PARTY, INTELLECTUALS AND THE CHINESE SOCIETY : THE POST-MA0 ERA (1976-85)

Dissertation submitted to the Jawaharlal Nehru University in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of the Degree of MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY

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DEDICATED TO

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This is to certify that the dissertation, entitled "Party, Intellectuals and the Chinese Society : The post-Mao era (1976-85)" submitted by K. Vikram Simha Rao in fulfilment of six credits out of total requirements of twenty four credits for the Degree of Master of Philosophy (M.Phil) of the University, is his original work according to the best of my knowledge and may be placed before the examiners for evaluation.

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PREFACE

PREFACE

Intellectuals, according to Edward Shils, are the aggregate of persons in any society who employ in their communication and expression, with relatively higher frequency than most other members of their society, symbols of general scope and abstract references, concerning man, society, nature and the cosmos. The high frequency of their use of such symbols may be a function of their own subjective propensity or of the obligation of an occupational role, the performance of which entails use. (International Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences, 'Intellectuals', Vol. 7, MacMillan and Co., Free Press, New York, 1968).

Rejecting this functionalist identification of intellectuals with specific professional role by Shils (and also Lipset), J.P. Nettl related the consciousness of intellectuals to universalism, a feeling of consciousness and awareness, a focus of "a single overriding idea contrasted not only with particularism as a system of thought, but with professionalism as a social category". Nettl, much in line with Karl Mannheim's thought, defined intellectuals from triple set of dimensions (1) a profession that is culturally validated (2) a role that is socio-political (3) a consciousness related to universals.

The Marxist notion of intellectuals can be derived from theoretical and ideological formulations of Lenin and Althusser (and Gramsci). They have also dealt with the social character and role of intellectuals in a socialist mode of production where private ownership of means of production is abolished. According to the traditional Marxist theory, the intellectuals in a socialist society do not constitute a class or stratum, and are part of working class.

In China, the intellectuals have played a socio-political role, since the beginning of the twentieth century, in opposing feudalism and monarchy, capitalism and imperialism. With the founding of People's Republic in 1949 under the leadership of Chinese Communist Party, the tension began to develop between the Party and the intellectuals due to historical, ideological and political reasons. The status and role of intellectuals changed accordingly. The Party's policy towards intellectuals experienced severe fluctuations, but, of late, there have been certain signs of stability and consistency.

The purpose of this research undertaking is to analyse the attitude and policy of the Party towards intellectuals since 1976 till 1985, in the broader context of a developing nation and society. Chapter I introduces the subject with a brief historical background of Chinese Mandarins in the confucian society, followed by Revolution of 1911, the founding of People's Republic in 1949, Great Leap Forward (1958-60) and the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (1966-76). Chapter II termed 'the period of transition' (1976-78) deals with Party's policy towards intellectuals under the chairmanship of Hua Guofeng. Chapter III entitled "The fourth readjustment policy (1978-82)" describes the enunciation of the new policy towards

intellectuals by the Party, led by the strong man of China, Deng Xiaoping. Chapter IV analyses the problems and progress of policy implementation (1982-85). Chapter V ends with a conclusion of the subject under review.

The present work has taken a concrete and final shape under the able guidance and supervision of Prof. (Mrs) Gargi Dutt. Prof. Dutt gave me valuable suggestions in dealing with this complicated aspect of contemporary Chinese politics, I express deep gratitude to her in this respect. Dr. Sudipto Kaviraj, Centre for Political Studies, School of Social Sciences, JNU, has helped me in understanding certain theoretical and methodological formulations related to intellectuals and politics. I derived sufficient knowledge from the lectures on research methodology given by Dr. Imtiaz Ahmed and Prof. Rajiv Bhargava, Centre for Political Studies, JNU, arranged at the Centre for East Asian Studies, SIS, JNU. I thank Dr. K.V. Kesavan, Chairman, Centre for East Asian Studies, School of International Studies, JNU who constantly encouraged me in the research work. My gratitude to Dr. G.P. Deshpande and Dr. Naranarayan Das of Centre for East Asian Studies who threw sufficient light on this subject in my discussions with them.

I had no problem in procuring relevant information and research materials for the survey as the library staff of the following institutions have cooperated with me throughout: Jawaharlal Nehru University Central Library, New Delhi, Nehru

Memorial Museum and Library, New Delhi, Sapru House Library of Indian Council of World Affairs, New Delhi, Centre for the Study of Developing Societies, Delhi, and Institute for Defence and Strategic Analysis, New Delhi. My special thanks to Kamlesh Jain, Documentation Officer Centre for East Asian Studies, JNU, and Ms. Uma Chopra IDSA. I thank Mr. L.D.Ajmani for his neat and careful typing of the dissertation.

I take this opportunity to offer deep respects to my parents who have been a constant source of inspiration and knowledge. Occasionally they took me into the realms of metaphysical and dialectical mode of thinking. I learnt from their practical experiences as to how best to interpret social reality and appreciate certain fundamental values.

I take the responsibility for all that has gone into this work.

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Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

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Every society and culture is a product of the nature and processes of social relationships that existed in a historical span of time. Each society has certain common characteristics in its composition but differ in other values and institutions. The simple nature of society and polity has gradually moved towards a complex network accompanied by changes at various levels. The political organisations which had formed in due course were linked to the broader social and cultural spheres. The interdependence of political and economic, social and cultural entities has revealed the nature of a particular society and tradition.

The societies have flourished as long as there was social stability and political unity. The political leadership, with the help of social groups and institutions, led the societies into various directions. The leadership had experienced tensions as well as cooperation with such groups. Even while claiming legitimacy from tradition, charisma etc., the leadership had to depend upon certain elites of the society, namely intellectuals -- secular or religious.¹ The intellectuals were highly educated in tradition and influential in social interactions, in contrast to a large number of illiterate and powerless masses. They performed various roles ranging from

¹ S.N. Eisenstadt, "Intellectuals and Tradition", <u>Daedalus</u> (Journal of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences) (Cambridge, Mass.), Spring 1972, pp. 1-21.

direct participation and advice in the day-to-day affairs to 2 the roles as critics or rebels and to isolation. The political leaderships were aware of the importance of ideas in relation to change and stability, and thus tried to incorporate the intellectuals into various political and social roles to legitimate the political and social order. Even the intellectuals needed the political leaders in order to protect their institutions and privileges. But the intellectuals had constantly tried to achieve as much autonomy as possible from the political leadership. Thus the quest for mutual interdependence and independence remained in varying degrees in different societies.

In the modern society, the relationship between the political leadership, committed to building a strong nationstate, and the intellectuals, seekers of creativity, has become very complex which is due to the changes in material transformation and new ideologies. The political leadership has to tackle the question of intellectuals explicitly or implicitly as the intellectuals are known for their critical attitude towards tradition and political authority. It is the nature of political leadership and its goals which determines its relationship and policy towards the intellectuals. In the same way, the intellectuals respond according to their interests, as well as social and political limitations.

2 Ibid.

³ Ibid. See also, Philip Rieff, ed., <u>On Intellectuals</u> (Anchor Books, 1970), pp. 57-136.

⁴ Edward Shils, "Intellectuals, Tradition, and the Traditions of Intellectuals: Some Preliminary Considerations", <u>Daedalus</u>, Spring 1972, pp. 21-34.

China has a long history and complex traditional ethos. Out of an intense discussion and debate among philosophical traditions. Confucianism (the others are Taoism, Legalism, Buddhism, etc.) triumphed in China and was restored as a dominant political and social ideology since the rule of Han Emperor Wu Ti till the overthrow of Manchu Dynasty in the Revolution of 1911. The Confucian ideology provided the basis for Chinese social institutions and relationship between various units. The two important principles which guided the social organisation were obedience and hierarchy. It provided a framework in which Heaven, Earth and Family were wielded together in a giant organism in which the individual lost his identity. Obedience, the proper performance of rites and ceremonies, and the rules of propriety replenished this social organism. Obedience was the norm of social conduct -- obedience to parents, to husband, to moral law and to the State.

The hierarchical structure of social organisation in China consisted of the Royal Family and the Emperor at the apex, immediately followed by Mandarins (scholar-literati-officials), then came farmers, artisans, merchants, traders and bankers and servants at the bottom. According to Max Weber, "social rank in China has been determined more by qualification for office

⁵ Hou Wai-Lu, <u>A Short History of Chinese Philosophy</u> (Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1959), pp. 1-80. Also Joseph Levenson, <u>Confucian China and its Modern Fate</u> (Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1958).

⁶ C.K. Yang, "The Functional Relationship between Confucian Thought and Chinese Religion", in Fairbank (ed.), <u>Chinese</u> <u>Thought and Institutions</u> (University of Chicago Press, 1957), pp. 267-90.

than by wealth".' The hierarchy of prestige corresponded closely with the hierarchy of power. The system of public examination was devised in Han period to select officials for administrative posts. This indicated respect for learning, knowledge and the learned. But owing to an authoritarian and elitist administration, the peasantry was suppressed by the Mandarins and the friction developed between them as Mandarins despised manual labour. The scholar class tried to serve its: own interests by having strong patrons in the political circles and very few resorted to the act dissent for the fear of losing privileges. Thus a seemingly stable yet unstable order prevailed in/Chinese social fabric.

But the Confucian ideology failed to solve the problems of China in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The Mandarins turned a blind eye to the world phenomenon of capitalism which originated in the West. The Manchu dynasty and the Confucian ideology crumbled when Revolution of 1911, led by Dr. Sun Yat Sen and other modern intellectuals, brought about a significant social and political revolution. But the three principles, Democracy, Socialism and Nationalism, which

8 Chalmers A. Joseph, <u>Peasant Nationalism and Communist</u> <u>Power</u> (Stanford University Press, 1962), pp. 1-16.

9 Michael Gasster, <u>Chinese Intellectuals and Revolution of</u> 1911 (University of Washington Press, 1969).

⁷ Cited in Tung-Tsu-Chu , "Chinese Class Structure and its Ideology", in Fairbank (ed.), n. 6 ., p. 250; Chung-li Cheng, <u>The China's Gentry</u> (University of Washington Press, 1955); Robert Marsh, <u>Mandarin</u> (Free Press of Glenoc, 1961).

formed Sun Yat Sen's vision of China's future could not be realised as the new political structure could neither defend China against internal oppression nor external interference. The radical intellectuals overtook the liberal intellectuals. These intellectuals and students adopted radical nationalism by applying Marxism-Leninism to Chinese conditions. The first led demonstration/by radical students and intellectuals in the 10 May 4th Movement of 1919 marked a break with Chinese tradition and Western liberalism. Marxism-Leninism was adopted to meet the West on its own ground and also change the power structure within China.

Under these circumstances the Communist Party of China Was founded in 1921. The initiators were none other than the outstanding intellectuals in the Peking University -- Ch'en Tu-12 hsiu and Li Ta Chao. The Marxist-oriented intellectuals increased in number and radical students became politically active. Mao Zedong attended the first CCP Congress in Shanghai in 1921 and took part in a number of political and military operations, mobilised workers and peasants. He rose to popularity in the Long March and became the Chairman of Political Bureau of CCP at Tsunyi Conference in January 1935.

¹⁰ Chow Tse-tsung, The May Fourth Movement (Harvard University Press, 1960).

¹¹ Benjamin Schwartz, "The Limits of Tradition Versus Modernity as Categories of Explanation: The Case of Chinese Intellectuals", <u>Daedalus</u>, Spring 1972, pp. 71-88.

¹² Frederic Wakeman, Jr., <u>History & Will, Philosophical</u> <u>Principles of Mao</u> (University of California Press, 1973).

The CCP led a number of anti-Japanese movements between 1921 and 1945. The Party had also in the internal political arena demanded freedom for intellectuals in the oppressive KMT rule. Thus the this Party won major victories and/led to its increasing acceptance. A large number of peasants, workers, students and intellectuals 13 joined or supported the CCP.

The first readjustment policy towards intellectuals appeared in the resolution prepared by Mao entitled "Recruit large number of intellectuals", and adopted by the Central Committee of CCP in December 1939. In this resolution, Mao argued for recruitment of intellectuals in large numbers into the Party and Army against the Japanese imperialism. He noted that there was distrust and sectarianism in Party towards recruitment of intellectuals and pleaded for its removal because "without the participation of the intellectuals the revolution cannot achieve victory". He maintained that the Party cadres must distinguish between progressive intellectuals and conservative intellectuals. He concluded that "the proletariat cannot rear intellectuals of its own without utilising the help of the intellectuals who already exit".

Though the Party did not fully change its attitude of distrust towards intellectuals, yet the resolution is of

15 Ibid.

¹³ Theodore H.E. Chen, <u>Thought Reform of Chinese Intellectuals</u> (Hong Kong University Press, 1960), pp. 1-50.

^{14 &}quot;Recruit Large Number of Intellectuals", <u>Selected Works</u> of <u>Mao Tse Tung</u>, Vol. II (Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1975), p. 301.

significant importance. It disclosed the fact that the CCP since 1921 had witnessed an attitude (and policy) of discrimination, which was certainly a result of ideological and historical factors. The peasantry and workers in the Party had not forgotten the oppressive attitude of intellectuals (traditional Mandarins). The peasantry had equated the modern term 'intellectuals' with their traditional Mandarinite, as mental work was common to both of them. The resolution did remove certain psychological barriers between non-Party intellectuals and the Party for the mobilisation against Japan. And Mao's Talk on Literature and Art in Yenan (1942) marked a watershed in literary and artistic policy of the Party similar to that of Lenin's views. But a temporary period of hundred flowers ended up in a rectification campaign in 1942-43.

After the Liberation in 1949, the Party adopted the second readjustment policy of uniting, educating and remoulding the intellectuals. As early as 1939 Mao had analysed the class character of China in an essay entitled "The Chinese Revolution and the Chinese Communist Party". It declared that the intellectuals did not constitute a class or a stratum. There were reactionary as well as progressive intellectuals. They could be transformed ideologically with ease. In a broader

^{16 &}quot;Talks at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art", <u>Selected Works of Mao Tse Tung</u>, Vol. III (Peking, 1977), p. 69; see also Judd Ellen L., "Prelude to the Yenan Talks -Problem in Transforming a Literary Intelligentsia", <u>Modern China</u>, July 1985, pp. 377-408.

^{17 &}quot;The Chinese Revolution and the Chinese Communist Party", Selected Works of Mao, Vol. II, p. 305.

task of creating conditions for socialist transformation and construction. Mao and the Party realised that ideological remoulding (or thought reform) of the people was the first step and especially that of the intellectuals who possessed a strong power of ideas. Having classified the intellectuals into four types on the basis of their degree of support to socialism and the Party leadership, the Party adopted persuasion and coercion to remould them. Even though intellectuals were distrusted for their values of old society, they were regarded as an important force for socialist transformation. They underwent ideological in the land reforms, three-anti, five-anti movement remoulding and demonstration against US aid to Korea. It was assessed that many intellectuals with rightist conservative ideas turned to socialism and by 1955 many of the intellectuals belonged to the labouring class.

In these circumstances, Premier Zhou Enlai in his "Report" on the question of intellectuals,¹⁹ submitted to the Central Committee of Chinese Communist Party in 1956, proposed for a third readjustment policy towards intellectuals: As an overwhelming majority of intellectuals have become part of working class, the policy of the CCP must be "to mobilise intellectuals to the fullest possible extent and bring into full play their existing strength, to give intellectuals constant help in remoulding themselves and to expand the ranks of our intellectuals

18 Theodore H.E. Chen, n. 13

¹⁹ Zhou Enlai, <u>Report on the Question of Intellectuals</u> (Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1956), p. 7.

and raise their professional skill. In short it meant to help them remould themselves, and assist them in becoming professionally competent.

The 1956 report of Zhou Enlai had symbolised the first and significant landmark in the Party's assessment and future policy towards intellectuals. Reiterating the role of intellectuals in the advancement of science and culture in the socialist society, and also the party's leadership over them. Zhou Enlai criticised the sectarian attitude of the Party cadres towards intellectuals, and their overtrust of intellectuals in certain other cases. Calling for rectification of these two deviations, he listed a number of measures to improve the intellectuals politically and professionally in the transition to socialist transformation. They include: to improve the manner of employing and placing them in accordance with their specialised skills, to show confidence and give support for real initiative, to create necessary working and living conditions and give appropriate treatment: to weed out counterrevolutionaries and reduce the number of backward intellectuals. and win the middle-of-the-road intellectual over its side, and to encourage progressives in becoming real socialists; to increase the number of graduate students. to strike a balance between theoretical and technical work, and also between long-term and immediate requirements, to send students abroad for language and

21 Ibid.

²⁰ Ibid., p. 14. Zhou Enlai went closer to Lenin and Althusser's conception of intellectuals in a society where private ownership of means of production is abolished.

technical learning, to invite foreign scholars, to set up organisations related to science, education and culture; and finally to create machinery to solve the problems of intellectuals like Bureau of Chinese Experts under State Council for administrative matters, Propaganda Department of Central Cormittee for ideological correction and Organisation Department of Central Committee for recruitment of intellectuals into the Party, the United Front Department of Central Cormittee for looking after the work of non-Party intellectuals belonging to various democratic parties. The objective was thus to forge a strong alliance between the social forces of peasants, workers and intellectuals. This report has become a charter for the intellectuals of China.

In 1956, the hopes of the people and the Party went high which were in the midst of successes/achieved in the First Five Year Plan and collectivisation of agriculture. To encourage creativity and freedom at the scientific and cultural levels, Mao launched 22 the famous Hundred Flowers Movement of 1956. It announced the policy of "let hundred flowers blossom, let hundred schools of thought contend". The intellectuals took active part in open discussion and criticism. When the movement went beyond certain limits of criticism of Party leadership, it was clamped, and the 23 Anti-Rightist campaign was carried out in 1957. A number of

²² Roderick Macfarquer, The Hundred Flowers Campaign and China's Intellectuals (New York, 1960),

²³ Naranarayan Das, <u>China's Hundred Weeds</u> (K.P. Bagchi, 1979), pp. 154-64; Richard Walker, <u>China Under Communism: The First</u> <u>Five Years</u> (Yale, 1955). This book contains a valuable chapter entitled 'Culture & Intellectuals', pp. 171-213.

intellectuals were labelled rightists and bourgeois, and were purged from the Party, insulted in the public. They suffered social and political discrimination. The motives behind Hundred Flowers Movement are not very clear, but it has certainly revealed that many intellectuals were critical of socialism, Party leadership and demanded more freedom.

In order to carry out various political programmes without the help of intellectuals and train them in remoulding perfectly, Mao designed the famous but unsuccessful Great Leap Forward (1958-60) which took the place of Five Year Plans. Mao's new ideas were discernible in some of his articles as in his "On the Ten Major Relationships" in April 1956 and later in his "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions".

He developed a new mode of thinking and concluded that Soviet type of development was leading to bureaucratism, revisionism and restoration of capitalism. He felt that the gap between the Party and masses, the intellectuals and working class, manual labour and mental labour, urban and rural areas, industry and agriculture, were increasing. In order to overcome elitism, bureaucratism and inequality, he developed a theory of communes wherein workers, peasants, soldiers and intellectuals, would take part in all spheres of social activity -- industry, agriculture, defence and education. The bourgeois and reactionary intellectuals would be transformed into proletariat, and workers, peasants would be educated to constitute the proletarian intelligentsia. This project led to sending intellectuals to farms and factories. They were made to involve actively in political and ideological work.

Very little time was left for academic work.

When the Great Leap Forward was discontinued in 1960, Liu Shaoqi revived the Five Year Plans and gave material incentives to the peasants and workers. In the midst of 24 another relaxation period of 1961-62 for intellectuals, 25 Zhou Enlai and Chen Yi at the Guangzhou Conference in 1962 pleaded for restoration of status and role of intellectuals, and acceptance of intellectuals as part of working class. But this call for implementation of third readjustment policy did not materialise as it was overshadowed by a decade of Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (1966-76).

The deep-rooted political-ideological struggle sparked 26 off with the controversy over Wu Han's play 'Hai Rui Dismissed', which spilled over educational and political boundaries. The Red Guards, guided by Mao, Lin Piao and the Gang of Four, waged struggle against 'bourgeois' intellectuals, ill-treated them and bombarded the Headquarters, thus overthrowing Liu Shaoqi and his colleagues from the Party. While the Cultural Revolution

²⁴ Merle Goldman, "Party's Policies towards Intellectuals: The Unique Blooming and Contending of 1961-62", in John Wilson Lewis, ed., <u>Party Leadership and Revolutionary</u> <u>Power in China</u> (Cambridge University Press, 1970).

²⁵ Cited in Gong Yuzhu, Deng Xiaoping and Party's Intellectual Policies, <u>Beijing Review</u>, 19 March 1984, pp. 16-20. Also see Merle Goldman, <u>Literary</u> <u>Dissent in Communist China</u> (Harvard, 1967).

²⁶ Merle Goldman, <u>China's Intellectuals Advice and Dissent</u> (Harvard University Press, 1981), pp. 117-35. Also Robert Jay Lifton, <u>Revolucionary Immortality</u> (New York, 1968).

was in full swing for three years (1966-63), its ideology dominated till the death of Mao and the Gang of Four's overthrow. The Party Constitution of 1969 was the most revolutionary and in the history of CCP and endorsed the theory of continued revolution. In 1966, the Central Committee of CCP announced the 'two estimates': that in the first 17 years of Communist rule, the education was guided by bourgeois leadership and the bourgeois intellectuals dominated the education.

In the late 1969, the Party began to enforce the *sixteen point* decision of the Central Committee issued on 12 August 1966. Point 10 deals with the educational reforms in the schools:

> The period of schooling should be shortened. Courses shall be few and better. The teaching materials should be thoroughly transformed, and in some cases beginning with simplifying complicated material. While their main task is to study, students should also learn other things. That is to say, in addition to their studies they must also learn industrial work, farm and military affairs, and take part in the struggle for cultural Revolution as they occur.

In practice it meant undermining knowledge and intellectuals and overemphasising practice, revolutionary action and ideological fervour. It swung to the other extreme of rejecting formal education and restoring only political and ideological education without school. The Red and Expert principle thus turned into excessive Red and no Expert. The teachers were not respected. The examination system which was considered to be favouring merit and not the working class was abolished. The admissions were now open only to the peasant-worker-soldiers. The administration was in the hands of revolutionary committees at the commune level. The university were was looked down upon and many theoretical subjects/scrapped. 27 The students spent all their time in farms and factories.

All these changes undermined role and the status of intellectuals. While Zhou Enlai had assessed in 1956 that majority of intellectuals were part of working class, they were treated as rightists in 1957, and as 'stinking ninth 28 category' (the other eight enemies of people are: landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements, Rightisps, renegades, enemy agents and capitalist roaders)

during the Cultural Revolution by Gang of Four. The intellectuals had by now branched out into liberal school age under the political patron of Zhou En-lai and Deng Xiaoping, and radical intellectuals whose political patrons were Mao 29 Zedong and the Gang of Four. As a consequence of Cultural Revolution and its anti-intellectualism, the intellectuals became the worst victims, professionally and personally, thus pushing China still far behind the levels of technological and cultural development of advanced nations.

After the death of Lin Piao, Zhou Enlai had attempted to move China from radicalism to pragmatism. His efforts at the

27 Ibid. (Goldman).

²⁸ Anne T. Thurston, "Victims of China Cultural Revolution the Invisible Wounds" (two parts), <u>Pacific Affairs</u>, Winter 1984-85, pp. 599-620 and September 1985, pp. 5-27.

²⁹ Merle Goldman, China's Intellectuals, Advice and Dissent, in. 26.

30 4th National People's Congress in 1975³⁰ were foiled by the Gang of Four who led anti-Lin Piao, anti-Confucian:, Water Margin and dictatorship of proletariat movements for their own political ends. Even the three important documents put forward by Deng on Party, Industry and Science were termed three poisonous weeds. This resulted in disastrous damage to economy, education and intellectual resources.

With the overthrow of Gang of Four, preceded by Mao's death in September 1976, China has taken a fresh turn in its political and social spheres. The purpose here of this research work is to study the nature and changes in party's attitude and 31 policy towards intellectuals in the post-Mao era (1976-85). An attempt is made to measure the direction of swing of policy pendulum between the 'Hundred Flowers' and the 'stinking ninth category'.

A few clarifications are essential to this endeavour. 32 Unlike in the Western connotation the intellectuals in China include all those who receive a minimum of secondary education.

³⁰ William Joseph, <u>The Critique of Ultra Leftism in China</u> 1958-81) (Stanford University Press, 1984); Jurgen Domes, <u>Chinese Politics Since Mao</u> (University College, 1979); Tien-wei Wu, <u>Lin Biao and Gang of Four</u> (Illinois, 1983), Roger Garside, <u>Coming Alive I China After Mao</u> (1981); Fox Butterfield, <u>China Alive in the Bitter Sea</u> (1981).

³¹ Sylvia Chen, "The Blooming of Hundred Flowers and the Wounded Generation", in Bill Brugger, ed., <u>China Since</u> the Gang of Four (London, 1980). pp. 174-201. Also Richard Baum, <u>The Four Modernisations</u> (Westview Press, 1980), p. 72.

³² Micheal Yahuda, <u>Asia and Pacific 1985</u>, World of Information (**Sssex**), pp. 115-32.

They are mainly scientists, engineers, technicians, professions, teachers, writers, artists, actors, medical workers and journalists. The main thrust of this research project will be focussed on science, education and culture (literature and art). The Party has perceived the intellectuals from three angles -first ideologically, as bourgeois intellectuals and proletarian intellectuals: second professionally, as higher intellectuals and ordinary intellectuals: third age-wise, young, middle and old intellectuals (middle age is between 35-45). An attempt is made to study the Party's attitude and policy towards intellectuals under Hua Guofeng and Deng Xiaoping's leadership along with the socio-political status and role, living and working conditions, dissent and advice (though the latter may not receive a sufficient nontreatment owing to/availability of data and information) as it is beyond the scope of the present study and lack of data. The hypothesis that the ultimate cost of the Chinese quest for intellectual autonomy was political estrangement will be tested. The degree of institutional autonomy granted to intellectuals by the political leadership for realising political goals will be studied. And finally the nature of evolving relationship between Party and the intellectuals vis-a-vis the Chinese society will be analysed.

³³ Frederic Wakeman, Jr., "The Price of Autonomy, Intellectuals in Ming and Chiing Politics", <u>Daedalus</u>, Spring 1972, pp. 35-70.

Chapter II

THE PERIOD OF TRANSITION (1976-78)

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The post-Mao period can be classified into three major phases with regard to the Party's attitude and policy towards intellectuals. The first phase, September 1976 - February 1978, can be termed as a 'period of transition'. It covers various important developments like the passing of Chairman Mao, the overthrow of Gang of Four, consolidation of Hua Guofeng's leadership in the Eleventh Party Congress and rehabilitation of Deng Xiaoping. The second phase, February 1978 - August 1982, called 'the period of fourth readjustment policy' includes the national conferences on science and education, the historic Third Plenum of 11th Party Central Committee, and Deng Xiaoping's consolidation of power. The third phase August 1982 - December 1985 entitled 'Towards further implementation of the policy', deals with the period since Twelfth Party Congress and the New State Constitution of 1982.

The phase is termed as the period of transition for the reason that there was a temporary consolidation of Hua's power and a simultaneous growth of influence of Deng Xiaoping. Even though Hua Guofeng remained as Prime Minister since Chou En-lai's death till August 1980 and as Chairman of the Party till June 1981, the power began to gravitate towards Deng's leadership. Between 1976 and 1981, Hua's power declined and it was followed by Deng Xiaoping's ideological victory at the Third Plenum of 11th Party Central Committee and then the political consolidation at the 5th Plenum in March 1980, accompanied by organisational victory (though partial) in June 1981. Between 1976 and 1978, there was an intense political and ideological activity which culminated in the crystallisation of Deng's victory in December 1978. Since then a degree of consistency and stabilization prevailed. Thus 1976 - February 1978 may be appropriately termed as period of transition, indicating Hua's leadership and its decline.

At this stage it is important to tackle the important problem as to who decides the policy towards intellectuals, what are its bases and how it is implemented. It is the Chinese Communist Party leadership which frames the general line and this general line, a product of Party ideology, determines the policy towards various sectors of the society -- namely political, economic, social, scientific, educational and cultural. To put it in simple terms the political leadership determines the principles, policy and the line, and they are implemented by the three major organs: Party, Government and the Army. Thus, to know the policy towards intellectuals, it is necessary to know the nature of political leadership, its ideology, goals and objectives, political structure, economic policies and policy towards science, education and culture (literature and art).

Chairman Hua Guofeng headed the Party leadership after Mao's death and was to a large extent responsible for the downfall of the Gang of Four. Not deviating from Maoist path of development, Hua Guofeng criticized the 'Gang of Four'

for distorting Maoist policies.¹ He believed that the socialist revolution and construction was the political line laid down by Mao Zedong. He praised the Cultural Revolution, though he declared the conclusion of the first Cultural 2 Revolution, maintaining more of such would continue, and criticised the Gang of Four for their counter-revolutionary activities. His ideological line was 'act according to the principles laid down,³ along with the political line of Mao's slogan 'never forget class struggle'. Hua's attempt to revive Mao Zedong of late 1950s by publishing Mao's works⁵ from September 1949 - November 1957 in the form of Volume V confirmed his policy of two whatevers: that whatever Mao said was right and whatever Mao did not do could not be implemented'.

On the political front, Hua launched a campaign to criticise Lin Piao and the Gang of Four, and rehabilitated a number of victims of Cultural Revolution including Deng Xiaoping.

- 3 Study Mao Tse Tung, Carry out Chairman Mao's Behests, Beijing Review, 8 October 1976, p. 12.
- 4 Memorial Speech delibered by Chairman Hua (10 September 1976), <u>Beijing Review.</u> 24 September 1976.
- 5 Decision on the publication of the Selected Works of Mao Tse Tung, <u>Beljing Review</u>, 15 October 1976, p. 3. Works published <u>Beljing Review</u>, 22 April 1977, p. 5.

¹ Hua Guofeng's speech at Peking ceremony of laying cornerstone of Comrade Mao Memorial Hall (24 November 1976), <u>Beijing Review</u>, 3 December 1976, p. 3.

² Political Report of the 11th National Congress of CPC delivered by Kua Kuofeng (12 August 1977), <u>Beijing Review</u>, 26 August 1977, pp. 23-57.

⁶ Speech by Hua at Second National Conference on Learning from Tachai in Agriculture (10 December 1976), <u>Beijing Review</u>, 17 March 1976, p. 10.

On the economic front, Hua Guofeng retained the Macist model of Dazhai and Dazhing for agriculture and industry respectively. Even the communes were retained for some time.While not making any experimentations, he also stressed the economic plans of modernisation announced by Zhou Enlai in 1964 and 1975 which he considered as having carried Mao's good wishes. His ten year economic plan (1976-85) was formally approved at the 2nd ? Plenum of the 11th Central Committee in February 1978.

Having maintained that 'politics should command everything', Hua had put science, education, culture and intellectuals in the broad framework of Maoist politics. The policy statements and implementation regarding policy towards intellectuals can be discerned in the important meetings and conferences conducted by the Party. While stressing the importance of science, education, culture and intellectuals, Hua regarded them as instruments for both socialist revolution and construction. In his major policy speech at the Second National Conference on Learning from Tachai in agriculture on 25 December 1976, Hua criticized the attitude of Gang of Four:

Why do they arrogantly trample on the masses, poor and low-middle peasants, revolutionary intellectuals, and other people, lord it over them, turn a blind eye to their sufferings? Why do they try to overthrow all, completely deny our tremendous achievements in socialist revolution and construction, denigrate our Party and the dictatorship of the proletariat, make havoe of socialist cultural and economic undertaking and sabotaging the revolution and production? 8

⁷ Beijing Review, 3 March 1978, p. 7.

⁸ Speech by Hua at Second National Conference, n. 6, p. 10.



21

Hua in his speech at the Eleventh Party Congress of August 1977 revived Mao's policies towards science, education and culture. While announcing the convening of a national conference on scientific work in near future, he devoted more attention to culture and education. As for culture, he repeated Mao's slogans "of letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend", "of making the past serve the present and things foreign serve China", and of "weeding through the old to bring forth the new". Mao's education policy that "education must serve proletarian politics and be combined with productive labour, and must enable everyone who receives an education to develop morally, intellectually, and physically and become a worker with both socialist consciousness and culture" was adopted.

In the same speech, Chairman Hua made the first policy statement regarding intellectuals.¹⁰ While stressing the importance of an army of technical cadres, professors, teachers, scientists, journalists, writers and artists and Marxist theorists of the working class, Hua gave a call to carry out, in accordance with Chairman Mao's instruction, the Party's policy of uniting with, educating and remoulding intellectuals and harnessing their enthusiasm for socialist construction. He did not refute the 'two estimates' made by the Gang of Four during the Cultural Revolution. (The two

10 Ibid.

31.54



⁹ Political Report of 11th National Congress of CPC, n. 2 _, pp. 25-57.

estimates refer to the assessment that in the first 17 years of founding of People's Republic, a bourgeois line was dominant in education and education was headed by bourgeois intellectuals). Again his reference to intellectuals as 'revolutionary intellectuals' and the continuation of the policy to remould them reveals his belief that a number of intellectuals were still rightists and bourgeois in outlook.

Even though Hua's statement affirmed adoption of Mao's policy, it is not the only indication of the policy towards intellectuals. Hua Kuofeng was assisted by Deng Xiaoping who maintained a low profile but gave impetus to policies towards science and education. Deng Xiaoping stressed the professional aspect of intellectuals, while Hua laid emphasis on political and ideological orientation, though it was not carried out in practice rigorously. The damage caused by Cultural Revolution was so immense for intellectuals and scientific institutions that steps were taken in the direction of rehabilitation of victims, redressing of various cases of frame-ups, false charges and labels, and reassignment of work along with reopening of educational and scientific institutions.

Education began with a vengeance to compensate for the loss during the previous decade (1966-76). With the CPCCC

¹¹ Deng Xiaoping hinted at his favourite slogan 'Practice is the sole criterion of truth, and more work and less empty talk' at 11th National. Congress of CPC, but it went unheard.

12 on 18 September 1977, calling for a National directive Conference on Science in the near future, and Deng Xiaoping's assertion of Four Modernisation on National Day (1 October 1977), along with an important article published by Mass Criticism Group entitled "a major polemic on education front: criticism of the 13 created by Gang of Four (8 November), cleared two estimates" the minds of the people and developed a positive attitude towards higher education, science and knowledge. The uniform entrance examinations were reinstated and conducted for the 14 first time after Cultural Revolution in November-December 1977 . in which 20 million appeared and 200,000 were selected. The criteria for admission was changed. Instead of strictly following the class origin, there has been an attempt to sclect candidates on the basis of merit, and politico-ideological

- 13 It referred to intellectuals as part of revolutionary force, <u>Beijing Review</u>, 16 December 1977. It gave the number of intellectuals since 1971 as 20 million. See also <u>Beijing</u> <u>Review</u>, 3 February 1978, p. 16.
- 14 Beijing Review, 11 November 1977, p. 16.
- 15 <u>Beijing Review</u>, 28 July 1978; Training of Postgraduates resumed, <u>Beijing Review</u>, 17 February 1978, p. 4.

¹² CPC Central Committee circular on Holding National Science Conference : It maintained that 'the Party's policy towards intellectuals must be implemented without delay. It also made reference to problems of jobs, working conditions, titles, putting into responsible posts, time for study and also 'red and expert' principle. <u>Beijing Review</u>, 30 September 1977, pp. 6-11. The preparatory meeting of National Science Conference on 25 September, recalled Mao's statement in 1956. The entire Party should study hard to acquire scientific knowledge and unite with non-party intellectuals in the efforts to catch up rapidly with advanced world levels in science. <u>Beijing Review</u>, 30 September 1977, p. 11.

qualifications became secondary. This was accompanied by expansion of number of universities and colleges, rehabilitation of teachers and professors, and modification of curriculum, reduction of time for production work. The educational administration no longer remained in the hands of revolutionary committees. At this stage there was a proposal to increase the 16 wage incomes of the teachers which had gone below the incomes of ordinary manual workers during the Cultural Revolution.

The importance attached to the intellectual resources can be observed in the enrolment of students for formal 17 education. The enrolment in 1969 was 100.67 million students in primary, 20.25 million in secondary, 0.109 million in tertiary education with a total of 121.03 million. In 1976, the number rose to 150.06 million in primary, 59.06 million in secondary, 0.565 million in tertiary and a total of 209.69 million. In 1977 the number in tertiary level rose to 0.625 million.

In the scientific field, the progress in various branches 18 was recorded with recruitment of scientists to leading posts.

- 17 Statistical data is borrowed from a World Bank Country <u>Study on China's Socialist Development</u>, Vol. 3; 'Schools of Diverse Forms', <u>Beijing Review</u>, 17 February 1978, p. 11.
- 18 Chen Ching was promoted to a research fellow of Chinese Academy of Sciences, <u>Beijing Review</u>, 6 January 1978, p. 30. Fang Yi in his report on Chinese science and education on 27 December announced the important decisions regarding scientific and technical developments: (1) to set up S & T commissions, (2) to set up system of directories responsibility system, (3) develop scientific research, (4) new enrolment system, (5) Learning S & T from advanced countries, (6) 5/6 week hours of study, (7) more funds etc. <u>Beijing</u> <u>Review</u>, 13 January 1978, p. 15.

¹⁶ Beijing Review, 2 December 1977, p. 3.

though it was very slow in pace. The meeting of Hua Guofeng and Deng Xiaoping with eminent scientists added a new momentum 19 to science policy. The outline Report 'On the Work of Chinese Academy of Sciences', opened the gates wide for scientific advance-In its report, it maintained "as for those scientific ment. researchers who defied the label and clubs of the gang of four. 'secretly' devoted their heart and soul to scientific research and made achievements, we should cherish, commend and show concern about them politically, and help and support them in been 20 The 'Red and Expert' principle which had/turned their work". into excessive redness by the Gang of Four was moving towards a balanced redness and expertise.

On the literature and art front, a number of discussions took place to criticise the tampering by Gang of Four for their narrow self-interest. At the celebration of 35th Anniversary of Publication of Chairman Mao's "Talk at the Yenan Forum on 21 Literature and Art", there was emphasis on the point that,

20 Scientific Research Speeds up, <u>Beijing Review</u>, 22 July 1977, p. 5; Scientific research reactivated, <u>Beijing</u> <u>Review</u>, 28 October 1977, p. 9; A number of conferences were held and fruitful scientific results, <u>Beijing</u> <u>Review</u>, 28 October 1977, pp. 11-13; New results in Theory Research, <u>Beijing Review</u>, 3 March 1978, p. 6; Spreading scientific knowledge, <u>Beijing Review</u>, 10 February 1978, p. 15.

21 Beijing Review, 17 June 1977, p. 23.

^{19 &}quot;Hua Meets Prof. Chao Chung Ting from Massachusetts, Deng Meets Prof. Chao and Prof. Man-ching Niu", <u>Beijing Review</u>, 13 September 1977, p. 31. Deng meets American scientists Dr. Chia-liu Yuan and Chien Shing Wu, <u>Beijing Review</u>, 14 October 1977, p. 4.

22 the literature and by avoiding the distortions of Gang of Four, art must serve proletarian politics and socialism. It also declared that hundred flowers would prevail in order to study and criticise and develop the artistic aspects for enriching socialism. Alongside there were republications of works of Lu Xun and Mao Dun, of novels by Yang Mo. Chu Po. Liu Ching and Chou Lipo which were banned during Cultural Revolution, and the planned publications of the foreign works of Shakespeare. Gorky. Cervantes. Hegel and Migout. This indicated a new and a liberal trend to make old serve the present and foreign serve the nation. The publication of newspapers and magazines increased in number, and volume, thus meeting the cultural needs of the people. An attempt was made to confer titles on eminent personalities of art and literature.

At the ideological level, massive efforts were made to define 'class struggle' in terms of socialist revolution and socialist construction, emphasising the three revolutionary movements in class struggle, production and scientific research. A number of articles appeared clarifying the wrong direction taken by the Gang of Four. 'Seeking Truth from facts' by 25 Chen Yun, 'Intellectuals are an important force in socialist

^{22 &}quot;How the Gang of Four Stamped the Party's Policy on Intellectuals - Denying the Role of Intellectuals", <u>Beijing Review</u>, 18 March 1977, pp. 19-20.

²³ Beijing Review, 24 February 1978, p. 8.

²⁴ Conferring title of Honorary Professor to Noted Syrian Poet Abdul Mouine, <u>Beijing Review</u>, 13 January 1978, p. 5.

²⁵ Beijing Review, 2 December 1977, p. 3.

revolution and construction', 'We must catch up with and surpass world's advanced levels with this century', 'Strive to build a powerful and modern socialist country', 'Is it necessary to develop productive forces', and 'refuting Yao Wenyuan's fallacy that the principle "to each according to his work", breeds bourgecis', these articles removed the cowwebs from the minds of the people and made them realise that knowledge and science in socialist state are part of productive forces and of benefit to the working class.

In this period of transition, very little efforts were made specifically to tackle the problems of intellectuals. The progress in this aspect remained limited to change in Party's attitude towards intellectuals as against the Gang of Four's policy of discrimination and oppression. Secondly, due to the damage done to various institutions, the important step was to rehabilitate the victims and reopen the institutions -- educational, scientific and cultural. Thirdly, more important was the struggle at the ideological level to denounce the Gang of Four. For this Hua Guofeng needed the help of the intellectuals in carrying out this campaign, as intellectuals also shared Hua's outlook regarding the Gang of Four.

Hua Kuofeng had his own limitations in carrying out the Gang of Four Party's policy toward intellectuals. The campaign against the/

26	Beijing Review,	8 July 1977, p. 12.
27	Beijing Review,	22 July 1977, p. 8.
28	Beijing Review,	7 October 1977.
29	Beijing Review,	10 February 1978, p. 11.

which was carried out for three years had taken much of his time in way of consolidation of his power. The Party and the State institutions were not willing and not sufficiently equipped to carry out this policy as they were deeply entrenched in the influence of Gang of Four. His own ideological leaning towards Maoist orthodoxy made him accept Mao's principles uncritically. He derived his legitimacy in the 'two whatever' principles. Thus he could not define and analyse the problem regarding the intellectuals, though he started off by reviving Mao's policy (or Party policy) adopted in the first five years of founding of People's Republic. The fact that he neither criticised Mao nor Cultural Revolution made the intellectuals sceptical and they hesitated to take any step in hurry. This uncertainty in the minds of intellectuals was one of the important reasons for less success in their mobilisation and improvement of professional skills. The intellectuals were also uncertain about their relations with workers and peasants, as the latter were fed upon by the Gang of Four on hatred and discrimination. It would be too quick to expect the workers, peasants and cadres to treat the intellectuals without discrimination, help and support them in their work.

In contrast to the period of Cultural Revolution, this phase of transition following the death of Mao Zedong is marked with a less radical party policy towards intellectuals, a reassertion of Mao's policy to unite, educate and remould, accompanied by redressing of their label 'stinking minth category', given by the Gang of Four. It was followed by

rehabilitation of victims of Cultural Revolution, reopening of various institutions but much within the Maoist framework of 30 politics enunciated in late 1950s.

Hua did not make any efforts to reassess the arrears namely 'the two estimates', Cultural Revolution, and Mao himself. He adopted the policy towards intellectuals which prevailed in the early 1950s. He was far away from the correct assessment made by Premier Zhou En-lai in 1956 that overwhelming majority of intellectuals were part of working class. Even though it was bestowed upon Deng Xiaoping to renew Zhou Enlai's assessment, Hua Guofeng created a congenial environment for Deng Xiaoping to do so. The intellectuals on their side were partly comfortable owing to the downfall of the Gang of Four, but remained still uncertain about the nature of succeeding leadership and its ideology. The alliance of the Party with the intellectuals in the traditional Marxist framework was not vet achieved. The tension between the Party and intellectuals remained though it lessened in intensity. The intellectuals had only to wait for the 3rd Plenum of 11th Party Central Committee to take place and see Deng Xiaoping the victor. At neither this stage judging from poor living and working conditions/the status of intellectuals improved, nor their role clearly defined by the Party.

³⁰ Volume V of Mao's Selected Works prefaced by Hua Kuofeng contained articles 'On Ten Major Relationships', 'on the correct handling of contradictions', which also included the Chapter V, on the question of intellectuals. Hua Guofeng had adopted this mode of thinking;

Chapter III

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THE FOURTH READJUSTMENT POLICY (1978-82)

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If the Party's policy towards intellectuals was characterised as ultra left and radical in nature during the Cultural Revolution, and the two years following the downfall of the Gang of Four as a period of less radical but not too close to moderate policies, the period since March 1978 and especially the Third plenum of Eleventh Party Central Committee in December 1978 will be remembered as a period of fourth readjustment policy, moderate, restoring, improving and upholding the Party's traditional Marxist policy of its alliance with intellectuals (besides with the more important social bases, workers and peasants). The three important developments which led to this remarkable change in attitude and policy were the National Science Conference held between 18 and 31 March 1978, National Conference on Education in April 1978 and the Third plenum of Eleventh Party Central Committee in December 1978.

The happenings were preceded by a very significant political move for adoption of a new State Constitution of March 1978 at the 5th National Peoples Congress, along with a new constitution for Chinese People's Political Consultative 2 Conference at its 5th National Congress of which Deng Xiaoping

¹ Cheng You-xin and Li Ke-jin, "Intellectuals: Their Class Status and Social Role", <u>Social Sciences in China</u> (Beijing, June 1984. It gives a theoretical explanation for the fourth readjustment policy, intellectuals as part of working class, pp. 27-54.

² Constitution of Chinese Party's Political Consultative Conference (adopted on 8 March 1978), <u>Beijing Review</u>, 24 March 1978, p. 31.

became the chairman. Deng Xiaoping at the CPPCC gave a call to the people of all nationalities in China, the intellectuals and the patriotic democratic parties, the people's organisation, the patriotic personages from all walks of life to carry out the line of the lith Party Congress.

While the Party Constitution of 1977 became the party guideline, the new State Constitution of 1978 turned out to be the new State guideline for governmental administration. The first session of the Fifth National People's Congress consisted of three elements: the political report of Premier Hua Guofeng on work of Government, the approval of 10 year economic plan (1976-85) and the adoption of a new constitution. Hua in his report emphasised speeding up of socialist economic construction and the development of socialist science, education and culture, For the first time Hua laid greater stress on scientific research for economic construction accompanied by development of a number of academic disciplines. Dealing with education, he urged for assistance and care for a creation of strong contingent of intellectuals but within the framework of 'education for proletarian politics'. Even the field of literature and art received sufficient attention. On the whole the report asserted the importance of intellectuals and also an amount of freedom for development of science, education and culture.

³ Hua Guofeng's Report on Work of Government, "Unite and Strive to Build a Modern, Powerful Socialist Country", Beijing Review, 10 March 1978, p. 27.

Hua's statements are well recorded in the form of 4 Articles 12, 13, and 14, along with the pronouncements in its preamble of the New Constitution which referred to the need for a revolutionary united front including intellectuals. Article 45 enunciated the four freedoms: "Citizens enjoy freedom of speech, correspondence, the press, assembly, association, procession, demonstration, and the freedom to strike, and have the right to "speak out freely, air their views fully, hold great debates and write big-character posters".

The New Constitution is very significant for the fact that it had marked a shift from the radical slogan of class struggle during the Cultural Revolution to a balanced stress on revolution and construction, but construction had gained

Article 13: The State devotes efforts to developing education in order to raise the cultural and scientific levels of the whole nation. Education must serve proletarian politics and be combined with productive labour and must enable everyone who receives an education to develop morally, intellectually and physically, and become a worker with both socialist consciousness and culture.

Article 14: The State upholds Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse Tung Thought in all spheres of ideology and culture. All cultural understanding must serve the workers, peasants, soldiers and socialism.

The state applies the policy of "Letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred school of thought contend" so as to promote the development of arts and sciences and bring about a flourishing socialist culture.

State Constitution of 1978 (Beijing, 1928).

⁴ Article 12: The State devotes major efforts to developing science, expands scientific research, promotes technical innovation and technical revolution and adopts advanced techniques wherever possible in all departments of the national economy. In scientific and technological work we must follow the practice of combining professional contingents with the masses, and combining learning from others with our own creative efforts.

more prominence due to the determination to make China a great and powerful socialist country with modern agriculture, industry, national defence, science and technology by the end of the century. This political stand gradually gave way to 'four modernisations' at the 3rd plenum of 11th PCC.

Given this background, a number of conferences and discussions followed. At the historic National Science Conference held in March 1978, Hua Guofeng and Deng Xiaoping gave a new direction to the post-Cultural Revolutionary China. While Hua in line with Mao's thinking of late 1950s, emphasised politics as the commander, the soul of everything, ⁵ he went further to stress 'the need to spread scientific and cultural knowledge to raise the level of the entire nation'. But Deng Xiaoping, remaining silent on the issue of Cultural Revolution unlike Hua who praised it, emphasised the need for a large number of scientists and experts in engineering and technology who are first rate by world standards.

Deng Xiapping's speech at this Conference opened up a

⁵ Roger Garside, Coming Alive : China After May (1981), p. 193.

^{6 &}quot;Raise the Scientific and Cultural Level of the entire Chinese Nation", speech by Hua at National Science Conference. He referred to intellectuals as 'revolutionary intellectuals', <u>Beijing Review</u>, 31 March 1978, p. 6.

⁷ Deng Xiaoping's speech at Opening Ceremony of National Science Conference, <u>Beijing Review</u>, 24 March 1978, pp. 9-18.

⁸ Merle Goldman, <u>China's Intellectuals : Advice and Dissent</u> (Cambridge, 1981). She dealt with liberal and radical intellectuals in China since founding of People's Republic and their patrons in the political circles. An important chapter dealing with scientists and Deng Xiaoping highlights the new and moderate attitude of the Party towards

new ideological and theoretical explanation in contrast to the Cultural Revolution. He restored Zhou Enlai's assessment on intellectuals in 1956 and considered science as part of the productive forces without any class bias in the socialist state. Admitting that there was a big gap between Chinese science and technology and that of the advanced world, he maintained "we must actively develop international academic exchanges and step up our friendly contacts with scientific circles of the other countries". Along with granting of at least 5/6 of work time a week, Deng Xiaoping insisted that "a system of individual responsibility for technical work be established in scientific research institutes and that the system of division of responsibility among institutions directed under the leadership of Party The whole speech touched upon three Committees be set up". important questions; science and technology as being a part of productive forces, the building of a vast contingent of scientific and technical personnel who are both Red and Expert, and the adoption of the system of division of responsibility with directions of research institutes taking charge under the leadership of Party Committees.

10 Ibid.

⁹ Deng Xiaoping's speech at Opening Ceremony of National Science Conference, n. 7.

Fang Yi, the Vice-Premier of the State Council at that time prepared a broad "Outline of National Plan of the Direction of Science and Technology, its policies and measures (1978-85)", which contained important suggestions for structural changes for expansion and development of Science and Technology, accompanied by a degree of institutional autonomy or freedom to raise the level of professional skills.

The National Conference on Education in April 1978 was an extension of the logic behind the National Science Conference. The respect for knowledge and learning was common to these two 13 conferences. Deng Xiaoping achieved immense success for two

11 Fang Yi, "Outline of National Plan for the Development of Science and Technology (1978-85)", <u>Beijing Review</u>, 7 April 1978, p. 6. The goals were to (a) approach or reach the advanced world levels of 1970s in a number of important branches of science and technology, (b) increase the number of professionals and scientific researches to 800,000, (c) build upto date centres for scientific research, (d) complete national work system of scientific and technical work. The policies and measures included: (1) consolidate the scientific research institutes and build up a science and technical research system, (2) open broad avenues to able people and recruit them, (3) institute regulation of training, assessing, posting and rewarding S & T personnel, (4) upholding the policy of letting a hundred schools of thought contend, (5) learn advanced S & T from other countries and increase international academic exchanges, (6) ensure adequate work hours for scientific workers, (7) Modernise laboratories, Inspection and Library, (8) make efforts to popularise science, (9) management with appropriate division of labour.

Fang Y1 was named President of Chinese Academy of Sciences. Cited in Garside, n. 5, p. 411.

- 12 Deng Xiaoping's speech at National Educational Work Conference, <u>Chinese Education</u>, Spring-Summer 1979, pp. 4-14.
- 13 William A. Joseph, <u>The Critique of Ultra-Leftism in China</u> (1958-1981) (Stanford University Press, 1984), p. 192.

reasons. First, he refuted the 'two estimates' theory propounded by the Gang of Four. He said that neither the leadership over education in the first 17 years of founding of People's Republic was bourgeois, nor the intellectuals bourgeois as they were nurtured under the dictatorship of proletariat. He went further on the same point to stress that both mental and physical labourers are workers. Secondly, Deng laid a broad policy framework for the future: "We must improve the quality of education and raise the level of teaching in the sciences and culture so as to serve proletarian politics better, (b) great efforts must be made in the schools to strengthen revolutionary order and discipline, to bring up a new generation with socialist consciousness as this will help to realise the goals of socialist modernisation. (c) education must keep pace with the requirements of the national economic development, (d) finally there is a need to respect the work of teachers and raise their levels and qualifications."

While these ideas gave a new look to the future policies, they could not be realised in practice at this stage as numerous institutional and psychological barriers existed, a legacy of Cultural Revolution. But the existence of a number of debates is an important development.

Few more events preceded and built a strong ground for 3rd plenum of 11th PCC. A major theoretical contribution

¹⁴ Luo Fuo, China's Intellectuals - part of working class, Beijing Review, 31 March 1980; Hu Ping, On the question of Intellectuals, Beijing Review, 19 February 1981.

¹⁵ Deng Xiaoping's speech at National Educational Work Conference, n. 12.

16 appeared in a Chinese daily in the form of two articles entitled: "Practice is the only criterion for verifying truth", dated 11 May 1978 and the other "One of the fundamental principles of Marxism" dated 24 July 1978. Deng Xiaoping also referred to this new line in his speech at an All-Army Conference and Political Work on 27 April 1978. Again while Chinese Federation of Literature and Art celebrated the 30th Anniversary of Yenan's Forum on 25 May, the Peking Review republished Mao's article entitled "Talk at the enlarged working conference convened by central committee of CCP of 30 January 1962". This talk of Mao stressed the status and role of intellectuals in relation to workers and peasants. It called upon the working class to unite with intellectuals (such as scientists, engineers, technicians, professors, teachers, workers, artists, actors, medical workers and journalists) as they did not constitute a separate class but were patriotic and loyal to Party and Socialism. A number of rehabilitation of victims included a reversal of verdict on Peng De-hua, preservation of cultural relics like Confucius's birth place. The media carried the news regarding reopening of a large number of universities, examinations and admissions on the basis of merit.

16	Guangming Daily, 11 May 1978 and 24 July 1978 cited in China Quarterly, December 1978 issue.
17	Beijing Review, 9 June 1978, p. 8.
18	Beijing Review, 7 July 1978, p. 6.
19	Memorial Meeting of Comrade Peng De-hua,

Beijing Review, 29 December 1978, p. 3.

Three more notable instances were: Hua's call for emancipation of minds and devising of means to speed up China's modernisation drive on the eve of 29th anniversary of People's Republic; an important article entitled "Observe economic laws and speed up the Four Modernisation" which was a speech by Hu Qiaomu, President of Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, at State Council meeting in July 1978, emphasised law, order and democracy; the historic Democracy Wall opened in November 1978 which allowed public to express their views freely on the wall poster (at unofficial level). These signified the emergence of Deng Xiaoping's rise to power.

These events culminated in the historic 3rd plenum of 22 the lith Party Central Committee of CCP in December 1978 at which the "strategic decision to shift the focus of work to socialist modernisation" was taken thus discarding the previous slogan "take class struggle as the key link". Even though the plenum made no efforts to give a verdict on Cultural Revolution, Mao and Hua Guofeng's leadership, the Central Committee decided to cancel the erroneous documents issued by the Central Committee during Cultural Revolution, and made socialist modernisation as the immediate task. In accordance with the ideological line "Practice is the sole criterion of truth", the place of science

20 Beijing Review, 27 October 1978, p. 7. See also n. 5.

²¹ Detailed description of Democracy Wall may be found in For Butterfield, <u>China Alive in the Bitter Sea</u> (Hodder & Staurgton, 1982), pp. 406-18 and also see n. 5.

²² Communique of the plenum, <u>Beijing Review</u>, 29 December 1978, pp. 6-16.

and education was restored in these words: "While we have achieved political stability and unity and are restoring and adhering to the economic policies, that proved effective over a long time, we are now, in the light of the new historical conditions and practical experience, adopting a number of major new economic measures, conscientiously transforming the system and method of economic management, actively expanding economic cooperation on terms of equality and mutual benefit with other countries on the basis of self-reliance, striving to adopt the world's advanced technologies and equipment and greatly strengthening scientific and educational work to meet the needs 24

This new ideological and political line propounded by Deng Xiaoping at the 3rd plenum marked a departure from Hua's slogan 'act according to the principles laid down'. Since December 1978 till August 1982, Deng, with this ideological victory, went ahead to achieve political and organisational consolidation. It started off with Liu Shaoqi's: rehabilitation along with 2,900,000 people by 1979, election of Hu Yaobang and Zhao Ziyang to Standing Committee of CC at the 5th plenum 25 of 11th PCC in January 1980, followed by succession of Hua by Zhao Ziyang as Prime Minister at 3rd session of 5th National

25 Beijing Review, 10 March 1980, p. 3.

²³ Contract system was announced for economic reconstruction, <u>Beiling Review</u>, 10 November 1978.

²⁴ See Communique of the Plenum, n. 22.

Peoples Congress, accompanied by scrapping of the 10 year economic plan of March 1973. A major breakthrough was achieved at the 6th plenum of 11th CCPC when the Resolution of Party 27 History was presented in which the Cultural Revolution, ists' Mao and the 'two whatever' were criticised. At the same plenum Hua resigned from all posts giving way for Hu Yaobang to become General Secretary (as chairmanship was abolished). A total political victory was achieved for Deng's programme with the commencement of 12th Party Congress at the 6th National Peoples Congress in late 1982.

This change in ideological and political tone resulted in 28 the fourth readjustment policy towards intellectuals. While Hua revived Mao's policy to unite, educate and remould the intellectuals, Deng Xiaoping since March 1978 (more so December 29 1978) asserted the policy to treat the intellectuals without discrimination, employ them to give them a free play in their work, and improve their living and working conditions, and gave a strong accent on freedom and professionalism.³⁰ Deng Xiaoping emphasised not on Party's task of educating and remoulding intellectuals, but on self-education and self-remoulding of intellectuals. This new policy or the fourth readjustment

26	Beijing Review, 8 September 1980, p. 3.
27	Mao made gross mistakes, but they are secondary. Beijing Review. 6 July 1981, pp. 10-39.
28	Cheng You-xin and Li Ku-jin, n. 1.
29	See Deng Xiaoping's speech at Opening Ceremony of National Science Conference, n. 7 and at National Educational Work Conference, n. 12.
30	Peiping's policy towards intellectuals, <u>Issues and</u> Studies, August 1982, pp. 1-4.

policy, though not institutionalised at this stage (it was done by insertion of Article 23 in state Constitution in September 1982) defined in specific terms the status and role of the intellectuals in the socialist China. The affirmation of intellectuals as a part of working class resulted in the change in status in a positive way. The assertion of importance of intellectuals in four modernisation implied their strategic role in realising it. By declaring science and technology as the key to all round progress, the intellectuals became indispensable to society in contrast to being targets during Cultural Revolution.

In this period, to heal the wounds of intellectuals caused 31 by the Cultural Revolution, a number of measures were initiated to develop institutions of science, education and culture, along 32 with the raising of political and social status of intellectuals. Correcting past errors, redressing cases of frameups, false 33 charges and rehabilitation and reassignment of suitable work received top priority in late 1970s and early 1980s. To raise the standards of scientific, educational and cultural levels, a number of intellectuals both Party and non-Party members, were

³¹ Sylvia Chen, "The Blooming of Hundred Flowers and the Fate of 'Wounded Generation'", in Bill Brugger, ed., <u>China Since Gang of Four</u> (1980), pp. 174-201. Wounded generation refers to the generation of intellectuals who were deprived of minimum working and living conditions.

³² Role of China's Intellectuals, <u>Beijing Review</u>, 31 March 1980, pp. 19-28.

³³ Economist Ma Yin Chu rehabilitated, <u>Beijing Review</u>, 3 August 1979, p. 3. Also Mao Tum, Kuo Moju, Tsao Ching-hua, Feng Teng rehabilitated with other 20 million people. Cited in Jurgen Domes, <u>Chinese Politics After Mao</u> (1979), pp. 207-23.

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Thirdly, attempts were made to promoted to leading posts. 35 admit intellectuals into the Party. Fourthly, reassigning of work to scientists and technicians in accordance with their ability received an adequate attention though not fully satisfactory Fifthly, the system of conferring titles, degrees. was restored and perfected. Sixthly, outstanding intellectuals 38 were cited and honoured. Finally the improvement of mental work by taking care of the intellectuals' working and living 39 conditions was begun.

- 34 Technicians became leading cadres. In Shanghai oil refinery, out of 11 leading cadres, 7 were engineers and 2 technicians. <u>Beijing Review</u>, 21 December 1979, p. 4. In Shanghai 1000 scientists were promoted to leading posts, see <u>Beijing Review</u>, 31 March 1980, pp. 19-28; scientists were made advisers, <u>Beijing Review</u>, 5 December 1980, p. 5; two engineers to leading posts, <u>Beijing Review</u>, 17 May 1982, p. 5.
- 35 More scientists and technicians join Party, Physcists Cheng Wen Yu and Mathematician Cheng Kuan-hai joined the Party, <u>Beijing Review</u>, 28 July 1978, pp. 21-22; Hua Luo Gu, Yan Jiu, Zhao Yanxui, also join, <u>Beijing Review</u>, 31 March 1980, pp. 19-28.
- 36 About 160,000 were reassigned new jobs. See <u>Beijing Review</u>, 31 March 1980, pp. 19-28. The number of intellectuals in 1982 was 25 million with 6 million S & T personnel.
- 37 <u>Beijing Review</u>, 31 March 1980, pp. 19-28; Regulation of Academic Degrees from 1 January 1981, <u>Beijing Review</u>, 5 January 1981, pp. 8-9.
- 38 By awarding 47 intellectuals out of 160, they were made National Models, <u>Beijing Review</u>, 31 March 1980, pp. 19-28; Intellectuals Become Model Workers, <u>Beijing Review</u>, 23 August 1982, p. 6. In Jiangzi 53 intellectuals were awarded.
- 39 The principle 'each according to his ability and each according to his work' was applied to allow scientists receive more remuneration with spare time work.

Among the three fronts, science received greater importance than education and culture. As early as September 1978 about 20 institutes related to scientific research were reopened and 44 new institutes set up under the guidance of Chinese Academy of Sciences. Many important scientists were put into 40 leading posts (even non-Party members), and gave importance 41 to young and middle-aged intellectuals. The number of 42 scientists, engineers and technicians increased but it was still insufficient for economic modernisation. The exchanges between the Chinese scientists and foreign institutes and scientists increased leading to progress in academic research.

- 40 Greater role for scientists in policymaking, <u>Beijing Review</u>, 29 December 1980, p. 4; Division of work between Party and Government (stressed at 3rd session of 5th NPC), <u>Beijing</u> <u>Review</u>, 12 January 1981, p. 5; scientists exercise leadership over scientific research, Lu Jiaxi replaced Fang Yi as President of Chinese Academy of Sciences, <u>Beijing Review</u>, 1 June 1981, p. 9; First democratic elections in Chinese Academy of Sciences, <u>Beijing Review</u>, 15 June 1981, p. 9; Call for intellectuals of 8 other democratic parties, <u>Beijing Review</u>, 21 April 1982, p. 7.
- 41 At the 30th Anniversary of Chinese Academy of Sciences, middle-aged scientists were declared backbone of Modernisation. <u>Beijing Review</u>, 16 November 1979, p. 3; Selecting Middle Aged Young Cadres, <u>Beijing Review</u>, 14 December 1979, p. 5.
- 42 Science and scientists revitalised, <u>Beijing Review</u>, 24 March 1978, p. 27; 5,714,000 scientists according to, <u>Beijing Review</u>, 17 May 1982, p. 15.
- 43 90 symposiums conducted by foreign professors in China, <u>Beijing Review</u>, 10 November 1978, p. 29. There were 1,300 foreign students from 77 countries in China, <u>Beijing Review</u>, 17 March 1980, p. 9. 223,273 students were sent abroad to learn foreign languages, <u>Beijing</u> <u>Review</u>, 21 December 1979, p. 4.

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A number of research items, discoveries and inventions were highly publicised. The scientific management was given sufficient attention to create a congenial condition. The efficiency, expertise and specialisation were given all 45 attention. The scientists achieved laurels in the field of 47 research and won world praise. The science was popularised to raise the number and quality of work. Still a large number of scientists were not in suitable jobs according to their capability, while others were waiting for jobs. This was a task more difficult as reforms at various levels -- namely economic, administrative and legal were in progress but not There was still a lot of resistance from complete.

- 44 CAS carried out 400 research items, out of them 291 in Shanghai, <u>Beijing Review</u>, 3 October 1980, pp. 29-30; A breakthrough in synthesising RNA, <u>Beijing Review</u>, 21 January 1980, p. 27.
- 45 Hu Yaobang at Second National Congress on Chinese S & T Association, <u>Beijing Review</u>, 4 April 1980, p. 13; Young cadres with professional knowledge, <u>Beijing Review</u>, 14 July 1980, p. 3; New graduates of S & T, basic research expanded, <u>Beijing Review</u>, 27 April 1981, p. 6; Stress on production labour minimised, <u>Beijing Review</u>, 7 January 1980, pp. 20-22.
- 46 Young Mathematician Hou Chen-ling Wen Won Davidson Memorial Prize, <u>Beijing Review.</u> 18 May 1981, pp. 18-19.
- 47 5,296,000 were natural scientists, 107 inventions and 675 were higher intellectuals, <u>Beijing Review</u>, 18 May 1981, pp. 18-19; Popularising science in China, <u>Beijing Review</u>, 1 March 1982, p. 20.
- 48 Veteran cadres retire, <u>Beijing Review</u>, 15 February 1981, p. 5; Abolition of life tenure, <u>Beijing Review</u>, 1 March 1982, p. 3; reform of cadre selection, <u>Beijing Review</u>, 16 February 1983, pp. 13-16; New Criminal Law and Law of Criminal Proceedings, <u>Beijing Review</u>, 12 August 1979, p. 11; Arrangements of 1979 New Economic Plan, <u>Beijing Review</u>, 20 June 1979, p. 7; Separation of government administration from commune management, <u>Beijing Review</u>, 29 March 1982, p. 3.

individuals in the Party and State administration to implement 49 party's policy towards intellectuals.

On the educational front, the investment as in science, began to increase, and as a result a large number of were universities and colleges/opened under the leadership of 52 Chinese Academy of Social Sciences. The number of students increased at various levels, primary, secondary and universities. With the introduction of degree system, a large number of 55 graduates and post graduates became employed. The students

- 49 Hsuan Mo, Peking's policy towards intellectuals, who is hindering its implementation. <u>Issues and</u> <u>Studies</u>, August 1984, pp. 10-12.
- 50 Pepper Suzanne, "China Education After Mao Two Steps Forward, Two Steps Back and Begin Again", <u>China Quarterly</u> (London), March 1980, pp. 1-65. Also Education: New Dimensions, <u>China Reconstructs</u>, November 1984.
- 51 The investment in science, education and culture increased to 14.83 billion yuan in 1981 by 1.62 billion yuan of previous year.
- 52 Universities were divided into comprehensive universities, science and engineering universities, specialised institutes. There were 94 key universities out of a total of 715 universities in 1982.
- 53 The number of primary school students were 139,720 thousands in 1982, <u>Beijing Review</u>, 3 October 1983, pp. 26-27; Even though the number increased at higher education level, only 1.1 per cent of 20-24 age group were enrolled in this tertiary group. Micheal Yahuda, <u>Asia and Pacific Review</u> (1985), <u>World Of Information</u> (Essex).
- 54 Broaded C. Montgomery, "Higher Education Policy Changes and Stratification in China - Research Note", <u>China</u> <u>Quarterly</u>, March 1983, pp. 125-37.
- 55 Cadres to be selected among college graduates, <u>Beijing</u> <u>Review</u>, 11 August 1980, p. 7. Number of post graduates were 22,600 students, <u>Beijing Review</u>, 5 January 1981, pp. 8-9; 220,000 waiting for jobs, 510,000 given work in 1979 and 1980, <u>Beijing Review</u>, 12 Januart 1981, p. 5.

going abroad and coming from abroad to China swelled up year 56 The significant development was a balanced progress by year. of sciences and arts. The subjects like sociology, philosophy, law and history which were neglected during the Cultural 57 Revolution were revived and accorded sufficient attention. The number of teachers and teacher training institutes rose. 58 A number of academic magazines and journals were published. The administration of many educational institutions returned 59 into the hands of professionals with high academic standards. The status of teachers was raised with students, cadres and people respecting their work and talent. Since middle of 1978 some 61,300 teachers (1/3 of total) in institutions of higher learning were given new titles. The number, according to official figures in 1980, of intellectuals was 25 million. 90 per cent of whom were graduates from institutions of higher learning or technical schools and post-graduates, of them 6 million were scientific and technical workers, and 90 per cent

- 58 Scientific journals on medicine, science and technology and social sciences came into focus, <u>Beijing Review</u>, 6 September 1982, p. 7.
- 59 A number of colleges were headed by middle-aged personnel in Fujan province college there were 70 middle-aged intellectuals, also in Beijing university, <u>Beijing Review</u>, 16 August 1982, pp. 4-6.
- 60 Pay for school teachers of 12 million increase from 42 to 120 yuan, <u>Beijing Review</u>, 14 December 1981, p. 7.

⁵⁶ In 1979 at Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, 300 scholars came from 12 countries, <u>Beijing Review</u>, 25 August 1980, p. 29; 5,100 students sent abroad to 45 countries in 1979, <u>Beijing Review</u>, 15 December 1980, p. 7.

⁵⁷ Even science students were given classes in history and socialist ethics. Fei Xiaotong and his discipline were rehabilitated (sociology), <u>Beijing Review</u>, 7 January 1980, pp. 20-22.

There appeared an intense activity in the sphere of 62 It started off with debates on relation literature and art. between literature, art and politics along with rehabilitation of veterans like Zhou Yang, Mao Dun, Ding Ling, Bai Hua etc. Zhou Yang's speech on literature and art was as important as 63 Hu Qiaomi's speech on economic construction. He dealt with literature and politics, on life of people, and new advances. Deng Xiaoping's speech at 4th National Congress of Writers in is considered a charter of rights as he spelt November 1979 out clearly the need for freedom for creation. It was convened after 19 years and attended by 3,200 personalities. Later, Zhou Yang, as chairman of National Committee of China's Federation of Literary and Art Workers, stressed that 'although the slogan of subordinating art and literature is not used. this does not mean that art and literature can be separated In spite of pronouncements of freedom, 65 the from politics.

- 61 Beijing Review, 31 March 1980, pp. 19-28.
- 62 Yu Shiao-ling, "Voice of Protest Political Poetry in the Post-Mao Era", <u>China Quarterly</u>, June 1985; "Wounded Literature in the Post Mao Era : The Return of Critical Realism", <u>Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars</u>, June-September 1984.
- 63 See Garside, n. 5, p. 319.
- 64 Blooming Flowers and Poisonous Weeds, <u>Far Eastern</u> <u>Economic Review</u>, 26 December 1985, pp. 36-49.
- 65 Merle Goldman, "Human Rights in People's Republic of China", <u>Daedalus</u>, Fall 1983, pp. 111-38. The author has dealt in detail regarding the freedom of writers and artists. According to her Hundred Flowers in 1956 and Democracy Wall in 1978-79 were the only two periods of relaxation, which was resorted to for political reasons, to consolidate power. The freedom of intellectuals is very limited.

Party clamped the Democracy Wall after arresting Wei Jinsheng who demanded the Fifth Modernisation of democracy, and thus scrapped the four freedoms. It is believed that intellectuals 67 kept away from participating in the 1978-79 relaxation period. That the intellectuals did not take part in campaigns signified their careful understanding of past experience. The criticism 68 of Bai Hua's Bitter Love demarcated the limits of literary and artistic work. It is yet believed that while Party defined policy of economic construction, did not take efforts to frame a policy towards culture. But on the whole within certain parameters, the two hundred flowers policy is claimed to be applied by the Party for ensuring creativity, criticism and self-criticism. A number of writers produced their works revolving around the theme of the Cultural Revolution, The suffering of the intellectuals as well as the other sections of the society during the Cultural Revolution were clearly portrayed and this was the Wounded Literature.

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70 Opposing Right or Left Deviations, <u>Beijing Review</u>, 26 October 1981, p. 3. Hu Qiamu on bourgeois liberalisation, <u>Beijing Review</u>, 2 July 1982, p. 20. Ba Jin was elected new chairman of Chinese Writers Association, <u>Beijing Review</u>, 11 January 1982, p. 28.

⁶⁶ Merle Goldman, <u>China's Intellectuals</u>. Fox Butterfield and Roger Garside dealt with this issue in clear details, <u>Beijing Review</u>, 26 October 1979, p. 6.
67 The tradition of dissent seems to have been extinguished. Butterfield, n. 21 , pp. 406-34.
68 Denes, G. ; Bitter Love Criticised, Beijing Review, 25 May 1981, p. 3.
69 Garside, n. 5.
70 Opposing Right or Left Deviations, <u>Beijing Review</u>, 26 October 1991 p. 3. Hu Olerry on bourseois.

This period (1978-82) created a new attitude and a policy of 4th readjustment towards intellectuals. It succeeded in removing ideological constraints and restored the status and role of intellectuals in theory. At the same time the Party conducted a number of conferences, informal debates and discussions to enhance the recognition of this new policy. This policy was: to treat intellectuals without discrimination, to give them a free play in their work, and to improve their living and working conditions. It has taken quite a few important steps to put into practice. While broadening the scope of work in science, education and culture, great amount of resistance continued at various levels. Some efforts were made to formulate policies in educating the Party and governmental cadres in scientific and technical knowhow and also in overcoming Leftist tendencies. Even though the Party's policy was not institutionalised, this period marked both enunciation of the policy of 4th readjustment and its partial implementation towards intellectuals. Only an important event like 12th Party Congress could have given iurther impetus to this policy.

Chapter IV

TOWARDS FURTHER IMPLEMENTATION OF THE POLICY (1982-85)

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The Party's policy towards intellectuals took a fresh turn in its emphasis at the 12th National Party Congress, which went a step ahead in ideological and political consolidation. Two events that followed were: The New State Constitution of 1982 and the celebration of centenary of Marx's death in March 1983. These developments were followed by an 'anti-spiritual pollution' campaign which paved the way for a significant """ rectification of Party and government style of work in exposing and rectifying discrimination against the intellectuals. The importance of this phase is that the intellectuals, who were considered a lost class, witnessed the fourth readjustment policy being institutionalised.

The change in political leadership's outlook is just not adequate for the policy implementation. An institutional machinery and loyal administrators are essential. A number of reports indicated that the Party and governmental cadres offered stiff resistance to the implementation of party policy towards intellectuals which called for non-discrimination, employing them and giving them free play in their work for realising four modernisation, and improving their living and working conditions.

¹ Intellectuals in China: a lost class, <u>Far Eastern Economic</u> <u>Review.</u> 9 February 1984, pp. 32-42.

Surmary of World Broadcasts (SWB), Part III FE/7383/7628. Also Lynn White III, China's intellectuals and Party Policy, in two parts, <u>Issues and Studies</u> (Hong Kong), October 1984, pp. 11-30 and November 1984, pp. 12-32.

The leadership realised that the changes at the social and economic level could be brought about by reforming the political organisation and its functioning. The 12th Party Congress and the 6th National People's Congress were thus entrusted with this task of rectification.

The 12th Party Congress convened in September 1982 reiterating the line, principles and policies formulated since the Third Plenary session of the Eleventh Party Central Committee (which rejected the line of 11th Party Congress) added: "It is essential to adopt a series of important measures, and particularly to restructure the administration and the economic system and to make the ranks of our cadres more revolutionary, younger in average age, better educated and more professionally competent, to build a socialist spiritual civilisation in the course of building a socialist material civilisation and develop socialist democracy and the Socialist legal system is to strike at all types of serious criminal activities in the economic and other spheres; and to rectify the Party style and consolidate Party organisation."

Hu Yaobang, the General Secretary of the Party, at the address to 12th Party Congress, assessed the relations between the Party and the intellectuals as having improved enormously. He commented that the unity among the three main social forces, namely, workers, peasants and intellectuals were fairly good.

³ The 12th Party Congress, <u>Beijing Review</u>, 13 September 1982, p. 11.

⁴ Hu Yaobang's report at the 12th Party Congress, Beijing Review, 13 September 1982.

He deplored the party's wrong policy towards intellectuals in the past: "Owing to the influence of 'Left' ideas and the small producer mentality, erroneous views such as underestimation of education, science and culture, and discrimination against intellectuals were rife in our Party over a fairly long time." Affirming the four cardinal principles, Hua declared:

> In order to create a new situation in all fields of socialist modernisation, we must lay special stress on the role of intellectuals, improve their work of ideological and political education among them to suit their special characteristics, and actively recruit into the Party intellectuals who are qualified for membership. 6

The New State Constitution of 1982 strengthened the formulations of the 12th Party Congress. In its preamble it stated that "four modernisation is the basic task of the Party". And for the first time in the history of Communist China, the policy towards intellectuals was institutionalised in the State Constitution in the Article 23 which states: "It is the duty of the government to train specialised personnel who serve socialism in all fields, and increase the number of intellectuals, and that it must create conditions to give full scope to their role in socialist modernisation." This important Article has defined in clear terms the status and the role of China's intellectuals today. On the whole there has been a marked

- 5 Ibid.
- 6 Ibid.
- 7 State Constitution of 1982 (Beijing).
- 8 Ibid.
- 9 Ibid.

departure from the line of 9th, 10th and even 11th Party Congress and moved towards the line of 1956 when Deng Xiaoping declared 10 that "the line of Eight Congress was correct".

In March 1983, Hu Yaobang speaking at the celebration of Marx's death centenary, praised Chou Enlai's assessment of intellectuals in 1956, pleaded for a strong party alliance with the intellectuals. He directed the nation to develop the intellectual resources. In order to accomplish this major task a number of changes were brought about. The commune system was dismantled and replaced by townships with administrative 13 A humber of efforts were made to bring about functions. reforms in the economic structure and management. The rectification included training in specialised branches for 15 directors and managers.

About this time a number of reports carried the news that the correct Party's policy towards intellectuals was not

- 11 Hu Yaobang's speech at celebrating Karl Marx death centenary, <u>Beijing Review</u>, 29 March 1983, pp. I-XV. It asked for application of Marxism to Chinese conditions.
- 12 Developing intellectual resources, <u>China Reconstructa</u>, November 1983,
- 13 People's communes no longer governs. By 1984 90,000 townships were set up, <u>Beijing Review</u>, 7 January 1985, p. 7.
- 14 Zhao Ziyang, The current economic situation and reform of economic structure (at 3rd session of 6th NPC), <u>Beljing Review</u>, 22 April 1985.
- 15 Party and government cadres to receive training, <u>Belling Review</u>, 25 October 1984, p. 5; Examination for 5000 Managers and Directors, <u>Belling</u> 1983, p. 5.

¹⁰ Deng Xiaoping Report at 12th Party Congress.

¹⁶ implemented. The discrimination against intellectuals was rampant in educational, economic and other administrative branches. This anti-intellectualism was the result of pernicious leftist tendencies pervading at various levels. ¹⁹ The investigations on intellectuals' status and role revealed, (besides incidents of discrimination and physical violence against intellectuals, poor living conditions of the middle-aged intellectuals) low wages, poor health and inadequate working conditions.

To overcome the prejudices of the cadres, the rectifi-20 cation campaign began after the conclusion of anti-spiritual pollution campaign which criticised the values of bourgeois liberalisation. Having identified the Right and Left tendencies,

- 18 SWB, FE/7551, 27 January 1984, pp. 5-7.
- 19 <u>SWB</u>, FE/7074/7080. Also E.R. Judd, "Working class intellectuals in China", <u>Journal of Contemporary Asia</u>, 1984.
- 20 SWB, FE/7554; Decision for Party Consolidation at 2nd Plenary of CCPCC in October 1983, <u>Beijing Review</u>, 17 October 1983, pp. I-XI, and <u>Baijing Review</u>, 20 January 1986. Guizhou gets new young Party chief, Hu Jinton aged 42, <u>Beijing Review</u>, 5 August 1985, p. 6.

¹⁶ Hu Yaobang's call to implement policy on intellectuals, <u>SWB</u>, Part III, 22 February 1985; Central Report on overcoming prejudices against intellectuals, <u>SWB</u>, 21 March 1985; <u>SWB</u> FE/7074, 10 July 1982, pp. 14-15.

¹⁷ Current bias against intellectuals, <u>Beijing Review</u>, 28 February 1983, p. 4 and <u>SWB</u> FE/7609. Hsuan Mo. "Discrimination against knowledge and intellectuals", <u>Issues and Studies</u>, July 1983, pp. 29-39; Hsian Mo, "Factors interfering with Teng's policy towards intellectuals", <u>Issues and Studies</u>, December 1982, pp. 28-38.

the Party and government took stern measures to rectify the party style. Its main criteria for selection was political 21 honesty and professional competence. The intellectual resource mobilization was given top priority. The rectification was carried out within the Party and Hu Yaobang condemned those who believed it was directed against intellectuals at central, provincial and prefectual level. Major successes were achieved in this regard. It involved a thorough education of the cadres regarding the correct Party policy. Some were retained and educated, others warned, demoted and also dismissed. Besides training of present cadres in professionalism, a number of intellectuals were recruited into the leading posts of Party 24 and the government. This was also extended to mean the college 25 students. Among the intellectuals emphasis has been given to

- 21 SWB, FE/7835, 19 January 1983, p. 12.
- 22 SWB, FE/7587, 9 March 1984, pp. 1-3.
- 23 <u>SWB</u>, FE/7623. In Anhui province, an engineer was dismissed, <u>Beijing Review</u>, 14 May 1984, pp. 4-5.
- 24 21 million cadres to receive training S & T, Beijing Review, 2 January 1984, p. 7, SWB, FE/7092/7613.

In a case study of Chang Chun survey, it revealed that in Optimal Precision Machinery Institute out of 340 applications to join Party, 75 intellectuals were admitted. In 1984, here 77 out of 96 leading cadres promoted to leading posts were intellectuals and were middle-aged. Among 28 research scientists, 24 were middle aged and 2 young technicians. "Intellectuals' joy and frustration", <u>Beijing Review</u>, 21 October 1985, p. 23.

25 <u>SWB</u>, (only 1.9 per cent of students in Party) FE/7561; college graduates become Managers, <u>Beijing Review</u>, 19 November 1984, p. 9.

young and middle aged intellectuals. The middle-aged intellectuals were, according to party leadership, the most affected lot in terms of political status, economic conditions and family and health problems. To meet this major problem many of them were inducted into the leading positions in Party 28 and other enterprises.

Many changes have finally occurred at the level of 29 Central Committee in the late 1985. A batch of 64 veterans retired and gave way to young and professionally competent personnel for achieving socialist modernisation. Earlier in February 1982 while many were allowed to retire at various levels, in December 1984 about 200,000 young cadres were inducted at county and above levels. This marked a significant development in the process of rectification.

Steps were taken to institutionalise the process of policy implementation through a regular inspection. In January 1984, the Organisation, Propaganda, and the United Front Work Depart-30 ment of CCPCC jointly issued a circular calling on Party

28 Fei Xiaotong, "China's Intellectuals, today and in History", China Reconstructs, April 1983, pp. 8-11.

²⁶ Hu Yaobang repeatedly emphasised this point at various conferences.

²⁷ Intellectuals were allowed spare time work, <u>SWB</u>, FE/7683/ 7718, Bodes were praised. Bodes were those who treated intellectuals well in the administration, <u>Beijing Review</u>, 14 May 1984, pp. 4-5.

²⁹ Belling Review, 30 September 1985, pp. 6-7.

^{30 &}lt;u>SWB</u>, FE/7551, <u>Beijing Review</u>, 14 May 1984, pp. 4-5; also the CPC circular on observing policy towards intellectuals, <u>FBIS (Dailv Report) China</u>, 25 January 1984, pp. 11-13. This was the second circular, the first one stressing on inspection appeared in the first half of 1982.

committees at all levels and above county (xian) level to investigate and implement policy towards intellectuals. Investigations were undertaken and discovered continuing prejudices against intellectuals. Disciplinary action was taken against those cadres who did not carry out the guidelines and had harboured Leftist ideas.

Besides these administrative reforms, the expansion of work in the spheres of science, education and culture continued in full swing, the evidence being the increase in quantity and quality of production levels. As to science, the slogan 'March on Science given by Chou Enlai in 1956 was revived. In 1982. the number of scientists and technicians was 6.264,000 which was 32 an increase of 9.6 per cent over 1981. Young cadres were 34 33 raised to the leading posts. The concept of 'brain trust was popularised to respect knowledge and value science. There 35 was expansion of academic exchange where 10.000 Chinese scholars were in USA and about 250 American scientists in China in 1984. Emphasis was laid on adoptation of science to economic 36 development. There were 5,400 research institutes and 214

- 34 Beijing Review, 30 May 1983, p. 5.
- 35 Academic exchanges bring benefit, <u>Beijing Review</u>, 2 January 1984, p. 26.
- 36 Adapting science to economy, <u>Beiling Review</u>, 23 January 1984, p. 4; out of 3,500 scientific research items only 10 per cent were applied to production, <u>Beiling Review</u>, 18 March 1985, p. 4.

^{31 &}lt;u>SWB</u>, FE/7569/7703/7735.

³² State Statistical Bureau, <u>Beljing Review</u>, 9 May 1983, pp. I-XI.

³³ In Beijing 3,600 cadres were recruited in past three years, with average of 40 years and 1,200 of whom were university graduates. <u>Beijing Review</u>, 3 January 1983, p. 7.

37 At the same time. inventions and discoveries made in 1983. with regard to postings, younger Managers were appointed to 38 Again a deputy director of Fengsu Coal Mining enterprises. 30 Bureau in Hebei was appointed Party Secretary at the level of Organisational Department of CCP. In Shanghai as many as 299,000 natural scientists were working in 710 research institutes and 108 academic organisations. About 20 science 41 symposiums were conducted in 1984. Efforts were made to revamp Chinese scientific research system by the decision of Central Committee of CPC in relation to S & T Management in 1985. All these changes added to the theoretical and practical levels of work.

Yet many problems remained. Leaving aside discrimination, the intellectuals have not received sufficient attention to their living and working conditions. A Bureau of Chinese Experts suggested by Zhou Enlai was not so far instituted under the State Council to look after their problems. They were not 43 well paid. But sufficient progress has been achieved in diversification, specialisation and manpower planning.

37	State Statistical Bureau, Beijing Review, 29 April 1984.
38	Young Manager for enterprises, <u>Beijing Review</u> , 17 September 1984, p. 8; Young cadres on the rise, <u>Beijing Review</u> , 17 September 1984, p. 4.
3 9	Beijing Review, 3 December 1984, pp. 10-11.
40	Beijing Review, 14 January 1985, pp. 19-26.
41	Ibid.
42	Beijing Review, 8 April 1985, pp. 19-21.
43	SWB, FE/7080. Intellectuals received about 79 yuan in a survey in Beijing and was raised to 86 yuan but was much less than that of manual labourers. Beijing Review.

21 October 1985, p. 23.

Education received top priority since the 12th Party The number of students in 1984 at university Congress. and college levels was 1,396,000 which meant an increase of 189.000 over 1983. It also produced 23.000 post graduates and about 57,000 were undertaking the same course in 1983. Immense publicity was given to the nine Ph.Ds awarded in 1981, with number reaching 29 in 1983. The first woman scholar Ph.D. Provisions were made to induct as many received popularity. as 1/5th of 1982 college graduates into government. As many as 130 institutions of higher learning, besides Party schools, gave training to the cadres. In 1985, the number of 49 universities increased to 805 with 1,267,000 students, 3,090 secondary technical schools with 1,143,000 students, 96,500 ordinary middle schools with 4,397,700, 862,000 primary schools with 135,780,000 students and 136,300 key schools with 11,402,500 students, Liberal Arts were made compulsory to science students. The social science research received great impetus.

44	Beijing Review, 25 October 1982, p. 3.
45	SSB (1984) Beijing Review, 25 March 1985, pp. I-VIII.
46	Student Xu Gong Qiao (first woman), <u>Beijing Review.</u> 2 April 1984, p. 33.
47	Beijing Review, 13 September 1982, p. 8.
48	Beijing Review, 2 April 1984, p. 24.
49	SWB, FE/7753. SSB facts, "Now Its Brain that Counts" (on Education Reform), Asia Week, 14 June 1985, pp. 46-47.
50	Beijing Review, 25 October 1982, p. 3.
51	Beliing Review. 2 December 1985. p. 23.

After Zhao Ziyang had spoken on 'Price and Wage Reforms', 53 school teachers pay rose. It allocated 1 billion yuan more in 1985 to raise the wages of 10 million teachers. But at the same time, according to the survey out of 2.44 million teachers, 800,000 were with inadequate housing facility. The teachers' political status rose as in Hubei about 90 teachers were elected to county's people's Congress and 105 to county CPPCC.⁵⁴ The exchange with foreign scholars increased, and large number of changes were made in teaching method, teachers training courses. But still a number of problems related to quality, administration 56 remained and a step towards educational reforms was initiated.

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On the literature and Art front, this phase witnessed an anti-spiritual pollution campaign directed by Hu Qiãômu

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52	Beijing	Review.	7	January	1985,	p.	15.	
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53 Beliing Review, 14 January 1985, pp. 6-7.

- 54 Ibid., also the organisation Department of Hebei Province CCP Committee is seriously solving difficulties faced by intellectuals in joining the party, <u>SWB</u>, 30 August 1984.
- 55 Teachers training colleges, <u>Beijing Review</u>, 26 March 1984, p. 27.
- 56 Stanley Rosen, "Recentralisation, Decentralisation and Rationalisation - Deng Xiaoping's Bifurcated Educational Policy", <u>Modern China</u>, July 1985, pp. 301-46. Also Bastid Marianne, "Chinese Educational Policies in 1980s", <u>China Quarterly</u>, June 1984, pp. 189-219.
- 57 <u>Far Eastern Economic Review</u>, 26 December 1985, pp. 31-39. It dealt with blooming flowers or poisonous weeds: Ronald C. Clarke, "Political Power and Authority in Recent Chinese Literature", <u>China Quarterly</u>, June 1985, pp. 234-52; Excerpts 'Literature and art is also a service industry, by Zhou Yang, SWB, 25 February 1984.

in charge of Propaganda Department of the Party. While many debates had concentrated on attack against right and left deviations in literature and art, the campaign focussed on Western bourgeois liberalisation and commercialisation. Having achieved certain political leverage, Deng Xiaoping halted the campaign to avoid hindrance to economic modernisation. The left influences in writings were criticised and Mao's thinking on Literature and Art at Yenan of 1942 was revived. In late 1953, Ba Jin was elected chairman of Fourth Congress of Chinese Writers Association. Mao Dun's works were published in 42 volumes. 60 The discussions on the content and the nature of literature and art ended up in seeking for greater creativity but to limit to the age full of reformative spirit 51 since the Third Plenum of 11th PCC. In short the literature and art should focus on the concrete social problems on the demands of reformative measures and help the process. Greater freedom ici writers was demanded as their role in the modernisation efforts was recognised. Certain amount of freedom was granted within the framework of four cardinal principles to carry out their work freely. The revival of Wu Han's play

- 60 <u>SWB</u>, FE/7293.
- 61 <u>SWB</u>, FE/7796; <u>Far Eastern Economic Review</u>, 26 December 1985, pp. 31-49.
- 62 Beijing Review, 14 January 1985, p. 6.

⁵⁸ Eliminate spiritual pollution, FBIS (Daily Report), 31 January 1984, pp. 1-4.

⁵⁹ Beijing Review, 21 November 1983, p. 22.

'Hai Rui dismissed', is an indication that the present regime tolerates certain liberty to the extent it enhances modernisation and political stability.

64 The number of newspapers went up to 4,800 in 1984 and 65 a demand for more libraries increased. In 1983 about six novels were awarded prizes to encourage writing. It is claimed by the Party that the development of science and culture since 1976 was 67 guided by the two hundred policy. even while certain trends appeared simultaneously -- like scrapping of four freedoms. closing the democracy wall, criticism of Bai Hua's Bitter Love, and anti-spiritual pollution campaign. At the same time there were appeals to the intellectuals of eight patriotic (but non communist parties to take part in intellectual and cultural had made a self-criticism of his alienation Zhou Yang progress. theory. Zhou Yang earlier held that alienation can be present even in a socialist society, but later changed this stand. Deng Ligun spoke eloquently on a suitable cultural policy which grants more freedom to writers and artists. At the 14th National Writers Congress Association in 1985 Hu Qiuli said that literary form

63	<u>SWB</u> , FE/7838, 2	January 1985, pp. 7-8.
64	Beijing Review,	7 January 1985, p. 11.
65	Beijing Review,	31 January 1983, p. 27.
66	Ibid., p. 29.	
67		2 February 1983, p. 6. Bitter Love was jing Review, 4 January 1982, p. 28.
68	Deng Yingzhou, Beijing Review,	Cooperate with Non-communists, 4 January 1982, p. 28.
69	Beijing Review,	12 December 1983, p. 11.
70	Beijing Review,	14 January 1985, p. 6.

is a vital part of socialist literature. Hu Yaobang's speech in August 1984 at a Central Committee meeting took the view that freedom of creation was essential (in line with Deng Xiaoping's statement in 1979), but qualified that they follow certain values 71 like patriotism, socialism, collectivism etc.

The Party and the government have made strong efforts to recruit intellectuals and students and secondly to appoint them 72 Steps were also taken to provide scientific to the leading posts. and finally the efficiency of State and training for cadres 74 Party branches were to be raised. Educational background and academic record were to play important part in cadre promotion in accordance with directive of PCC in 1984 on education of cadres and reiterated at National Conference on ideological and 76 Importance to manpower planning was given and political work. the number of personnel at a Sichuan plant was reduced from 512 In this case the educational standards have been raised. to 174. Those with primary education reduced from 66.1 per cent to 52.5 per

71	Far Eastern Economic Review, 26 December 1985, pp. 36-49.
7 2	About intellectuals, Beijing Review, 6 December 1982, pp. 3-4
73	Computer training for cadres, <u>Beijing Review</u> , 26 March 1984, p. 9.
74	On the reform of system of Party and State Cadres, Beijing Review, 3 October 1983, p. 14.
75	Intellectuals in 3-in-one contract, <u>Beijing Review</u> , 30 May 1983, p. 4.
76	Select and promote important people, <u>Beijing Review</u> , 14 May 1984, p. 4.
77 ⁻ .	Out of 1,358 technicians sent to countryside were (in Changying) 130 professors, engineers, Beijing Berjew 16 July 1984 p. 4

cent, with higher secondary school increased from 65.3 to 77.6 and with higher education from 16.8 per cent to 32.2 per 78 cent.

Both selection and promotion were now guided by the need to maximise cadre's intellectual ability by employing university or college graduates trained by the Party after the liberation and with higher level of socialist consciousness. The attention to the intellectuals increased in the light of Party's emphasis on quality in administration and economy and educational army. Xinhua reported that over 40 lakhs of intellectuals were members of the Party and over 70 per cent of them were middle-aged. They belonged to all walks of life. At the national level a ministry of 100 was reduced to 61 and the staff from 63,000 to 51,000, thus reducing the average age from 63.6 per cent to 58.6 per cent. 5,000 cadres belonged to young and middle-age at various administrative units since 1982. The organisation Department of Central Committee called on all party organisations to increase the into Party as only 1.9 per cent of recruitment of students students at colleges and universities were party members. Although vocational and technical personnel joined CCP in past some 58,000 five years only 4 per cent received higher education and 50 per cent middle level or illiterate. Of the 40 million members of CCP only 4 per cent received college education, 13.8 per cent

78	<u>SWB</u> , FE/7749,	14 September 1984, pp. 7-8.
79	Report at 3rd	meeting of 6th NPC in December 1983.
80	<u>SWB</u> , FE/7561,	8 February 1984, pp. 9-10.
81	SWB. FE/7808,	23 November 1984, pp. 1-6.

secondary education, 42.2 per cent primary school education and 10 per cent were illiterates. All efforts are being made to revitalise the political organisation with young, educated and professionally competent cadres who will treat intellectuals without discrimination and improve their living and working conditions.

This phase has to a large extent carried forward Party's policy towards intellectuals with full enthusiasm starting with its inscription as Article 23 in the New State Constitution of While the first phase (1976-78) dealt with rehabilitation 1982. of victims and ideological rectification, the second phase (1978-82) enunciated the new policy of fourth readjustment, closer to Zhou Enlai's viewpoint in 1956, and its partial implementation through expansion at the sectoral levels, scientific, educational and cultural, thus mobilising a large number of intellectuals for accomplishment of four modernisations; the third phase (1982-85) carried out political and administrative reforms to push through the policy further on to the faster road. This meant the recruitment of intellectuals into the Party and appointment of Party and Non-Party intellectuals into leading posts in the government on the basis of professional calibre. The whole

⁸² Speech at a meeting on 10 January of the Senate of University of Hong Kong: the role of intellectuals <u>SWB</u>, 12 January 1984. It dealt with the past and present trend in party's policy towards intellectuals.

^{83 &}lt;u>Beijing Review</u>, 4 June 1983, Document p. XVII. And Zhao Ziyang's report on Work of Government, 3rd session of 6th NPC, 27 March, <u>SWB</u>, 2 April 1985.

task of the Party rectification was meant to assert the view that intellectual resources are indispensable to the development of science and culture. By way of changes in the Party and State Constitution and practice, the Party leadership has contributed to restoring, upholding and improving Party's traditional Marxist 84 policy of alliance with intellectuals, besides its alliance with workers and peasants. The response of intellectuals was 85 commendable. Even the workers and peasants have welcomed the new policy. Thus an era of an institutionalised, harmonious worker-peasant-intellectuals-cadre relationship is under way for creating a stable polity and society in near future.

⁸⁴ Deng Xiaoping and Party's Intellectual policies, by Gong Yuzhi, <u>Beijing Review</u>, 19 March 1984, pp. 16-20.

⁸⁵ Sheela Murty, "Restoring Role of Intellectuals", <u>China Report</u>, July/August - September/October 1984, pp. 67-84.

Chapter V

CONCLUSION

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The post-Mao China is witnessing a great technological revolution in contrast to its preceding decade of Cultural Revolution. The four cardinal principles -- namely socialism, dictatorship of the proletariat, Communist Party's leadership and Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse Tung Thought -- which carried a radical tone during the Cultural Revolution, have been interpreted in a moderate way and thus four Modernisations became the basic task of the Party. What then followed was significant changes in the nature of political leadership, its ideology and organisation, along with related changes in social, economic and cultural spheres. The Party's new policy of fourth readjustment towards intellectuals is an immediate result of this changed scenario.

The Party's policy towards intellectuals took different turns owing to ideological and political factors. While its policy at the time of founding of People's Republic was to unite with, educate and remould the intellectuals, the Party looked at them with suspicion and distrust as they were considered to be carriers of ideology of old society and as opposed to party leadership and socialism. On the other hand they were regarded as indispensable for socialist construction. Zhou Enlai's assessment of intellectuals in 1956, and his plea for treating intellectuals as part of working class was not carried out and it was followed by the Anti-Rightist Campaign, the Great Leap Forward and the Cultural Revolution. During the Cultural Revolution, the intellectuals were denied their status and role in the society. Labelled as 'stinking ninth category', they were discriminated against, expelled from normal work, oppressed and even physically tortured. They led a harsh life and became the worst victims in hands of Gang of Four. The Gang of Four had acquired the monopoly of ideological and technical machinery and sabotaged the developmental projects in scientific, educational and cultural sectors.

Chairman Hua Guofeng wasted no time in arresting the Gang of Four following the death of Mao. He criticised Gang of Four for their counter-revolutionary activities against Mao and the State. Hua revived the policies of Mao and praised the Cultural Revolution. Under Hua's leadership, the Party followed Mao's policy to unite with, educate and remould the intellectuals, As part of this policy. Hua rehabilitated a number of victims of Cultural Revolution including Deng Xiaoping, and tried to remove all the false charges levelled against the intellectuals. Within Maoist framework of politics and economics, Hua reopened all the cultural, educational and scientific institutions, revived the examination and admission method on the basis of merit. He stressed on revolution and construction. But revolution meant only mass campaign to criticise the Gang of Four. The intellectuals welcomed Hua's less radical policies, but feared uncertainty as he did not make any critical assessment of two estimates, Cultural Revolution and Mao.

The important landmark in post-Mao China was the 3rd Plenum of the 11th Party Central Committee in December 1978. preceded by two other significant conferences, the National Science Conference in March 1978, and the National Conference on Education in April 1978. Deng Xiaoping removed all cowwebs related to the importance of knowledge, learning and the intellectuals. He declared that intellectuals are a part of working class and science as a part of productive force. Criticising the two estimates theory, he declared that the Party under the dictatorship of proletariat had assumed leadership in all spheres since the founding of People's Republic. He defined the role of intellectuals in spreading science and culture for socialist construction. He has thus restored Zhou Enlai's assessment of intellectuals in 1956. The Third Plenum of 11th Party Central Committee was an ideological victory for Deng Xiaoping. While he declared the ideological line 'Practice is the sole criterion of testing truth', he adopted the four (socialist) modernisations as political line in contrast to class struggle. The intellectuals were the most relieved section of the Chinese society. This fourth readjustment policy was to treat the intellectuals without discrimination, to employ and give them a free play in their work, and to improve their living and working conditions.

This policy was carried out at various levels. At one level the ideological constraints were removed. A number of conferences, study groups and campaigns were conducted to refute two estimates, and make the people aware of the importance of

science. They were taught to respect knowledge and intellectuals. The mobilisation of intellectuals was successful as the Party began to repose trust and confidence in them. With a large number of rehabilitations, and reassigning of work, the Party leadership realised that the four Modernisation would be successful only when there is cooperation between the Party and intellectuals. By raising their living and working conditions, the Party expanded the organisational base through inducting scientists and other intellectuals into leading posts, and promoting young, educated and professionally competent personnel into higher branches of work. Moreover the intellectuals were recruited into the Party and State administration. The Party thus gave more attention to developing professionalism and expertise and less to ideological remoulding which was restricted to self-education and self-remoulding.

But the Party was not satisfied with the marvellous progress it made in the field of utilising intellectual resources. It discovered stiff resistance offered by the Party and governmental cadres, at various levels, who were under the influence of pernicious Leftist tendencies. To overcome this phenomenon, a number of changes that followed at structural levels included replacement of communes by townships, giving up of Dazhai and Dazhing models, and codification of Law. Having achieved sufficient ideological and political consolidation at the 12th Party Congress in September 1982, the Party went ahead with further consolidation at the organisational levels. This was done by carrying out three party rectification

campaigns at the central, provincial and prefectural units, and achieved an amount of success (though still not complete) in educating and reforming the outlook of Party and government cadres, and in recruiting cadres who are young, educated and professionally competent. The Party carried out a number of investigations on the implementation of the Party's policy towards intellectuals, and took disciplinary action against lapses in its operation. The Organisation, Propaganda and United Front departments have kept a close vigilance to fully restore the policy, which is still in progress.

The Party's policy of fourth readjustment towards intellectuals signals a new era in the Communist Party's history. After three decades of vacillations, the Party is now in the process of achieving an institutionalised policy towards intellectuals, which has appeared in the form of Article 23 in the 1982 State Constitution. There is now a trend towards fulfilment of traditional Marxist policy of Party's alliance with the intellectuals for realising the worker-peasant-intellectual alliance. This policy has brought about ideological and political unity and also certain achievements in the socialist modernisation of industry, agriculture, science and technology and national defence.

On the side of intellectuals, they have welcomed the new leadership and attacked the previous leadership of Gang of Four for its policies of discrimination and oppression. They have given full support to the new political goals and policies, participated with great enthusiasm. The intellectuals

have realised, after three decades of turmoil, that they must respect at any cost the Party leadership and socialism (as the ultimate cost of the Chinese quest for intellectual autonomy was political estrangement). They have assumed the role of a participant than a rebel or a critic in post-Mao China, They have not resorted to dissent for fear of being called unpatriotic, but disagreed lightly with certain policies well within the dominant political framework. The decade of Cultural Revolution made intellectuals a lost generation, but the decade following it is characterised by the intellectual resurrection. Their social and political status have improved. They are invited into the decision making process. The students, cadres, workers and peasants are respecting their individuality and work. Even their working and living conditions are being taken care of by the Party and the State. Yet much more remains to be done and undone to implement fully the correct policy.

The present day China's leadership does not believe in giving total intellectual freedom in isolation from the vision framed by the Party and State. They are given freedom to the extent that they serve the socialist modernisation. The Party leadership over intellectuals is complete as ever but now the party voluntarily exercises greater flexibility and division of work to encourage professionalism and expertise for four modernisations. Even though it is natural for intellectuals, in general, to demand institutional autonomy, the Chinese intellectuals in the last three decades have trained themselves to adjust with the political outlook of the regime.

The Party's policy towards intellectuals has brought about political and social stability and change, even while the tensions between Party and intellectuals have not been fully eradicated. The intellectuals are quite content with the new role and achieved certain social prestige. They have realised that their well-being depended upon their smooth relationship with Party on the one side, workers and peasants on the other. The intellectuals are slowly consolidating their position under the policy of Four Modernisations. Since they consider that their success and future is linked to four modernisations, they are determined to cooperate with the Party and contribute to it relentlessly. Given the continuation of the present leadership or a successor with similar politico-ideological outlook, this policy towards intellectuals will continue to strengthen the alliance between the Party and intellectuals for the creation of a new social order. The Party has also realised that intellectuals are indispensable to legitimate its policies, and assist in socialist construction. Even the most difficult political goals can be realised only in an environment of such objective equation. It is thus quite right to say that the Chinese society and State are moving towards greater stability and progress in their political and social relationships.

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