

# BEIJING REVIEW



A CHINESE WEEKLY OF  
NEWS AND VIEWS

- 12th Party Congress Concludes
- Party Leadership Elected
- Full Text of New Party Constitution



# LETTERS

## Unmask Deception and Promote Sino-Japanese Friendship

Your commentary entitled "History of Japanese Aggression Against China Can Never Be Distorted" (issue No. 31) expresses powerful support for the Japanese people. Any Japanese having a good conscience will never forgive such crimes as the Nanjing massacre, the policy of "burn all, kill all and loot all," the massacre in Pingdingshan or the experiments with biochemical weapons on human bodies. While the militarists are attempting to deceive some Japanese people who are ideologically superficial (it is really a pity that this is how things stand), the Chinese people have voiced their resounding call for a stop. It is completely wrong for the Japanese Education Ministry to revise history and it is entirely correct for the Chinese people to rise against it.

**Yotaro Saito**  
Sakura, Japan

The textbook issue has now caused a sensation in Asia and in other parts of the world. What your publication said is quite correct. Like the Chinese people, the

Japanese people are firmly opposed to it. Because I love my motherland, I must adopt a sincere attitude towards it and truthfully teach the children—the future generations of Japan. Otherwise the irredeemable tragic experience our generation has gone through will recur.

I lived in China for 20 years and my three sons graduated from Zhaodong Middle School (in northeast China's Heilongjiang Province.)

I often made speeches about the war with tears in my eyes to the Japanese women at the council of women's bureau of the Japan-China Friendship Association. Following is a part of my speech: "Japan launched brutal aggression against China. Yet, the Chinese people saved my sons and me, the people of the nation that had launched the war of aggression. The Chinese people also said that Japanese militarism was responsible for the war. Like the Chinese people, the Japanese people were also victims. The Chinese people are broadminded people with deep affection. We should be friendly with the Chinese people for generations to come. . . ." When I finished my speech, all those present were moved to tears.

I am confident that China will deal with the Japanese people fair-

ly and will not embarrass the Japanese people because of the textbook issue.

**Yoshi Sugano**  
Nagano, Japan

## Human Rights

I congratulate you on the feature on human rights (issue No. 30). Not only did it clearly set out the bourgeois origin of the concept of human rights, but it went on to elucidate the positive development of the concept of human rights under the influence of the growing presence of the third world countries at the United Nations. It seems of particular importance that the concept of human rights, originally put forward as natural rights of the individual, now embraces the rights of people, such as the right of liberation from oppression, of development, etc.

I would like to point out one omission in the article. The rights of people also include the rights of national minorities and of indigenous people for self-determination. This was pointed out in the article in the Chinese context but went unmentioned in the international context.

**Matthias Tomeczak**  
Redfern, Australia

# BEIJING REVIEW

Published every Monday by  
BEIJING REVIEW  
24 Baiwanzhuang Road, Beijing  
The People's Republic of China

Vol. 25, No. 38 September 20, 1982

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BEIJING REVIEW (USPS No. 658-110) is published weekly for US\$ 13.50 per year by Beijing Review, 24 Baiwanzhuang Road, Beijing, China. Second-class postage paid at San Francisco, CA. Postmaster: Send address changes to China Books & Periodicals, Inc., 2929 24th Street, San Francisco, CA 94110.



## Nuclear Test Ban

**Why has China decided not to join the ad hoc working group on a nuclear test ban under the Geneva Committee on Disarmament?**

Our government has consistently advocated genuine disarmament. Since the 1960s, the Chinese Government has several times made proposals and suggestions concerning disarmament and strengthening international security. We hold that only when a nuclear test ban is linked with nuclear disarmament can the nuclear arms race between the Soviet Union and the United States be halted. World peace and security will not be aided by a nuclear test ban alone, while failing to make the Soviet Union and the United States take the lead in greatly reducing their nuclear weapons. Such a ban would, on the contrary, help the two superpowers consolidate their nuclear superiority and carry out nuclear threats and nuclear blackmail against the non-nuclear states.

Many countries wish to conclude a treaty totally banning nuclear tests so as to stop the nuclear states from upgrading the quality of their nuclear weapons and prevent the birth of new nuclear states. This feeling is quite understandable.

But, what is the attitude of the Soviet Union and the United States on the question of a nuclear test ban? They have verbally agreed to prohibit nuclear tests, but the fact is

they conduct 90 per cent of the nuclear tests in the world today. Moreover, the majority of the tests have been conducted since they signed the treaty on the partial halting of nuclear tests.

The two superpowers have been less than honest on this issue. For instance, after they were satisfied that they had conducted enough atmospheric nuclear tests, they concluded a treaty on the partial halting of nuclear tests in 1963 which did not include underground nuclear tests. Then, after they had conducted a large number of underground nuclear tests, they signed a new treaty in 1974 limiting underground nuclear tests to below 150 kilotons.

Thus the two superpowers are allowed to carry out whatever kind of nuclear tests they wish to, and when they no longer need them, they won't allow others to conduct similar tests. Their actions indicate their desire to maintain their nuclear monopoly. Therefore, to indiscriminately demand that all nuclear states stop nuclear tests before the two superpowers significantly reduce their nuclear weapons only helps the Soviet Union and the United States maintain and consolidate their nuclear superiority and will definitely not reduce the danger of nuclear war.

China conducts necessary and limited nuclear tests totally for defence, with the thorough elimination of nuclear weapons as its final goal. As early as 1964,

China declared that it would not at any time and under any circumstances be the first to use nuclear weapons, nor would it use nuclear weapons against any non-nuclear states and nuclear-free zones. It has reiterated these pledges on many other occasions, which testifies to the Chinese Government's sincerity on disarmament.

At the Second Special Session of the UN General Assembly on Disarmament this past summer, Foreign Minister Huang Hua proposed that the two superpowers take the lead in stopping the tests and the qualitative improvement and manufacture of all kinds of nuclear weapons. He further proposed that they reduce by 50 per cent their existing nuclear arsenals. His proposal reflected the principle of linking a nuclear test ban with nuclear disarmament. The Chinese Government is willing to undertake its obligation after the two superpowers fulfil theirs.

— *International Editor*  
*Mu Youlin*



## POLITICAL

## 12th Party Congress Closes

THE 12th National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party came to a successful end in the Great Hall of the People in Beijing on September 11.

The 11-day congress accomplished the following tasks:

— Approved a report made by Comrade Hu Yaobang on behalf of the 11th Party Central Committee (see our last issue for full text of his report). This report specifies the basic conclusion the Party has drawn from long years of struggle, that is, to integrate the universal truth of Marxism with the concrete realities of China, blaze a path of her own and build socialism with Chinese characteristics; it also lays down the principles and tasks for the creation of a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization;

— Adopted a new Constitution of the Chinese Communist Party (see p. 8), which is the best since the Party was founded in 1921. Drawn up in the light of the characteristics and needs of the new period of historical development, the new Party Constitution sets stricter demands on Party members, cadres and grass-roots organizations than previous Constitutions, emphasizing that members of the Chinese Communist Party are at all times ordinary members of the working people and that they must not seek personal gain or privileges. It also lays down more comprehensive and more specific

provisions regarding the Party's democratic centralism and Party discipline, stresses collective leadership and forbids any form of personality cult;

— Endorsed a work report made by the Central Commission for Discipline Inspection; and

— Elected the 12th Party Central Committee which is composed of 348 members and alternate members, the Central Advisory Commission with 172 members and the 132-member Central Commission for Discipline Inspection.

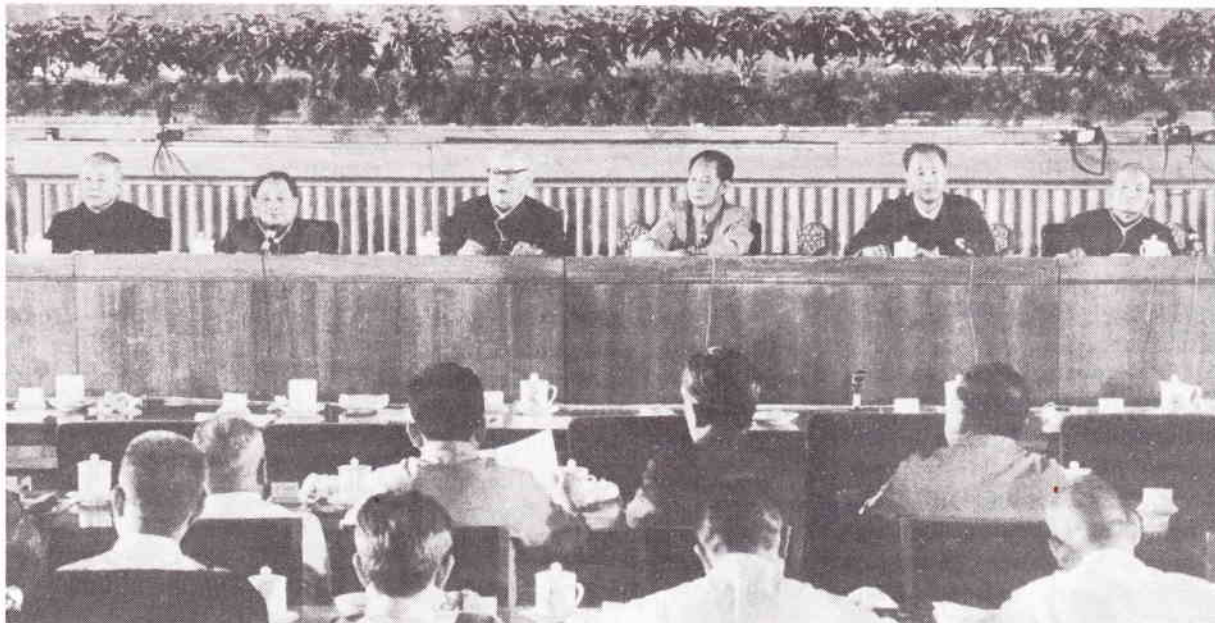
The newly elected Party Central Committee has the following two salient features:

— It embodies the co-operation between old and new cadres and the succession of the new to the old, which will ensure the continuity of the Party's correct line adopted since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee. With the exception of a dozen or so proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation over the age of 70 who, well-experienced in struggle, enjoy high prestige at home and abroad and are presiding over the work of the whole Party and nation, the overwhelming majority of the Party Central Committee members joined the revolution during the War of Resistance Against Japan (1937-45), the War of Liberation (1946-49) or after the birth of New China in 1949. Of

the 348 members and alternate members, 211, or more than 60 per cent, were elected into the Central Committee for the first time, and two-thirds of the 211 are below 60 years old, the youngest being 38.

— Due attention has been paid to choosing better educated and professionally competent cadres. A considerable number of the 211 Party Central Committee members mentioned above are well-accomplished professionals from the various economic departments, and some are outstanding representatives from the cultural and educational fields and leading Party, government and army cadres. Fifty-nine, or 17 per cent, are professional and technological cadres as against 9, or 2.7 per cent, on the 11th Party Central Committee.

The 12th Party Congress was one in which democracy was brought into full play. During the group discussions, the delegates freely aired their views and there was a full exchange of opinions. The secretariat of the congress added new points and made amendments to relevant documents according to the opinions and suggestions made during the group discussions. The election of the Party Central Committee also gave full play to democracy. The delegates just cast their ballots without making any marks on the list of candidates if they



Comrades Hu Yaobang (third from right), Ye Jianying (third from left), Deng Xiaoping (second from left), Zhao Ziyang (second from right), Li Xiannian (first from left) and Chen Yun (first from right) at the First Plenary Session of the 12th Party Central Committee.

agreed with all of them; if they had different opinions on certain candidates, they put a mark by the side of their names; and if they wanted to choose others, they wrote their names down on the ballots.

### Li Xiannian's Closing Speech

In his speech at the closing session on September 11, Comrade Li Xiannian said that the congress had successfully fulfilled its historic mission. After a brief review of the whole congress, he called on everyone to work hard in the next five years for achieving a fundamental turn for the better in three spheres, namely, the financial and economic situation of our country, the standards of social conduct, and the style of our Party. He also called on the whole Party and the people of all nationalities throughout the country to strive for the fulfilment of the various fighting tasks set forth by the 12th Party Congress.

## First Plenum of Central Committee

**T**HE First Plenary Session of the 12th Central Committee of the Communist Party of China which lasted for two days, closed on September 13 in Beijing.

On the first day, the meeting was presided over by Comrades Hu Yaobang and Zhao Ziyang and was attended by members and alternate members of the Party Central Committee, members of the Central Advisory Commission and Comrade Huang Kecheng. The plenary session elected the members and alternate members of the Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee, the members of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau, the General Secretary of the Party Central Committee and the members and alternate members of the Secretariat of the Party Central Committee, and decided on the Chairman and Vice-Chairmen of

the Military Commission of the Party Central Committee.

The meeting approved on the second day the leading members of the Central Advisory Commission and the Central Commission for Discipline Inspection elected respectively by the two commissions. The meeting was attended by members and alternate members of the Party Central Committee, and members of the Central Advisory Commission and the Central Commission for Discipline Inspection attended as observers.

Before the session ended, Comrade Hu Yaobang, on behalf of the newly elected Secretariat of the Party Central Committee, made an important speech concerning the present and next year's tasks.

Prior to this, the Central Advisory Commission and the Central Commission for Discipline Inspection held on the same day plenary meetings and



elected their own leading members.

Following are the name lists:

### Members and Alternate Members of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee

1. Members of the Political Bureau (listed in the order of the number of strokes in their surnames):

Wan Li, Xi Zhongxun, Wang Zhen, Wei Guoqing (Zhuang), Ulanhu (Mongolian), Fang Yi, Deng Xiaoping, Deng Yingchao (f.), Ye Jianying, Li Xiannian, Li Desheng, Yang Shangkun, Yang Dezhi, Yu Qiuli, Song Renqiong, Zhang Tingfa, Chen Yun, Zhao Ziyang, Hu Qiaomu, Hu Yaobang, Nie Rongzhen, Ni Zhifu, Xu Xiangqian, Peng Zhen and Liao Chengzhi

2. Alternate Members of the Political Bureau (listed in the order of the number of votes):

Yao Yilin, Qin Jiwei and Chen Muhua (f.)

### Members of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee:

Hu Yaobang, Ye Jianying, Deng Xiaoping, Zhao Ziyang, Li Xiannian and Chen Yun

### General Secretary of the Central Committee:

Hu Yaobang

### Members and Alternate Members of the Secretariat of the Central Committee:

1. Members of the Secretariat (listed in the order of the number of strokes in their surnames):

Wan Li, Xi Zhongxun, Deng Liqun, Yang Yong, Yu Qiuli,

Gu Mu, Chen Pixian, Hu Qili and Yao Yilin

2. Alternate Members of the Secretariat (listed in the order of the number of votes):

Qiao Shi and Hao Jianxiu (f.)

### Chairman and Vice-Chairmen of the Military Commission of the Central Committee:

Chairman: Deng Xiaoping

Vice-Chairmen: Ye Jianying, Xu Xiangqian, Nie Rongzhen, and Yang Shangkun (Permanent Vice-Chairman)

### Chairman and Vice-Chairmen of the Central Advisory Commission:

Chairman: Deng Xiaoping

Vice-Chairmen: Bo Yibo, Xu Shiyou, Tan Zhenlin and Li Weihan

### Members of the Central Commission for Discipline Inspection:

First Secretary: Chen Yun

Second Secretary: Huang Kecheng

Permanent Secretary: Wang Heshou

Secretaries: Wang Congwu, Han Guang, Li Chang, Ma Guorui and Han Tianshi

## SCIENTIFIC

### China's 12th Satellite Successfully Launched

China successfully launched another scientific experimental satellite into space on September 9, 1982. It was accurately orbited and performed well. All the meters and instruments on the satellite functioned normally. On September 14, the satellite accurately returned to

the designated site according to plan.

This is China's 12th man-made earth satellite since it launched its first one in 1970.

The launching took place at the time when the Chinese Communist Party was holding its 12th National Congress. The Presidium of the congress sent a message of greetings to all the staff participating in the work of launching this scientific experimental satellite.

### Satellite Communications Ground Stations

Chinese satellite communications ground stations with home-made equipment recently succeeded in experimenting with the transmission of TV programmes through an international communications satellite.

Participating in this experiment were an experimental station with a 10-metre (diameter) antenna in Nanjing, an experimental station with 15- and 5-metre antennas in Shijiazhuang, a TV receiving station with 5- and 3.2-metre antennas in Nanjing and a 5-metre TV receiving station in Shijiazhuang, all using equipment designed by the Chinese Ministry of Electronics Industry and made with domestic components and materials.

The experiment had the unstinting support of postal and telecommunications, meteorological and metrological departments as well as the mass media.

On the afternoon of August 18, TV programmes were transmitted through an international communications satellite over the Indian Ocean (36,000 kilometres from the earth) to the TV screens of the Nanjing

station. Stations in Shanghai and Shijiazhuang received the TV programmes at the same time. The pictures that appeared on TV screens in these stations were clear, the images lifelike and the synchronized voice and music sonorous and harmonious. Such excellent audio-visual results were highly acclaimed by the Intelsat.

From June 6 until the experiment began, satellite communications ground stations in Nanjing and other places in China had carefully examined and verified, with the aid of an international communications satellite, the performance of their equipment and they all passed the rigid tests given by the Intelsat, thus ensuring the success of the experiment.

An earlier experiment was conducted between April 1978 and February 1979, when the ground stations were being constructed and the equipment trial-produced, in which the "Symphony" communications satellite trial-produced by France and West Germany was used for TV transmissions, newspaper mould facsimile transmissions, multiple telephone communications and the transmission of time and frequency standards. The visits by the then Vice-Premier Fang Yi to West Germany and France were televised live with satisfactory results.

These two experiments show that ground stations with home-made equipment are fully capable of providing services such as telephone transmissions, TV relaying and facsimile transmissions through an international communications satellite.

China has decided on the final models of whole sets of equipment needed by satellite communications ground stations and will soon put them into batch production, according to

an official of the Ministry of Electronics Industry. This is an indication that China's electronics industry has entered a new stage of development and that a solid foundation has been laid for the development of telecommunications, broadcasting, facsimile transmission and TV services through satellites.

## FOREIGN RELATIONS

### Reply to Japan's Measures To Solve Textbook Issue

Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs Wu Xueqian gave the response of the Chinese Government to the further measures proposed by the Japanese Government on September 6 to solve the textbook question. He did this during a meeting with Japanese Ambassador to China Yasue Katori on September 8.

Evaluating the measures, Wu Xueqian said: "Although there are still some ambiguous, unsatisfactory points about the concrete measures proposed by the Japanese side to correct the mistakes, it is a step forward compared with the explanations previously made.

"The Chinese Government has consistently maintained that whether the history of Japanese militarist aggression against China is recognized is a major question of principle in the relations between the two countries. The Japanese side tampered with this historical fact in the course of censoring the textbooks. The Chinese Government and people are justified in expressing their firm opposition.

"We take note of the fact that the Japanese Government reiterated its willingness to

adhere to the spirit of the China-Japan joint statement and is keenly aware of Japan's responsibility for bringing enormous damage in the past to the Chinese people through war, and deeply reproaches itself. The Japanese Government will fully listen to the Chinese side's criticism of the expressions in the textbooks and hold itself responsible for correcting the mistakes. It will call a textbook authorization research council meeting in September this year and will decide by the end of November on the revision of the authorization criteria for compiling textbooks. It is expected that the new authorization criteria will call for revision of the expressions in the textbooks concerning 'aggression' and 'the Nanjing massacre' this year. Regarding those textbooks already authorized, the Education Minister will issue views to be carried in the Ministry's bulletins and transmitted to all primary and middle schools and educational committees at various levels, so that the demand of the Chinese side will be satisfied in practice."

Vice-Foreign Minister Wu said: "We appreciate Prime Minister Zenko Suzuki's desire to defend the friendly relations between China and Japan and the determination of the Japanese Government to undertake responsibility to correct the matter.

"We will judge whether the Japanese side conscientiously corrects the mistakes in the textbooks by its concrete actions and their effects. We reserve our right to comment on this matter. We hope the Japanese Government will continue its efforts, respect historical facts and keep its word in the interests of the continued development of Sino-Japanese relations."

# Constitution of the Communist Party Of China

(Adopted by the 12th National Congress of the  
Communist Party of China on September 6, 1982)

## General Programme

The Communist Party of China is the vanguard of the Chinese working class, the faithful representative of the interests of the people of all nationalities in China, and the force at the core leading China's cause of socialism. The Party's ultimate goal is the creation of a communist social system.

The Communist Party of China takes Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought as its guide to action.

Applying dialectical materialism and historical materialism, Marx and Engels analysed the laws of development of capitalist society and founded the theory of scientific socialism. According to this theory, with the victory of the proletariat in its revolutionary struggle, the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie is inevitably replaced by the dictatorship of the proletariat, and capitalist society is inevitably transformed into socialist society in which the means of production are publicly owned, exploitation is abolished and the principle "from each according to his ability and to each according to his work" is applied; with tremendous growth of the productive forces and tremendous progress in the ideological, political and cultural fields, socialist society ultimately and inevitably advances into communist society in which the principle "from each according to his ability and to each according to his needs" is applied. Early in the 20th century, Lenin pointed out that capitalism had developed to the stage of imperialism, that the liberation struggle of the proletariat was bound to unite with that of the oppressed nations of the world, and that it was possible for socialist revolution to win victory first in countries that were the weak links of imperialist rule. The course of world history during the past half century and more, and especially the establishment and development of the socialist system in a number of countries, has borne out the correctness of the theory of scientific socialism.

The development and improvement of the socialist system is a long historical process. Fundamentally speaking, the socialist system is incomparably superior to the capitalist system, having eliminated the contradictions inherent in the capitalist system, which the latter itself is incapable of overcoming. Socialism enables the people truly to become masters of the country, gradually to shed the old ideas and ways formed under the system of exploitation and private ownership of the means of production, and steadily to raise their communist consciousness and foster common ideals, common ethics and a common discipline in their own ranks. Socialism can give full scope to the initiative and creativeness of the people, develop the productive forces rapidly, proportionately and in a planned way, and meet the growing material and cultural needs of the members of society. The cause of socialism is advancing and is bound gradually to triumph throughout the world along paths that are suited to the specific conditions of each country and are chosen by its people of their own free will.

The Chinese Communists, with Comrade Mao Zedong as their chief representative, created Mao Zedong Thought by integrating the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution. Mao Zedong Thought is Marxism-Leninism applied and developed in China; it consists of a body of theoretical principles concerning the revolution and construction in China and a summary of experience therein, both of which have been proved correct by practice; it represents the crystallized, collective wisdom of the Communist Party of China.

The Communist Party of China led the people of all nationalities in waging their prolonged revolutionary struggle against imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism, winning victory in the new-democratic revolution and establishing the People's Republic of China — a people's democratic dictatorship. After the



founding of the People's Republic, it led them in smoothly carrying out socialist transformation, completing the transition from New Democracy to socialism, establishing the socialist system, and developing socialism in its economic, political and cultural aspects.

After the elimination of the exploiting classes as such, most of the contradictions in Chinese society do not have the nature of class struggle, and class struggle is no longer the principal contradiction. However, owing to domestic circumstances and foreign influences, class struggle will continue to exist within certain limits for a long time, and may even sharpen under certain conditions. The principal contradiction in Chinese society is that between the people's growing material and cultural needs and the backward level of our social production. The other contradictions should be resolved in the course of resolving this principal one. It is essential to strictly distinguish and correctly handle the two different types of contradictions—the contradictions between the enemy and ourselves and those among the people.

The general task of the Communist Party of China at the present stage is to unite the people of all nationalities in working hard and self-reliantly to achieve, step by step, the modernization of our industry, agriculture, national defence and science and technology and make China a culturally advanced and highly democratic socialist country.

The focus of the work of the Communist Party of China is to lead the people of all nationalities in accomplishing the socialist modernization of our economy. It is necessary vigorously to expand the productive forces and gradually perfect socialist relations of production, in keeping with the actual level of the productive forces and as required for their expansion. It is necessary to strive for the gradual improvement of the standards of material and cultural life of the urban and rural population, based on the growth of production and social wealth.

The Communist Party of China leads the people, as they work for a high level of material civilization, in building a high level of socialist spiritual civilization. Major efforts should be made to promote education, science and culture, imbue the Party members and the masses of the people with communist ideology, combat and overcome decadent bourgeois ideas, remnant feudal ideas and other non-proletarian ideas, and encourage the Chinese people to have lofty

ideals, moral integrity, education and a sense of discipline.

The Communist Party of China leads the people in promoting socialist democracy, perfecting the socialist legal system, and consolidating the people's democratic dictatorship. Effective measures should be taken to protect the people's right to run the affairs of the state and of society, and to manage economic and cultural undertakings; and to strike firmly at hostile elements who deliberately sabotage the socialist system, and those who seriously breach or jeopardize public security. Great efforts should be made to strengthen the People's Liberation Army and national defence so that the country is prepared at all times to resist and wipe out any invaders.

The Communist Party of China upholds and promotes relations of equality, unity and mutual assistance among all nationalities in the country, persists in the policy of regional autonomy of minority nationalities, aids the areas inhabited by minority nationalities in their economic and cultural development, and actively trains and promotes cadres from among the minority nationalities.

The Communist Party of China unites with all workers, peasants and intellectuals, and with all the democratic parties, non-party democrats and the patriotic forces of all the nationalities in China in further expanding and fortifying the broadest possible patriotic united front embracing all socialist working people and all patriots who support socialism or who support the reunification of the motherland. We should work together with the people throughout the country, including our compatriots in Taiwan, Xianggang (Hongkong) and Aomen (Macao) and Chinese nationals residing abroad, to accomplish the great task of reunifying the motherland.

In international affairs, the Communist Party of China takes the following basic stand: It adheres to proletarian internationalism and firmly unites with the workers of all lands, with the oppressed nations and oppressed peoples and with all peace-loving and justice-upholding organizations and personages in the common struggle against imperialism, hegemonism and colonialism and for the defence of world peace and promotion of human progress. It stands for the development of state relations between China and other countries on the basis of the five principles of mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful co-

existence. It develops relations with Communist Parties and working-class parties in other countries on the basis of Marxism and the principles of independence, complete equality, mutual respect and non-interference in each other's internal affairs.

In order to lead China's people of all nationalities in attaining the great goal of socialist modernization, the Communist Party of China must strengthen itself, carry forward its fine traditions, enhance its fighting capacity and resolutely achieve the following three essential requirements:

First, a high degree of ideological and political unity. The Communist Party of China makes the realization of communism its maximum programme, to which all its members must devote their entire lives. At the present stage, the political basis for the solidarity and unity of the whole Party consists in adherence to the socialist road, to the people's democratic dictatorship, to the leadership of the Party, and to Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought and in the concentration of our efforts on socialist modernization. The Party's ideological line is to proceed from reality in all things, to integrate theory with practice, to seek truth from facts, and to verify and develop the truth through practice. In accordance with this ideological line, the whole Party must scientifically sum up historical experience, investigate and study actual conditions, solve new problems in domestic and international affairs, and oppose all erroneous deviations, whether "Left" or Right.

Second, wholehearted service to the people. The Party has no special interests of its own apart from the interests of the working class and the broadest masses of the people. The programme and policies of the Party are precisely the scientific expressions of the fundamental interests of the working class and the broadest masses of the people. Throughout the process of leading the masses in struggle to realize the ideal of communism, the Party always shares weal and woe with the people, keeps in closest contact with them, and does not allow any member to become divorced from the masses or place himself above them. The Party persists in educating the masses in communist ideas and follows the mass line in its work, doing everything for the masses, relying on them in every task, and turning its correct views into conscious action by the masses.

Third, adherence to democratic centralism. Within the Party, democracy is given full play,

a high degree of centralism is practised on the basis of democracy and a sense of organization and discipline is strengthened, so as to ensure unity of action throughout its ranks and the prompt and effective implementation of its decisions. In its internal political life, the Party conducts criticism and self-criticism in the correct way, waging ideological struggles over matters of principle, upholding truth and rectifying mistakes. Applying the principle that all members are equally subject to Party discipline, the Party duly criticizes or punishes those members who violate it and expels those who persist in opposing and harming the Party.

Party leadership consists mainly in political, ideological and organizational leadership. The Party must formulate and implement correct lines, principles and policies, do its organizational, propaganda and educational work well and make sure that all Party members play their exemplary vanguard role in every sphere of work and every aspect of social life. The Party must conduct its activities within the limits permitted by the Constitution and the laws of the state. It must see to it that the legislative, judicial and administrative organs of the state and the economic, cultural and people's organizations work actively and with initiative, independently, responsibly and in harmony. The Party must strengthen its leadership over the trade unions, the Communist Youth League, the Women's Federation and other mass organizations, and give full scope to their roles. The Party members are a minority in the whole population, and they must work in close co-operation with the masses of non-Party people in the common effort to make our socialist motherland ever stronger and more prosperous, until the ultimate realization of communism.

## Chapter I Membership

**Article 1** Any Chinese worker, peasant, member of the armed forces, intellectual or any other revolutionary who has reached the age of 18 and who accepts the Party's programme and Constitution and is willing to join and work actively in one of the Party organizations, carry out the Party's decisions and pay membership dues regularly may apply for membership of the Communist Party of China.

**Article 2** Members of the Communist Party of China are vanguard fighters of the Chinese working class imbued with communist consciousness.

Members of the Communist Party of China must serve the people wholeheartedly, dedicate their whole lives to the realization of communism, and be ready to make any personal sacrifices.

Members of the Communist Party of China are at all times ordinary members of the working people. Communist Party members must not seek personal gain or privileges, although they are allowed personal benefits and job functions and powers as provided for by the relevant regulations and policies.

**Article 3** Party members must fulfil the following duties:

(1) To conscientiously study Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, essential knowledge concerning the Party, and the Party's line, principles, policies and decisions; and acquire general, scientific and professional knowledge.

(2) To adhere to the principle that the interests of the Party and the people stand above everything, subordinate their personal interests to the interests of the Party and the people, be the first to bear hardships and the last to enjoy comforts, work selflessly for the public interest, and absolutely never use public office for personal gain or benefit themselves at the expense of the public.

(3) To execute the Party's decisions perseveringly, accept any job and fulfil actively any task assigned them by the Party, conscientiously observe Party discipline and the laws of the state, rigorously guard Party and state secrets and staunchly defend the interests of the Party and the state.

(4) To uphold the Party's solidarity and unity, to firmly oppose factionalism and all factional organizations and small-group activities, and to oppose double-dealing and scheming of any kind.

(5) To be loyal to and honest with the Party, to match words with deeds and not to conceal their political views or distort facts; to earnestly practise criticism and self-criticism, to be bold in exposing and correcting shortcomings and mistakes in work, backing good people and good deeds and fighting against bad people and bad deeds.

(6) To maintain close ties with the masses, propagate the Party's views among them, consult with them when problems arise, listen to their views and demands with an open mind and keep the Party informed of these in good

time, help them raise their political consciousness, and defend their legitimate rights and interests.

(7) To play an exemplary vanguard role in production and other work, study and social activities, take the lead in maintaining public order, promote new socialist ways and customs and advocate communist ethics.

(8) As required by the defence of the motherland and the interests of the people, to step forward and fight bravely in times of difficulty and danger, fearing neither hardship nor death.

**Article 4** Party members enjoy the following rights:

(1) To attend pertinent Party meetings and read pertinent Party documents, and to benefit from the Party's education and training.

(2) To participate in the discussion, at Party meetings and in Party newspapers and journals, of questions concerning the Party's policies.

(3) To make suggestions and proposals regarding the work of the Party.

(4) To make well-grounded criticism of any Party organization or member at Party meetings; to present information or charges against any Party organization or member concerning violations of discipline and of the law to the Party in a responsible way, and to demand disciplinary measures against such a member, or to demand the dismissal or replacement of any cadre who is incompetent.

(5) To vote, elect and stand for election.

(6) To attend, with the right of self-defence, discussions held by Party organizations to decide on disciplinary measures to be taken against themselves or to appraise their work and behaviour, while other Party members may also bear witness or argue on their behalf.

(7) In case of disagreement with a Party decision or policy, to make reservations and present their views to Party organizations at higher levels up to and including the Central Committee, provided that they resolutely carry out the decision or policy while it is in force.

(8) To put forward any request, appeal or complaint to higher Party organizations up to and including the Central Committee and ask the organizations concerned for a responsible reply.

No Party organization, up to and including the Central Committee, has the right to deprive



any Party member of the above-mentioned rights.

**Article 5** New Party members must be admitted through a Party branch, and the principle of individual admission must be adhered to. It is impermissible to drag into the Party by any means those who are not qualified for membership, or to exclude those who are qualified.

An applicant for Party membership must fill in an application form and must be recommended by two full Party members. The application must be accepted by a general membership meeting of the Party branch concerned and approved by the next higher Party organization, and the applicant should undergo observation for a probationary period before being transferred to full membership.

Party members who recommend an applicant must make genuine efforts to acquaint themselves with the latter's ideology, character and personal history, to explain to each applicant the Party's programme and Constitution, qualifications for membership and the duties and rights of members, and must make a responsible report to the Party organization on the matter.

The Party branch committee must canvass the opinions of persons concerned, inside and outside the Party, about an applicant for Party membership and, after establishing the latter's qualifications following a rigorous examination, submit the application to a general membership meeting for discussion.

Before approving the admission of applicants for Party membership, the next higher Party organization concerned must appoint people to talk with them, so as to get to know them better and help deepen their understanding of the Party.

In special circumstances, the Central Committee of the Party or the Party committee of a province, an autonomous region or a municipality directly under the Central Government has the power to admit new Party members directly.

**Article 6** A probationary Party member must take an admission oath in front of the Party flag. The oath reads: "It is my will to join the Communist Party of China, uphold the Party's programme, observe the provisions of the Party Constitution, fulfil a Party member's duties, carry out the Party's decisions, strictly observe Party discipline, guard Party secrets, be loyal to the Party, work hard, fight for com-

munist throughout my life, be ready at all times to sacrifice my all for the Party and the people, and never betray the Party."

**Article 7** The probationary period of a probationary member is one year. The Party organization should make serious efforts to educate and observe the probationary members.

Probationary members have the same duties as full members. They enjoy the rights of full members except those of voting, electing or standing for election.

When the probationary period of a probationary member has expired, the Party branch concerned should promptly discuss whether he is qualified to be transferred to full membership. A probationary member who conscientiously performs his duties and is qualified for membership should be transferred to full membership as scheduled: if continued observation and education are needed, the probationary period may be prolonged, but by no more than one year; if a probationary member fails to perform his duties and is found to be really unqualified for membership, his probationary membership shall be annulled. Any decision to transfer a probationary member to full membership, prolong a probationary period, or annul a probationary membership must be made through discussion by the general membership meeting of the Party branch concerned and approved by the next higher Party organization.

The probationary period of a probationary member begins from the day the general membership meeting of the Party branch admits him as a probationary member. The Party standing of a member begins from the day he is transferred to full membership on the expiration of the probationary period.

**Article 8** Every Party member, irrespective of position, must be organized into a branch, cell or other specific unit of the Party to participate in the regular activities of the Party organization and accept supervision by the masses inside and outside the Party. There shall be no privileged Party members who do not participate in the regular activities of the Party organization and do not accept supervision by the masses inside and outside the Party.

**Article 9** Party members are free to withdraw from the Party. When a Party member asks to withdraw, the Party branch concerned shall, after discussion by its general membership meeting, remove his name from the Party rolls, make the removal publicly known

and report it to the next higher Party organization for the record.

A Party member who lacks revolutionary will, fails to fulfil the duties of a Party member, is not qualified for membership and remains incorrigible after repeated education should be persuaded to withdraw from the Party. The case shall be discussed and decided by the general membership meeting of the Party branch concerned and submitted to the next higher Party organization for approval. If the Party member being persuaded to withdraw refuses to do so, the case shall be submitted to the general membership meeting of the Party branch concerned for discussion and decision on a time limit by which the member must correct his mistakes or on the removal of his name from the Party rolls, and the decision shall be submitted to the next higher Party organization for approval.

A Party member who fails to take part in regular Party activities, pay membership dues or do work assigned by the Party for six successive months without proper reason is regarded as having given up membership. The general membership meeting of the Party branch concerned shall decide on the removal of such a person's name from the Party rolls and report the removal to the next higher Party organization for approval.

## **Chapter II**

### **Organizational System of The Party**

**Article 10** The Party is an integral body organized under its programme and Constitution, on the principle of democratic centralism. It practises a high degree of centralism on the basis of a high degree of democracy. The basic principles of democratic centralism as practised by the Party are as follows:

(1) Individual Party members are subordinate to the Party organization, the minority is subordinate to the majority, the lower Party organizations are subordinate to the higher Party organizations, and all the constituent organizations and members of the Party are subordinate to the National Congress and the Central Committee of the Party.

(2) The Party's leading bodies of all levels are elected except for the representative organs dispatched by them and the leading Party members' groups in non-Party organizations.

(3) The highest leading body of the Party is the National Congress and the Central Committee elected by it. The leading bodies of local Party organizations are the Party congresses at their respective levels and the Party committees elected by them. Party committees are responsible, and report their work, to the Party congresses at their respective levels.

(4) Higher Party organizations shall pay constant attention to the views of the lower organizations and the rank-and-file Party members, and solve in good time the problems they raise. Lower Party organizations shall report on their work to, and request instructions from, higher Party organizations; at the same time, they shall handle, independently and in a responsible manner, matters within their jurisdiction. Higher and lower Party organizations should exchange information and support and supervise each other.

(5) Party committees at all levels function on the principle of combining collective leadership with individual responsibility based on division of labour. All major issues shall be decided upon by the Party committees after democratic discussion.

(6) The Party forbids all forms of personality cult. It is necessary to ensure that the activities of the Party leaders be subject to supervision by the Party and the people, while at the same time to uphold the prestige of all leaders who represent the interests of the Party and the people.

**Article 11** The election of delegates to Party congresses and of members of Party committees at all levels should reflect the will of the voters. Elections shall be held by secret ballot. The lists of candidates shall be submitted to the Party organizations and voters for full deliberation and discussion. There may be a preliminary election in order to draw up a list of candidates for the formal election. Or there may be no preliminary election, in which case the number of candidates shall be greater than that of the persons to be elected. The voters have the right to inquire into the candidates, demand a change or reject one in favour of another. No organization or individual shall in any way compel voters to elect or not to elect any candidate.

If any violation of the Party Constitution occurs in the election of delegates to a local Party congress, the Party committee at the next higher level shall, after investigation and verification, decide to invalidate the election and take appropriate measures. The decision shall

be reported to the Party committee at the next higher level for checking and approval before it is formally announced and implemented.

**Article 12** When necessary, Party committees of and above the county level may convene conferences of delegates to discuss and decide on major problems that require timely solution. The number of delegates to such conferences and the procedure governing their election shall be determined by the Party committees convening them.

**Article 13** The formation of a new Party organization or the dissolution of an existing one shall be decided upon by the higher Party organizations.

Party committees of and above the county level may send out their representative organs.

When the congress of a local Party organization at any level is not in session, the next higher Party organization may, when it deems it necessary, transfer or appoint responsible members of that organization.

**Article 14** When making decisions on important questions affecting the lower organizations, the leading bodies of the Party at all levels should, in ordinary circumstances, solicit the opinions of the lower organizations. Measures should be taken to ensure that the lower organizations can exercise their functions and powers normally. Except in special circumstances, higher leading bodies should not interfere with matters that ought to be handled by lower organizations.

**Article 15** Only the Central Committee of the Party has the power to make decisions on major policies of a nationwide character. Party organizations of various departments and localities may make suggestions with regard to such policies to the Central Committee, but shall not make any decisions or publicize their views outside the Party without authorization.

Lower Party organizations must firmly implement the decisions of higher Party organizations. If lower organizations consider that any decisions of higher organizations do not suit actual conditions in their localities or departments, they may request modification. If the higher organizations insist on their original decisions, the lower organizations must carry out such decisions and refrain from publicly voicing their differences, but have the right to report to the next higher Party organization.

Newspapers and journals and other means of publicity run by Party organizations at all

levels must propagate the line, principles, policies and decisions of the Party.

**Article 16** Party organizations must keep to the principle of subordination of the minority to the majority in discussing and making decisions on any matter. Serious consideration should be given to the differing views of a minority. In case of controversy over major issues in which supporters of the two opposing views are nearly equal in number, except in emergencies where action must be taken in accordance with the majority view, the decision should be put off to allow for further investigation, study and exchange of opinions followed by another discussion. If still no decision can be made, the controversy should be reported to the next higher Party organization for ruling.

When, on behalf of the Party organization, an individual Party member is to express views on major issues beyond the scope of existing Party decisions, the content must be referred to the Party organization for prior discussion and decision, or referred to the next higher Party organization for instructions. No Party member, whatever his position, is allowed to make decisions on major issues on his own. In an emergency, when a decision by an individual is unavoidable, the matter must be reported to the Party organization immediately afterwards. No leader is allowed to decide matters arbitrarily on his own or to place himself above the Party organization.

**Article 17** The central, local and primary organizations of the Party must all pay great attention to Party building. They shall regularly discuss and check up on the Party's work in propaganda, education, organization and discipline inspection, its mass work and united front work. They must carefully study ideological and political developments inside and outside the Party.

### Chapter III

## Central Organizations of The Party

**Article 18** The National Congress of the Party is held once every five years and convened by the Central Committee. It may be convened before the due date if the Central Committee deems it necessary or if more than one-third of the organizations at the provincial level so request. Except under extraordinary circumstances, the congress may not be postponed.



The number of delegates to the National Congress of the Party and the procedure governing their election shall be determined by the Central Committee.

**Article 19** The functions and powers of the National Congress of the Party are as follows:

(1) To hear and examine the reports of the Central Committee;

(2) To hear and examine the reports of the Central Advisory Commission and the Central Commission for Discipline Inspection;

(3) To discuss and decide on major questions concerning the Party;

(4) To revise the Constitution of the Party;

(5) To elect the Central Committee; and

(6) To elect the Central Advisory Commission and the Central Commission for Discipline Inspection.

**Article 20** The Central Committee of the Party is elected for a term of five years. However, when the next National Congress is convened before or after its due date, the term shall be correspondingly shortened or extended. Members and alternate members of the Central Committee must have a Party standing of five years or more. The number of members and alternate members of the Central Committee shall be determined by the National Congress. Vacancies on the Central Committee shall be filled by its alternate members in the order of the number of votes by which they were elected.

The Central Committee of the Party meets in plenary session at least once a year, and such sessions are convened by its Political Bureau.

When the National Congress is not in session, the Central Committee carries out its decisions, directs the entire work of the Party and represents the Communist Party of China in its external relations.

**Article 21** The Political Bureau, the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau, the Secretariat and the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party are elected by the Central Committee in plenary session. The General Secretary of the Central Committee must be a member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau.

When the Central Committee is not in session, the Political Bureau and its Standing Committee exercise the functions and powers of the Central Committee.

The Secretariat attends to the day-to-day work of the Central Committee under the direction of the Political Bureau and its Standing Committee.

The General Secretary of the Central Committee is responsible for convening the meetings of the Political Bureau and its Standing Committee and presides over the work of the Secretariat.

The members of the Military Commission of the Central Committee are decided on by the Central Committee. The Chairman of the Military Commission must be a member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau.

The central leading bodies and leaders elected by each Central Committee shall, when the next National Congress is in session, continue to preside over the Party's day-to-day work until the new central leading bodies and leaders are elected by the next Central Committee.

**Article 22** The Party's Central Advisory Commission acts as political assistant and consultant to the Central Committee. Members of the Central Advisory Commission must have a Party standing of 40 years or more, have rendered considerable service to the Party, have fairly rich experience in leadership and enjoy fairly high prestige inside and outside the Party.

The Central Advisory Commission is elected for a term of the same duration as that of the Central Committee. It elects, at its plenary meeting, its Standing Committee and its Chairman and Vice-Chairmen, and reports the results to the Central Committee for approval. The Chairman of the Central Advisory Commission must be a member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau. Members of the Central Advisory Commission may attend plenary sessions of the Central Committee as non-voting participants. The Vice-Chairmen of the Central Advisory Commission may attend plenary meetings of the Political Bureau as non-voting participants and, when the Political Bureau deems it necessary, other members of the Standing Committee of the Central Advisory Commission may do the same.

Working under the leadership of the Central Committee of the Party, the Central Advisory Commission puts forward recommendations on the formulation and implementation of the Party's principles and policies and gives advice upon request, assists the Central Committee in investigating and handling certain important

questions, propagates the Party's major principles and policies inside and outside the Party, and undertakes such other tasks as may be entrusted to it by the Central Committee.

**Article 23** Party organizations in the Chinese People's Liberation Army carry on their work in accordance with the instructions of the Central Committee. The General Political Department of the Chinese People's Liberation Army is the political-work organ of the Military Commission; it directs Party and political work in the army. The organizational system and organs of the Party in the armed forces will be prescribed by the Military Commission.

## Chapter IV

### Local Organizations of the Party

**Article 24** A Party congress of a province, autonomous region, municipality directly under the Central Government, city divided into districts, or autonomous prefecture is held once every five years.

A Party congress of a county (banner), autonomous county, city not divided into districts, or municipal district is held once every three years.

Local Party congresses are convened by the Party committees at the corresponding levels. Under extraordinary circumstances, they may be held before or after their due dates upon approval by the next higher Party committees.

The number of delegates to the local Party congresses at any level and the procedure governing their election are determined by the Party committees at the corresponding levels and should be reported to the next higher Party committees for approval.

**Article 25** The functions and powers of the local Party congresses at all levels are as follows:

(1) To hear and examine the reports of the Party committees at the corresponding levels;

(2) To hear and examine the reports of the commissions for discipline inspection at the corresponding levels;

(3) To discuss and decide on major issues in the given areas; and

(4) To elect the Party committees and commissions for discipline inspection at the corresponding levels and delegates to the Party

congresses at their respective next higher levels.

The Party congress of a province, autonomous region, or municipality directly under the Central Government elects the Party advisory committee at the corresponding level and hears and examines its reports.

**Article 26** The Party committee of a province, autonomous region, municipality directly under the Central Government, city divided into districts, or autonomous prefecture is elected for a term of five years. The members and alternate members of such a committee must have a Party standing of five years or more.

The Party committee of a county (banner), autonomous county, city not divided into districts, or municipal district is elected for a term of three years. The members and alternate members of such a committee must have a Party standing of three years or more.

When local Party congresses at various levels are convened before or after their due dates, the terms of the committees elected by the previous congresses shall be correspondingly shortened or extended.

The number of members and alternate members of the local Party committees at various levels shall be determined by the next higher committees. Vacancies on the local Party committees at various levels shall be filled by their alternate members in the order of the number of votes by which they were elected.

The local Party committees at various levels meet in plenary session at least once a year.

Local Party committees at various levels shall, when the Party congresses of the given areas are not in session, carry out the directives of the next higher Party organizations and the decisions of the Party congresses at the corresponding levels, direct work in their own areas and report on it to the next higher Party committees at regular intervals.

**Article 27** Local Party committees at various levels elect, at their plenary sessions, their standing committees, secretaries and deputy secretaries and report the results to the higher Party committees for approval. The standing committees at various levels exercise the powers and functions of local Party committees when the latter are not in session. They continue to handle the day-to-day work when the next Party congresses at their levels are in

session, until the new standing committees are elected.

**Article 28** The Party advisory committee of a province, autonomous region or municipality directly under the Central Government acts as political assistant and consultant to the Party committee at the corresponding level. It works under the leadership of the Party committee at the corresponding level and in the light of the relevant provisions of Article 22 of the present Constitution. The qualifications of its members shall be specified by the Party committee at the corresponding level in the light of the relevant provisions of Article 22 of the present Constitution and the actual conditions in the locality concerned. It serves a term of the same duration as the Party committee at the corresponding level.

The advisory committee of a province, autonomous region or municipality directly under the Central Government elects, at its plenary meeting, its standing committee and its chairman and vice-chairmen, and the results are subject to endorsement by the Party committee at the corresponding level and should be reported to the Central Committee for approval. Its members may attend plenary sessions of the Party committee at the corresponding level as non-voting participants, and its chairman and vice-chairmen may attend meetings of the standing committee of the Party committee at the corresponding level as non-voting participants.

**Article 29** A prefectural Party committee, or an organization analogous to it, is the representative organ dispatched by a provincial or an autonomous regional Party committee to a prefecture embracing several counties, autonomous counties or cities. It exercises leadership over the work in the given region as authorized by the provincial or autonomous regional Party committee.

## Chapter V

### Primary Organizations of the Party

**Article 30** Primary Party organizations are formed in factories, shops, schools, offices, city neighbourhoods, people's communes, co-operatives, farms, townships, towns, companies of the People's Liberation Army and other basic units, where there are three or more full Party members.

In primary Party organizations, the primary Party committees, and committees of general Party branches or Party branches, are set up respectively as the work requires and according to the number of Party members, subject to approval by the higher Party organizations. A primary Party committee is elected by a general membership meeting or a delegate meeting. The committee of a general Party branch or a Party branch is elected by a general membership meeting.

**Article 31** In ordinary circumstances, a primary Party organization which has set up its own committee convenes a general membership meeting or delegate meeting once a year; a general Party branch holds a general membership meeting twice a year; a Party branch holds a general membership meeting once in every three months.

A primary Party committee is elected for a term of three years, while a general Party branch committee or a Party branch committee is elected for a term of two years. Results of the election of a secretary and deputy secretaries by a primary Party committee, general branch committee or branch committee shall be reported to the higher Party organizations for approval.

**Article 32** The primary Party organizations are militant bastions of the Party in the basic units of society. Their main tasks are:

(1) To propagate and carry out the Party's line, principles and policies, the decisions of the Central Committee of the Party and other higher Party organizations, and their own decisions; to give full play to the exemplary vanguard role of Party members, and to unite and organize the cadres and the rank and file inside and outside the Party in fulfilling the tasks of their own units.

(2) To organize Party members to conscientiously study Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, study essential knowledge concerning the Party, and the Party's line, principles and policies, and acquire general, scientific and professional knowledge.

(3) To educate and supervise Party members, ensure their regular participation in the activities of the Party organization, see that Party members truly fulfil their duties and observe discipline, and protect their rights from encroachment.

(4) To maintain close ties with the masses, constantly seek their criticisms and opinions regarding Party members and the Party's work,



value the knowledge and rationalization proposals of the masses and experts, safeguard the legitimate rights and interests of the masses, show concern for their material and cultural life and help them improve it, do effective ideological and political work among them, and enhance their political consciousness. They must correct, by proper methods, the erroneous ideas and unhealthy ways and customs that may exist among the masses, and properly handle the contradictions in their midst.

(5) To give full scope to the initiative and creativeness of Party members and the masses, discover advanced elements and talented people needed for the socialist cause, encourage them to improve their work and come up with innovations and inventions, and support them in these efforts.

(6) To admit new Party members, collect membership dues, examine and appraise the work and behaviour of Party members, commend exemplary deeds performed by them, and maintain and enforce Party discipline.

(7) To promote criticism and self-criticism, and expose and overcome shortcomings and mistakes in work. To educate Party and non-Party cadres; see to it that they strictly observe the law and administrative discipline and the financial and economic discipline and personnel regulations of the state; see to it that none of them infringe the interests of the state, the collective and the masses; and see to it that the financial workers including accountants and other professionals who are charged with enforcing laws and regulations in their own units do not themselves violate the laws and regulations, while at the same time ensuring and protecting their right to exercise their functions and powers independently in accordance with the law and guarding them against any reprisals for so doing.

(8) To educate Party members and the masses to raise their revolutionary vigilance and wage resolute struggles against the criminal activities of counter-revolutionaries and other saboteurs.

**Article 33** In an enterprise or institution, the primary Party committee or the general branch committee or branch committee, where there is no primary Party committee, gives leadership in the work of its own unit. Such a primary Party organization discusses and decides on major questions of principle and at the same time ensures that the administrative leaders fully exercise their functions and powers, but refrains from substituting itself for,

or trying to take over from, the administrative leaders. Except in special circumstances, the general branch committees and branch committees under the leadership of a primary Party committee only play a guarantory and supervisory role to see that the production targets or operational tasks assigned to their own units are properly fulfilled.

In Party or government offices at all levels, the primary Party organizations shall not lead the work of these offices. Their task here is to exercise supervision over all Party members, including the heads of these offices who are Party members, with regard to their implementation of the Party's line, principles and policies, their observance of discipline and the law, their contact with the masses, and their ideology, work style and moral character; and to assist the office heads to improve work, raise efficiency and overcome bureaucratic ways, keep them informed of the shortcomings and problems discovered in the work of these offices, or report such shortcomings and problems to the higher Party organizations.

## Chapter VI

### Party Cadres

**Article 34** Party cadres are the backbone of the Party's cause and public servants of the people. The Party selects its cadres according to the principle that they should possess both political integrity and professional competence, persists in the practice of appointing people on their merits and opposes favouritism; it calls for genuine efforts to make the ranks of the cadres more revolutionary, younger in average age, better educated and more professionally competent.

Party cadres are obliged to accept training by the Party as well as examination and assessment of their work by the Party.

The Party should attach importance to the training and promotion of women cadres and cadres from among the minority nationalities.

**Article 35** Leading Party cadres at all levels must perform in an exemplary way their duties as Party members prescribed in Article 3 of this Constitution and must meet the following basic requirements:

(1) Have a fair grasp of the theories of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought and the policies based on them, and be able to adhere to the socialist road, fight against the hostile forces disrupting socialism and combat

all erroneous tendencies inside and outside the Party.

(2) In their work as leaders, conduct earnest investigations and study, persistently proceed from reality and properly carry out the line, principles and policies of the Party.

(3) Be fervently dedicated to the revolutionary cause and imbued with a strong sense of political responsibility, and be qualified for their leading posts in organizational ability, general education and vocational knowledge.

(4) Have a democratic work style, maintain close ties with the masses, correctly implement the Party's mass line, conscientiously accept criticism and supervision by the Party and the masses, and combat bureaucratism.

(5) Exercise their functions and powers in the proper way, observe and uphold the rules and regulations of the Party and the state, and combat all acts of abusing power and seeking personal gain.

(6) Be good at uniting and working with a large number of comrades, including those who hold differing opinions, while upholding the Party's principles.

**Article 36** Party cadres should be able to co-operate with non-Party cadres, respect them and learn open-mindedly from their strong points.

Party organizations at all levels must be good at discovering and recommending talented and knowledgeable non-Party cadres for leading posts, and ensure that the latter enjoy authority commensurate with their posts and can play their roles to the full.

**Article 37** Leading Party cadres at all levels, whether elected through democratic procedure or appointed by a leading body, are not entitled to lifelong tenure, and they can be transferred from or relieved of their posts.

Cadres no longer fit to continue working due to old age or poor health should retire according to the regulations of the state.

## Chapter VII

### Party Discipline

**Article 38** A Communist Party member must consciously act within the bounds of Party discipline.

Party organizations shall criticize, educate or take disciplinary measures against members who violate Party discipline, depending on the

nature and seriousness of their mistakes and in the spirit of "learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones, and curing the sickness to save the patient."

Party members who violate the law and administrative discipline shall be subject to administrative disciplinary action or legal action instituted by administrative or judicial organs. Those who have seriously violated criminal law shall be expelled from the Party.

**Article 39** There are five measures of Party discipline: warning, serious warning, removal from Party posts and proposals for their removal from non-Party posts to the organizations concerned, placing on probation within the Party, and expulsion from the Party.

The period for which a Party member is placed on probation shall not exceed two years. During this period, the Party member concerned has no right to vote, elect or stand for election. A Party member who during this time proves to have corrected his mistake shall have his rights as a Party member restored. Party members who refuse to mend their ways shall be expelled from the Party.

Expulsion is the ultimate Party disciplinary measure. In deciding on or approving an expulsion, Party organizations at all levels should study all the relevant facts and opinions and exercise extreme caution.

It is strictly forbidden, within the Party, to take any measures against a member that contravene the Party Constitution or the laws of the state, or to retaliate against or frame up comrades. Any offending organization or individual must be dealt with according to Party discipline or the laws of the state.

**Article 40** Any disciplinary measure against a Party member must be discussed and decided on at a general membership meeting of the Party branch concerned, and reported to the primary Party committee concerned for approval. If the case is relatively important or complicated, or involves the expulsion of a member, it shall be reported, on the merit of that case, to a Party commission for discipline inspection at or above the county level for examination and approval. Under special circumstances, a Party committee or a commission for discipline inspection at or above the county level has the authority to decide directly on disciplinary measures against a Party member.

Any decision to remove a member or alternate member of the Central Committee or

a local committee at any level from posts within the Party, to place such a person on probation within the Party or to expel him from the Party must be taken by a two-thirds majority vote at a plenary meeting of the Party committee to which he belongs. Such a disciplinary measure against a member or alternate member of a local Party committee is subject to approval by the higher Party committees.

Members and alternate members of the Central Committee who have seriously violated criminal law shall be expelled from the Party on decision by the Political Bureau of the Central Committee; members and alternate members of local Party committees who have seriously violated criminal law shall be expelled from the Party on decision by the standing committees of the Party committees at the corresponding levels.

**Article 41** When a Party organization decides on a disciplinary measure against a Party member, it should investigate and verify the facts in an objective way. The Party member in question must be informed of the decision to be made and of the facts on which it is based. He must be given a chance to account for himself and speak in his own defence. If the member does not accept the decision, he can appeal, and the Party organization concerned must promptly deal with or forward his appeal, and must not withhold or suppress it. Those who cling to erroneous views and unjustifiable demands shall be educated by criticism.

**Article 42** It is an important duty of every Party organization to firmly uphold Party discipline. Failure of a Party organization to uphold Party discipline must be investigated.

In case a Party organization seriously violates Party discipline and is unable to rectify the mistake on its own, the next higher Party committee should, after verifying the facts and considering the seriousness of the case, decide on the reorganization or dissolution of the organization, report the decision to the Party committee further above for examination and approval, and then formally announce and carry out the decision.

## **Chapter VIII**

### **Party Organs for Discipline Inspection**

**Article 43** The Party's Central Commission for Discipline Inspection functions under the leadership of the Central Committee of the

Party. Local commissions for discipline inspection at all levels function under the dual leadership of the Party committees at the corresponding levels and the next higher commissions for discipline inspection.

The Party's central and local commissions for discipline inspection serve a term of the same duration as the Party committees at the corresponding levels.

The Central Commission for Discipline Inspection elects, in plenary session, its standing committee and secretary and deputy secretaries and reports the results to the Central Committee for approval. Local commissions for discipline inspection at all levels elect, at their plenary sessions, their respective standing committees and secretaries and deputy secretaries. The results of the elections are subject to endorsement by the Party committees at the corresponding levels and should be reported to the higher Party committees for approval. The First Secretary of the Central Commission for Discipline Inspection must be a member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau. The question of whether a primary Party committee should set up a commission for discipline inspection or simply appoint a discipline inspection commissioner shall be determined by the next higher Party organization in the light of the specific circumstances. The committees of general Party branches and Party branches shall have discipline inspection commissioners.

The Party's Central Commission for Discipline Inspection shall, when its work so requires, accredit discipline inspection groups or commissioners to Party or state organs at the central level. Leaders of the discipline inspection groups or discipline inspection commissioners may attend relevant meetings of the leading Party organizations in the said organs as non-voting participants. The leading Party organizations in the organs concerned must give support to their work.

**Article 44** The main tasks of the central and local commissions for discipline inspection are as follows: to uphold the Constitution and the other important rules and regulations of the Party, to assist the respective Party committees in rectifying Party style, and to check up on the implementation of the line, principles, policies and decisions of the Party.

The central and local commissions for discipline inspection shall carry out constant education among Party members on their duty to observe Party discipline; they shall adopt decisions for the upholding of Party discipline,

examine and deal with relatively important or complicated cases of violation of the Constitution and discipline of the Party or the laws and decrees of the state by Party organizations or Party members; decide on or cancel disciplinary measures against Party members involved in such cases; and deal with complaints and appeals made by Party members.

The central and local commissions for discipline inspection should report to the Party committees at the corresponding levels on the results of their handling of cases of special importance or complexity, as well as on the problems encountered. Local commissions for discipline inspection should also present such reports to the higher commissions.

If the Central Commission for Discipline Inspection discovers any violation of Party discipline by any member of the Central Committee, it may report such an offence to the Central Committee, and the Central Committee must deal with the case promptly.

**Article 45** Higher commissions for discipline inspection have the power to check up on the work of the lower commissions and to approve or modify their decisions on any case. If decisions so modified have already been ratified by the Party committee at the corresponding level, the modification must be approved by the next higher Party committee.

If a local commission for discipline inspection does not agree with a decision made by the Party committee at the corresponding level in dealing with a case, it may request the commission at the next higher level to re-examine the case; if a local commission discovers cases of violation of Party discipline or the laws and decrees of the state by the Party committee at the corresponding level or by its members, and if that Party committee fails to deal with them properly or at all, it has the right to appeal to the higher commissions for assistance in dealing with such cases.

## Chapter IX

### Leading Party Members' Groups

**Article 46** A leading Party members' group shall be formed in the leading body of a central or local state organ, people's organization, economic or cultural institution or other non-Party unit. The main tasks of such a group are: to see to it that the Party's principles and policies are implemented, to unite with the non-Party cadres and masses in fulfilling the tasks assigned by the Party and the state, and to

guide the work of the Party organization of the unit.

**Article 47** The members of a leading Party members' group are appointed by the Party committee that approves its establishment. The group shall have a secretary and deputy secretaries.

A leading Party members' group must accept the leadership of the Party committee that approves its establishment.

**Article 48** The Central Committee of the Party shall determine specifically the functions, powers and tasks of the leading Party members' groups in those government departments which need to exercise highly centralized and unified leadership over subordinate units; it shall also determine whether such groups should be replaced by Party committees.

## Chapter X

### Relationship Between the Party And the Communist Youth League

**Article 49** The Communist Youth League of China is a mass organization of advanced young people under the leadership of the Communist Party of China; it is a school where large numbers of young people will learn about communism through practice; it is the Party's assistant and reserve force. The Central Committee of the Communist Youth League functions under the leadership of the Central Committee of the Party. The local organizations of the Communist Youth League are under the leadership of the Party committees at the corresponding levels and of the higher organizations of the League itself.

**Article 50** Party committees at all levels must strengthen their leadership over the Communist Youth League organizations and pay attention to the selection and training of League cadres. The Party must firmly support the Communist Youth League in the lively and creative performance of its work to suit the characteristics and needs of young people, and give full play to the League's role as a shock force and as a bridge linking the Party with the broad masses of young people.

Those secretaries of League committees, at or below the county level or in enterprises and institutions, who are Party members may attend meetings of Party committees at the corresponding levels and of their standing committees as non-voting participants. □

## New Members of CPC Central Leading Organs

### Yang Shangkun



Born in Tongnan County, Sichuan Province, in 1907, Yang Shangkun joined the Communist Youth League in 1925 and the Communist Party of China in 1926, and engaged in the student movement in Sichuan and Shanghai in that period. From 1927 to 1930, he studied at Sun Yat-sen University in Moscow. After his return to China in 1931, he served as Head of the Propaganda Department and secretary of the Party fraction in the All-China Federation of Trade Unions and Head of the Propaganda Department of the CPC Central Committee and helped organize and lead the workers' movement and the movement against Japanese aggression and for national salvation in Shanghai. In 1933 he worked as editor of the journals *Red China* and *Struggle* published in the Central Revolutionary Base Area, Vice-President of the Party School, Director of the Political Department of the First Front Army and Deputy Director of the General Political Department of the Red Army. He took part in the Long March and attended the Zunyi Meeting as an observer. After reaching northern Shaanxi, he became director of the political department of a field army. He was Secretary of the North China Bureau of the Party Central Committee in 1937 and Secretary-General of the Military Commission of the Party Central Committee in 1945. After the founding of the People's Republic, Yang Shangkun served as Director of the General Office of the Party Central Committee, Deputy Secretary-General of the Party Central Committee and Alternate Member of the Secretariat of the Party Central Committee. He became member of the Secretariat of the Guangdong Provincial Party Committee in 1965. From 1978 onward, he has served successively as Second Secretary of the Guangdong Provincial Party Committee, Vice-Chairman of the Guangdong Provincial Revolutionary Committee, Vice-Governor of Guangdong Province, first secretary of the Guangzhou city Party committee, chairman of the

Guangzhou revolutionary committee, Vice-Chairman and concurrently Secretary-General of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, and Standing Committee Member and Secretary-General of the Military Commission of the Party Central Committee. Yang Shangkun was a Member of the 8th and 11th Central Committees of the CPC.

### Liao Chengzhi



Born in 1908 and a native of Huiyang County, Guangdong Province, Liao Chengzhi joined the Communist Party of China in 1928. From 1928 to 1932, he worked in the International Seamen's Trade Union in Europe. After returning to China, he served as Head of the Propaganda Department of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions, Secretary of the Leading Party Members' Group of the All-China Seamen's Trade Union, Secretary-General of the Political Department of the Fourth Front Army of the Red Army, secretary of the Liberation Publishing House in Yanan, Director of Xinhua News Agency and Deputy Head of the United Front Work Department of the CPC Central Committee. After the founding of the People's Republic, he has served successively as Deputy Head of the International Liaison Department of the CPC Central Committee, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Youth League, Vice-Chairman and Chairman of the Overseas Chinese Affairs Commission, Deputy Director of the Foreign Affairs Office of the State Council, President of the China-Japan Friendship Association, Advisor to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Director of the Overseas Chinese Affairs Office of the State Council, and Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress.

Liao Chengzhi was an Alternate Member of the 7th Party Central Committee and a Member of the 8th, 10th and 11th Party Central Committees.



## Qin Jiwei



Born in 1914 in Hongan County, Hubei Province, Qin Jiwei joined the Red Army in 1929 and the Chinese Communist Party in 1930. He worked successively as platoon leader, company commander, regiment commander, division commander, Commander

of the Taihang Military Area, Commander of the 9th Column of the Second Field Army, Commander of the 15th Army of the Chinese People's Volunteers, Deputy Commander of the Yunnan Military Area of the People's Liberation Army, Deputy Commander and Commander of the PLA Kunming Units, Commander of the PLA Chengdu Units, and First Political Commissar and Commander of the PLA Beijing Units. He was a Member of the 10th and 11th Party Central Committees.

## Deng Liqun



Born in Guidong County, Hunan Province, in 1915, Deng Liqun joined the revolution in 1935. He joined the Communist Youth League in 1936 and became a member of the Communist Party of China the same year. He has served successively as

executive committee member of the students' federation of Beiping (Beijing), director of the education department of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism, director of the policy research office of the Liaoning Provincial Party Committee, Standing Committee Member, Secretary-General and Head of the Propaganda Department of the Xinjiang Bureau of the CPC Central Committee, Deputy Editor-in-Chief of the journal *Hongqi*, leading member of the Policy Research Office of the State Council, Vice-President of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, Deputy Director of the General Office of the Party Central Committee, and Director of the Research Office of the Secretariat and Head of the Propaganda Department of the Party Central Committee.

## Yang Yong



Born in 1912 in Liuyang County, Hunan Province, Yang Yong joined the Communist Youth League in 1927, became a Party member in 1930 and joined the Red Army the same year. He has worked successively as company, battalion and regiment political commissar, brigade commander and political commissar, division political commissar, Com-

mander of the Western Shandong Military Area, Commander of the Hebei-Shandong-Henan Military Area, Commander of the 7th Column of the Shanxi-Hebei-Shandong-Henan Field Army, Commander of the 5th Army Corps, Commander of the Guizhou Military Area, Governor of Guizhou Province, Commandant of the No. 2 Senior Infantry School, Commander of the 20th Army Corps, Deputy Commander and Commander of the Chinese People's Volunteers, Commander of the Beijing Units of the People's Liberation Army, Deputy Chief of the General Staff of the PLA and concurrently Commander of the Xinjiang Military Area. He is now Deputy Chief of the General Staff of the PLA, Standing Committee Member and Deputy Secretary-General of the Military Commission of the Party Central Committee. He was an Alternate Member of the 8th Party Central Committee and a Member of the 10th and 11th Party Central Committees.

## Chen Pixian



Born in Shanghang County, Fujian Province, in 1916, he joined the Communist Youth League in 1929 and the Communist Party in 1931. He started revolutionary work in 1929, and served successively as secretary of the children's bureau at the district, county, provincial and central levels, secretary of the Communist Youth League at the county and then at the provincial level, Secretary of the Communist Party Committee

of Central Jiangsu and Secretary of the Central China Work Committee of the Communist Party. Since 1949, he has worked successively as Secretary of the Southern Jiangsu Area Party Committee, Secretary and then First Secretary of the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee, Second Political Commissar of the Shanghai Garrison, Secretary of the East China Bureau of the Party Central Committee, Secretary of the Yunnan Provincial Party Committee, Second Secretary of the Hubei Provincial Party Committee, Chairman of the Hubei Provincial Revolutionary Committee, First Secretary of the Hubei Provincial Party Committee and Chairman of the Standing Committee of the Hubei Provincial People's Congress. He was an Alternate Member of the 8th Party Central Committee and a Member of the 11th Party Central Committee.

### Hu Qili



Born in 1929 in Yulin County, Shaanxi Province, Hu Qili joined the Communist Party of China in 1948 and joined revolutionary work the same year. He served successively as President of the All-China Students' Federation; Alternate Member of

the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Youth League; deputy secretary of the Party committee of Xiji County of the Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region and deputy director of the General Office of the Ningxia Regional Party Committee. Later, he became successively vice-president of Qinghua University and deputy secretary of the university's Party committee. Member of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Youth League, President of the All-China Youth Federation, Secretary of the Tianjin Municipal Party Committee and Mayor of Tianjin, and Director of the General Office of the Party Central Committee.

### Qiao Shi

Born in 1924 in Dinghai County, Zhejiang Province, he was admitted into the Chinese Communist Party in 1940 and joined revolutionary work in the same year. He became



secretary of a Shanghai middle school Party branch in 1940 and then deputy secretary of a city district Party committee. After 1949, he served as secretary of the youth committee of the Hangzhou municipal Party committee, deputy head of the united front work

department of the Youth Committee of the East China Bureau of the Party Central Committee, head of the capital construction and technical department of the Anshan Iron and Steel Company.

He became a deputy section chief in the International Liaison Department of the Party Central Committee in 1964 and then a bureau director in the department. He was appointed Deputy Head of the International Liaison Department in 1978 and is now Head of the department.

### Hao Jianxiu



Born in 1935 in Qingdao, Shandong Province, she became a worker at the Qingdao No. 6 Cotton Mill in 1949 and joined the Communist Party in 1953. Later, she studied and graduated from a special middle school for workers and peasants and the East

China Textile Engineering Institute. Since 1962, she has successively been a technician at the Qingdao No. 6 Cotton Mill and a deputy director of the Qingdao No. 8 Cotton Mill, and has served as deputy secretary of the Qingdao city Party committee, vice-chairman of the city revolutionary committee, Vice-Chairman of the Shandong Provincial Trade Union Council, President of the Shandong Provincial Women's Federation, Standing Committee Member of the Shandong Provincial Party Committee. Later, she became Vice-Minister and then Minister of Textile Industry and Vice-President of the All-China Women's Federation. She was a Member of the 11th Party Central Committee.

## Japanese Government Should Be True in Word and Resolute in Deed

**T**HE Japanese Government has proposed comparatively concrete measures to correct the textbook mistakes committed by the Japanese Education Ministry. The books erroneously portrayed Japan's history of aggression in Asia as a military "advance." Although there are still some ambiguous and unsatisfactory points in the measures, they are a step forward from previous Japanese Government positions on the issue.

In evaluating the measures, the Chinese people appreciated the efforts of Japanese Prime Minister Zenko Suzuki and others. The textbook question has now been brought to a temporary close.

### Principled Issue of Major Importance

It has taken more than two months since the textbook issue was first raised to reach this initial settlement. This is entirely because certain persons within the Japanese Government underestimated the significance of the issue.

Acknowledging the Japanese militarists' history of aggression against China is a principled issue of major importance in the relations between China and Japan. The Chinese people and Government raised the textbook issue in order to maintain the friendly co-operation of the two countries and the friendship between the two peoples.

Japan's school textbook authorization system is Japan's internal affair in which China does not intend to interfere.

However, the Japanese Education Ministry used the textbook authorization system to deny the horror of such historical facts as Japan's aggression against China and the Nanjing massacre in an attempt to glorify militarism. This injured the national pride of the Chinese people and also deviated from the basic principles expressed by the Japanese Government in the China-Japan Joint Statement and the China-Japan Peace and Friendship Treaty.

The Japanese Government is well aware of Japan's responsibility for causing enormous damage to the Chinese people during the war, and deeply reproaches itself. The issue thus became one involving international relations, and the Chinese people could not remain indifferent to it. The Chinese people could not allow the friendship built by the two peoples through long years of hard work to be damaged by a handful of elements hostile to Sino-Japanese friendship.

The Chinese people have always held that during the 2,000-year-old history of friendly contacts between the two countries, the unhappy history is but a short span caused solely by the Japanese militarists. Like the Chinese people, the Japanese people were victims of Japanese

militarism. The Japanese people can prevent a resurgence of militarism, which would once again cause damage to the Japanese people and neighbouring countries, only if they refuse to forget that period of history and use its concrete facts as a lesson for successive generations. Such education will help maintain the traditional friendship between the Chinese and Japanese peoples and the development of friendly, peaceful co-operative relations of equality and mutual benefit and long-term stability between China and Japan.

On the contrary, the Japanese Education Ministry distorted the historical facts previously contained in the textbooks. Its aim was to obliterate from the memory of Japan's younger generations the history of Japan's aggression against China and other Asian and Pacific countries so as to lay the basis for reviving militarism in Japan.

Such vicious attempts to poison the younger generations in Japan and to undermine Sino-Japanese friendship could not but greatly enrage the Chinese people to the point that they demanded that the Japanese Government correct as soon as possible the textbook errors. We are justified in doing so because it is in the fundamental interests of both the Chinese and Japanese peoples and contributes to maintaining peace in Asia and the world.

### Promote Friendly Co-operation Between China and Japan

The Japanese Government has now proposed concrete measures to solve the problem. This is proof of its intention to maintain and promote friendly co-operation between China

and Japan. However, it is not enough merely to propose measures. Deeds are more significant. We hope the Japanese Government will not stop short but will prepare to implement the concrete measures so as to win the faith of the peoples of China, Japan and other Asian and Pacific countries.

One can reason from the textbook issue that amid the mainstream of the torrential Sino-

Japanese friendship exists an adverse undercurrent which could obstruct the development of the friendly relations between the two countries if conditions were to allow it. The Chinese and Japanese peoples cannot but seriously observe this undercurrent, be on guard and be ready to expose and repulse it.

—“*Renmin Ribao*” Commentator (excerpts, September 10)

## The Middle East Situation After the PLO Withdrawal

SOON after the Palestine Liberation Organization withdrew from West Beirut, the United States announced a new proposal for the Middle East. The 12th Arab Summit in Morocco also issued a significant proposal for settling the Palestine and the Middle East problems.

Unveiling the new US proposal in a televised speech, President Reagan described the war in Lebanon as tragic, but said that there was now “an opportunity for a broader peace.” He said he was “calling for a fresh start” and urged “all those directly concerned to get involved—or lend their support—to a workable basis for peace.”

### PLO Forces Still Exist

Israel had intended to wipe out the Palestinian armed forces and so eliminate the Palestine problem by invading Lebanon. This would then enable Israel to realize its ambition of annexing the West Bank of the Jordan River and the Gaza Strip. As it turned out, how-

ever, despite paying a heavy price, Israel was unable to gain its objectives.

After tenaciously fighting for 77 days, the PLO decided to

withdraw from Beirut so as to save the Lebanese capital from being razed to the ground and to preserve the organization’s effective strength. The high morale of the PLO fighters as they withdrew from Beirut was certainly not that of a defeated army. Furthermore, Yasser Arafat and other PLO leaders have repeatedly declared that the PLO will continue to struggle to establish the Palestinian people’s own state. Even Reagan conceded that the PLO’s military setback has not weakened the Palestinian people’s demand for a just settlement of their rights.

At present, 12,000 Palestinian fighters have been withdrawn to seven Arab countries where they were welcomed as heroes. Indeed, the war in Lebanon has greatly boosted the image of the PLO in the world, and the PLO’s cause has won wider and greater support. This is some-

Yasser Arafat, accompanied by King Hassan II of Morocco, inspects the honour guard upon his arrival in Fez for the Arab Summit.





thing Menachem Begin, Ariel Sharon and others who launched the aggressive war did not bargain for.

The negative repercussion of Israel's invasion of Lebanon and the need to safeguard its own interests in the region, prompted the United States to mediate in the Lebanon crisis and help arrange the PLO's withdrawal from Beirut.

### US-Arab Relations

American newspapers disclosed that the US State Department had received a stream of coded reports from its diplomatic missions in Egypt, Tunisia, Kuwait and other Arab countries saying that the leaders of these countries were so upset with the US Middle East policy that some were beginning to reconsider their relations with the United States.

An article in the *Washington Post* said that the leader of Saudi Arabia had warned that his country's close commercial and financial relations with the United States "won't last long" if the United States continued its course of favouring Israel.

Furthermore, Israel's outrageous violence in Lebanon aroused global indignation and caused differences among the pro-Israeli forces in the United States. Following the PLO withdrawal, domestic opposition began to lessen to the United States taking a more balanced approach to the Arab countries in the Arab-Israeli dispute. Washington seized the opportunity to put forward its new proposal. It hopes that with the lull in the Lebanon crisis, the new proposal will draw the Middle East along a US-planned orbit and help maintain US in-

fluence in the region while shutting out any Soviet attempt to get into the act.

### A Forceful Reply

The Arab eight-point proposal issued at the summit in the eastern Moroccan city of Fez was a forceful reply to the US Middle East initiative. It is true that the new US proposal included some changes from earlier initiatives but the basic US stand in support of Israel remains unchanged. Specifically, it continues to refuse to recognize the PLO as the sole legal representative of the Palestinian people. Although it called for electing an autonomous administration for the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, it opposed the establishment of a Palestinian state. The US proposal is in contravention with the relevant UN resolutions on the Middle East and shows a lack of a sense of reality.

At the Fez Summit the Arab countries adhered to a principled stand and, for the first time since the Arab-Israel dispute broke out in 1948, jointly proposed a constructive and fairly realistic formula for a Middle East settlement. The US attitude towards the eight principles in the Arab plan will show whether the United States is sincere in its desire for a settlement of the Palestine issue.

The 12th Arab Summit also strongly demanded that Israel withdraw its troops from Lebanon. This is the key to resolving the crisis in Lebanon. However, all signs indicate that Israel has no intention of withdrawing its aggressor troops from that country.

Begin rejected the US proposal immediately after Reagan announced it. At the same time, the Israeli authorities approved the establishment of seven Jewish settlements in the occupied territories and Israeli troops occupying Lebanon clashed several times with Syrian forces stationed in the Bekaa Valley.

### Instability Remains in Lebanon

Since Syria withdrew its 2,500 troops from Beirut, both Israel and Syria have been massing their forces in eastern Lebanon. Although, when he recently visited Beirut, US Secretary of Defence Caspar W. Weinberger said that negotiations could bring about the simultaneous withdrawal of Israeli and Syrian forces from Lebanon, conflicts are occurring and people still are worried that a major confrontation may break out in the Bekaa Valley.

Furthermore, there is the possibility that Israel may strike at the PLO guerrillas stationed in Tripoli in northern Lebanon.

The internal situation in Lebanon, too, is still unstable. Bashir Gemayel, head of the Phalangist Party and Christian militia, was elected president on August 23 by a slight majority. This was followed by various activities opposing Gemayel in West Beirut, Tripoli and other cities and towns in northern Lebanon. On September 14 the newly elected president was killed. This will make the situation in Lebanon even more complicated.

— Yi Ming, "Beijing Review"  
news analyst



## A Conservative Party Government Takes Over

FOR the first time since 1901, the Danish Government is in the hands of the Conservative Party. Party Chairman Poul Schluter established the new government on September 9, following the resignation of the Social-Democratic leadership.

The new government consists of the Conservative Party, the Liberal Party, the Centre Democrats and the Christian People's Party. These four parties occupy 66 of the 179 seats in the parliament.

### Former Government's Resignation

The Anker Joergensen Social-Democratic government resigned on September 3, following its failure to win parliamentary approval for its economic reforms package.

The package, issued in March, included three proposals: to provide 40,000 to 50,000 people with jobs or education each year; to give financial aid of 1.5 billion kroner to farmers who were suffering from the economic depression, and to increase the indirect tax and levy a tax on the interest on pensions, insurance companies and other funds to finance these two plans. This would have meant that taxes would be increased by 1.6 billion kroner for this year and an extra 6 billion kroner next year.

Since the beginning of April the Social-Democratic Party has

held tough talks with its two "partner" parties, the Radical Liberals and the Socialist People's Party. During the talks, the Radical Liberals supported government interference in the income policy this year and the adoption of a law to cancel the automatic increase of wages when the prices of goods go up. However, the Socialist People's Party resolutely opposed government intervention. On the questions of employment and taxes, the two parties held different views from the government.

In this situation, Prime Minister Joergensen said that if the three parties did not arrive at an agreement, the government would have to resign and let the opposition Right-wing party take power. None of them wanted to make itself responsible for a government upheaval that would allow the Right-wing party come into power, so the negotiations continued. During the negotiations and debates in the parliament, the three parties made numerous compromises and reached an agreement on June 3. The next day the parliament passed the three economic proposals. Then came the next crisis.

### Another Crisis

To reduce the big financial deficit and balance the budget, Prime Minister Joergensen put forward a package programme on September 1 that included public spending cuts, tax

increases and a slowdown of the rising rate of wages and defence spending cuts. But on September 2 the Social-Democratic government broke with the other parties in the negotiations and the economic measures could not get the necessary support. This led to the cabinet reshuffle.

### Tough Task Before the New Government

In recent years the Danish economy has been badly affected by the worldwide capitalist economic recession. Agricultural production has deteriorated and building construction also has been sluggish. The number of employed has dropped sharply. The unemployment rate is 10 per cent, about 300,000 unemployed people. The international balance of trade is often 15 billion kroner of debt. The state debt has reached 130 billion kroner, one-third of the gross national product. The budget deficit of this fiscal year is 74 billion kroner.

Those parties in the parliament hold different views on how to overcome the economic difficulties, so a majority government could not be established. The new government, which wants majority support in the parliament, has to rely on co-operation with the opposition Social-Democratic Party, which has expressed its willingness to co-operate, but with certain reservations.

Political observers in Copenhagen expect that the new government will have numerous difficulties and that general elections may be held later this year.

— Wu Yingchun

**THEATRE**

**Tang Dynasty Art School**

China's earliest performing arts academy opened during the Tang Dynasty (618-907) on the outskirts of present-day Xian, new research concludes.

Under the rule of Li Longji, Emperor Xuan Zong of the Tang Dynasty (712-756), the emperor designated the orchard resort as a centre for operas and it became China's first national performing arts academy, teaching music and dance as well as operas.

The opera department was divided into several sections — one for the top performers, who were allowed to sit while performing (the sitting section); one for less well-known singers, who were expected to stand in front of an audience (the standing section); and a section each for men, women and children.

The dance department taught two schools of dance, one light and graceful, the other characterized by vigorous movements.

Emperor Xuan Zong named himself president of the academy and hired numerous directors and scriptwriters. The writers were often at the academy on a temporary basis on leave from the imperial academy or were renowned literati whom the emperor hand-picked. Li Bai and other famous Tang poets wrote for Liyuan and the emperor himself wrote compositions for performance.

The directors, who were also responsible for training actors and actresses, were often drawn from the most talented actors and artists themselves.

One of them was Gongsun Daniang who was famous for her sword dance. The great poet Du Fu wrote about her in a poem:

*She thrusts her sword, the world is rocked,  
Earth and heaven rise and fall.*

*Like a thunderbolt when she moves,*

*The ocean is still when she stops.*

Liyuan's large community of outstanding performers included Xu Yongxin, a famous woman singer.

The *Yuefu Zalu*, (the Miscellaneous Records of Yuefu) has this entry: One day Emperor Xuan Zong of the Tang Dynasty held a grand banquet attended by several thousand guests. The crowd was very noisy and the emperor could not hear the singers. He was greatly angered. A courtier suggested: "Perhaps they will be quiet if Yongxin sings." The emperor accepted the suggestion and ordered Xu Yongxin to sing for the guests. She mounted the stage, plucked the *pipa* (a fretted 4-stringed gui-

A woman dancer: a Dunhuang mural.



A Tang Dynasty orchestra: a mural from the Dunhuang Grottoes in Gansu Province.

In *Research in Liyuan*, a paper presented at a recent symposium in Shaanxi Province on the history of local operas, Li Youbai details the nature of the ancient academy.

Li, a staff member of the cultural centre in Yaoxian County, Shaanxi, wrote that Liyuan (Pear Garden) was once a real pear orchard in the early Tang Dynasty. But it later became a resort for imperial families with wine pavilions and football fields built among the trees.



tar-like instrument) and started to sing.

In an instant, "The whole square was stilled as if not a single person was there. Those who were joyous felt more elated, and those who were gloomy became heart-broken."

Li Youbai, the writer of *Research in Liyuan* has been fascinated with classical Chinese literature since childhood and in later years developed a great interest in the study of Liyuan. He studied more than 80 volumes of classical literature and made excursions to several places before he finished his lengthy and important contribution to performing arts history.

## METEOROLOGY

### *Studies on Qinghai-Tibet Plateau*

The high altitude weather changes over the Qinghai-Tibet Plateau exert a considerable influence over the seasonal variations not only in China and East Asia but also in the northern hemisphere as a whole, meteorologists have found.

These findings were presented at a July symposium in Kunming, Yunnan Province, to discuss the results of an experimental meteorological research project on the plateau, which is

Researchers conducting tests at a weather station in Tibet, 4,500 metres above sea level.

4,000-5,000 metres above sea level.

The research project started in May 1979 was conducted in two stages: four-month field observation and experiments and study, which lasted the remainder of the last three years.

The field observation was conducted through 223 surface observation stations and 80 aerological stations which collected 4,000 radar echo photos and vast amounts of other data.

The researchers studied the conditions for the formation of an atmospheric depression over the plateau, a chief factor causing summer rainfall there. The plateau's atmospheric depression differs from depressions in monsoon areas in other parts of the world.

A comparative study of the changes in atmospheric circulation on the plateau and the surrounding areas indicates that the movement of monsoons is not a local phenomenon, but is associated with the changes of the global circulation. Thus, an accurate long-range weather forecast must take into consideration the changes in the global circulation, in both the troposphere and the stratosphere.

Scientists agreed that the studies of the plateau, which covers a quarter of China's land territory, are of great practical value in improving the accuracy

of weather forecasting in China, especially for predicting disastrous weather.

## MEDICINE

### *Successful Orthopaedic Transplant*

The orthopaedics department of the Shanghai No. 6 People's Hospital has successfully performed an unusual and difficult skin-and-muscle transplant. The "cross-bridging free skin-muscle flap" transplant replaced extensive lost tissues, including skin, muscle, blood vessels and nerves.

Shang Yanpeng, the 22-year-old patient who received the treatment two months ago, is reportedly in good condition and is waiting for correction of a leg bone deformity.

Shang Yanpeng was a victim of infantile paralysis. As a result of improper medical treatment, a large section of skin and muscles on his left leg became deadened; his leg bones became deformed and arteries and veins were damaged.

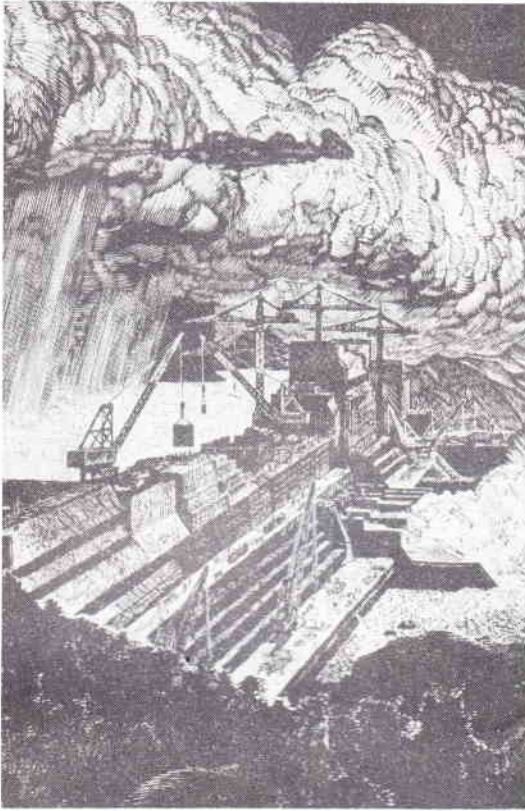
The surgeons covered the affected parts with a flap made of skin and muscle from the patient's back. They sewed the vessels of the back skin flap to vessels of the other healthy leg which temporarily provide the newly transplanted flap with blood.

One month later, when new blood vessels in the tissues around the affected parts had grown into the flap, the two legs were surgically separated.

In the past, free flap transplants required intact arteries and veins in the recipient area for suturing to the blood vessels in the flap. The new free flap transplant can be performed, whether the arteries and veins in the affected location are healthy or diseased.



## *New Works by Graphic Artists*

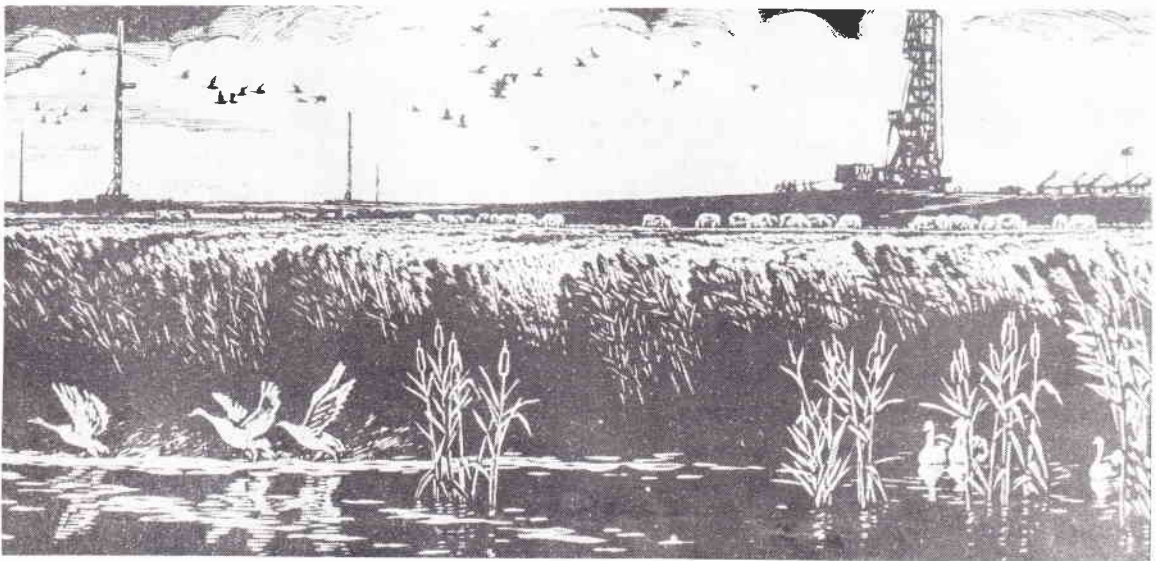


The construction site of a reservoir.  
by Chen Jinrong



Girls on the threshing ground.  
by Xu Bing

China's modernization drive comes to life in these recent woodcuts by artists who visited construction sites, oilfields and rural areas.



A new oilfield.  
by Song Yuanwen

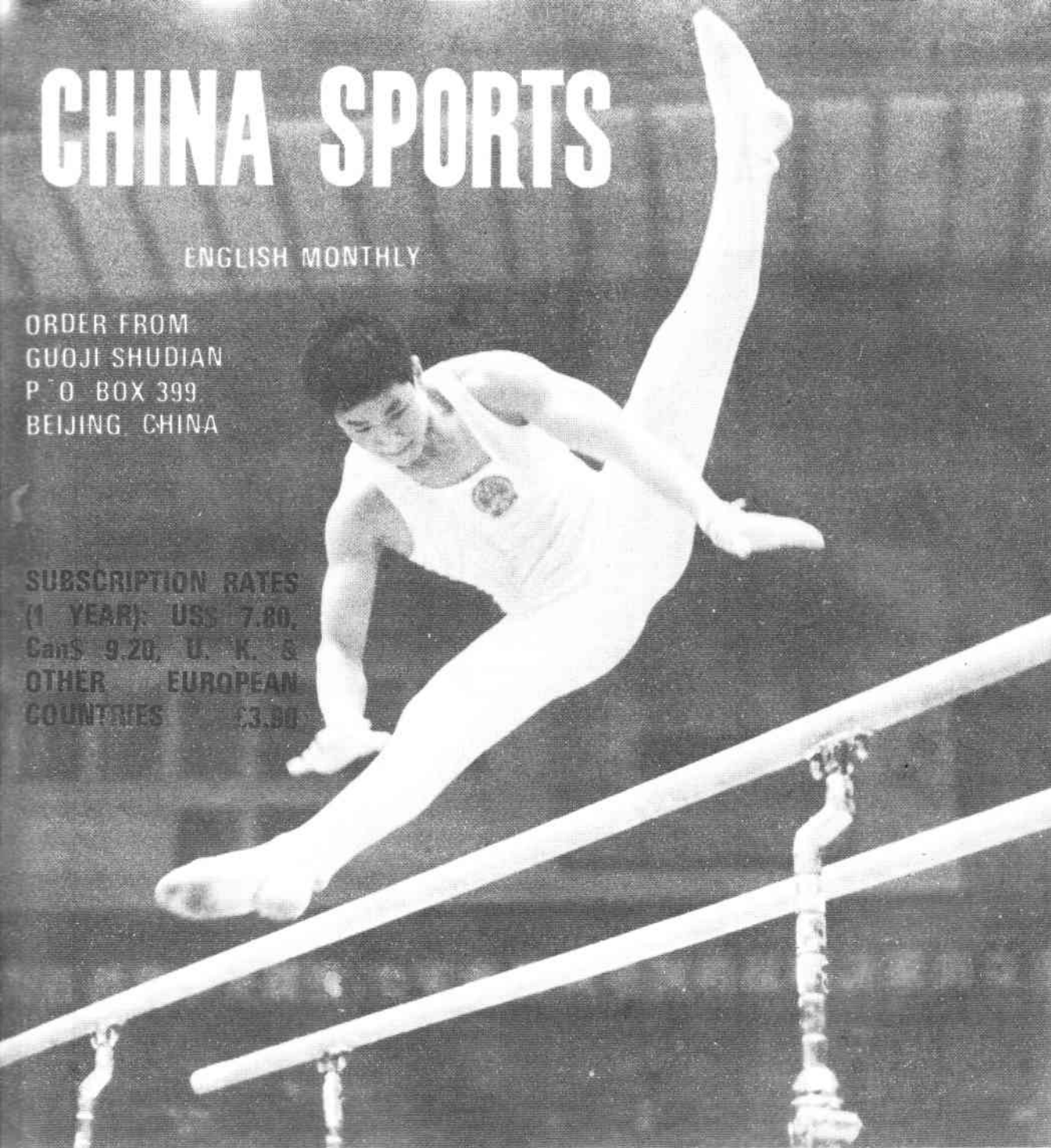


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COUNTRIES £3.90



北京周报英文版第三十八期（一九八二年九月二十日出版）邮政代号二一九二二·北京市期刊登记证第七三三号

Reporting on the development and popularization of sports in China; the promotion of traditional Chinese sports; the life and training of Chinese athletes; local, national and international competitions; Chinese sports history; and traditional Chinese medical practices applied to contemporary health and fitness research. Richly illustrated with colour photos, charts and tables.

