masters of the country, the implementation of the system of economic accounting still fails to completely satisfy the objective of mobilizing the operation initiative of the enterprises and the labor initiative of the laborers. Therefore, if the Soviet economic reform only staggers along the original path and carries out minor reforms, it is certain that no remarkable achievements will be made and that the situation of slow growth will not be improved.

Just as some commentators in the West have pointed out, the Soviet economy is at a crossroads: either comparatively radical reforms are to be conducted, which will entail greater political hazards; or only remedial reform measures are to be adopted, which will entail the persistence of a dull and lifeless economy. It seems that neither of these prospects is acceptable to the Soviet authorities. Hence, it is more probable that they will adopt the following measures which may be more effective in the reform: Expand the decision-making power of the enterprises to a greater extent; change the mode of operation within a certain scope, and expand the current internal contract system within the enterprises to a contract system undertaken by the enterprises themselves; considerably relax control over planning, and provide a wider scope of maneuvering to the market mechanism; in conformity of the above, adopt diverse forms of prices, and practice comparatively flexible management of prices; and so on. By doing so, the economy will be enlivened to a greater extent, and at the same time, the power and economic benefits of the Soviet leading group will not be markedly impaired. In particular, it seems to be a rather obvious trend to alter the form of realization in terms of ownership (that is, to change the mode of operation) without changing the relations of possession.
On 2 March 1973, the CPSU Central Committee and the Council of Ministers of the USSR adopted a resolution on "several measures for further improving industrial management." They decided to improve industrial management system through the amalgamation of enterprises, the establishment of production joint companies and industrial joint companies, and the simplification of the management structure.

In the early 1960's, the Soviet Union carried out an experiment in establishing joint companies. However, the experiment was not popularized. Following the adopting of the resolution in March 1973, joint companies have been extensively established.

Production joint company is a multi-purpose economic body. It is organized on a departmental and regional basis. There are two kinds of enterprises which join the joint companies: 1) enterprises which manufacture the same kind of products; 2) enterprises which manufacture different kinds of products, but technically have close coordinated relations, or comprehensively process certain kinds of raw materials.

To speed up scientific and technical progress, in December 1975 the Soviet Government decided to establish joint companies of scientific research and production. Such joint companies are unified and integrated bodies engaged in scientific research, production, and management. Their main task is to apply new technology and manufacture new products.

Industrial joint companies are composed of independent production joint companies and enterprises. They are larger in scope than the previous general departmental administrative bureaus, but are different in nature. General administrative bureaus were administrative organs. As far as material interests were concerned, they did not show concern for the production achievement of their subordinate enterprises. In the meantime, they were not economically accountable for their own decisions. Industrial joint
companies are economic accounting units, which have certain economic powers and bear economic responsibility. An industrial joint company is an administration between a ministry, production joint companies, and enterprises.

A ministry is still an administration and management organ, but it does not bear any direct economic responsibility to the state. All the funds and investment fees it needs are allocated in the state budget. This is not beneficial for strengthening a sense of responsibility of the leadership of the ministry and enhancing its management efficiency. Therefore, the Soviet Government decided to implement an all-round economic accounting system on a trial basis in the instrument making, automation equipment, and control systems. The measures taken were: profits were shared between the state budget and the ministry. The state stopped allocating funds for the ministry. The ministry used its incomes to cover expenses, including investment costs in capital construction for reproduction, scientific research, research, and so forth. The task of turning over budgetary profits to the state should be accomplished. If the ministry does not have sufficient funds for capital construction, the bank will grant it a loan.

The reasons and aims of the reforms in the early 1970's were:

First, further bring the role of economic mechanism into play to promote the development of economic reforms. Economic reforms in the 1960's were basically limited to enterprises, but management departments above the enterprises level were not touched.

Second, further integrate scientific research with production. Over a long period in the past, scientific research was divorced from production. Slow application and popularization of new technology severely hampered scientific and technological progress in the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union has maintained that the establishment joint companies which have both production enterprises and scientific research units is beneficial to solving this problem.

Third, enhance the level of centralized production and coordination of specialized production. Industrial enterprises in the Soviet Union are very often characterized by "big and complete" and "small but complete." This has given rise to poor product quality, high production costs, and low labor productivity. After the establishment of the joint companies, the subordinate enterprises may carry out a division of labor and promote their coordination to enhance their level of specialized production.

Fourth, simplify the management structure and reduce the management staff. The industrial management structure has been reduced from four to six grades to two to three grades and intermediate links have been abolished. All this is beneficial to enhancing management level.

The reform has produced some positive influence over industrial development in the Soviet Union, but expected results have not yet been achieved. The main reasons for this are:
1. There was great obstruction and the progress was slow. According to its early decision, the Soviet Union planned to complete the work of establishing joint companies and two to three grade management system by 1975. However, at the end of 1975, only more than 2,300 production joint companies were established, which accounted for only 24.4 percent of total industrial output value. Five years later, namely, at the end of 1979, production joint companies accounted for only 47.1 percent of the sales of industrial products. The reform has not yet been completed to date. Due to the fact that the reform of the system has caused the redistribution of power and interests, it has encountered insurmountable obstructions coming from leaders at various levels who are undertaking the task of reform. Joint and specialized production will abolish the double calculation system which resulted from the sale of component spare parts among enterprises. This will reduce output value and profits. Therefore, very often, various ministries will resist the establishment of joint companies. As far as enterprises are concerned, joining joint companies means that they lose their legal independence. Leaders of enterprises believe that this will reduce their power and lower their status. Substantial reduction of management personnel will deprive many people of their leading posts. Therefore, they resent even resist the reform.

2. Reform is carried out in name only and reduced to a mere formality. Due to great resistance, various ministries have been compelled to make concessions. Those enterprises which join the joint companies are allowed to maintain their legal independence. In 1980, 45 percent of the enterprises which joined the joint companies maintained their legal independence by using various excuses. Therefore, joint companies are only loosely mixed bodies. They exist in name only and the production of various enterprises remains unchanged.

3. An administrative order has been issued and uniformity has been demanded in everything. Establishing joint companies is complicated work and economic links and interests of various quarters should be properly arranged. However, the Soviet Union has adopted a method of issuing administrative orders and demanding uniformity in everything while establishing the companies. It has laid down hard and rigid rules with regard to the targets, scope, and completion date of forming the joint companies. Enterprises have been mechanically merged and organic links between enterprises have been lacking. Instead of enhancing their level of specialized production, enterprises often dispute over trifles.

/Economic Reforms in 1979/

On 29 July 1979, the CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet Government adopted a new resolution on economic reform, whose basic aim and requirements were to "enhance labor productivity and work quality" and "speed up scientific and technical progress."

The following are the main contents of the "new resolution:"

15
1. Improve planning work

Work out a complete planning system which integrates long-term planning (20-year unified program for scientific and technical progress and 10-year basic guideline for economic and social development) with mid-term planning (5-year plan) and short-term planning (annual, quarterly, and monthly plans). It has been stipulated that the 5-year plan should be worked out in accordance with the tasks covered by long-term planning. The annual plan should be worked out in accordance with the tasks covered by the 5-year plan. In the future, work achievements of enterprises should be assessed in light of the accumulated results achieved during the implementation of the 5-year plan so that the stability and balance of the plan will be ensured.

A major readjustment has been carried out with regard to planning targets. The assessment of planning targets of an enterprise is based on fixed net output value, rather than on sales volume. Fixed net output value can role out the shifting of the influence of materialized labor. This will help economize on raw and processed materials, enhance labor productivity, and assess the activities of enterprises in a more objective way. In the meantime, to overcome the negative influence of profit incentives, the new resolution stresses the role of targets in kind and assigns the fulfillment of goods supply contracts a most important position.

2. Improve the work of capital construction

Due to long-existing problems in capital construction, such as excessive scale, too many rough projects, low investment efficiency, and so forth, the new resolution stresses a stabilizing capital construction plan, strictly controlling the scope of capital construction, and readjusting the direction of investment. The priority of investment is given to technical reforms of the existing enterprises. In the meantime, the methods of allocating funds and settling accounts have also been improved. The supervisory role of banks has been strengthened. In other words, contracting units no longer pay the contracted units in advance. Lump sum payment will be given after the completion of the projects. Before settling accounts, the banks will provide contracted units with loans. The main assessment of the work of enterprises engaged in building construction and installation is based on "output value of building commodity" rather than on "output value of building projects." In other words, the assessment is based on the magnitude of value of the completed projects. This will be beneficial to shortening the completion period.

3. An "intensive plan" has been worked out, which is aimed at improving methods of economic incentives, tapping production potentialities of enterprises, and setting high targets. The method adopted is to work out plans for enterprises concerning distribution tasks within 5 years, and to fix stable economic quotas for them. If the targets of the "corresponding plans" of the enterprises concerned are higher than the stipulated targets, the enterprises will be awarded in light of the completion of the higher target. Economic incentives are mainly based on quality and efficiency. The main targets of economic incentives are to ensure the completion of goods supply plans according to contracts, enhance work efficiency, improve product quality, and increase profits.
4. A special scientific and technological program has been formulated in order to speed up technical progress and enhance product quality. Measures have been adopted in order to set higher economic targets with respect to the improvement of products and technology. Production of obsolete products has been stopped. The prices of products are set in accordance with their quality. Unified foundations have been set up in various ministries to promote the development of sciences and technology. An economic accounting system and contract system are pursued in scientific research and design units. Scientific research and design personnel are awarded according to the economic results of their scientific achievements.

Judging from the above-mentioned contents, the new resolution does not concern great changes in the fundamental system. It only concerns the changes in technology and methods, and greater control over enterprises.

This is a conservative resolution. In his lifetime, Brezhnev complained that the resolution had not been promptly and thoroughly implemented. After assuming office, Andropov admitted that the "work of enhancing efficiency is still slow" in the Soviet economy and that the achievements were still limited.

/The Present Situation and Tendencies of the Economic Reforms/

After assuming office, Andropov faced severe economic difficulties. Compared with the Eight Five-Year Pain worked out during the early stage of Brezhnev's rule, in 1982 the growth rate of national income in the Soviet Union dropped from 7.5 percent to 2.6 percent. The growth rate of total industrial output value dropped from 8.4 percent to 28 percent. There was a bad harvest for 4 consecutive years. Economic results were still poor.

Andropov discovered the defects in the Soviet economic system. He no longer attributed economic difficulties to bad weather, poor results in industry, eastward shifting of the exploration bases of resources, and so forth. He believed that the main factors hampering scientific and technical progress and the process of intensive operation were the economic system and management forms and methods which lagged behind the level of economic development, and "departed from the principle of economic life." He stressed that perfecting production relations and improving plans and management work were "imminent," "imperative," and "cannot be evaded and avoided."

After the plenary session held in November 1982, vivid discussions were conducted in the Soviet Union on the reform of economic system. Some scholars have maintained that the main reason contributing to economic difficulties in the Soviet Union is the fact that production relations have lagged behind the development of productive forces. The present system of the Soviet Union, which was formed in the 1930's, has increasingly become a stumbling block to economic development. It should be thoroughly reformed. They held that enterprises must be provided with the maximum decisionmaking power, including ordering goods, fixing prices, deciding on amounts of wages, and so forth.
However, there is still great resistance to reform. The long-existing conservative ideology has been deep rooted. Conservative forces are prevalent everywhere. It is difficult to overcome bureaucracy. Since the 1970's, the criticism of the so-called "market socialism" has become more severe. With regard to several major problems of economic reforms, the Soviet officials have always upheld the idea that unified economic management cannot be changed and that the expansion of enterprises' decisionmaking power should not weaken unified management. They have also maintained that the principle of directive planning cannot be changed, and have opposed regulation by the market. The existing system can be "improved" only under the above-mentioned prerequisites. Over the past year, Andropov said much but did little in economic reforms. Actually, he did only two things:

1. Speeding up the popularization of collective contract system in agriculture.

The collective contract system in agriculture (occurred) in the Soviet Union in the 1960's. It developed in the 1970's. A decision was made in 1982 to popularize it. In March last year, the CPSU Central Committee demanded that the system be popularized within 3 years.

Such a collective contracting system is implemented in the following way: A farm contracts a certain amount of land to a contracted team composed of several to many people. The contracted team must guarantee to produce a certain quantity of agricultural products whereas the farm must guarantee to provide them with materials and facilities needed in production, and to pay remuneration in accordance with the terms included in the contract. A reward and remuneration system is implemented in accordance with the quantity and quality of agricultural products produced by the units concerned. Such a collective contracting system is beneficial to arousing the enthusiasm of the members and workers of the farms to a certain extent. According to reports, per unit area yield of contracted teams is 20-30 percent higher than other organizations. Their labor productivity is 15-30 percent higher than other organizations. Soviet leaders believe that the collective contracting system is an important method for "solving the present acute problems facing the Soviet agriculture, such as increasing the output rate and product rate, enhancing the recovery rate of investment in agricultural capital construction, and so forth." Thereafter, the development of the collective contracting system has been speeded up. By the end of last year, there are more than 150,000 contracted organizations in the Soviet Union, an increase of about 400 percent over figures at the end of 1982. The area under their cultivation has accounted for one-fifth of the total cultivated land area throughout the Soviet Union.

At present, some unstable and imbalanced factors still exist in the collective contracting system. The popularization of the collective contracting system does not coordinate with the entire economic system. There are still many obstructions coming mainly from the leadership of the farms. Only a limited number of contracted organizations have truly done well in the work. A number of contracted organizations can be dissolved randomly. It is a common phenomenon that leaders of farms violate the contracts. Apart from that, there are a number of problems in the collective contracting system itself, including eating out of the big pot and so forth.
Last year, the Soviet Union reaped a fair harvest. This was connected to the popularization of the collective contracting system. However, it seems that the system itself cannot ensure a fundamental turn for the better in the Soviet agriculture.

2. Deciding to conduct experiments in expanding decisionmaking power of enterprises.

On 25 July 1983, the Soviet Union decided to adopt additional measures to expand decisionmaking power of enterprises. According to the decision, starting from 1984, experiments will be carried out in some departments and localities in expanding enterprises decisionmaking power over planning, production, the use of funds, material incentives, and so forth. It has also been decided to strengthen the role of the economic lever and economic incentives so as to explore "possible paths for rationally linking collective leadership with the expansion of enterprises' decisionmaking power."

It seems that Andropov will take a greater step in economic reforms. However, due to the restriction of various factors, there is still no indication to date that an all-round economic reform is being carried out in the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union cannot but carry out economic reform. This is a tendency that cannot be curbed. However, it is difficult to carry out all-round reform. It is expected that making use of the improvement of productive, scientific, and organizational measures to replace the reform of the system will be a distinctive characteristic of economic reform in the Soviet Union in the future.

CSO: 4005/461
USSR DEPUTY CHAIRMEN—[Answer to reader's question: How many first deputy chairmen are there in the USSR Council of Ministers--XINHUA headline]—Beijing, 13 Mar (XINHUA)—Question: On 2 March, in reply to a question asked by a Japanese reporter, Comrade Wan Li, vice premier of the State Council, said that he had held talks in Moscow with Aliyev, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers. Comrade Wan Li also mentioned that he had invited Arkhipov, another first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, to visit China. May I ask how many first deputy chairmen the USSR Council of Ministers has? Answer: According to Article 129 of the constitution adopted on 7 October 1977 by the seventh session of the Ninth Supreme Soviet of the USSR, the USSR Council of Ministers is composed of one chairman of the council, several first deputy chairmen, several deputy chairmen, various ministers, and chairmen of various state commission.... [ellipses as received] At present, the USSR Council of Ministers has three first deputy chairmen. They are Gromyko (member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and concurrently Minister of Foreign Affairs of the USSR), Aliyev (member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee), and Arkhipov (member of the CPSU Central Committee). [Text] [OWI31644 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1512 GMT 13 Mar 84]
CHINA PROMOTES NEW AGRICULTURAL POLICY

OW040019 Tokyo KYODO in English 0005 GMT 4 Feb 84

[Text] Beijing, Feb. 4 KYODO—China is calling for farming land lease contracts of more than 15 years, far longer than the one to three years common so far.

It is also encouraging land concentration among a limited number of farmers to help increase farm production through higher efficiency.

Chinese leaders are helping to increase surplus farm products over and above state quotas in a bid to expand its commodity distribution system.

These new steps have been revealed by recent Chinese press reports on an internal party directive on China's agriculture policy for this year.

The reports suggest a step forward in China's open farm policy carried on for the past several years, with a shift from self-sufficient collective farming to farming by contract, aimed at market-oriented output.

Despite natural calamities, Chinese food output last year was up 4.7 percent over the previous year and cotton production was up by 11.2 percent, both record figures. There have now been bumper crops for five years in a row.

The party leadership says the successes result from the open farm policy based on the system of production under contract.

The internal party order is designed to deepen the new policy while getting rid of adverse factors.

On the land lease period, the largest problem in the widespread contract system, the party directive reportedly said farmers, in principle, can contract land for 15 years or more.

They may contract land for even longer periods when developing orchards, forests or waste land, the director said.

This step is aimed at stabilizing the land contract system through providing more incentive for farmers.
There has been a trend in farming areas for those who work in farm product processing, transport or other nonfarming jobs to lend their own leased land to other farmers.

The party leadership is dealing with this by encouraging land concentration of a proper scale under a limited number of farmers.

The CHINA FARM NEWS, for instance, points out that one mu (about 6.6 acres) of land can only sustain a single farm household.

But with six mu, a farmer can sell more than 80 percent of his produce, it says.

Some Chinese experts say the optimum would be a concentration of land under 30 percent of the agricultural households presently engaged in farming.

CSO: 4020/073
EGYPTIAN PAPER INTERVIEWS 'ARAFAT ON MID EAST

OW111613 Beijing XINHUA in English 1442 GMT 11 Mar 84

[Text] Cairo, 11 Mar (XINHUA)--PLO leader Yasir 'Arafat has said that the PLO strategy at present is to restore balance to the Arab world by promoting the return of Egypt which is the cradle of civilization and history and which has big manpower and military potentials.

In an interview carried in ROSE AL-YUSUF today, 'Arafat said that the feat of Egypt's return to the position of leadership in the area was behind Israel's attack on his recent visit to Egypt. He added that the rabid Israeli campaign served as evidence of the positive dimensions of his visit to Cairo.

'Arafat said: "I sought Egyptian protection of Palestinian forces leaving Tripoli and Egypt promptly responded." He said that Egyptian President Muhammad Husni Mubarak kept him informed of the outcome of his visit to the United States.

He disclosed that agreement had been reached on the dispatch of a Palestinian-Jordanian delegation at the ministerial level to visit the Soviet Union and European countries to ensure the contribution by all forces to a just solution to the Palestinian and Middle East problems and to arrange for an international conference for the purpose. He said that a joint committee will also be formed to consolidate the steadfastness of the people in the occupied lands. He expressed willingness to reach a solution with Syria and turn a new leaf in relations with it.

CSO: 4000/253
USSR'S USTINOV ENDS VISIT TO INDIA 10 MAR

OW101547 Beijing XINHUA in English 1438 GMT 10 Mar 84

[Text] New Delhi, 10 Mar (XINHUA)—Soviet Defense Minister D. Ustinov wound up his visit to India today with an assurance to supply latest weapons to India.

It was understood that the Indian Army, under a few freshly-concluded agreements, will receive "higher supplies" of equipment and more sophisticated equipment with higher striking power.

The Soviet Union has agreed to give this equipment "with a greater sense of urgency."

Moscow is expected to provide India with a more sophisticated version of MiG's and refitting of the Indian submarine fleet with better propulsion and improved sonar systems, more subs and cruisers, an increased number of infantry combat vehicles and T-72 tanks, possibly also 155-mm howitzers, and a quick-reaction surface-to-air missile system.

India has shown interest in acquiring MiG 29's and T-80 tanks, and the Soviet side in both cases has taken a sympathetic view of the Indian needs.

Ustinov had had talks with Indian Prime Minister Mrs Indira Gandhi and Defense Minister R. Venkataraman since he arrived here on March 5 with a big 55-member delegation.

Ustinov is believed to have conveyed to Mrs Gandhi the USSR desire to continue and develop "close economic cooperation" with India and assist it in the defense field.

Ustinov left here for home today.
JORDANIAN PRESS HAILS LI XIANNIAN VISIT

OW100310 Beijing XINHUA in English 0252 GMT 10 Mar 84

[Text] Amman, 9 Mar (XINHUA)—Two Jordanian newspapers today carried editorials warmly welcoming visiting Chinese President Li Xiannian and praising Sino-Jordanian friendship and China's role in international affairs.

Entitled "Salute to the President of a Great People", the editorial of the Arabic paper AD-DUSTUR said the importance of his current visit to Jordan lies in the fact that it will strengthen Sino-Jordanian relations and further consolidate the friendship of the two peoples.

The Jordanian people can place high hopes on this historic visit, the editorial noted, because China firmly supports the right of the people in the world to live in freedom and rejects all forms of aggression and hegemony against small countries. The editorial also praised China for its support for the just struggle of the Palestinian people.

The editorial said that though Jordan is a small country compared with China, the common principles and ideas have bound them together and their relationship can be commended as the example for countries of different social systems.

In its editorial, the paper AL-RA'Y said President Li Xiannian's visit to Jordan and his talks with the Jordanian leaders will be of special importance, because China takes a friendly stand toward the Arab cause, has a special status as a permanent member of the UN Security Council and is a big power independent of the two blocs. The current dangerous situation in the Middle East produced by intensified Israeli aggression requires all peace-loving forces to enhance their unity, save the region from destruction and solve the Palestine problem with justice. Li Xiannian's visit is conducted under such circumstances, the paper noted.

The paper praised China for its consistent position of supporting the Palestinians in their struggle against Israeli aggression. Jordan and the Arab people will never forget China's firm stand against the Israeli aggressors. China is the only big power which has no relations whatsoever with Israel since Israel was founded, the paper said.

CSO: 4000/253
The president of the People's Republic of China Li Xiannian concluded his 4-day state visit to Pakistan on 8 March. Before leaving for Pakistan, President Li Xiannian told reporters that his visit was aimed at improving mutual understanding, learning from each other, strengthening friendship, and stepping up cooperation. The results of his visit have shown that his expectations have been completely fulfilled.

Pakistan is China's neighbor, and the people of the two countries have a traditional friendship. Since the establishment of diplomatic relations in 1951, the friendly cooperation between the two countries has constantly developed. The visit to Pakistan is President Li Xiannian's first foreign visit since he was elected state president. The Chinese guest was accorded a grand and warm welcome and was decorated with Pakistan's top civilian medal. This fully manifests the deep affection between the people of the two countries and the great importance the two governments attach to Chinese-Pakistani friendship.

During the visit, President Li Xiannian and President Ziaul Haq exchanged views on international issues of common concern and on issues concerning the further strengthening of the friendly cooperation between the two countries. Both sides expressed satisfaction over the results of their talks.

According to reports, the two countries held very similar views on major international issues. On the Afghan issue, President Li Xiannian pointed out that the issue should be resolved politically in the end, but that the prerequisite was for the Soviets to withdraw their troops from the country. He praised the Pakistani Government for giving generous aid to the 3 million Afghan refugees on humanitarian grounds and for upholding the principles of the United Nations resolutions. President Li Xiannian and President Ziaul Haq expressed great satisfaction over the friendly cooperation between the two countries in the political, economic, cultural, scientific, and technological fields. President Haq said Pakistani-Chinese relations were a good example of state-to-state relations.
During his visit, President Li also cheerfully planted a fir on Shakarparian Hill, south of Islamabad. The fir was planted next to the Chinese tallow tree planted by the last Chinese Premier Zhou Enlai when he visited Pakistan 20 years ago. The Chinese tallow tree has now grown tall and straight with luxuriant foliage, and the fir will also grow sturdily. Under the careful cultivation of the people of the two countries, the tree of Chinese-Pakistani friendship will definitely remain green and fresh for generations to come.

CSO: 4005/460
NEAR EAST/SOUTH ASIA

BRIEFS

ALIYEV MEETS SYRIA'S KHADDAM—Damascus, 10 Mar (XINHUA)—First Vice Chairman of the Soviet Council of Ministers Geydar Aliyev met Syrian Foreign Minister 'Abdal-Halim Khaddam this afternoon for the first round of talks on the Middle East situation and bilateral relations. Aliyev, who arrived here this morning for a three-day visit, is expected to discuss with the top Syrian leaders the latest development in Lebanon and the Iran-Iraq war. His trip, originally scheduled for early February was put off owing to the death of Yuriy Andropov on February 9. Observers here noted that Mr Aliyev's visit came two days before the scheduled start in Switzerland of the second national reconciliation conference among Lebanon's warring factions. It also came at the time when Lebanese opposition leaders are planning their strategy in Damascus for the forthcoming conference, the observers pointed out. [Text] [OW101959 Beijing XINHUA in English 1948 GMT 10 Mar 84]

KING HUSAYN MEETS 'ARAFAT—Amman, 10 Mar (XINHUA)—King Husayn of Jordan met and had talks with PLO Chairman Yasir 'Arafat here this evening. The talks, which took place immediately after the meeting between Chinese President Li Xiannian and 'Arafat, were focused on the development in the Middle East and the situation in the occupied land. A PLO official said that 'Arafat's meeting with the king was not a continuation of the Jordan-PLO dialogue which started ten days ago, "since it is a very short visit." He added that 'Arafat may leave here tomorrow. The PLO chairman said earlier today that the PLO is now preparing for a meeting of the Palestinian National Council, which is expected to take place some time next month. [Text] [OW110310 Beijing XINHUA in English 0227 GMT 11 Mar 84]

INDIA, USSR DEFENSE COOPERATION—New Delhi, 10 Mar (XINHUA)—India and the Soviet Union have agreed to considerably widen their defense cooperation and special areas have been selected for urgent implementation, according to local press here today. The Soviet Union will supply equipment with higher striking power for the Indian Army and advanced technology aircraft and the latest monitoring systems for the Indian air and naval forces. All this is a result of the discussions between a Soviet delegation led by Defense Minister D. Ustinov and an Indian one led by Defense Minister R. Venkataraman. In their discussion, the two delegations reviewed the strategic environment of the region. Some papers here noted that the discussions came in the wake of repeated reference by India to Pakistan's requirement for advanced military equipment. The Soviet minister visited some military establishments and spent some time with an infantry battalion here. [Text] [OW100748 Beijing XINHUA in English 0738 GMT 10 Mar 84]

CSO: 4000/253
AID TO SENEGAL—Dakar, 10 Mar (XINHUA)—The Chinese Red Cross Society has donated 50,000 U.S. dollars to Senegal to assist the country in its drought relief efforts. On behalf of the Red Cross Society, Chinese Ambassador to Senegal Liang Feng presented the donation to Senegalese Minister of Rural Development Bator Diop [name as received]. At the presentation ceremony, Ambassador Liang, on behalf of the Chinese Government and people, expressed the hope that drought relief work would be able to greatly ease the suffering experienced by the Senegalese people during the current drought. Expressing thanks for the Chinese assistance, Minister Diop said that whenever the Senegalese people have run into difficulties, China has never hesitated to lend support. [Text] [OW101442 Beijing XINHUA in English 1430 GMT 10 Mar 84]
PUBLICITY MONTH FOR WOMEN'S RIGHTS HELD

[Text] Beijing, 4 Mar (XINHUA)--New efforts to fight thousands of years of feudal ideas about women were made in Beijing in February. Intensive month-long education in defence of the rights and interests of women and children are being held throughout the country.

The Women's Federation and other national organizations as well as judicial departments have sponsored publicity on the Chinese constitution, marriage law, penal code and labour protection regulations. All have stipulations protecting the rights and interests of women and children.

The choice of marriage partners, traditionally the decision of parents, and maltreatment of wives, considered a husband's prerogative, are special targets of criticism. Women are being encouraged to know their rights—and exercise them.

The publicity month aims to tell women that the law and the government are on their side.

Free legal advisory centers have been set up in major cities. Around 85 percent of the almost 7,000 questions raised by women in person or letters to the advisory group set up by the Shanghai Women's Federation last summer, were resolved satisfactorily.

In Hunan, 200,000 women benefitted from the consultancy booths set up there.

The problems include interference in freedom of choice for marriage, discord between couples, property disputes, family planning and women workers' welfare.

Guidance for solution is found in articles 48 and 49 of the Chinese constitution: Chinese women enjoy equal rights with men in all spheres of life; the state applies the principle of equal pay for equal work for men and women alike; the state protects marriage, the family and mother and child; violation of the freedom of marriage is prohibited and maltreatment of old people, women and children is prohibited.
A ticklish problem is family discord caused by a shift of affections to a third person. President of Beijing Supreme People's Court Xue Guanghua explained in the BEIJING DAILY that, although the marriage law did not list adultery as a crime, any person who causes mental or physical harm to the spouse to obtain a divorce and marry another would be infringing upon the penal code's regulations on harming a member of the family and this is punishable by law. Mediation is always undertaken in divorce cases and if it fails, a divorce is granted but the wronged party is given greater consideration financially by the court.

About 800,000 copies of publicity material giving typical cases were distributed in the capital and theatrical companies put on performances to educate the general public.

The Beijing Municipality passed a new regulation protecting women workers against work harmful to their health and stipulating that no workplace should use this as an excuse to refuse to hire women.

Shanghai has added new nurseries and by now 93 percent of its women industrial workers have such facilities for their children.

In the capital, a family service company has been set up to provide full time, part-time, or specific item services, like baby-sitting, taking care of women on maternity leave, or the sick, or daily shopping for food or preparing meals. The company is new and its services are still limited, but women welcome the efforts to lighten household chores.

CSO: 4000/261
MINISTRY RELEASES PRESS-CIRCULATION FIGURES

[Text] Beijing, 11 Mar (XINHUA)—Every four persons in China are subscribing to one newspaper or magazine regularly, according to the latest statistics of the Ministry of Posts and Telecommunications.

The ministry announced that China's postal service now distributes some 3,000 newspapers and periodicals with a total circulation of 240 million copies per issue.

National newspaper such as the PEOPLE'S DAILY, the GUANGMING DAILY, the LIBERATION ARMY DAILY, the WORKERS' DAILY and the CHINA YOUTH NEWS each have a circulation above or close to one million, the ministry said.

Among the magazines focusing on current events and politics, HONGQI (RED FLAG, a theoretical semi-monthly run by the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee), CHINA YOUTH and WOMEN OF CHINA each have more than one million subscriptions.

BAN YUE TAN (Fortnightly Char [as received]) boasts a circulation of over 3.5 million, while China's first and only news weekly OUTLOOK sells more than 300,000 copies.

National economic publications such as the ECONOMIC DAILY, ECONOMIC INFORMATION, WORLD ECONOMIC REPORT and MARKET also enjoy a growing readership.

Local science newspapers are popular among peasants, who are now keener on scientific farming than before with the introduction of the production responsibility system. The HUNAN SCIENCE NEWS has a circulation of 1.78 million and the SHANDONG SCIENCE NEWS has a circulation of 1.25 million.

CSO: 4000/261
THEORY OF 'ALIENATION,' BOURGEOIS HUMANISM REFUTED


[Article by Xue Zhongxin [5641 0022 2450]: "Questions and Answers on 'Alienation' and Humanism"]

[Text] Humanism and the theory of "alienation" are fairly prominent issues in the field of ideology today. Many comrades of the basic level ask: What are the theory of "alienation" and humanism? How did they come about? What are their harms? The following are brief questions and answers for study and reference.

Question: What is "alienation?" What is the meaning of alienation mentioned by Marx?

Answer: A philosophical term and concept often used by 19th century German philosophers Hegel and Feuerbach, alienation means that the subject, at a certain developmental phase, splits off its antithesis, which becomes an alien external force and turns around to control and dominate the subject itself. Marx used the alienation concept in his early works. The alienation mentioned by him refers to the situation where the capitalists under the capitalist conditions own the production means, the laborers, having lost their production means, have to work as hired help, and the capitalists own all the products. Thus forms the following situation: The products created by the laborers become an alien and hostile force which turns around to dominate them. This is what Marx referred to as "labor alienation" or "alienated labor." Subsequently, discovering the capitalist law of surplus value, Marx created historical materialism and discarded the theory of alienation. He seldom used the alienation concept in his mature works. When he did occasionally mention it, the meaning was not completely identical with Hegel and Feuerbach. He never used the alienation concept when discussing the socialist society.

Question: How do the comrades in the field of theories discuss the "alienation of socialism?"
Answer: Using the term "alienation" indiscriminately, these comrades generalize the concept. Instead of describing capitalist social labor, they vociferously discuss the alienation of socialism, maintaining that "alienation" is found in the economic, political and ideological realms of our socialist state and claiming that it emerged out of the development of socialism itself. They call the personality cult which appeared in China some years ago "alienation of ideology," certain bureaucratic practices found in state organs "alienation in politics," and the mistakes in economic work due to inexperience "alienation in economics." In short, the problems, shortcomings, malpractices and mistakes found in our socialist society are all made into the "alienation of socialism."

Question: What are the harms of the "alienation of socialism" theory?

Answer: The harm of this incorrect theory is that it causes people to criticize, doubt and negate socialism. We never deny that there are problems, shortcomings, malpractices and mistakes in the socialist society, but they did not emerge out of socialism. There are two main reasons for their emergence: One is the decadent ideological influence left from the old society or seeping in from abroad, such as the personality cult, bureaucracy, unhealthy trends, commercialization of literature and art, etc. The other is deviation in thinking and understanding. As the world of nature and social life are extremely complex, while man's capacity of understanding is finite, one-sidedness and limitations in thinking and understanding are bound to occur. It is what we usually call "mistakes due to inexperience." The mistakes in our work and judgment mostly belong in this category. The many issues mentioned above can be promptly overcome and solved by the socialist system. In fact, the Party Central Committee is in the course of leading us to gradually overcome the shortcomings and malpractices, correct the mistakes in work and solve the various problems found in society. Those advocating the "alienation of socialism" theory attribute the dark side of our society to the "alienation" of socialism itself, maintaining that it is found everywhere and making people lose their faith in the future of socialism and communism and deem socialism just as hopeless as capitalism. If so, what's the use of pursuing socialism?! Thus, the theory of the "alienation of socialism" is a serious spiritual pollution.

Question: What is humanism?

Answer: To break away from the fetters of scholasticism and the church, advanced thinkers during Europe's Renaissance between the 14th and 16th centuries proposed humanism, advocating concern and respect for man, and promoting the world outlook with man, not God, as the center. During the bourgeois revolution in 18th century France, the principle of humanism was embodied in the slogan of "freedom," "equality" and "universal brotherhood." The "man" in humanism is abstract and supra-class. Part of the bourgeois ideological system, humanism played a positive role during the ascent of the bourgeoisie. After the establishment of the bourgeois political power, it gradually turned into an ideological weapon to conceal
the class contradictions of the capitalist society, maintain its social order, resist the proletarian revolution, and hoodwink the broad laboring people. We term it "bourgeois" or "abstract" humanism.

Question: Do Marxists and the proletariat also subscribe to humanism?

Answer: We do not endorse the humanism which analyzes social issues by starting from the abstract man apart from his socioeconomic position. However, there are all kinds of humanism, and we must analyze them concretely. Marxists advocate socialist humanism (referred to by us as revolutionary humanism during the revolutionary years) which makes the broad laboring people cast off exploitation and oppression and exercise their right as masters. The bourgeois often flaunt their humanism and attack socialism as anti-humanism. When imperialism practices aggression, plunder and massacre against the small and weak nations, when the bourgeoisie ruthlessly exploits and oppresses the broad laboring people, how can they discuss humanism? In what way are they entitled to talk about humanism?

Question: How do certain comrades in the field of theories discuss humanism? What are the harmful consequences?

Answer: Whether Marx or Engels, all Marxists indeed give serious attention to the study of man, but not the abstract man, not studying man apart from specific social connections. Yet some comrades in our field of theories declare that "man is both the starting point and the end-result of Marxism" and vociferously talk about "the value of man," turning man into a hollow and abstract concept, i.e., "man" in capital letters. Thereafter, they arbitrarily make deductions of the concept of man to explain issues of all kinds. Thus, some articles and literary works have appeared in the country, advocating in various forms abstract humanism and opposing the so-called inhumanism. By advocating humanity and humanism apart from concrete conditions and concrete tasks, they can only obscure the boundary between right and wrong, create a feeling of pessimism, slackness and disunity, corrupt man's soul and will, foment the spread of all sorts of individualism, and foster doubt and negation of socialism and the party's leadership in some people. All these are extremely harmful.

One may say that such incorrect theories on alienation and abstract humanism provide the theoretical basis for the spread of bourgeois liberalism.
In the preface of the constitution it is provided that "In the future the fundamental task of the state will be to concentrate its strength in carrying out socialist modernization." Party and government functionaries at all levels in the country have the primary responsibility to organize and carry out the party line, principles and policies and the national laws, as well as manage the establishment of socialist material and spiritual civilization. The state of political and vocational quality within cadre ranks, the degree of their working efficiency, and the quality of their working spirit are all keys directly affecting whether or not China can smoothly carry out socialist modernization. Therefore, the 27th provision of the constitution clearly stipulates that: "Every organ of state must apply the principle of simple and efficient administration, must carry out the work responsibility system, and carry out the training and system of evaluation or staff members, incessantly improving working quality and efficiency, and opposing bureaucratism." In the same item, it is stipulated: "All state organs and state functionaries must rely on the support of the people, constantly maintain close contact with the people, listen attentively to people's opinions and suggestions, accept supervision by the people, and diligently serve the people." On the basis of the demands made of government organs and functionaries by the constitution, the cadre system and structure of cadre ranks currently in effect must undergo a relevant restructuring.

At present, the contradictions between the state of China's cadre contingent and the four modernizations are rather obvious, just as Comrade Deng Xiaoping so sharply pointed out: "We are overstaffed, bureaucratic, sluggish in our work; we spend our days everywhere depending on holding meetings and running in circles; some problems, solvable by one phone call, are put off for half a year and still cannot be solved. Doing things this way, how are we going to manage the four modernizations?" ("Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," p 227) After structural reformation the majority of offices would present a new look to various degrees, and work efficiency would be improved. However, because the offices are fixed but the number of personnel is not, aside from a portion of older comrades retiring and withdrawing from the front lines of work through the quit and rest system, there is a tendency for
organization personnel to increase rather than decrease. On the one hand, several units have exceeded authorized sizes, having more people than needed, and so cadres have long been overstaffed and cannot fully use the available talent; many middle-level specialists have for a long time engaged in the work of low-level technicians, and two people doing the work of one results in a great waste; on the other hand, owing to the long-term influence of "leftist" ideology, and the despising, rejection and harassment of intellectuals, and 10 years of internal disorder, colleges were closed, the training and education of party cadres was interrupted, etc., all of which caused the party cadre line and cadre policies to be dealt a serious blow, creating the present aged cadre ranks and conditions of low education levels and deficiencies in specialist knowledge. These problem have yet to be fundamentally changed.

To change the cadre system and implement the revolutionary movement toward younger, more educated and more specialized cadre ranks, the key is changing the structure of cadre ranks. At present, most apparent is how to solve the problems of personnel overstaffing, aged ranks and lack of knowledge and talent. From the point of view of the experience of several units, the way to solve these problems is largely to adopt the following few measures: first, as for those "three-door" cadres assigned to organization work over the last few years directly from universities and colleges, because they lack actual work experience, and are unfamiliar with their jobs, as well as having little direct contact and relations with the masses, and for the time being would find it hard to be competent at their own job, these young cadres could be sent by stages and in groups down to train at the grassroots level of the basic system, and after a periods of practical training to obtain actual work experience, they would then be successively transferred back to their organizations to work. Second, as for those middle-aged and younger cadres who have not achieved a particular record of formal schooling and lack necessary specialized knowledge and ability, they may, by stages and groups, be selectively sent to party schools, administrative cadre schools, and various vocational schools to undergo training in order to improve their political and party awareness and education, their professional ability, and would be "using schools to solve the cadre problem" ("Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," p 58) Third, as for the portion of middle-aged and younger cadres having both ability and political integrity, except for those selected and promoted, it is also not easy to arrange suitable work positions due to limits on an organization's job quotas, but now that they can move about in their work, on the basis of doing well in their political thought and work and according to their own aspirations, they could selectively be sent to enterprises or institutions subordinate to their office to take on certain administrative or professional leadership work, enabling them to bring their intelligence and wisdom into full play in the process. Fourth, strictly implement the cadre retirement system. This is an important measure to solve the problems of overstaffed organizations, more people for a task than needed, and "lack of successors." "This is a large problem that concerns the flourishing and growing, vigor and vitality of our country and party." ("Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping" p 198) Fifth, on the basis of accomplishing the above four tasks, implement a fixed number of groups and a fixed number of personnel for organizations, established organization work position responsibility and examination responsibility, clarify limits of authority to
responsibilities, increase supervision both above and below, be strict about work regulations, improve work efficiency, make each functionary be strict about performing his or her rightful duties, and effectively accomplish one's own work.

In the reforming of cadre rank structure, the means of filling cadre ranks and modes of advancement within ranks must also be restructured, in addition to adopting the above-mentioned measures for solving the problems existing among cadres already at their posts. One can see that for future central and provincial first-rank party functionaries it would be inadvisable to recruit and employ cadres directly from society, as well as inadvisable to directly accept the current crop of graduates from universities and colleges, but rather we should accept those promoted from basic levels who have undergone practical training, and those college and university graduates who have specialized knowledge and the ability to work independently (including those who have accomplished something through self-study and graduated from state-approved television, night, or vocational schools, in keeping with cadre requirements). When cadres are needed by state functionaries at county levels and above, those units ought to initiate research and analysis based on the present cadre age and specialization structure of the unit in order to determine long-range programs and annual plans for the various specialists required, and with the overall evaluation of relevant concerned departments, implement directional recruiting, training and assignment. College and university graduates in principle ought to be assigned to county and lower levels or to enterprise units at factories, mines or schools for jobs suited to their special training, all to directly engage in actual work.

The opinions expressed above are to change the situation of current cadre ranks, and put into effect rather effective methods for the revolutionary movement toward younger, more educated, and more specialized cadre contingents, and ought to result in experience gained through practice, gather conclusions, provide a series of laws and rules, and enable their standardization and systemization.
The party's ideological, political and organizational lines are interconnected. The correct ideological line is the key to the implementation of the correct political line as well as the basis of its creation, and the fulfillment of the political and ideological lines must be ensured by the correct organizational line. Comrade Deng Xiaoping has repeatedly stressed the relations between the three. He said: "The ideological line is not a minor issue, but the basis for the correct political line. Whether the correct political line can be implemented hinges on the accuracy of the ideological line." He also pointed out: "If the issue of the party's organizational line is not further solved, its political and ideological lines will have no reliable guarantee."

The 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee reaffirmed the ideological line of seeking the truth from the facts, starting from reality in everything, linking theory with reality, and upholding practice as the criterion to test truth. It was precisely under the guidance of this Marxist ideological line that our party completely brought order out of chaos, earnestly summarized the experiential lessons of history, scientifically analyzed China's national conditions, and created its political line for the present phase, viz., pursuit of the four modernizations heart and soul.

After the correct political line has been determined, whether it can be implemented hinges on the accuracy of the ideological line. If the ideological line is incorrect and fails to start from reality, understand the new conditions, study the new issues and summarize the new experiences, then we will not be able to correctly interpret and earnestly implement the political line formulated by starting from reality and the principles and policies.

Comrade Deng Xiaoping declared that the fulfillment of the ideological and political lines hinges on the organizational line, because the former
must depend on people for their implementation. In the new historical period, the core of the party's organizational line is making the cadre ranks revolutionary, youthful, knowledgeable and professional. Thus, we are called on to promote and train a contingent of cadres who, in addition to firmly supporting the party's political and ideological lines, possess certain professional knowledge, are full of energy, and have the capacity to propel the work forward, turn the four modernization cause into the people's concrete action, and embody the spirit of seeking the truth from the facts in practical work. Only by promoting and training qualified cadres and "gradually perfecting a cadre system as the guarantee" will we be able to practically and effectively promote the four modernization cause.

6080
CSO: 4005/424
XINHUA PROFILES LAO SHE, 'PEOPLE'S ARTIST'

OW152052 Beijing XINHUA in English 1441 GMT 15 Mar 84

["Background: "Lao She, 'People's Artist'"--XINHUA headline]

[Text] Beijing, 15 Mar (XINHUA)--Lao She, the late Chinese novelist, playwright and master of folk art, whose 85th birthday was marked at a meeting here today, was a prolific writer.

From his first short story published in the early 20's up to his death in 1966, he wrote 16 novels, over 70 short stories and 36 plays and librettos. Other works by this versatile man covered poetry, prose, comic dialogues, ballads and theoretical works on literature.

He also translated into Chinese "Dante" by R. M. Church, "The Apple Cart" by George Bernard Shaw and over a dozen other works.

Lao She's writings have not only been widely issued in China but also published in nearly 20 countries. His literary achievements won him the title of "People's Artist" in 1951.

Critics say that the artistic charm of Lao She's works lies in his biting sarcasm, sense of humor, vivid language and deep understanding of his characters. These are well illustrated in his masterpieces like "Rickshaw Boy" and "Four Generations Under One Roof" in the 1930's-40's and "Teahouse" and "Dragon Beard Ditch" in the 50's.

His writings deal mainly with the life of the common people, especially those living in Beijing, his native city. As a great stylist, he excelled in capturing the language of the man in the street—coolies, shopkeepers, artisans and petty officials, and could cut a vivid image in a few phrases.

Lao She was capable of giving a glimpse of society at large through happenings in places where people tend to overlook. In "Teahouse" he laid bare the darkness of old China by describing events in a Beijing teahouse from the last years of the Qing Dynasty, through the days of the northern warlords following the 1911 revolution up to the period of Kuomintang rule.

"A teahouse is a small world," he once said.
In another play, "Dragon Beard Ditch", he presented a sharp contrast between the old China and the new by telling of the changes in the lives of people living by a smelly ditch.

Born in 1899 in Beijing, Lao She was principal of a primary school at the age of 18 and soon worked his way up to being a middle school teacher and then a university professor. He taught Chinese in the Oriental School of London University from 1924 to 1929.

During the anti-Japanese war, he threw himself into resistance work. He went to the United States in March 1946, to lecture and write.

After returning home in December 1949, he became the vice chairman both of the China Federation of Literary and Art Circles and of the Chinese Writers Association.

He was persecuted at the beginning of the "Cultural Revolution" by Lin Biao, Jiang Qing and their followers.

Since his political rehabilitation in 1978, China has published and reprinted more than 50 of his works.

CSO: 4000/261
SPARE TIME JOURNALISM SCHOOL—Beijing, 14 Mar (XINHUA)—China's first spare-time school of journalism started its 1984 enrollment here today, to help train qualified reporters and editors that the country needs urgently, according to today's BEIJING DAILY. The school plans to recruit 60 students from among high-school graduates now working in the Beijing press, the paper says. The school, run by the All-China Journalists Association, offers a three-year course and grants regular college diplomas upon graduation. There are now two classes of more than 100 students. Candidates under 40 years of age will sit for a uniform spare-time college entrance examination next month. The tests will include political science, Chinese language, history and geography. China decided last year to increase the number of journalism schools and departments in universities from 16 to 30 by 1990. In addition to regular colleges and universities, some private colleges and those run by the media are also training reporters and editors. [Text] [OW141414 Beijing XINHUA in English 1240 GMT 14 Mar 84]

YOUNG PIONEERS, INSTRUCTORS NATIONAL CONGRESS—Beijing, 12 Mar (XINHUA)—A national congress of China's Young Pioneers and Instructors will be held in Beijing this summer, the Communist Youth League Central Committee and the Ministry of Education announced today. A joint nationwide circular says the young pioneers organizations, founded on October 13, 1949, now has 130 million members with 3.6 million instructors. The young pioneers, aged seven to ten wear red triangular scarves around their necks. Their instructors are mainly primary and junior middle school teachers. The congress will discuss experience in children's education and commend outstanding young pioneer teams and instructors, the circular says. Attending will be representatives of young pioneers, pioneer teams and instructors as well as provincial-level youth league committee secretaries and education bureau directors. As many of deputies will be children, the circular adds, the congress will take the form of a summer camp. [sentence as received] [Text] [OW120854 Beijing XINHUA in English 0714 GMT 12 Mar 84]

COLLEGES TO OFFERIDEOLOGICAL EDUCATION—Beijing, 10 Mar (XINHUA)—Twelve Chinese colleges and universities will offer new specialities in ideological and political education this year, according to the GUANGMING DAILY today. The paper says the new courses are aimed at training cadres doing political work in the institutions of higher learning, mines, enterprises and governmental organizations. The four-year program will be offered at Qinghua University in Shanghai, Fudan University and Jiaoting University in Shanghai,
Nankai University in Tianjin, Wuhan University and a number of teachers' colleges. Students will be recruited at the colleges and universities on recommendation by teachers there. Senior middle school graduates with two years' practical experience will be eligible through China's National College enrolment examination. [Text] [OW100714 Beijing XINHUA in English 0703 GMT 10 Mar 84]

CSO: 4000/261
IMPORTANCE OF ELIMINATING SPIRITUAL POLLUTION STRESSED

Shanghai JIEFANG RIBAO in Chinese 5 Dec 83 pp 1-2

[Editorial: "Correctly Grasp the Scope, Policy and Limits in Our Work of Eliminating Spiritual Pollution"]

[Text] Ever since the 2d Plenary Session of the 12th CPC Congress proposed eliminating spiritual pollution on the ideological front, party organizations of all levels and broad numbers of the cadre and masses inside and outside the party have taken this very seriously, diligently studying the spirit of the documents, and enthusiastically implementing it. Especially so have the theoretists and comrades from the art and literary circles, who are busily holding forums, at which they indicate that they are resolute in protecting the policies of the Central Committee; some errant comrades are undertaking study and improvement of their knowledge, and some have performed self-criticism; some of the ideological and theoretical rights and wrongs have begun to be settled in the newspapers. The pronouncements of the party, and the work of eliminating spiritual pollution, are developing healthily, and have a fine prospect.

In order to arouse the enthusiasm of the entire party and all the facets of society, and to make progress in doing a good job of cleaning up spiritual pollution, an important problem that has now been placed before party organizations of all levels is simply that of correctly coping with the scope, policies and limits of cleaning out spiritual pollution. In the past we held to an important moral in the carrying out of movements, and that was that in the beginning we spoke only to move the masses, not about policies and limits, and as a result we sometimes went astray, taking the wrong road. The elimination of spiritual pollution is certainly not an attempt to start a movement. And although it is not, after we have brought out this obligation, to follow it by clarifying the scope, policies and limits is still absolutely necessary. Only in this way may it be possible for us not to commit the errors of the past again, and may we ensure that this work will proceed smoothly without a hitch and healthily to obtain its right conclusion.

As to the scope of the elimination of spiritual pollution, Comrade Deng Xiaoping spoke clearly of it in his speech at the Second Plenary Session, that it chiefly concerns the ideological front, and especially that the ideological and art and literary circles cannot carry on spiritual pollution. Problems
on other fronts and in other aspects, of course, cannot be separated from prob-
lems on the ideological front, but in general we need not call them spiritual
pollution. For example, on farms there are people who believe feudal supersti-
tions, who gamble, and we call that having feudal superstitions, and gambling;
illegal economic activity and criminal activity in the cities is just that—
illegal economic activity and criminal activity; there is no necessity to drag
all problems into the realm of spiritual pollution. Clarifying the scope of the
elimination of spiritual pollution will help us to find the important points
and will also prevent us from unnecessary expansion. Even on the ideological
front we want to persist in specific problems and specific analysis. Spiritual
pollution is of a particular significance. As to whether or not something is
spiritual pollution, the most important criterion is to see whether or not it
disseminates all shades and hues of decadent thinking from bourgeois or other
oppressive classes, and to see whether or not it propagates an attitude of dis-
trust in the socialist system and party leadership. If it is not this way,
then it may not be said to be spiritual pollution, and one should not always
hang the label of spiritual pollution on omissions and errors in someone's work,
 writings or artistic creations. One other point worthy of notice is first to
pay attention to and resolve the weak and lax condition of party organizations
on this problem, and to change the unseeing, irresponsible, half-hearted and,
finally, too late condition of the leadership. One must propose strict demands
on relevant party members and on leading party cadres. Communist Party members
cannot be tainted with spiritual pollution—this is the very question of basic
party character. This is not to say that those who are not party members may
indulge in spiritual pollution, but rather is to emphasize that party members
and party cadre ought to take the lead in self-consciously eliminating spiritual
pollution, and should undertake diligent self-criticism of their own errors.
Only in this way can they lead and help comrades outside the party to raise
their awareness, and see the difference between right and wrong.

Based on experience and reaction of the masses since the Second Plenary Session,
policies and limits for the successful handling of the elimination of spiritual
pollution must accurately handle the following four concerns. First, we must
correctly handle the relation between eliminating spiritual pollution and per-
sisting in an open policy to the outside. Implementing an open policy to the
outside is a solid immovable policy, based on realism, and adopted by our
party as necessary to modernist construction in these new times and this cur-
rent situation. We have practiced this policy since the 3d Plenary Session of
the 11th CPC Congress, and have attracted foreign investment, introduced ad-
vanced technology from abroad, expanded the cultural exchange between China and
those outside it, from all of which have we received excellent results. Actual
experience has already fully proven that implementing an open policy to the
outside is completely called for and extremely correct, and we will certainly
persist in it. Of course, in the course of implementing this open policy to the
outside we must soberly be aware that the infusion and corrosive influence of
capitalist ideology is unavoidable. Because of this openness to the outside,
foreign literary and artistic works and theories, together with the Western
artistic, social and philosophic thoughts reflected in them, will invariably
seep in via all sorts of modes. We cannot then stop eating for fear of choking,
nor can we close the gates and lock the country because of the introduction of
capitalist thinking; neither can we give up and let capitalist thinking run
its course just because we are stressing an open policy to the outside. As for
the policies with which we will treat capitalist thinking and culture, histori-
cally they have been to study the strong points of all nationalities and all
nations, and we want to study all the good things in politics, economics, sci-
ence, technology, literature and art. However, we will not blindly study them,
but will study them analytically and judgmentally; we will accept and digest
all the good and beneficial things; we will neither accept nor copy indiscrim-
ately the bad things; and we will persistently resist and oppose those ele-
ments of capitalism that are decadent and vulgar. In general, then, in dealing
with Western culture and various trends of thought, we must make a concrete
Marxist analysis, and continue along the socialist direction of thought and
culture. We will not uniformly reject things that come from outside. Even the
literature and art of Western modernists need not be totally denied. The elimi-
nation of spiritual pollution ought to be beneficial to our correct and healthy
practice of openness to the outside, and should strengthen the cultural ex-
change between China and the outside. Some public opinion abroad has it that
our elimination of spiritual pollution is some kind of "rounding up and sup-
pressing of Western culture," but this has no basis in fact whatsoever.

Second, we want to correctly handle the relation between eliminating spiritual
pollution and securing a lively internal economy. As with maintaining an open
policy to the outside, securing a lively internal economy is a major policy
decision produced by the party Central Committee as a requirement of socialist
modernist construction, and which actual experience has proven is completely
necessary and completely correct, and which may not be carelessly bandied about.
We want to be sure to continue to implement all of the series of policies and
measures found effective in securing a lively internal economy and determined
since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Congress as well as the 5th and
6th NPCS. Spiritual pollution must be eliminated but on the economic front
we still want policies that center on planned economics with support from the
market's regulative role, truly effecting control that is not too tight, vigor
that is not disruptive. We want to develop all sorts of economic forms while
adhering to the primary position of state-run economics in order to vitalize
town and country economies and make life more convenient for the people. We
want to criticize the view that "everything depends on money," but definitely
do not want to deny the principle of distribution according to amount worked
or the principle of individual material benefits, nor to deny a reasonable in-
centive system, nor do we want to go back to the past way of "eating out of the
common pot," or "all the same whether you do it right or wrong." On questions
of economics we will criticize any words or actions that oppose central party
policies or that oppose principles of Marxist-Leninist theory, however, we
permit instituting active research and inquiry when it comes to making progress
toward the perfection of restructuring of the economic system, or toward mak-
ing progress toward securing a lively economy, and permit the proposal of dif-
fering opinions and suggestions. Even if these opinions and suggestions are
not so correct they ought to receive comradely discussion, especially for the
refinement of that experience gained from actual practice. These discussions
and opinions ought not to be cast off as spiritual pollution.

Third, we want to handle correctly the relation between eliminating spiritual
pollution and persisting in the principle of the "two one hundreds." "Let a
hundred flowers bloom and a hundred schools of thought contend" is a correct policy that encourages the flourishing of China's socialist culture. We are now wanting to eliminate spiritual pollution and criticize a few things that ideologically depart from Marxist principles, and we want to criticize those artistic works that have bad political tendencies, and want to criticize the bad tendency of some people to commercialize spiritual products, but the purpose behind all of this is to better implement the "two one hundreds" policy and exalt the cultural and artistic task. We have always hoped that the broad mass of workers on the ideological front could immerse themselves in reality, could go into the masses, and undertake a patriotic and communist education, and could make their rightful contribution to building the socialist spiritual civilization. In literary composition, creating and acting in films and plays, producing short stories, etc., as long as the basic tendency is a good one, it ought to be supported. If there are deficiencies, problems, or some contention, then in general these ought to be resolved through normal literary criticism and scholastic discussion, for the problems are what they specifically are; if they are of poor style or obscure, then talk about their poor style and obscurity. If they are one-sided then talk about their bias. We ought not at every turn to blame everything on spiritual pollution. There must be a distinction between painting and other works of art, on the one hand, and obscene and salacious objects, on the other. In eliminating spiritual pollution we need to better exalt and development the socialist task of culture and art. Our writers and artists should industriously create even more and better works of art in order to enrich the people's cultural life, and our workers in social science theory should continue to put forth the effort they ought to in order to open new aspects in theoretical work. Of course, there are those who explain the "two one hundreds" policy as the airing of views in absolute freedom, even to the extent of only allowing mistaken things to be aired without letting Marxism compete, but this is simply skewing the "two one hundreds" policy toward one of liberalism.

Fourth, we want to correctly handle the relation between eliminating spiritual pollution and embellishing the people's life. In eliminating spiritual pollution, it is not our desire to make a dull social life, nor even more to define healthy as dull. Following upon the consolidation of a settled and solidified situation and the development of the economy, the people's lifestyle will constantly improve, and life in society should become richer and more varied, vivid and vigorous. If cultural life on holidays and days off could become more varied, especially for the younger folks, with dancing at group dances, and wearing softer clothes in new styles and dressing up a little more, this would all be unobjectionable, and should receive no further interference. In our pursuance of socialism and the four modernizations, our fundamental purpose is the gradual improvement of the level of the material and cultural lives of the people, to make those lives even more beautiful. Of course we want to foster the young's lofty interest in life, but without any vulgar interests, and even more to lead people into active participation in the four modernizations, with a beautiful life created by labor which is not self-conscious. But we definitely do not want to bring a head-to-foot control into people's normal lives just in the name of eliminating spiritual pollution. We want to eliminate pollution and we want to beautify our lives—they are one principle. No matter what the time, even in regard to some deficient aspect in which the life of
the masses has become infatuated, we can only educate and guide, we may not
simply ridicule and want only extend the elimination of spiritual pollution
into daily lives. It would only alienate the masses and would be of no benefit
to the elimination of spiritual pollution.

The elimination of spiritual pollution is both an urgent task and a long-term
one. Do not think that the problem may be forever resolved with one gust of
wind. We must correctly manage the scope, policies and limits of the elimina-
tion of spiritual pollution, and do a long-term, regular, meticulous and sound
job. Policies and tactics are the life of the party. If we want to do a good
job at our duties and jobs, we must discuss policies and methods, and it is
just the same with the elimination of spiritual pollution. Of course, having
now stressed scope, having now stressed policy limits, we cannot then go ahead
and say that the elimination of spiritual pollution may now be regarded as of
little worth, that things that might be handled need not be, that problems and
deficiencies that ought to be criticized need not be then criticized. Our atti-
tudes must be firm, our minds cool and our methods reliable. In this way,
spiritual pollution may indeed be eliminated, and the mistakes made in the past
will certainly not be repeated.
PROBLEMS OUTLINED IN TEACHER EDUCATION

Shanghai JIEFANG RIBAO in Chinese 7 Dec 83 p 2

[Article in "Jiefang Forum" Section by Song Bo and Yan Wu: "A Few Comments on Teacher Training"]

[Text] According to news reports, since 1978 when it was established, Shanghai Normal College and its affiliated campuses have sent nearly 1,000 middle school teachers into the suburbs and rural areas. These comrades work contentedly at their jobs, and some have even become key members of their professions, and have been welcomed from all quarters. Having read this news, no one could fail to be ecstatic. In the past few years, teacher training in this city has developed greatly, and each year normal schools send a great number of teaching personnel to the middle-level education front, a truly remarkable record. And Shanghai Normal College and its affiliated campuses are simply one example. However, we have found that after graduation from teacher training schools some are unwilling to work in middle schools. Of the 20 teacher training school graduates assigned this year by the education department in one area, over one-half openly expressed an unwillingness to take up positions in middle schools. This then reflects from one angle some problems well worth considering that currently exist in teacher training education.

The chief task of teacher training schools is to develop teaching personnel for the middle levels: after graduation, the students at these schools take positions in middle schools, and this, of course, is a perfectly reasonable thing. And especially in light of the development of the task of the four modernizations, the function and importance of the work of teaching is daily more clearly brought out, and the social position of teachers is improved, all of which has greatly stimulated a strong feeling of vocational responsibility and honor among a great many workers in teaching. Under these conditions, why is it that some teacher training school graduates are unwilling to teach at middle schools? There could be many reasons. For example, some graduates never had any desire to take up teaching in the first place, and when they first entered themselves for examination in high school, they never filled in the words "teacher education" on their "dream sheets," and who would guess that in fact they would be
enrolled in teacher education schools. Some of these students came up with a feeling for teaching after several years of study and have been happy to teach in middle schools; some never changed their early attitudes and thus have no interest in teaching, and thus after graduation are not willing to teach at middle schools. Of course, these graduates must be further educated to help them correctly handle the relation between individual interests and work requirements, and to firmly submit to the state's assignment. However, if at the time when students are selected for schools they not be assigned by relevant departments based on a particular range of grades, but rather by the schools themselves, which will select for examination and enrollment those who definitely have an interest in teaching work, so that the number of those who are unwilling to teach at middle schools after graduation can largely be reduced.

From what we understand, at present there are also problems with teaching in the teacher education schools themselves. For example, in the establishment of curriculum there is a tendency to emulate universities, and basic courses like the study of teaching and the psychology of teaching are not put in their proper places, and in the educational content and teaching methods of the other courses, not enough thought has been put into the reality of middle school teaching. As a further example, for the past few years teacher training schools have sometimes neglected on-the-job training and fieldwork classes. On-the-job training classes have nearly been eliminated, and fieldwork teaching classes are not what they were in the past. To take just this year as an example, some schools organized graduates to go to middle schools for fieldwork, but for a total of only 3 weeks. The fieldworkers had not even gotten to know many people before they had to leave. If the fieldwork time is shortened, then the demands on the fieldwork cannot be complete. Because graduates lack understanding about teaching conditions in the middle schools, there will be a great discrepancy between what they have studied in the past and what they will now and in the future experience, and this then causes some graduates to regard teaching in the middle schools as a perilous task, too much so to even ask about.

In addition to this, ideological and political work in the teacher education colleges could stand advancement and strengthening. In fact, the idea of some graduates that they do not want to teach at the middle schools appears early in their training. If this kind of thinking could be countered with timely education and correct guidance and if even education toward professional thinking were provided for new incoming students, not only would this bring under control a common aspect of normal ideological and political work in teacher education schools, but some of the ideological and cognitive problems among students would not be difficult to solve.

In summary, then, in order to make progress toward the improvement of teacher education and better bring into play the germinal function of its educative task, teacher education colleges should do an appropriate adjustment and improvement from the enrollment of students, to the establishment of curriculum, to ideological work based on the characteristics of teacher education. Of course, these problems cannot all be solved by the schools themselves. Therefore, we hope that the teacher education schools will diligently work at improvement, and hope that at the same time all aspects of society will respect teacher education, and support it, and that everyone will join and be diligent in opening a new aspect to teacher education.
[Article by Gao Xianghui" "Selecting Outstanding Cadre Opens New Prospects"]

[Text] On the basis of experimentation and summation of experiences, the Shanghai Garrison Command has competely implemented a cadre "promotion/demotion system," promoting the construction of cadre ranks and units, and brought along new improvements to the various unit tasks. Cadre and soldiers have universally responded, saying that this is a system that encourages diligence and cures sloth, and expedites upward movement.

Ever since April of this year when the garrison command first expanded on the experience of conducting experiments on implementing restructuring of the cadre system by groups under its command, it has step by step and in a planned way examined all levels and categories of cadre on the four aspects of moral character, ability, diligence and achievement, and based on the test results, as well as the quality of the performance of one's cadre responsibilities and degree of work achievements, has instituted a promotion/demotion system for cadres. When work has been done diligently and dutifully, with apparent results, and can be counted on to create new prospects, then he or she is promoted or raised in level; otherwise, is demoted, suspended or kept under observation. This year, the garrison command had 393 rather outstanding cadres who were selected for employment, and 89 of exemplary character and talent, young cadres of high education level who were separately raised in level and transferred to leadership positions in companies, battalions, regiments and divisions; at the same time, 47 did not perform their cadre duties well, their work was not praiseworthy, and they did not seek advancement, and so were respectively demoted, suspended or transferred to a lower level, put under observation, or given a deadline by which to improve. During the period of suspension or transfer to lower level, or period of demotion in responsibility, the respective salary was also lowered one grade.

Party committees at all levels of the garrison command have all taken managing of the restructuring of the cadre system as an important matter to pay attention to, in order to see it properly instituted. There were rather many problems in one country's people's armed forces department, so Ping Changxi [1627 2490 0823], political commissar of the garrison command, and Zhang Chen, former political commissar, went to this department for specific details.
This armed forces department had aroused the masses, and had organized the directors of armed forces departments of 24 communes and towns to undertake a written evaluation concerning the expression of moral character and talent among the cadres, and resolutely determined those who would be promoted or demoted on the basis of how the cadres did their particular jobs, and in so doing made clear the rewards and punishments. But during the restructuring of the cadre system, some troops in the garrison dared to adhere to their own private principles and dared to be obstinate. Two regimental cadres, neither conscientious nor responsible, and held in little regard by the masses, were respectively handed 6-month assignments as mess officers and menial managers.

As for those cadres demoted, suspended or sent down, all levels of the party committee persisted in instructing them in communism, encouraging them to strengthen their professional feelings and their feelings of responsibility, and they inspired devotion to the self-sacrificing spirit of national defense. A platoon leader of a certain regiment, Wang Yongtai [7614 3057 3141], in the past lacking in dedication and lazy in his work, was demoted to the rank of squad leader in April of this year for a period of 6 months. During the time he was a squad leader he was dedicated and responsible in his work, and after 5 months was in charge of the advanced squad, and was then sent to work in a lagging company, where he assisted company cadres in getting hold of the work spirit and rectification of party discipline, enabling this company to experience a clear transformation. He has recently regained his position as platoon leader, and his work there is exemplary. At year's end, some 50 cadres and soldiers enthusiastically recommended prompting him, and some companies have competed to obtain him.

The restructuring of the cadre system has also widened the path for selection of talent, and has stimulated a group of young capable cadres into reaching maturity, and has corrected rather well the tendency to "know the man but not his ability," and to "employ a person but not his strengths," as well as broken up the old custom of "accumulate days for labor but plan years for rank." It has enabled all sorts of talent to break the earth and sprout, allowing that talent to show itself, and has added new vigor to unit construction. The secretary in charge of the political affairs section of a certain regiment volunteered his services, and went to a lagging company at a coastal defense outpost where conditions are rather arduous to assume the post of political instructor, where he and three other notable cadres formed a new team, established an atmosphere of military discipline, and determined to put an end to the backwardness of the company. He attacked with his own work spirit, never taking time for his own affairs, and after 9 months of cooperative effort, the company military training achieved remarkable results, and 15 backward soldiers made obvious progress and transformation, and the company was evaluated as an advanced company.
PARTY RECTIFICATION FORUM SETS STANDARDS

Jinan DAZHONG RIBAO in Chinese 24 Dec 83 p 1

[Text] The provincial CPC committee held the Fourth All-Province Forum on Experimental Work on Party Rectification from 16 December to 20 December, at which they diligently studied the Central Committee's provisions for party rectification. They took a look back at the early stage of the experimental work, made progress toward unifying their thinking, clearly determined standards, looked into disparities, and researched measures to do a good job of the supplemental work in party consolidation. Li Chang'an, provincial CPC committee deputy secretary, and leading comrades of the Central Liaison Committee all spoke at the conference.

The conference recognized that for the most part this province in its experimental work for party rectification has implemented the spirit of the 12th CPC Congress, and has achieved great results. The political character of party members has been improved, to play an even better exemplary vanguard role; there is deeper understanding of the party line, principles, and policies in effect since the Third Plenary Session, improving the level of political consciousness held in common with the party Central Committee; the most urgent questions by leading groups have received sufficient resolution, and combat effectiveness has been distinctly increased; unhealthy tendencies surfacing in the party have been basically corrected, and relations between party and masses, and cadre and masses, have been greatly improved; initial cleanup of the "three types of people" and other elements who are opposed to the party and are a threat to the party has advanced the purification of the party organization; arousing enthusiasm on several fronts, production and other work aspects of the majority of units have exhibited a new aspect; at the same, we have tried out many things and accumulated much valuable experience. There still exist, however, many problems and inconsistencies. One is that because study has not been penetrating enough the problem of maintaining a high degree of uniformity with the party Central Committee ideologically and politically has not been completely solved. The second is that where correction of unhealthy tendencies has been insufficiently thorough, party practice has not had a fundamental turn for the better. A third is that problems of lax Party discipline within organizations have not been completely solved. Some units still maintain a factionalism that seriously threatens party solidarity and unity. A fourth is that the determination of some units to clean up the "three types of people" has not been great,
their measure have been ineffective, the root of the matter has not been cleaned up, they have not been thorough, and there has been a tendency to have low standards in the organizational handling of these things. A fifth is that the leading groups of some units have not been diligently reorganized or revised, and have still not been able to formulate a solid uniform firm core.

In view of these conditions, the provincial CPC committee demands that the experimenting units do a good job in supplemental work in accordance with the provisions for party consolidation.

The conference pointed out, that they will seriously and diligently undertake inspection of the early stages of the experimental work based on the demands of the central party consolidation provisions and the five standards checked and accepted. What is lacking will be made up, and however much is lacking will be made up in that degree. The first standard is to deeply study the documents of party consolidation, making an advance on unification of ideology. When study has been completed, we then want to teach party personnel and party members and cadre to take further steps toward eradication of "leftist" elements. We also want to teach party members and cadre to be resolute in subduing the rightist influence of bourgeois liberalization, to self-consciously fend off and sweep clean spiritual pollution, and to improve the level of political consciousness in holding the party line, principles and policies. Second, in diligently eradicating the "three types of people," to do a good job from start to finish in organizational disposition and the registration of party members. We want to educate party members and cadre to fully realize the great significance of eradication of the "three types of people," to overcome the lax, weak condition in leadership, and to resolutely and thoroughly clean out the "three types of people" and their "armies." The eradication of the "three types of people" certainly requires getting rid of factional interference, and holding to the principle of getting to the facts of the matter, paying attention to party policies, and then defending against letting the true "three types of people" slip through, as well as guarding against their spreading. As for problems that remain in organizational disposition and registration of party members, we are to pay close attention to clarifying the actual facts, and then make conclusions. Where disposition in the early stages was not correct, we want to diligently recheck in the supplementary work phase to provide the proper handling. The third is to continue to resolve the problem of rectifying party practice. After they go through the supplementary work phase we will want to enable Party members and cadre to make progress in their recognition of the serious threat of unhealthy tendencies, and to show the extreme importance of a fundamental upturn in party practice. As for problems of unhealthy tendencies not resolved or insufficiently resolved in the early stage, we will want to diligently resolve further. As for those who have practices that continue to be unrectified during and after party consolidation, or who persistently and erroneously refuse to be corrected, they are to be ordered to carry out a penetrating investigation, and where there are serious errors, to undergo party discipline, because we definitely cannot be overlenient. The fourth is to strengthen party discipline, to earnestly change the lax, weak condition of party organization. We want to educate party members and cadre to strengthen party character and root out factionalism, strengthen and
organize party discipline, and want to do battle with phenomena that ignore principles of party organization and party discipline, to resolutely protect the serious nature of party discipline. The methods of the supplementary work phase of party consolidation in principle must be applied in accordance with the demands of the provisions of party consolidation. When the supplementary work phase has been completed, there will be established a complete, multi-faceted, living system, which will allow for the normalization and systematization of the ideological and political education of party members, and which will, in many respects solidify and develop the achievements of party consolidation.

The conference demanded that in doing a good job in supplemental work we must conscientiously strengthen the leadership. Each local and municipal CPC committee, and the party committees of the large enterprises, must highly respect this task. It must not just be passed on to professional departments for attention, but must be personally attended to by the chief responsible comrades within the party committees. Comrades of responsibility who are put in charge must deal with this at a high level, knowing well the first-hand materials, all of which will strengthen and speed up examination. We need to detail to ideological and organizational work those comrades who are strong in party character, of excellent party spirit and familiar with the party to form liaison groups to help the experimentation units do a good job in our supplemental work. When each unit is engaged in party consolidation supplemental work, two groups are to be established, one to pay attention to party consolidation, and another to take care of day-to-day work, ensuring the smooth operation of party consolidation and working in other aspects.

All responsible comrades from each local and municipal CPC party committee, responsible comrades from experimental factfinding groups, as well as comrades from the liaison group of the guiding committee for consolidation work of the central party, attended the forum.

12586
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Guangzhou GUANGZHOU RIBAO in Chinese 18 Dec 83 p 1

[Article: "Continue to Reform the Organizational Structure of Leading Bodies; Earnestly Stress the Building of the Third Echelon"]

[Text] Guangzhou Municipality's organizational work conference successfully concluded yesterday. The 6-day conference transmitted and implemented the spirit of the national informal conference on organizational work and the provincial organizational work conference, looked back on and drew general conclusions from the organizational work situation in our city since the 3d Plenum of the party's 11th Central Committee, discussed and formulated an 8-year program for building the four modernizations and a cadre training program for the various levels of leading bodies in Guangzhou Municipality, studied suggestions for the reform of cadre management systems and drew up a strategic plan for the major tasks of our municipality's organizational work in the following period.

The major tasks defined by the conference for our municipality's organizational work in the coming period are: comprehensively carrying out the spirit of the national informal conference and the provincial conference on organizational work; resolutely implementing the program of making cadres more revolutionary, more youthful, more knowledgeable and more professional; continuing to reform the organizational structure of leading bodies and the cadre systems; stressing the building of the third echelon; raising the quality of the ranks of cadres; conscientiously doing a good job of party rectification; strengthening and improving the party's leadership; improving the combat strength of the party organization; and ensuring the successful progress of the building of the four modernizations.

The conference affirmed the achievements of our municipality's organizational work. It unanimously considered that since the 3d Plenum of the party's 11th Central Committee, the various levels of party committees and organizational departments in our municipality have, under the leadership of the provincial and municipal committees, conscientiously implemented the party Central Committee's newly reestablished Marxist organizational line, programs and policies; engaged in bringing order out of chaos in various ways; eradicated erroneous "leftist" tendencies in organizational work; made a great effort to complete all the tasks of organizational work; and achieved outstanding
results. Seeking truth from facts, they have overturned and corrected the unjust, false and mistaken charges made during the "cultural revolution" and implemented the party's policy on cadres. Combining the uncovering of wrongdoing with implementing the policy on cadres, they have consolidated the leading bodies. Beginning this year [1983], combined with the reform of organizational structures, they have reorganized the leading bodies. At present, the standing committees of the provincial committee, the municipal government and 81 leading bodies at the department, committee, office, and bureau levels have come to the end of a stage of adjustment, and there has been a comparatively great change with regard to leading bodies becoming more revolutionary, more youthful, more knowledgeable and more professional. The majority of the various levels of leading bodies following the adjustment began to have a comparatively reasonable ladder-shaped age, cultural and professional makeup. A group of outstanding middle-aged and young cadres took up various levels of leadership post. A good deal of work was done with regard to implementing the party's policy on intellectuals. By the end of last year [1982], throughout the municipality more than 1,000 personnel using techniques in which they had not been formally trained were adjusted to appropriate professional posts; over 2,500 professional personnel were re-examined and evaluated for technical and professional titles; the problem of over 1,600 professionals who had to live far from their spouses for long periods of time was solved; and a number of intellectuals with both ability and political integrity were selected to enter the various levels of leading bodies. Over the last few years, our municipality has also put more than 70,000 cadres through rotational training and has selected and sent a number of young cadres to enter specialized training classes for cadres at specialized institutions of higher learning and to study at Central Committee, provincial and municipal party committee schools or to institutions of higher learning. Nearly 10,000 cadres have participated in enterprise-based, television and correspondence higher-level study, bringing about a definite improvement in the quality of the municipality's cadres. Through stepping up the party's organizational construction, the party's leadership has been improved. Since the Third Plenum, throughout the municipality over 14,000 new party members have been recruited, and among them were over 1,700 specialized technical personnel of all kinds. In the countryside, in combination with drawing general conclusions from and perfecting the agricultural production responsibility systems, a number of party branches have been reorganized. In industrial and mine enterprises, in combination with an overall reorganization of the enterprises, the enterprises' party organizations have also been reorganized. Through universal rotation training, there has been a comparatively great improvement in the political awareness of the broad mass of party members throughout the municipality, and their vanguard exemplary impact has been improved.

The conference discussed, and formulated an 8-year plan of construction to make the various levels of leading bodies in Guangzhou Municipality more revolutionary, youthful, knowledgeable and professional. The plan is to be realized in three stages: At present, through the reform of organizational structures, there is to be a comparatively great breakthrough in the construction to make the various levels of leading bodies more revolutionary, youthful, knowledgeable and professional. Before the end of 1985, a fundamental normalization in the process of replacing old cadres with new ones will be realized. By the end of 1990, the various levels of leading bodies will have been made more revolutionary, youthful, knowledgeable and professional and a reasonable age and educational composition for the leading bodies constantly maintained.
GUANGZHOU ADOPTS MEASURES FOR TRAINING, SELECTION OF WOMEN CADRES

Guangzhou GUANGZHOU RIBAO in Chinese 19 Dec 83 p 1

[Article by reporter Deng Xincheng [6772 4423 6134]: "Municipal Committee Adopts Five Effective Measures for the Training and Selection of Female Cadres"

[Text] At the municipal organizational work conference concluded the day before yesterday it was learned that the municipal committee is preparing to adopt five effective measures for the training and selection of female cadres.

The municipal committee has all along placed great importance on the selection of women cadres. Over the past 2 years the municipal committee, in addition to launching a mass democratic program of recommending outstanding middle-aged and young cadres, has required that the various levels of party committees place importance on the selection of women cadres. In deliberating on the [reorganization of the] leading bodies of the municipal committee and municipal government and the adjustment of municipality subordinate departments, committees and office-level leading bodies, the municipal committee also emphasized selecting and appointing female cadres whose qualifications are in line with the requirement that cadres be more revolutionary, youthful and knowledgeable and more professional. Leading comrades of the municipal committee also went down to the grassroots levels, immersed themselves among the masses in order to investigate and understand the situation of outstanding women cadres such as women model workers and International Women's Day red-banner pacesetters and trained and selected a number of outstanding middle-aged and young women cadres to enter the various levels of leading bodies. However, at present very great resistance still exists to the training and selection of women cadres: Mainly, there is insufficient understanding of the importance of selecting female cadres and remnants of the feudal thinking of looking down upon women as well as the tendency to demand perfection of women cadres still exist to a serious extent. Some look upon women's social responsibility to give birth to the next generation and some of their special physiological problems as weak points and look upon the fact that they should be provided with necessary care as an added burden. Some consider women merely as accessories of men and do not agree that women should do the work of society. Some consider it inappropriate for women to serve as leading cadres and think they cannot
bear heavy burdens, etc. In order to break through these various kinds of resistance and overcome the various prejudices, train and select outstanding women cadres and enable leading bodies to have a definite number of female cadres, at the municipal organizational work conference concluded the day before yesterday Wu Xiaofeng [0702 2556 1496], chairman of the municipal committee's standing committee and head of its organizational branch, proclaimed that the municipal committee will adopt five forceful measures:

1. All units and all prefectures and counties must make a comprehensive investigation of the female cadre situation and select the more outstanding of them for training and to be objects for selection and promotion; of the list of reserve cadres, female cadres must occupy approximately one-fifth. [In the leading bodies at the] department, committee, office, and bureau levels there must be at least one woman cadre and at the prefecture and county level there must be two or three.

2. In the course of the adjustment of new party and government leading bodies at the prefecture and county level, at least one woman cadre must be appointed. Plans for new prefecture and county-level party and government leading bodies that do not incorporate any female cadres will not be approved by the municipal committee.

3. In leading bodies at the department, committee, office and bureau levels we must strive to apportion a certain percentage of female cadres, and in particular we must first of all apportion female cadres to leading bodies in areas where women are comparatively concentrated—textiles, light industry, commerce, the service industries, health and sanitation and education.

4. The training of female cadres must be stepped up. The municipal committee next year will conduct a class for women cadres, and from all battlefronts throughout the municipality the committee will select approximately 50 outstanding middle-aged and young female cadres with good training potential and will train them. The various departments, district and counties assigned responsibility must also conduct similar training classes and, through training and examination, select some among them to enter leading bodies. Among all the other kinds of cadre training classes, female students must comprise approximately one-fourth. The municipal women's association is also preparing to set up a women's higher education training class and recruit 50 students and systematically train a number of comparatively well-educated female cadres.

5. Of the leading body cadres with an educational attainment at the university level who are selected each year to be transferred to the grass-roots levels for training, female cadres shall comprise approximately one-tenth.

9634
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POLICE HOLD RALLY TO COMMEND PROGRESSIVES

HK241257 Nanning Guangxi Regional Service in Mandarin 1130 GMT 23 Feb 84

[Excerpts] The 4-day rally of the Guangxi Force of the Chinese People's Armed Police Force to commend the advanced units and advanced individuals in building socialist spiritual civilization successfully concluded today. This was the first gathering of outstanding workers since the founding of the Guangxi Force of the People's Armed Police Force. The Headquarters of the Chinese People's Armed Police Force sent a congratulatory telegram to the rally. Leading comrades of the regional party, government, and Army and Political and Legal Committee, including Qin Yingji, Zhong Feng, (Mao Guobin), (Lu Yuan), and (Lan Xiusang), personally went to the rally to extend greetings.

On behalf of the regional CPC Committee and the regional People's Government, Comrade Qin Yingji congratulated the rally and spoke. On behalf of the Guangxi Military District, (Mao Guobin), deputy political commissar of the Guangxi Military District, delivered a congratulatory speech. At the rally, (Wang Guanyi), director of the regional Public Security Bureau, delivered the speech, "Strengthen the Building of the Armed Police Force in the Course of Struggle." (Lu Rufeng), a responsible person of the Guangxi Force of the Chinese People's Armed Police Force, made the work report, "Penetratingly Carry Out the Building of Socialist Spiritual Civilization and Strive to Create a New Situation in the Building of the Force."

In his speech, Comrade Qin Yingji said: Although our regional armed police force was founded not long ago, it has made very great achievements in developing itself and in completing all tasks. It has contributed to the protection of the lives and property of people of all nationalities and to the guarding of the smooth progress of our region's four modernizations. He said: The cadres and fighters of the armed police force will make sustained and redoubled efforts and will become more and more advanced.

This commendation rally was attended by the representatives from 58 advanced collectives and by 214 advanced individuals. After the assessment and discussion at the rally, 11 pacesetters of advanced units and 11 pacesetters of advanced individuals were set up and 16 deputies were elected to attend the meeting of advanced units and advanced individuals which will be held by the headquarters of the Chinese People's Armed Police Force.
On the afternoon of 7 March, You Taizhong, commander of Guangzhou Military Region, Wang Meng, political commissar of Guangzhou Military Region, and other leading comrades of the military region, together with Xu Shijie, secretary of the Guangzhou City CPC Committee, Zhu Senlin deputy secretary of the Guangzhou City CPC Committee, and others, visited two units where army-men have helped civilians build spiritual civilization in Guangzhou—Beijing Street and the Guangzhou Electronic Computer Manufacturing Factory—to inspect and give guidance on the activities of building spiritual civilization through the joint efforts of armymen and civilians.

Since August of last year, under the unified leadership of the CPC Committee of the military region and led by the Militia Department under the military region, 14 units, including the Logistics Department under the military region, have begun activities in building civilized streets together with 7 neighborhoods. With help of the PLA units, the people of Beijing Street have put the street environment in good order, and unfolded activities in appraisal through comparison in building a civilized neighborhood, harmonious families, and so on. The PLA units have also helped the neighborhood run a few influential undertakings in public welfare, and have done many good things, which have been warmly welcomed by the masses.

The leading comrades of Guangzhou Military Region visited the home for the aged in (Longtang) Street, founded through the joint efforts of armymen and civilians. They personally called on the eight old people who have lost all of their dependents and children, asked questions about their living conditions, and extended wishes for their health and longevity.

In the Guangzhou Electronic Computer Manufacturing Factory, they visited the exhibition of pictures showing armymen helping civilians build spiritual civilization, toured the workshops in the factory, and watched the operation of electronic computers.

During a discussion at one of the two units, the PLA leading comrades encouraged the comrades of the two units to continue to exert their efforts to strive for still greater achievements.
Xiang Shouzhi attends Nanjing PLA Units meeting

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[Text] The party committee of the Nanjing PLA Units has decided that, beginning in March, all units under the Nanjing Military Region should whip up a great upsurge in learning from the (Wang Keqin) Company, unfold a widespread campaign of respecting cadres and cherishing soldiers with emphasis on fraternal love and mutual assistance, establish and develop a new relationship among troops, and create an invigorating atmosphere in which officers and men will work with one heart and one mind to create a new situation in all fields.

(Wang Keqin) is a model person known for cherishing soldiers. In August 1982 the Nanjing PLA Units conferred on the (Wang Keqin) Company the honorary title of model company of respecting cadres and cherishing soldiers.

Xiang Shouzhi, commander of the Nanjing PLA Units, attended a mobilization meeting. Speaking at the meeting, Guo Linxiang, political commissar of the Nanjing PLA Units, called on commanders and fighters of the Nanjing Military Region to regard the campaign of learning from the (Wang Keqin) Company and of respecting cadres and cherishing soldiers as a rallying point to strengthen army building at the grassroots level and create a new situation, and as an important part of the third civility and courtesy month activities. He urged the commanders and fighters to achieve good results in the campaign so that their combat effectiveness will be enhanced.

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BEIJING UNIT SERVES AS EXAMPLE FOR PARTY CONSOLIDATION

Beijing ZHONGGUO FAZHI BAO in Chinese 11 Jan 84 pp 1,2


[Text] The provisions of the 2d Plenary Session of the 12th CPC Congress regarding party consolidation was like the fire of a torch kindling the desires in the hearts of 1 billion people. But at the same time there were those who were anxious: Could this particular party consolidation truly and thoroughly correct various serious unhealthy tendencies brought on by 10 years of catastrophe?

The reply of the party committee of the Beijing Municipality Zongdui of the Chinese People's Armed Police was: if leaders take the lead, if the whole party is industrious, unhealthy tendencies certainly can be checked, and the goal of party practice taking a fundamental turn for the better certainly can be met!

"The Key Is We Ourselves"

The Beijing Zongdui of the Armed Police was organized and established on 1 February 1983 as stipulated by the party Central Committee in regard to the restructuring of thenational guard system of organization, and has the formidable responsibility of guarding the party Central Committee and the capital. Because it is in Beijing, where the working environment and living conditions are rather favorable, many people have their eyes on this piece of "valuable property." [Unofficial] "recommendations" are passed along in profusion, sometimes by the tens, sometimes up to a hundred; more and more names are written on the "recommendations" and the succession of phone calls is unending as the "line of communication" gets longer and longer. Some are rushing about for their own sake, others are looking out for their sons and daughters, some are "building a bridge" for the sake of relatives or close friends...

Vast numbers of cadre and the masses have been extremely displeased with those who have been up to no good, and nearly 10,000 pairs of eyes have been watching each and every move of the members of the party committee. At one meeting of the Zongdui provisional party committee, committee members discussed problems relating to the "recommendations."
Primary leading comrades of the Zongdui were first to speak out, saying: unhealthy tendencies are eroding the body of the party, and the ability to change the atmosphere is a matter affecting the very life and survival of the party. We ought to realize that the determination of the upper echelon leaders is great, and since the masses utterly detest these unhealthy tendencies, now the key is we ourselves. The members of the party committee are united in recognizing: that all should be self-critical, everyone should speak frankly and openly in "hanging out our dirty linen," exposing problems, discussing the threat, getting to the bottom of things, and it should be made clear just who did what wrongs, and should then accept everyone's criticism and help. Later, the party committee diligently carried out an analysis of "recommenders," and concluded: that, one, the "recommendations" mostly originated from the hands of leading cadres, violating the principles of party organization and the personnel system; two, those introduced via this means were not people needed for the establishment of the armed police unit. They stipulated that in order to accomplish the clarification work not even one of the people so "recommended" would be accepted.

The conference was just in progress, when a new problem was put forward. For the maintenance of the unit barracks it was necessary to buy a certain amount of wood. This was a matter that required a favor of someone, and did they want to present some gifts, for otherwise it would be difficult to accomplish. There were the facts of life laid out in front of them—how hard it was to correct party practice! The majority of comrades indicated that: "We want to be leaders in the rectification of unhealthy tendencies, and would rather that a task not be completed than allow this sort of tribute."

At this meeting, the party committee formulated "Ten Resolutions for an Implementation Code for Rectifying Party Practice," and issued a set into the hands of every leading cadre, as well as passing them on to the units, for cadres and soldiers all to know, and to make it easier for the party committee to supervise.

Those Rectifying Party Practice Must Be Willing to Expend Great Effort

After those two meetings, three campaigns for the rectification of party practice began under the unified deployment of the Zongdui party committee.

The first campaign: to break up the network of "connections."

In the Beijing Zongdui people were most familiar with those "recommendations" from party committee leaders. The party committee determined to solve this problem first.

One important leading comrade received several tens of memos and innumerable people called in person to register. He thought to himself, that according to regulations these people could not be accepted, but he still wanted to accomplish the task of clearing this all up. Thereupon, he would sometimes give one of the parties in question a volume of the 10 resolutions of the Zongdui party committee on rectifying party practice for perusal, or would sometimes copy down the most important items and send them to the person in question,
encouraging the person to become content with his own work. The other leaders took on the task of explaining things to those comrades who wrote "recommendations" and called, politely refusing their requests in accordance with the resolutions of the party committee.

In May of 1983, the training unit of the Zongdui intended to train a group of core workteam leaders. As the news got out, many people went into action, passing along memos and making phone calls. This sounded another alarm for the party committee. They called a meeting especially to decide that no one would be allowed to interfere with the training unit's task of recruiting students, and violators would be punished through party discipline. On this occasion, the work of recruiting students from beginning to end was strictly according to selection standards, and the best were chosen and enrolled. After the recruitment task had been completed, from the organization level down to the company, cadres and soldiers alike were convinced and satisfied.

The second campaign: firmly check overindulgence in food and drink.

The Beijing Zongdui is comprised of the unification of several units together. In the past, whenever a cadre was transferred, a few units would hold a "going away party." If the former convention were still carried out, then from the Zongdui down to the Zhongdui, there would have to be several hundred banquets, and this guard unit of ours that had followed the party Central Committee for decades would be swallowed up by this "banquet craze," and many comrades would slip from this into a quagmire. Therefore, the "banquet craze" had to be checked beginning with important leading cadres in the Zongdui.

Once, a few leading comrades from the Zongdui went to convey their greetings to a particular unit: it was lunchtime, and the company cadre laid out some alcohol. A Zongdui leading comrade simply ordered the company cadre to take the alcohol away. Another leading cadre led a working group in a first-hand-experience session, and when the work had been completed and it was time to go, the company made a few dishes to thank the senior officer. This leader and the comrades of the working group each put up 2 yuan. After the event they then went to this zhongdui's party committee meeting for inspection. Altogether, the Zongdui has had several well-known leading comrades transferred to other posts, for none of whom were parties held—when the order was given, they just packed up and went on their way, creating an excellent example for the unit.

Actions speak louder than words. All last year, when several tens of detachment leading cadres were transferred in and out, there were no banquets held at the time of parting; the majority of people just toasted with a cup of tea, and a few did not even bother with that before setting off on their new assignments. Two companies violated regulations by holding sendoff banquets. When the problem arose, the party committee immediately sent people to take care of it, and when the receipt was in hand, the cost was then divided among the participants, and they underwent serious criticism.

After a few rounds of struggle from the top down to the bottom the banquet craze was checked, the masses were satisfied and had plenty of enthusiasm from the effort.
The third campaign: rectifying unfortunate tendencies.

There are many unfortunate tendencies in the units owing to 10 years of internal confusion without governmental influence. For example, unbridled seizure and confiscation, and enriching oneself at public expense; exchange of flattery and favors, real provincialism; party discipline had gone soft and there was absenteeism and false vacations; all of which seriously influenced the building of the unit. In order to change these conditions, the Zongdui party committee held themselves as examples and models of efficiency for others, serving as good examples for the unit.

When the party functionaries had rectified themselves, they were ready to deal with and manage the unhealthy trends and evil practices at the lower levels. All together the party committee twice sent out working groups, penetrating deep within the unit to find and talk with low-level cadres. At the same time, from the Zongdui to the company level, four levels of party organizations made a general call for a conference for democratic life, which stimulated everyone to search out problems, and found 11 in all. Some used public funds to buy electronic computers for the leaders; some made furniture for the local areas for which they took in too little money or none at all; some made indiscriminate use of public buildings; some resold oil residues, and so on. These problems were dealt with in a timely and serious manner, and all economic losses were compensated. Last year a company cadre took home a pail of public gasoline, to the dismay of the masses. The party committee immediately sent people to investigate. They carried out serious criticism of this company cadre.

Building on this, the spirit of rectifying party discipline was begun on a grand scale, being serious about rules and regulations. There was a female cadre in the Zongdui hospital who cheated the organization, and took 20 days of unauthorized leave, after which she rejected leadership criticism. Because her father was a cadre of long standing, the hospital leadership had difficulty handling the situation. The Zongdui party committee clearly noted in writing, that: no matter whose child, all are equal under military discipline, and violations of regulations must be dealt with.

Now having strong backing, the hospital party committee first publicly announced, without naming her, the number of absences through August, in all 66 days. Reaction among the masses was great. Afterward, a meeting of the entire hospital was called, and the hospital director proclaimed the resolutions regarding disciplinary action, and everyone discussed them. Both the comrade receiving disciplinary action and the group as a whole were deeply instructed by all this, and the moral outlook of the hospital cadre quickly changed.

The cadre and soldiers of the Zongdui, on seeing this excellent openminded party consolidation, realized that achieving the goal of a fundamental turn for the better of Party practice was possible.

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BEIJING PLA IMPLEMENTS RECTIFICATION DOCUMENTS—On the basis of an earnest study of the documents on party rectification, the CPC Committee of the Beijing PLA Units has taken the lead in encouraging heart-to-heart talks. In addition, they also have announced that they will practice the policy of four nos and four permissions, that is, no more seizing on somebody's mistakes or shortcomings, no more setting up of targets for public criticism, no bludgeoning, and no more filing of opinions, and the party members are permitted to withdraw, change, defend, and hold back their opinions. By adopting these measures, the Beijing PLA Units have given tremendous impetus to the development of the democratic life outside the party and created an atmosphere in which everybody has the courage to voice his innermost feelings and to carry out criticism and self-criticism. Consequently, they have made important preparations for carrying party rectification work forward to the stage of making contrasts and comparisons. The office of the guidance group for party rectification work under the CPC Central Committee commented that the Beijing PLA Units' way of doing things in party rectification is in keeping with the spirit of document No 7 and that various units can learn from them. [Text] [HK090900 Guangzhou Guangdong Provincial Service in Cantonese 0030 GMT 9 Mar 84]
Comrades and young friends! A so-called movement to eliminate spiritual pollution has been launched, and a battle to criticize "alienation in socialism" in the realm of ideology has been recently initiated by the party Central Committee, led by Deng Xiaoping. Deng Xiaoping and his followers said: Spiritual pollution and the theory of alienation in socialism run counter to the four fundamental principles, to Marxism, to the party, and to socialism. They have criticized those who uphold the theory of alienation in socialism, and hit hard at many comrades in the realm of ideology. However, is the situation that serious? Those in authority in the country fear the theory of alienation in socialism like a fierce flood or wild animal. We would like to see whether the theory of alienation in socialism is an absurd argument, condemned by those who are in authority in China, or the voice of the people opposing socialist feudalism, and fighting the oppression and privileged rulers in society.

In his series of articles on the theory of alienation in socialism, Comrade Wang Ruoshui, deputy chief editor of the RENMIN RIBAO, said: The so-called alienation is a process whereby the main body of a thing creates an antithesis in the course of developing itself, and this antithesis, as an extrinsic and dissident force, reverses itself to oppose and dominate the main body. Wang Ruoshui said: Those who uphold socialism should wipe out alienation. However, has alienation been wiped out already, or does it still exist? I think we must admit practice shows that alienation still exists. We have not only ideological alienation, but also political alienation, or even economic alienation. Dwelling on ideological alienation, Comrade Wang Ruoshui pointed out: Personality cult and present-day cult are ideological alienation. Dogmatism is also a form of alienation. When dogmatism is developed to an extreme, it becomes a personality cult. It is easy to greet a god, but it is difficult to bid him farewell. Once personality cult is established, one must pay a price—an extremely high price—to get rid of it. Once alienation has developed, one can hardly control it.

Dwelling on political alienation, Comrade Wang Ruoshui pointed out: Power should be used to protest collective interests, but some people use their power to protect their own special privileges. Instead of serving the people, they try to oppress them. Even their own masters cannot do anything about their evildoings.
Wang Ruoshui said: The people give power to the leadership. Some use this power to serve themselves instead of the people. As a result, they have become overlords, who sit on the people, instead of public servants of the people. It is just like a mother, who has suffered tremendously in raising a child, hoping that the child would support her when he grows up. However, the child is an unfilial son. The government has become an overlord, whom the people are unable to control. It has become a dissident force. This is alienation—political alienation.

Dwelling on economic alienation, Comrade Wang Ruoshui pointed out: We cannot say that alienation is no longer in existence once socialism is achieved. Due to our lack of experience and failure to recognize socialist construction as a necessity, we have done a great many silly things in the past in economic construction. In the end, we have had to eat bitter fruit. This is alienation in the economic field. The press had criticized the project of transferring water to the east side, from the west side, or Xiyang. Is it not a sign of economic alienation? Work of more than five million work-days was performed, and tens of millions of yuan spent over a period of 4 to 5 years. As a result, nothing has been accomplished, and the project has become a tremendous burden on the state.

Dwelling on alienation in the field of literature and art, Comrade Wang Ruoshui said: Our literature and art are aimed at serving the people. However, an erroneous line, erroneous methods of leadership, erroneous ways in creating literary and art works, and erroneous ways in handling the relations between literature and art on the one hand and politics on the other, would separate literature and art from the people and alienate it.

The views on the theory of alienation, expressed by Comrade Wang Ruoshui, who was deputy chief editor of the RENMIN RIBAO, have shown that the theory of alienation is certainly not an absurd argument, condemned by those who are in authority in China. It represents the genuine socialist awareness of the people in the country, who have drawn bitter lessons from the mistakes made by the party in developing the socialist revolution and socialist construction in the past 30 years, and from the chaotic decade. What is so terrible about the theory of alienation, which is aimed at opposing the special privileged class and at defending the people's interests? The people are not afraid of this type of theory at all. Only those who enjoy special privileges, those who love to become overlords instead of public servants, or those who pay lip service to serving the people but actually act like the people's masters and lord over them, would fear the theory of alienation. Only they would bitterly hate the theoreticians who discuss the theory of alienation, and would label them as persons who spread bourgeois spiritual pollution, and inflate small matters into serious accusations to incriminate those persons.

Comrades, the movement launched by the Deng-Hu clique to clear away spiritual pollution and criticize the theory of alienation only serves to indicate that
Deng Xiaoping and his followers have already become alienated. In the past, Deng Xiaoping opposed the personality cult. Now, he has vigorously promoted that cult, and the feudal, patriarchal system, and believes that what he says is law. He has refused to accept views different from his own. All this has shown that Deng Xiaoping has already become alienated. He has become a new dictator, and the target of the proletariat, and of the working people, in making revolution.
Comrades, young friends: Around the 90th birthday anniversary of Mao Zedong, all central and local departments were again engaged in propagating Mao Zedong Thought, and in discussing how he should be appraised in history. On 26 February 1983, RENMIN RIBAO published an editorial entitled "Mao Zedong Thought Will Shine Forever," attempting to explain Mao Zedong Thought according to the power holders' political needs. According to the editorial, Mao Zedong had his shortcomings and made mistakes. During his later years, in particular, he committed the serious mistake of launching the Great Cultural Revolution. Words indistinct] represented by Deng Xiaoping, while appraising Mao Zedong and his Thought, it is necessary to resolutely correct the mistakes committed by Mao Zedong during his later years, firmly defend his historical role, and hold high the banner of Mao Zedong Thought.

The editorial pointed out that, over the past several years, the ruling faction, headed by Deng Xiaoping, has accomplished two major achievements, namely, setting things right, and charting the course of building a socialist society with distinctive Chinese characteristics. It also explained that setting things right means putting in order what had been upset by the destruction done by Lin Biao and the gang of four, correcting the mistakes made by Mao Zedong during his later years, and returning to the correct path charted by Mao Zedong Thought. The editorial also emphatically pointed out: We have come to understand Mao Zedong Thought more accurately and fully, and we have become more conscious and more resolute in upholding its banner.

Comrades. Seen from the Deng Xiaoping–Hu Yaobang clique's appraisal of Mao Zedong and its attitude towards Mao Zedong Thought, we realize that, while it ostensibly stresses the need to master Mao Zedong's ideological system fully and accurately, claiming that it has come to understand Mao Zedong Thought more precisely and completely, it has in fact emasculated Mao Zedong Thought to meet its political needs. It once stated that Mao Zedong rendered meritorious service to the founding of the country, but made mistakes in building it, and committed crimes in launching the cultural revolution. This is specific proof that it has diminished Mao Zedong's historical role and
emasculated Mao Zedong Thought. According to its view, during his later years Mao Zedong acted against his own thought. During the cultural revolution, however, Mao Zedong's theory that capitalist roaders had been generated within the party was considered part of Mao Zedong Thought and also a development of Marxism-Leninism. Apparently, the Deng faction's attitude towards Mao Zedong Thought can be characterized by these words: Those who submit will prosper, those who resist will perish. That is to say, certain parts of Mao Zedong Thought which are incompatible with its political interests must be eliminated, whereas the part of Mao Zedong Thought, such as "What I say goes," and the concept of feudal fascist dictatorship, which it finds useful in practising feudalistic paternalism, not only must be inherited, but must also be held high forever.

The Deng faction's way of emasculating Mao Zedong Thought to meet its political needs reminds us of the recent campaign to eradicate so-called spiritual pollution. This campaign shows that its attitude towards Marxism is likewise one of emasculating it to suit its political needs. While clamoring for eradicating spiritual pollution, it focuses attention especially on criticizing the theory of alienation. It charges that certain people have been propagating the theory of alienation in socialism, saying such things as: In a socialist society, not only is there alienation in the ideological sphere, but also in the political and economic spheres. It also charges that some people have even stated that the root of alienation is in the socialist system itself.

The discussion of the issue of alienation originated from the discussion of alienation in labor, presented in an article Marx wrote in 1844 about economics and philosophy. In that article, Marx maintained that the phenomenon of alienation was primarily reflected in four aspects:

1. Alienation between laborers and their products. Marx pointed out that, when the products produced by the laborers became commodities or the capitalists' profits from exploiting the laborers, and not the laborers' possessions, the harder they produced, the more powerful the alien force would become and the greater suffering the laborers would have created for themselves.

2. Alienation in the process of labor. Marx pointed out that, since the products produced by the laborers do not belong to them, labor becomes their extra burden and bondage, as well as a counteraction.

3. Alienation in human life. Marx pointed out that human life should be a life of production and creation, but because of alienation in the product of labor and in labor itself, the meaning of human life has diminished.

4. Alienation in human relationships. Marx said that, while some people who do not have to work have the power to control the products of work, those who must work do not have the power to control the products of their work. Marx said that this phenomenon created alienation in human relationships and created confrontation among people.

Marx's theory about alienation was originally meant to analyze the phenomenon of exploitation and oppression among people in a capitalist society. But
now it turns out that this is also a phenomenon in a socialist society. For example, such phenomena as capitalist roaders being generated within the party's people's servants becoming the people's masters; party and state leaders appropriating public property, seeking special privileges, appropriating working class property and power like new bourgeoisie, and becoming bureaucrats hostile to the people, and so forth, are all facts of alienation in a socialist society. Since this theory has touched the ruling clique's sore spot, the power holders have put forward the idea that the theory of alienation was immature Marxism, and so cannot represent correct and complete Marxism. In the eyes of the power holders, therefore, the thinking of young Marx was wrong, but the thinking of Marx during his later years was correct. Their views on Mao Zedong Thought, however, are just the opposite. They maintain that the thinking of the young Mao Zedong was correct, but the thinking of Mao Zedong during his later years was wrong. The way Deng Xiaoping and company emasculate Marxism and Mao Zedong Thought to meet their political needs tells us that the four basic principles they have emphasized have long been rotten, and that their principles, policies, theories, and actual practices are full of contradictions. Such being the case, those who suffer are the broad masses of the people.
Comrades! Young friends! Since the 2d Plenary Session of the 12th Party Central Committee, under the call to eliminate spiritual pollution, a struggle has been waged on the ideological and theoretical front to criticize the concept of alienation in socialism.

What is the concept of alienation in socialism? In Comrade Zhou Yang's speech at a symposium marking the centenary of the death of Karl Marx on 7 March 1983 in Beijing, it was summarized as: In the field of economic construction, we did a lot of foolish things in the past and are now reaping what we have sown. This is alienation in the economic field. Owing to imperfections in democracy and the legal system, public servants sometimes abuse the powers entrusted in them by the people and turn themselves into masters of the people. This is alienation in the political field, also known as alienation in power. As to alienation in the ideological field, the most typical example is the personality cult, which has a certain resemblance to the alienation in religion criticized by Feuerbach. Therefore, alienation is an objective phenomenon, and there should be no alarm over it.

However, there are some leaders among the people in power who, from their stand as a privileged bureaucratic class, are alarmed by the concept of alienation in socialism and have mounted a theoretical encirclement and suppression campaign against it to safeguard their vested interests. They claim that some people have spread the concept of alienation in socialism by asserting that alienation exists in a socialist society not only in the ideological but also in the political and economic fields; they claim that some others have gone even farther by saying that the root of alienation lies in the socialist system itself. They also put labels on people and hit them with a big stick, saying that these viewpoints are diametrically opposed to the Marxist theory with regard to socialism and are, in essence, sowing distrust in the cause of socialism and communism and the Communist Party as well.

What is wrong with the socialist system itself being a source of alienation? It is an objective reality independent of man's will. As Comrade Wang Roushi, deputy editor in chief of RENMIN RIBAO, pointed out: Has socialism already eliminated alienation? Is there no longer alienation? We should
recognize that practice has proven that alienation still exists, not only in the ideological but also in the political and economic fields.

Comrades! The concept of alienation in socialism is no new proposition. As early as the cultural revolution, many young comrades discovered the phenomenon of alienation in their revolutionary practice and daily life. For example, as early as November 1974, before the convocation of the Fourth National People's Congress, the big-character poster put up by Li Yizhe in Guangzhou already made a preliminary exploration into the question of alienation in socialism.

Even at that time Li Yizhe's big-character poster pointed to the phenomena of alienation in power and in the economic field. He said: The essential form of possession by the new bourgeoisie is to appropriate public property under the condition of the socialist system of ownership of the means of production. When state or enterprise leaders redistribute property and power of the proletariat in the image of the bourgeoisie, they in fact acquire a new bourgeois private ownership of the property and power in question. This redistribution of property and power in the image of the bourgeoisie manifests itself mainly in two ways. It is common practice of some leaders to expand the necessary special treatment given them by the party and people into political and economic privileges, and they unrestrainedly extend such privileges to their families, relatives, and friends and even indulge in trading privileges with others. By going through the back door and similar channels, they ensure their children's political and economic opportunities by virtue of heredity. And centering on their selfish interests, they alter the socialist orientation of their work, practice factionalism, and foster a new privileged clique and force which stand above the people and oppose the people's interests.

Li Yizhe's big-character poster pointed out: More importantly, to safeguard the power they have gained and win still more privileges, they are bound to attack honest revolutionary comrades who uphold principle, suppress the masses of the people who rise up against their special privileges, and illegally deprive the political rights and economic interests of these comrades and masses. In so doing they will accomplish the qualitative change from public servants to masters of the people and become what we refer to as persons in authority taking the capitalist road. In other words, the basis of the capitalist roaders and careerists in the party is the new bourgeoisie hatched from special privileges.

With this kind of alienation in the political field, even after the downfall of the gang of four, some sharp, young comrades put forward the theory that the bureaucratic class and the working people contradict and oppose each other.

At the time, JIEFANGJUN BAO carried an editorial which charged: In the mighty revolutionary torrent to promote democracy and emancipate the mind, some people have taken the opportunity to put forward the so-called slogan to oppose the bureaucratic class. They claim that a bureaucratic class, or a privileged stratus, has now appeared in China, that this privileged bureaucratic class is right in the Communist Party, and not elsewhere, and that it consists of our leading cadres at all levels. They have equated party leadership with bureaucracy, and leading cadres with special privileges.
Comrades! The overlords in power, in their efforts to protect the interests of the privileged bureaucratic class, oppose the concept of alienation in socialism and describe the people's struggle against the rule of the privileged class and against their becoming the masters of the people and riding roughshod over the people as being against the four fundamental principles, Marxism, the Communist Party, and socialism. As during the period of the cultural revolution, they exaggerate the issues, put labels on people, and indiscriminately use a big stick. This shows that the ruling clique has already forfeited the support of the party, the army, and the people. Can their good time last very long?

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ANTI-COMMUNIST NETWORK REPORTAGE SET UP INSIDE PRC

OW031237 Taipei CHINA POST in English 29 Feb 84 p 12

[Text] The major tasks of the National Security Council in the past six years included developing anticommunist and intelligence organizations in mainland China, uniting free countries to counter the Chinese Communists and clamping down on seditious activities in the Republic of China bastion on Taiwan, Shen Chang-huan, secretary general of the council, said in Taipei yesterday.

Reporting on the work of the council during the second meeting of the National Assembly, Shen said the council provides the government with information on the global strategic situation, the Chinese Communists, and any uprisings on the mainland and gives the government strategic advice.

Founding Strongholds

According to Shen, the council's mainland work includes: Founding strategic strongholds in Red China, mobilizing communist defectors and anticommunist forces, urging mainland compatriots to join in reunification under the Three Principles of the People, and gathering information on the Chinese Communists.

Its overseas work stresses the setting up of an anticommunist information network and promoting the ROC's substantive relations with other countries. Its domestic work emphasizes the maintenance of democracy, law and public unity, cracking down on seditious activities and stopping violence, Shen indicated.

Maintain Prosperity

In the wake of international setbacks and sabotage and infiltration by the communists in the free world, the government must try hard to maintain economic prosperity and social order there, Shen added.

The delegates at the meeting gave their approval to the council for its efforts to safeguard the country and its prosperity in the past six years.

The council was established in February 1967 and the president is an ex officio chairman.

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Chi Peng-fei, Peking's top man in charge of its Hong Kong and Macao office, was quoted as telling a Hong Kong educator the other day that Red China would allow some British expatriates to take part in the Hong Kong Government after the British surrender their sovereignty in 1997. Some people naively interpreted Chi's remarks as further assurance that the Peking regime wants Hong Kong's capitalist economy to flourish after the communist takeover. To be sure, Peking has a stake in the continued prosperity of the colony after the red flag is hoisted over Hong Kong, but letting some British functionaries stay can by no means guarantee that. It is not a matter of whether the British will stay or not, the question is who is going to be the real boss of the Hong Kong Government. Even if the post 1997 Hong Kong Government were run entirely by British expatriates, the colony's capitalist system cannot be maintained if they have to take orders from Peking. The only way to assure the continued prosperity of Hong Kong is to let people of the colony decide their own future. As things are now going, they have no say on the matter at all. The people of Hong Kong are not represented in the ongoing talks between London and Peking. They were not even informed of the progress of the talks, yet Peking has promised that Hong Kong will become an autonomous district, run by the colony's residents themselves. No one in Hong Kong feels assured by the communists' pledge.

Their skepticism is well founded. Peking's so-called self-government by the residents of Hong Kong consists of what the Chinese communist authorities described as a three-three system, which calls for equal participation in a Hong Kong administration by pro-British, pro-Peking, and neutral officials. Only a fool would trust such an arrangement.

Even if Peking were sincere in letting pro-British elements play a role in the future administration of Hong Kong, it would still be able to manipulated behind the scenes because of so-called pro-Peking officials will be communist cadres Peking has stationed in the colony over the past years, and the so-called neutralists will be the real pro-Peking element. It means that the overwhelming majority of the Hong Kong residents, who are anticommunist,
will have no voice after all in the post 1997 Hong Kong Government. It is no mere speculation. An unofficial British member of the Hong Kong legislature suggested this week that any agreement reached between London and Peking must be approved by the colonial legislature before it becomes formal.

This suggestion is a sensible one, because only then can the residents of Hong Kong have a say over their own future. But pro-Peking papers in the colony immediately denounced it as a replica of the British version of the three-three system, which calls for the participation of Hong Kong residents in the negotiations. This being Peking's official attitude, one may ask how can one trust the regime's self-government assurance, when the people of Hong Kong are not even allowed to know the progress of the negotiations over their future?

CSO: 4000/251
The American Institute in Taiwan [AIT] issued a favorable report in December 1983 on the situation in Taiwan which will encourage foreign businessmen and traders to expand their investment and trade in the Republic of China [ROC].

The report stated that after real GNP growth of only 3.8 percent in 1982, the ROC economy, sparked by the improved U.S. economy and global recovery in general, picked up momentum in 1983, and the estimate real GNP growth for the entire year is 7.14 percent with industrial production expanding at 11.3 percent and exports growing 11.3 percent. The AIT estimates that total foreign trade for 1983 will reach US $45.2 billion, exports will be U.S $25.1 billion and imports will be US $20.1 billion, leaving a trade surplus of US $5 billion.

The report also noted that prices were stable in 1983 with inflation in the consumer price index at less than 1 percent in the first 11 months and the wholesale price index had negative growth.

It pointed out that the ROC continued to enjoy an excellent credit rating as it had a debt service ratio of less than 8 percent. However, fixed investment dropped nearly 4 percent and there were some financial dilemmas by some large companies.

Improved economic performance, it pointed out, had a strong influence on the ROC's recent economic gains and the momentum in the economy should cause upturns in investment and imports.

The report presents an optimistic prospect for economic growth in 1984. Although it warned that U.S. exporters will continue to face obstacles due to the effect of a strong dollar, Taiwan's sluggishness in capital investments and tariff and non-tariff barriers, it also said that U.S. companies still have many opportunities for them to explore aggressively.

The government's measures to encourage investments and its allocation of US $375 million in the fiscal 1984 budget for direct subsidization of new product development were cited as examples.

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VICE PREMIER URGES GREATER OVERALL DIPLOMACY

OWI51453 Taipei CNA in English 1410 GMT 15 Mar 84

[Text] Taipei, 15 Mar (CNA)—Vice Premier Chiu Chuang-huan Thursday instructed the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and other government agencies to continue pushing hard on overall diplomacy.

The vice premier gave the directive after hearing a report by Minister of Communications Lien Chan on the offering of global flight service at the weekly Executive Yuan (cabinet) meeting.

The Ministry of Communications announced Wednesday that China Airlines [CAL], the nation's flag carrier, will begin to offer flights girdling the globe April 12.

CAL's setting up of global routes signifies a great breakthrough for this nation in its foreign relations and will help this nation shore up its substantive relationships with friendly countries, Vice Premier Chiu indicated.

However, he warned that the Chinese communists have never abandoned their attempt to isolate this country from the international community. Especially, since Chinese communist "Premier" Chao Tzu-yang's visit to the United States in January, the Peiping regime has intensified its peaceful offensive against this country by taking a low posture in foreign affairs. The aim of Peiping's efforts is to undermine this nation's relationships with foreign countries, Chiu pointed out.

The vice premier asked the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and other concerned government agencies to keep close watch on Peiping and its united front tactics in the international community and to be prepared to cope with whatever ploys they use.
RELATIONS WITH INDONESIA TERMED 'GOOD'

OW160355 Taipei CNA in English 0309 GMT 16 Mar 84

Text] Jakarta, 15 Mar (CNA)—The bilateral relations between Indonesia and the Republic of China [ROC] are good and it is for sure that the links in the fields of commerce, economic cooperation, culture and sports as well as film industry of the two countries could be further expanded and increase in the years to come.

These prospects were given by James C. Y. Soong, director general of the Government Information Office of the Republic of China, in an exclusive interview with a writer of the monthly ECONOMIS (ECONOMICS), one of the oldest magazines in Indonesia, recently. The article of the interview appeared in the magazine's latest issue published in March 1984.

Noting that the reciprocal requirements and the proximity geographically, the Chinese information director believed that the trade volume of the two countries could soon turn the corner from the sluggish situation in the past two years as the recovery of world economy would benefit the two countries in the development of bilateral trade.

In 1982, the two-way trade decreased to U.S. dollars 682 million from 1981's 888 million. Last year, it was over U.S. dollars 700 million again, comparing with the peak of U.S. dollars 1,017 million registered in the year 1980.

Through strengthening the functions of the Chinese Chamber of Commerce to Jakarta, the ROC's representative office in Indonesia, the trade activities of export and import of the two countries may be further enlarged, not only in amount but also in categories.

Asked in what way the Republic of China could assist in promoting Indonesia's industrial development and forwarding the economic cooperation, Mr Soong said that Indonesia could upgrade its industrial level by importing more machineries and equipment as well as technology from the Republic of China whereas the ROC would purchase what it needs from Indonesia.

The efforts being made by ROC's industrial and business circles such as the investment project of the Chinese Petroleum Corporation in Indonesia in the framework of assisting the exports of liquefied natural gas (LNG) and crude
oil to ROC and the cooperation on coal exploration between the Chinese Energy Research Council and its Indonesian counterpart are to be beneficial to both sides in commercial and economic cooperation spheres.

Touching on the field of culture, the Chinese Information Office chief indicated that efforts are being made in two aspects: firstly, scholarships have been granted to Indonesian students who are eager to study in the ROC; secondly, the Taipei-based Sino-Indonesian Cultural and Economic Association has been sponsoring a number of exhibitions introducing Indonesia's culture and working on cultural exchange programs.

In the development of sports relations, Mr Soong in reply indicated that both sides have already sent teams of badminton, women softball, soccer and karate sport to promote the friendship in this field.

With regard to film industry, Mr Soong pointed out that the two countries have taken part in the Asia-Pacific Film Festival held respectively in Taipei and Yogyakarta, capital of Jogyakarta special territory of Indonesia.
CHIU REFUTES 'MULTISYSTEM' POLITICAL THEORY

OW030441 Taipei CNA in English 0308 GMT 3 Mar 84

[Text] Taipei, 3 Mar (CNA)--Vice Premier Chiu Chuang-huan said the multi-systems political theory is not consistent with the Republic of China's Constitution, therefore it will not be adopted by the government.

He made the statement in reply to Legislator Chen Ching-kui's question at a Legislative Yuan meeting Friday.

The theory says different political systems can co-exist under a single sovereign government. This pattern was put up by political theorists in the West for possible unifications of divided countries like Germany.

He said this country's political system and territory are clearly stipulated in the Constitution and are not subject to any change without related procedures.

He pointed out that up to the present, the multi-systems theory has only been heard in academic circles and has never been put into practice.

Late last year, the Executive Yuan in a reply to Legislator Lin Lien-Hui's query said this theory does not go with this nation's policy, adding that it was not accepted by the international community either.

Chiu quoted article one of the Constitution to explain the government's position. The article states, "The Republic of China is founded on the Three Principles of the People, to be governed by and for the people."

He also quoted article four of the construction [as received] which says without a resolution by the National Assembly there cannot be any change of the boundary in the nation's territory.

He said the National Assembly has never made any resolution regarding a change of the territory and we have never abandoned our claim of sovereignty over mainland China.

The vice premier said for the time being, the government is making efforts to unite all forces of Chinese to accomplish the historic task of unifying China under the Three Principles of the People.
Therefore, he emphasized, the government will never adopt the multi-systems theory.

He added, nor will we change our position of not compromising with the Chinese Communists.

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BRIEFS

HEAVY FUEL OIL EXPORTS--Kaohsiung, 9 Mar (CNA)--To solve the problem of huge surpluses of heavy fuel oil, the Chinese Petroleum Corporation (CPC) has decided to export 100,000 kiloliters of heavy fuel oil every month to countries in Southeast Asia starting from March this year, according to an informed source with CPC. The source says that the surplus of this commodity has become a world-wide trend since the second world oil crisis happened. Taiwan Power Company has been the biggest user of the heavy fuel oil in this nation. However, the changed power generation structure of Taipower has resulted in large surpluses of heavy fuel oil. Although other industries are consuming more heavy fuel oil than before, they cannot digest the excessive quantities on hand now, the source reports. Export of the excess is not a lasting measure, the source states. At present, CPC has sent personnel abroad to learn the expertise of cracking and gasifying heavy fuel oil into lighter oil, giving more flexible solution to the problem. [Text] [OW090315 Taipei CNA in English 0256 GMT 9 Mar 84]

RELATIONS WITH EUROPE--Taipei, 10 Mar (CNA)--Ding Mou-shih, political vice minister of foreign affairs, said Friday that solid achievements have been made in promoting substantive relations with European countries in the past several years and that there has been no change in friendly relations between the Vatican and this nation. In responding to an interpellation by Legislator Chin Shao-hsien, Ding said that in addition to maintaining official ties with the Vatican, this nation has set up numerous cultural, economic and trade offices in 14 European countries. On the other hand, he continued, 11 European countries have also set up 14 organizations in this nation for promotion of mutual relations. Ding said Ambassador Chow Shu-kai has confirmed that the Vatican will continue to promote its friendship with this nation after a 40-minute talk with the deputy secretary of state of the Vatican on March 8. As to when the Trident-six will be released, Ding said the government will urge the Korean Government through political channels to send the freedom seekers here as soon as the judicial procedure is over. [Text] [OW100409 Taipei CNA in English 0236 GMT 10 Mar 84]

KMT SUPPORTS NIEH, LIU--Nieh Wen-ya and Liu Kou-tsai, two prominent members of the ruling Kuomintang, were renominated as candidates for the next president and vice president of the Legislative Yuan by the KMT Central Standing Committee yesterday morning, KMT sources said. The elections will be held
on March 27, and votes will be cast by all legislators according to Article 66 of the Constitution. Nieh is currently president of the Legislative Yuan while Liu is the vice president. Nieh was educated in the United States while Liu was educated in Japan. [Text] [0W121401 Taipei CHINA POST in English 8 Mar 84 p 12]

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