Paul White

CHINA DIARY

January

February

March

April

May

1988 ~ 200

An Eyewitness to Two Decades of China's Modernization

August

September

October

November

. . . .





Paul White

CHINA DIARY

(1988~2009)

图书在版编目(CIP)数据

中国日记: 英文 / (英) 怀特 (White, P.) 著一

北京: 新世界出版社, 2010.11

ISBN 978-7-5104-1404-6

Ⅰ. ①中… Ⅱ. ①怀… Ⅲ. ①中国-现代史-史料-英文 IV. ①K260.6

中国版本图书馆CIP数据核字(2010)第216325号

中国日记(英)

者: 保罗·怀特 作

策 划:张海鸥 李淑娟

责任编辑:李淑娟 李晨曦 葛过聪

英文审定: 徐明强

图片提供: CNSPHOTO

封面设计: 贺玉婷

版式设计: 清鑫工作室

责任印制: 李一鸣 黄厚清

出版发行:新世界出版社

社 址:北京市西城区百万庄大街24号(100037)

总编室电话: +86 10 6899 5424 68326679 (传真)

发行部电话: +86 10 6899 5968 68998705 (传真)

本社中文网址: http://www.nwp.cn

本社英文网址: http://www.newworld-press.com

版权部电子信箱: frank@nwp.com.cn

版权部电话: +86 10 6899 6306

印刷:北京外文印刷厂

经销:新华书店

开本: 787×1092 1/16

字数: 250千字 印张:

版次: 2011年1月第1版

书号: ISBN 978-7-5104-14

定价: 78.00元

新世界版图书 版权所有 侵权必究 新世界版图书 印装错误可随时退换

Preface

China Diary grew out of a random series of articles I wrote for the Morning Star, starting in 1988. The Morning Star was (and I believe still is) the only daily newspaper in English in the world with a socialist perspective. The paper had a tradition of close coverage of the Soviet Union and the Eastern European countries, and it seemed a glaring omission that it contained scarcely a word about events in the biggest socialist country in the world—China. At that time I had been working as a copy editor at Xinhua, China's main official news agency, since arriving in Beijing from Hong Kong in 1984. On a visit to the Morning Star's offices in London in mid-1988 I suggested that I could contribute news from China. The features editor accepted with alacrity, asking for one piece per month—"Of course, we can't afford to pay you." Ah well, it does the soul good to do something for free in a good cause, I thought. It also occurred to me that if they were not paying they'd have to be very careful about changing what I wrote even if they didn't like it-or I might just stop doing it. That made me feel very virtuous as compared to the hacks in the mainstream press, who write what they are told to write by the people who hire them.

The timing turned out to be just right, as events the following year attracted the eyes of the world to China. And they've been riveted on the country ever since. The *Morning Star* was already carrying my monthly pieces, and its readers (I hope) had some knowledge of the situation in China to balance the hysteria in the commercial media unleashed in 1989.

It was only in 1996 that "China Diary" got its title and format; instead of focusing on the "topic of the month"—which might not turn out to be the most significant trend or event—I agreed with the features section to send four short separate pieces tied up in a bundle called "China"

Diary." Of particular interest to *Morning Star* readers, it seemed to me, were reports on the trade unions and progress in workers' rights, the situation of women and minority ethnic groups, the changes in the countryside and the massive migration of peasants to work in the cities, and the "One country, two systems" policy and how it affects Hong Kong, Macao and relations with the breakaway province of Taiwan. The last part of each diary is something humorous or whimsical, to lighten the frowning seriousness of the other three.

The dizzying changes that have come about in China, in these and many other aspects, are all milestones on the road to a "moderately prosperous society" at the "early stage of socialism" in the era of "reform and opening-up." These Chinese expressions mean little to the reader who has not had the chance to see at first-hand the progress that China has made. Fortunately, more and more people from the outside world are visiting China, which is now an almost completely open society with excellent transportation facilities (at least compared to a decade or so ago). It is hoped that these extracts from "China Diary"—up to 2009, the 60th anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China—will help put into perspective the struggles, setbacks and triumphs that poised China for its role on the world stage in the 21st century.

Over the past 22 years of the Diary editors have come and gone at the *Morning Star*, too many to name. I am grateful to them all for their support. Special thanks go to the present features stalwarts Richard Bagley and Ros Sitwell.

In the course of re-reading and editing the old China Diaries I became aware of a number of inaccuracies, mainly of a statistical nature. These have been corrected in the present book.

If these extracts from "China Diary" can help the readers to better understand the arduous path China has pioneered over the past few decades in its quest for modernization, it will amply repay the cost of my midnight oil.

Paul T. White Beijing, September 2010 First Edition 2011

By Paul White

Edited by Li Shujuan, Li Chenxi and Ge Wencong

Cover Design by He Yuting

Copyright by New World Press, Beijing, China All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reproduced in any form or by any means without permission in writing from the publisher.

ISBN 978-7-5104-1404-6

Published by NEW WORLD PRESS 24 Baiwanzhuang Street, Beijing 100037, China

Distributed by
NEW WORLD PRESS

24 Baiwanzhuang Street, Beijing 100037, China Tel: 86-10-68995968 Fax: 86-10-68998705

Website: www.newworld-press.com

E-mail: frank@nwp.com.cn

Printed in the People's Republic of China

Contents

1	September 1988	001
 2	May 1989	006
3	October 1989	008
4.	July 1991	012
5	September 1991	017
 6	November 1991	021
7	January 1992	025
 8	July 1992	031
 9	September 1993	037
 10	November 1993	041
 11	February 1994	046
 12	August 1994	051
 13	March 1995	056
14	June 1995	061
 15	January 1996	065
16	March 1996	069
 17	May 1996	072
 18	January 1997	075
 19	March 1997	079
 20	January 1998	081

The State of	0.1		
46.6	21	May 1998	086
	22	August 1998	089
16 MM 272	23	March 1999	092
	24	May 1999	096
	25	December 1999	101
	26	March 2000	105
	27	June 2000	109
	28	December 2000	113
	29	March 2001	116
	30	June 2001	121
	31	September 2001	123
	32	November 2001	126
	33	April 2002	127
	34	July 2002	131
	35	October 2002	134
	36	January 2003	137
	37	March 2003	142
	38	May 2003	145
	39	June 2003	149
	40	July 2003	151
	41	August 2003	153

September 2003

November 2003

December 2003

February 2004

April 2004

October 2003

48	May 2004			169
49	June 2004			171
50	July 2004		Y	173
51	September 2004			176
52	November 2004	1 SOUTHWARE		177
53	December 2004	A THE LINEAR	LIB	179
54	February 2005	to the same	18.	180
55	January 2005	1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1	Hill.	183
56	March 2005	des denerge	128	184
57	April 2005		1 1	186
58	May 2005			188
59	June 2005			191
60	August 2005	. With the option	178	195
61	September 2005	7407 00 50		199
62	October 2005	. U. zutuge	- 65	202
63	November 2005			206
64	December 2005			208
65	January 2006		136	210
66	February 2006		The	212
67	March 2006	THE STATES	19	215
68	April 2006	and respect	734	217
69	May 2006		50	219
70	June 2006	a liver i more		221
71	July 2006	topic walk		224
72	August 2006			226
73	September 2006		rier:	228
74	October 2006		Street.	231



75	November 2006		233
76	December 2006		236
77	January 2007		241
78	February 2007		243
79	March 2007		246
80) April 2007		248
8 1	July 2007		249
82	2 August 2007	***************************************	251
83	B September 2007	***************************************	254
84	October 2007		256
85	November 2007		257
86	December 2007		259
87	January 2008		262
88	February 2008		264
89) April 2008	************************	267
90) July 2008		271
91	September 2008	***************************************	274
92	October 2008		276
93	November 2008	~~~~	278
94	December 2008		281
95	January 2009		284
96	February 2009	***************************************	286
97	April 2009		289
98	May 2009		291
99	June 2009		293
100	O July 2009		294



September 1988

China officially adopted the reform and opening-up policies at the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee of the Communist Party of China (CPC) in 1978. In the ten years that followed, all-out efforts were made to modify the old centralized system, dismantle the communes and attract foreign investment to modernize the country's economy. Somewhat left behind in all this flurry of activity was the welfare of the working people. The All-China Federation of Trade Unions (ACFTU) took up this challenge.

Trade unions in China are facing a challenge.

They are being groomed for a revival of their traditional role of defending workers' rights against the bosses—both private and state-appointed.

The 13th praesidium of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions, just held here, adopted a Basic Plan for Trade Union Reform—approved later by senior state leaders—which will give a lot more muscle to organizations whose main functions had gradually dwindled to, in some cases, handing out free cinema tickets.

The document proposes that trade unions be represented on all bodies, from the State Council down, whenever policies are tabled affecting the interests of workers.

Interestingly, it states: "When workers' lawful rights are seriously



Protection of rights

intruded upon by bureaucracy and the problem cannot be solved through ordinary, democratic channels, trade unions should have the right to organize workers to expose the problems, report to higher authorities or the public, and engage in other forms of struggle."

The problem is a classic one, of course: for trade unions to continue their role as independent bodies battling the authorities after the triumph of socialism seems to deny the working-class character of the new state—"striking against oneself" as it is normally phrased.

However, if unions are incorporated as mere transmission belts for party policies, who can bring to attention real problems on the shop floor, and with what authority?

The Chinese might just have found an opportunity to solve this one as they come to grips with social problems arising from the rapid expansion of the private sector economy and inroads made by foreign capital.

The Chinese Trade Union Secretariat was founded in 1921, following the founding of the Chinese Communist Party in the same year.

The secretariat was reorganized as the All-China Federation of Trade Unions, China's first union umbrella body, at the Second All-China



 An unforgettable memory—a poster from the period of the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976). The slogan reads, "Forging ahead along Chairman Mao's revolutionary road."







 The Xi'an Federation of Trade Unions took the initiative to hold a re-employment fair for laid-off workers in 2005.

Labour Congress held in Guangzhou (Canton) in 1925.

The federation has cooperated closely with the party in the building of socialism in China since liberation in 1949—so much so that it was a regular target of attack by Red Guards during the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976) as just another entrenched bureaucracy.

But the organization is being called upon to play a more timehonoured role these days as industrial unrest starts to spread, unsurprisingly, among the 200,000-odd private enterprises set up in the past few years.

Individual-enterprise unions are being experimented with, but as yet their relationship to the federation is unclear. The right to strike was deleted from the state constitution in 1982.

It seems that the party is preparing the All-China Federation of Trade Unions as a counter-force to limited capitalist development in parts of the economy, which is encouraged under the new modernization drive, and as a policy to ensure the smooth return of Hong Kong and Taiwan to China under the formula "One country, two systems."

The unions will initially promote welfare policies such as retirement and medical benefits, which are at present only provided free for members of state-run organizations. Federation President Ni Zhifu has said that the current system should be reformed in favour of one that will give benefits to all workers.

"The trade unions are experienced in providing a great number of services in this field," he pointed out.

Wage reforms and streamlining of industry put into effect over the past year or so have created some discontent with the government's economic restructuring, especially among workers now subject to dismissal for poor performance or for reasons of overstaffing.

In the face of this unrest, the journal *Economic Information* reflected government and party thinking in a recent commentary that stressed the need for a detailed labour law and strengthened role for the union federation.

"The close link between trade unions and the masses can help unite workers and give strong backing to the reform," it declared.

Pressure from the All-China Federation of Trade Unions has already prompted Minister of Labour Luo Gan to warn factory directors that they are the ones responsible for re-allocating redundant workers by "offering other employment opportunities, such as through opening new businesses."

Indications as to whether China's trade unions are ready to take up the new challenge will emerge at the forthcoming All-China Federation of Trade Unions conference.

Background Information

On June 4, 2010 the All-China Federation of Trade Unions (ACFTU) issued the "Announcement Concerning the Promotion of Unionization among Business Companies and the Urgency of Ensuring that the Unions Give Full Play to Their Functions." This document demanded that labour unions at all levels do their utmost to form union branches in all private businesses in China with investment from abroad, or from Hong Kong, Macao or Taiwan. It also required enterprises with large numbers of rural migrants among their staff and workers to set up unions.





May 1989

In 1976 spontaneous demonstrations erupted in Tiananmen Square, in the centre of Beijing, leading to the downfall of the Gang of Four. Ten years later, students protested outside Zhongnanhai, the seat of government. This incident ended peacefully, but in 1989 more student demonstrations in Beijing quickly grew out of hand, with ominous implications.

The recent spate of student marches in Beijing, the capital of the People's Republic of China, started very soon after the death of former Communist Party General Secretary Hu Yaobang was announced on April 15.

They continued for the next 13 days until a climactic all-day march last Thursday, April 27, involving about 100,000 people, topped off one of the biggest mass demonstrations since the founding of the People's Republic in 1949.

Unlike the student demonstrations in late 1986, which led to Hu's dismissal as party general secretary, the recent ones were organized with almost military precision.

They passed off peacefully, and no arrests were reported.

They were also virtually confined to Beijing.

The slogans and banners gave few clues to what these protests were all about.

"Freedom," "democracy" and "patriotism" are hardly new or inflammatory battle cries.

Calls for a crackdown on corruption and more funds for education are in line with existing government policies. So are the demands for political reform which were voiced by the students.

Hu Yaobang was a widely respected figure (he kept his Politburo seat after his demotion) and was seen as a champion of the present policies of reform and opening up to the outside world.

But he was not of the stature of the late Zhou Enlai. Zhou's memorial service in 1976 saw a mass demonstration that put a full stop to the Cultural Revolution.

But, over the past decade, the party has been encouraging individual enterprise to help fill the gaps in services, and has been gradually withdrawing from direct management of the economy.

This has led to the emergence of a new and influential stratum of managers and entrepreneurs with few ties to the party.

The students, for the time being, are alarmed because they see little future for themselves either as administrators or specialists.

It must be kept in mind that running a country of 1.1 billion people is a mammoth task, to put it mildly, and the policy pendulum has a tendency to swing wildly as leaders struggle to keep things on course.

The demonstrations could be a timely reminder to the leadership that the pendulum has swung too far in one direction.

They were also timely in another sense; tomorrow will be the 70th anniversary of the "May 4th Movement" of 1919.

On that date the students of the capital sparked national resistance to imperialist encroachments and a drive for modernization.

In the maelstrom, the Communist Party of China was born.

For the moment, the street marches have come to a halt, but classes are being boycotted at some colleges. Representatives of the government and students have started a public dialogue.