

DOKUMENTATIONEN

PROPAGANDA, LEGITIMACY, AND INFORMATION

Taiwan in Public and International Media of the Peoples Republic of China (1981/82)*

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Basic Pattern of the PRC Publication System

Printed media in the People's Republic of China can be classified either as "public" (gongkai faxing), as "domestic" (guonei faxing), or as internal (neibu faxing). The lowest of these categories is "public" as nobody is excluded from buying, reading, or subscribing to related materials. "Domestic" periodicals are not for export, thus foreigners as well as foreign research institutions etc. are generally excluded from access. Inside the PRC, however, both categories range as "public" and are available for interested PRC citizens without special authorization. "Internal" (neibu) means that related material is only accessible for entitled individuals. Foreigners as well as PRC citizens are generally excluded from buying and even reading thus classified books and periodicals.

The following analysis deals only with these categories and does not include, for example, Communist party and government circulars ("Zhongfa") and other similar documents which are classified "secret" (jimi).

Classified press media always bear an imprint which generally reads "Internal reading material, deposit carefully," and in order to avail themselves of these publications Chinese citizens have to present a "Letter of Recommendation", usually issued from their work unit Communist Party branch. Due to this restrictive procedure, comprehensive research on the internal communication system of the PRC has been scarce. Little is known on the contents of internal publications, and even less on the structure of the "neibu" system¹.

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For some basic but authoritative we can rely on the "China Publishers' Yearbook 1980" (Zhongguo Chuban Nianjian 1980). In this public PRC source we find, for example, the "Provisional Regulations for the Work of Publishing Houses". In paragraph 22, Article 6, we read:

"Publishing Houses have to adopt different distribution methods according to the character of the manuscripts, as well as to consider social effects and the intended readership. Most books have to be distributed publicly. This is inadvisable for some books which should be distributed internally to researchers and personnel in specific fields ..."²

Thus we can conclude that at least part of the responsibility for determining the grade of classification of publications lies with the respective publishing houses. But the criteria for the classifications are still in the dark. How are we to understand the rule that the manuscript contents have to be considered, as well as their "social effects" and the "intended readership"?

As long as we lack the over-all authoritative classification rules and regulations, we have to take the roundabout way of contents analysis to reach an understanding of the considerations that finally result in classifying a publication as "neibu", and to determine function and role of internal publications. In order to arrive at well-founded conclusions this paper will proceed by analyzing the contents of public and available internal material along a topic of high political sensitivity for Communist China. Taiwan has been chosen because it is one of the serious issues of challenge for Communist China today for the following reasons:

- Taiwan's socio-economic system and the prevailing Kuomintang ideology are officially in constant opposition to the PRC as well as the CPC in every respect;
- Taiwan is economically much more developed than the PRC;
- the average standard of living of Taiwan's workers and peasants is much higher than in the PRC;
- Taiwan is considered to be genuinely Chinese;
- as the "Republic of China", Taiwan is an explicit and intended denial of PRC legitimation.

Therefore, the Taiwan coverage of the respective press media will provide a clue to our problem.

The Public Sector

In 1979/80, according to a "Simplified List of Magazines and Newspapers"³ a total of 1,085 newspapers and magazines were published in the PRC. 474 periodicals of these were

classified "domestic" ("guonei") and thus not available outside the PRC. Some of these, like e.g., the "Liberation Army Pictorial" have since become "public"⁴, while the "Newspaper and Magazine Index for the PRC" (Quan Guo Baokan Suoyin) is still classified "domestic." As it lists all articles printed in "public" and "domestic" PRC periodicals according to their topics, this monthly "Index" would - if available - facilitate foreign research on the PRC communication system. Keeping it within PRC borders seems to work against this objective. From the "Simplified List" it can be seen that "domestic" magazines generally focus on practical problems of science, industry, etc., and reports on related achievements (cf. Appendix 1). Within the PRC, however, the "domestic" periodicals are all part of the public press media network.

With a circulation of 5.3 million copies per day,⁵ the "People's Daily" (Renmin Ribao) is the largest national daily newspaper in the PRC. As it is the Communist Party central press medium, it goes without saying that it is politically the most important newspaper in Communist China: It is authoritative. That does not mean, however, that it is also informative. If we take a look at its coverage of the hijacking of a CAAC airliner in spring 1983 which finally had to land in South Korea we find that the "People's Daily" did not disclose where the hijacker's had wanted to fly: to Taiwan.

A newspaper which ignores important facts is bound to be boring, and thus hardly anybody in the PRC generally reads the "People's Daily", - the large circulation is due to office and other forms of arranged subscriptions. But as the official party newspaper, it demonstrates the omnipresence of the CPC, and is furthermore indispensable for the Communist Party as the "collective organizer, propagandist, and agitator" (Lenin). Thus, the "People's Daily" sets the mark for the PRC public media news coverage. None of the other public PRC periodicals is entitled to say anything against or depart from the official line established in the party paper.

What does this mean for the Taiwan coverage of Communist China's public press?

During the first 20 odd years after the establishment of the Communist regime on mainland China, Taiwan, the Kuo-mintang, or Chiang Kai-shek were the synonyms for all the evil in the world. Consequently the CPC called for the liberation of Taiwan and the public media focused on reports of ruthless suppression and cruel exploitation by the then so-called "Chiang bandits". In the course of the 70s, when Sino-American tensions gradually eased, this Taiwan

image changed. On May 3, 1973, the "People's Daily" published the first report on the rescue of two Taiwanese fishermen by a mainland team and their medical treatment in Fujian Province. On May 16, the paper reported the safe return of the fishermen to Taiwan. Since then, the rescue of Taiwanese at sea has become a regular feature in the public PRC press. Along the coast of Fujian, several new rescue stations were built, allegedly to take better care of Taiwanese fishermen.⁶ While, during the 70s, the "gang of Chiang bandits" was still attacked from time to time, the public media began to stress contacts between Chinese from "both sides of the Taiwan Straits". On December 17, 1978, shortly after the establishment of diplomatic relations between the PRC and the United States had been announced, and two weeks before the National People's Congress issued the "Proclamation to the compatriots of Taiwan", the "People's Daily" for the last time called the Kuomintang a "ruling clique". Ever since, the PRC public media have used the polite form when reporting on the Nationalist Party and its officials. Meanwhile the arch enemy is sometimes referred to as "Jiang lao xiansheng", i.e., Mr. Chiang Kai-shek. It should be noted, however, that this does not mean that for instance PRC history books were rewritten or that the internal media used the same expressions. In the August 20, 1981, issue of "Cankao Ziliao" (Reference Material) we find the headline "Foreign military observers believe that the unnoticed entry of a plane of the Chiang gang into mainland airspace is unusual" (the plane referred to was that of Huang Zhicheng who had defected from Taiwan to the PRC).

Public coverage of Taiwan, it follows, is aimed at creating a certain atmosphere appropriate to the respective prevailing policy of the PRC government. At present, Peking stresses the need for the reunification of Taiwan with the PRC, and the longing of the Taiwanese compatriots to see this national task accomplished soon. All related reports can hardly be called informative, and sometimes even give false information. On April 17, 1983, under the headline, "The people's hearts think of the ancient soil, hotel named 'Dreaming of the native land'", the "People's Daily" carried a report based on an advertisement in the Taiwanese "Zili Wanbao" of March 20, 1983 which the "People's Daily" editors had definitely misunderstood. The hotel in question was actually called "Dreamland", and this établissement certainly offered its "motor-driven beds" (diandong chuang) and "luxury mirror palaces" (haohua jing gong) for other pleasures than dreams of the re-unification with the motherland.⁷

Public press coverage on Taiwan's domestic situation is mainly accomplished by the "People's Daily". Related items are generally short, and as far as Taiwan's political and economic situation and social conditions are concerned, a fairly negative image is conveyed, though presently, reports on violent suppression and harsh exploitation do not prevail. Instead, the public media stress Taiwan's dependence on the outside world, especially with regard to raw materials. Most of the related news items conclude that these problems of Taiwan could easily be solved if the "Kuomintang authorities" would only agree to cooperate with Peking.⁸

Thus, it can be concluded that with regard to the Taiwan coverage, PRC public media are a means for the CPC to propagate prevailing policies. Presently, neither details on the living standards nor figures on incomes in Taiwan can be found in the public press. Photographs showing scenes of everyday life in Taiwan, e.g., a street in Taipei with all the motor-bikes, are not published in public media. When in January 1982, the internal magazine "Bianyi Cankao" (Editing and Translating Reference) carried such photographs they were accompanied by a note saying "internal material, not to be used for publication!" Taiwan's economic successes are definitely taboo in the PRC public media.

"Neibu" - Internal

If, therefore, the PRC public media pursue the strategy of "no news" with regard to Taiwan's development, there has to be a source of information for those who are responsible for deciding what is to be published and what is to be deleted. For this task they have to be acquainted with the actual situation on the island, as well as with international events. Thus, a network for the supply of authentic information on all relevant fields is necessary. With regard to the Taiwan issue this pre-requisite is further underlined by the fact that for years, the Peking government has pursued a rather practical policy of contact with the Kuomintang. Here, at least, the need for substantial information is obvious.

An information system of this kind does, indeed, exist. It is classified "neibu" - internal - and thus kept secret to foreigners. It is only recently, that copies of one of the most important PRC periodicals that reflect the flow of international news and public opinion outside the PRC on fairly everything of political, economic, military, cultural,

etc. importance have become available. This periodical is called "Reference Material" (Cankao Ziliao). It is an information bulletin, published twice a day (morning and afternoon) with an average of 80-90 pages per issue. The bulletin which appears in the same format as the CPC semi-monthly "Red Flag" (Hongqi) is printed in unusually big letters, and is distributed to the entitled work units or individuals via organizational or official channels. It can be neither bought nor subscribed to. Apart from certain work units which deal with foreign countries, it seems that section heads generally receive a copy.⁹

The contents of the "Reference Material" consist almost exclusively of foreign news agency dispatches and reports from foreign newspapers and magazines, translated into Chinese. From time to time, so-called "Reports by our own correspondent" cover non-routine topics or summarize important world developments and are always signed by the respective author. But the "Reference Material" certainly does not entertain a large network of correspondents all over the world who are busy writing "Reports" or translating from the world press. Though the bulletin does not carry a note on the publishing agency it is certain that it is compiled, edited, and published by the state-owned Xinhua News Agency in Peking, because no other institution in Communist China has the necessary large-scale direct and current access to foreign news items. Moreover, a large staff of trained and experienced translators is necessary, and finally, "Reference Material" often publishes full translations of lengthy newspaper reports only two days after they appeared in other parts of the world. Hence, either the originals or a ready-made translation are telexed to Peking - undoubtedly by a Xinhua correspondent abroad.

If retranslated, the current news and background material of the two daily "Reference Material" issues would make up an average total of 300-400 typed pages. Thus, it can be assumed that it is the main task of the 150 Xinhua correspondents in 85 countries abroad to collect and/or translate the material for this information bulletin. It seems to be their real task, not the meagre coverage of international events that the "People's Daily" usually carries.

The first two pages of each "Reference Material" issue list a categorized table of contents. One of the frequent topics is headed "Taiwan/Hong Kong/Macao." In this column, and sometimes also in the current affairs section (in heavy print), reprints and reports on Taiwan are to be found.

In an analysis of the entire August 1981 Taiwan coverage of the "Reference Material" it could be established that,

unlike the "People's Daily", this bulletin published news on Taiwan that was quite unfavorable to the PRC.¹⁰ For example, the economic development of Taiwan and the PRC were compared. On August 17, 1981, "Reference Material" readers were able to find figures on the standard of living in Taiwan: 39% of the farmers owned a washing machine, 89% a refrigerator, 24% a telephone; 11, 20, and 16 times as many as in 1959. In August 1981, the month under survey, anti-Communist propaganda moves of the Kuomintang were meticulously covered by the bulletin, including those which actually revealed the inner most mechanisms of certain domestic PRC policies such as the campaign against the PRC writer Bai Hua which, at that time, was about to be resumed by the CPC. No doubt, therefore, the "Reference Material" is exclusively a source of information on current international events and developments of which the Taiwan coverage is an important and fairly exhaustive part.

However, the tremendous undertaking of publishing two "Reference Material" issues a day cannot be explained simply by the necessity of keeping some ageing upper-middle grade Communist Party cadres informed, on topics, moreover, which most of them will hardly ever have to decide upon. Apart from satisfying the narcissistic desires of CPC cadres who love to read what the outside world thinks of them, their policies and their country (the related column is headlined "Reflections on China / Dealing with Foreign Nationals"), the real purpose of the "Reference Material" is a very practical one.

As has been indicated above, access to the bulletin is not always limited to section heads only. Under special circumstances, even grade 20 cadres (e.g., editors and translators) can read it or are even supposed to do so, the prerequisite being that they deal with foreign affairs. For them, the translated material serves as raw-material for comments on many different topics. When, for example, in December 1982, martial law was declared in Poland, "Reference Material" immediately inserted a new column headed "Situation in Poland" which supplied background material sufficient to satisfy the needs of e.g., "People's Daily" commentators who wrote on the Polish crisis. And when, on October 15, 1982, in the "Voice of the readers" column of the "People's Daily" a report was repudiated that had appeared in the April 1982 issue of "Harper's" under the title "China Stinks", it is certain that the "People's Daily" commentator had not referred to "Harper's" but to the Chinese version "Zhongguo zai fa chou" ("China Stinks") in the "Reference Material."

For Peking's propaganda to be effective, a thorough background on facts is indispensable, and a vivid example for this function of the "Reference Material" can be found in its Taiwan coverage.

The "Reference Material" afternoon edition of October 9, and its morning edition of October 11, 1981, carried a "Report by our own correspondent" and two Xinhua dispatches from Hong Kong respectively all dealing with reactions and comments of Taiwanese and prominent overseas Chinese to Peking's Nine-Point-Proposal for the "peaceful re-unification of the motherland." These three items covered altogether more than five pages of the bulletin. The headlines were "Our Nine-Point-Proposal Leads To Heavy Attacks on the Taiwan Authorities",¹¹ "Taiwan Authorities and Public Opinion on Our Nine-Point-Proposal - Specific Contents and Reactions", and "Doubts of Some Scholars at Present in America and Public Figures in Taiwan in Our Nine-Point-Proposal for Taiwan."

One year later, in October 1982, the "China Yearbook 1982" (Zhongguo Baike Nianjian 1982) came off the press. One part of its Taiwan chapter ("Ye Jianying's Nine-Point-Proposal Shook Taiwan")¹² is based on the above "Reference Material" reports. But as the publicly available "Yearbook" serves propaganda purposes, the related chapter aims at creating the impression that Taiwan's leading figures, especially the academics, had been thrown into confusion simply because of Peking's proposal. According to the "Yearbook", in view of Peking's generosity and flexibility, the head of the Taiwanese Information office of the Executive Yuan, Song Chuyu, did not only reject the proposal but did it "hastily" (jiji mangmang). "Reference Material" readers, however, learned that Song Chuyu only "gave an interview" (fabiao tanhua) and seems to have remained fairly calm. Statements which do not fit into the propagandistic frame of Taiwanese in confusion are not quoted in the "Yearbook". Kang Ningxiang, for instance, was introduced by the "Reference Material" issue of October 11 as a member of the "Taiwanese oppositional faction" and quoted as saying that after the re-unification the people must enjoy the political right to "organize an opposition party." But the "Yearbook" only quoted him as advocating the re-unification on a "democratic basis" which according to Peking was clearly stipulated in the Nine Points. As it is the intention of the "Yearbook" to glorify the Communist policy on Taiwan while it depicts the island as thrown into a helpless state of confusion it does not mention Taiwan's reaction to point 6 of the proposal. There, Peking offered financial aid to Taipei - a statement that was taken as a joke on the island.

The "Reference Material" issue of October 11 published related ironic and sharp Taiwanese statements, but the "China Yearbook 1982" remains completely silent on this point.

"Cankao Xiaoxi" - Reference News

Between the two extremes of the PRC communication system - the public and the internal sector - we find a special kind of periodical, the "Reference News". Like the "Reference Material", it uses exclusively non-PRC sources, press agency, newspaper, and magazine reports, for its news coverage. In a review of the sources from which the editors of the paper drew their reprints on the PRC between August 1981 and March 1982, it could be established that only 3 out of 16 foreign news agencies were of Communist origin (Tass, USSR; ADN, East Germany; Tanjug, Yugoslavia). Their percentage of the total PRC news was only 5%. Most reprints were taken from Western news agencies like Reuters (22%), AP (22%), AFP (20%), UPI (17%), etc. At the same time, in the period under survey, articles from 130 different non-PRC periodicals were reprinted. The respective list is headed by the Japanese "Mainichi Shimbun" (27 reprints). The most frequently used Western press media were "Asian Wall Street Journal" (13 reprints), "New York Times" (13), and the British "Daily Telegraph" (10).

This wide-range news coverage, alone, makes the small four-page newspaper a unique phenomenon among the PRC press media because it resembles a Western daily newspaper: important international events, for example the declaration of martial law in Poland were made frontpage leaders whereas, at the same time, the "People's Daily" frontpage chose to focus on the tree-planting campaign.

With a circulation of 8.47 million copies a day,¹³ the "Reference News" is the largest daily in the PRC - surpassing the "People's Daily" by about 3 million copies. It is printed daily in 25 PRC cities¹⁴ and outnumbers the party paper again by 5 printing offices. However, the most important difference between these two largest PRC newspapers lies in the fact that the "Reference News" is read fairly intensively by the people for whom it is published: intellectuals and lower officials.¹⁵ Its tremendous circulation is not the result of office or other forms of arranged subscriptions but the decision of the individual subscriber (in view of the 6 Yuan subscription fee per year, i.e., about

one tenth of a monthly salary, certainly a carefully considered decision!)).

In striking contradiction to its tremendous circulation, the "Reference News" is classified as "internal reading material" that has to be deposited carefully. The related phrase "Neibu kanwu, zhuyi baocun" is imprinted on the frontpage of each copy - which may enhance its attractiveness for the PRC readership, but does certainly not ensure that it remains secret.

Since foreign scholars and journalists have known about this newspaper, it has given cause for many rumors and speculations. Reports on the "Reference News" are numerous. One asked: "How well informed are Chinese officials about the outside World?"¹⁶, another answered that: "Chinese can read foreign reports"¹⁷. In view of the fact that the PRC is a state with total party control over the entire public media the "Reference News" has caused wide-spread amazement. Two years ago, the latest of these reports was carried by the Hong Kong monthly "Ming Pao". When dealing with "The freedom of the News", the first of several related articles focused on the situation in the near-by People's Republic. After stating that Peking's official press media were so boring because they only carried no-news, the author went on:

"Maybe just because of that Peking has published the 'Cankao Xiaoxi' which carries news from the foreign press, articles and commentaries. The contents are not at all garbled or abridged. This is genuine and most up-to-date news."¹⁸

This appraisal of the "Reference News" as a valuable source of free information amidst a sea of boring and misinforming CPC-controlled media cannot be maintained after a closer analysis of the paper.

An analysis of the Taiwan-coverage between August 1981 and March 1982 revealed that the "Reference News" editors preferred to reprint news reports on adverse social conditions on the island. Oppositional activity in Taiwan against the ruling Kuomintang was used to prove that political oppression prevails. The editors paid close attention to the fact that no information on everyday-life on Taiwan and the living standard of the people was conveyed to the readership. Items containing facts and figures from which mainland readers would indeed have been able to get a "taste of life" in Taiwan (as promised in one reprint) were deleted. For example, the average income figure and the statement that "unemployment is low" were censored.¹⁹ The following passage from a "Daily Telegraph" report was deleted when the report appeared in the "Reference News":

"the 17 million Chinese on Taiwan have almost everything the one billion Chinese on the mainland want - reasonable housing, high wages, televisions, nice clothes, no rationing, no political campaigns, and the freedom to choose their own jobs and where they wish to live."

On the other hand, details on pollution in Taipei and statements on unjust treatment of women - from the same report - were reprinted (see Appendix 2).

Apart from this kind of manipulation, incorrect translations could be found so regularly that it is hard to believe in accidental mistakes. The "Reference News" version of the same "Daily Telegraph" article rendered, for example, the English term "progress" as "biduan" ("malpractice") in Chinese as the latter fitted much better into the image of Taiwan that is to be conveyed to the mainland readership. When the same report referred to bicycles on the mainland as a "more primitive form of transport" as compared to Taiwan's motorcycles, the Chinese version changed the word "primitive" into "jiandan" ("uncomplicated"). And the "Daily Telegraph" statement that the Taiwanese were better off than the mainlanders "in almost everything" was rendered by the paper's editors as "in some respects" (for all examples cf. Appendix 2).

The aim of the paper's Taiwan coverage was therefore not to inform its readership. The "Reference News" supported, developed, or prepared the ground for the official propaganda for which the "People's Daily" set the mark. In August 1981, "Cankao Xiaoxi" readers learned that Taiwan faced foreign trade difficulties, that conflicts between labor and capital increased, that no boom for Taiwan's industry was to be expected in the months ahead, that the entire economy was "in depression" and, finally, that the Taiwan Dollar had been devalued (here even a figure was published!). In the month of September 1981, the paper reported that trade between Taiwan and the PRC had suffered a "great decline", that Taiwan's construction industry was in difficulties, that export figures were "on the decline", and that due to a flood, vegetable prices had gone up by 30% (again a figure!), and that all vegetables were in "short supply". Did this coverage of the island's economic situation not establish that Taiwan was in urgent need of economic aid? All items were taken from Taiwanese news media. All references were clearly indicated. For "Reference News" readers it was thus only logical that as Peking issued its Nine-Point-Proposal to Taiwan on September 30 of the same year, it also offered financial aid to the island. Thus, the Point 6 of the Communist re-unification proposal appeared

as a mere consequence of the situation in Taiwan as covered by the "Reference News", - though it may also have been that the CPC Central Committee fell victim to its own propaganda.

Conclusions

As shown in the foregoing analysis Taiwan coverage in the public media of the People's Republic of China concealed all positive facts and figures, especially those related to the standard of living of the Taiwanese. Why is this such an imperative necessity for the public media? Because Taiwan not only successfully follows the ways of Western capitalism but is also regarded as a genuine Chinese country by the mainland population. Moreover, the "Republic of China on Taiwan" is an explicit and intended state-alternative to the PRC. Actually, the two antagonistic systems are engaged in a competition for legitimation. Economically, Taiwan has won the race for the time being, a fact which is tacitly acknowledged by Peking's present public coverage on Taiwan. The public media no longer paint the horrifying picture of life on the island as they did in the past when the armed liberation of the Taiwanese compatriots was proclaimed, and was legitimated by their sufferings. In view of present-day peaceful intentions the PRC claims, however, propaganda of this kind is no longer feasible. Today, public coverage of Taiwan has to legitimate the island's incorporation into the political and economical system of mainland China (and not vice versa, as may be indicated by the respective results of development!).

"Cankao Xiaoxi" plays a unique and crucial role in this context. First of all because it is the most widely read daily newspaper in the PRC (assuming 3-4 readers a copy which is realistic we get a total readership of about 30 million PRC citizens!). Secondly, "Cankao Xiaoxi" is classified as "internal" which is likely to enhance its credibility as compared to the public media. More important than this, however, is the source material of "Cankao Xiaoxi". While it basically presents the same negative picture of Taiwan as the "People's Daily", it does so exclusively by reprinting foreign, even mainly Taiwanese sources. What do the editors achieve by that? They prove that the "People's Daily" coverage is correct. All those who do not believe a single word in the party paper are induced to believe the reports published in "Cankao Xiaoxi" which are ostensibly impartial and sometimes even from the "class-enemy". The readers no longer have arguments against the image of Taiwan created

by the public media as they will never be able to prove that "Cankao Xiaoxi" publishes only garbled and thus manipulative versions of foreign news items on Taiwan (and other politically sensitive subjects). Several million PRC citizens, intellectuals in the majority, are thus overwhelmed ideologically and have to accept the logic and legitimation of Peking's Taiwan policy.

The "Provisional Regulations for the Work of Publishing Houses", quoted at the beginning of this paper, stipulated that in the PRC printed material has to be classified as internal (neibu) and reserved for a previously "intended readership" because of its "social effects". These are not specified, but it may be taken for granted that they are bound to be negative if other than the "intended readership" has access. The foregoing case study establishes that simple figures and statistics on the number of motor bikes, washing machines, or per capita income in Taiwan fall into this category. This information is reserved for the readership of "Reference Material" or similar "neibu" periodicals. If this information were spread in the People's Republic of China, the mere number of washing machines in Taiwan would cause negative "social effects". Thus no such figures appear in the public media, including "Cankao Xiaoxi".

The classification system of the PRC media, i.e. the gradual exclusion of the majority of people from information (not state secrets!), results from the crisis of legitimation of the present regime. The acuteness of this "crisis of confidence" (Xinxin weiji) defines the grade of accessibility to information and is paraphrased as "social effects" in CPC documents. The role of the different sectors of the PRC publication system can then be described as follows:

- The "People's Daily" propagates CPC policies;
- "Cankao Xiaoxi" legitimates CPC policies;
- Internal sources inform the ruling elite and enable them to direct their propaganda efficiently.

Summary

Printed media in the People's Republic of China can be classified either as "public" (gongkai faxing), as "domestic" (guonei faxing), or as internal (neibu faxing). The lowest of these categories is "public" as nobody is excluded from buying, reading, or subscribing to related materials. "Domestic" periodicals are not for export, thus foreigners as well as foreign research institutions etc. are generally excluded from access. Inside the PRC, however, both categories range as "public" and are available for interest PRC

citizens without special authorization. "Internal" (neibu) means that related material is only accessible for entitled individuals. Foreigners as well as PRC citizens are generally excluded from buying and even reading thus classified books and periodicals. While we can conclude that the responsibility for determining the grade of classification of publications lies with the respective publishing houses, the criteria for the classifications are still in the dark.

As long as we lack the over-all authoritative classification rules and regulations, we have to take the roundabout way of contents analysis to reach an understanding of the consideration that finally result in classifying a publication as "neibu", and to determine function and role of internal publications. In order to arrive at well-founded conclusions this paper proceeds by analyzing the contents of public and available internal material along a topic of high political sensitivity for Communist China. Taiwan has been chosen because it is one of the serious issues of challenge for Communist China.

Notes

- ¹ For a documented review of internal PRC periodicals cf. Jörg-Meinhard Rudolph, "Cankao Xiaoxi" - Foreign News in the Propaganda System of the People's Republic of China, chapter 4 ("Communist China's Reference System - A Look Behind the 'neibu' Curtain"), to be published.
- ² Zhongguo Chuban Nianjian 1980 (China Publishers' Yearbook 1980), Peking: Shangwu (Commercial) Press, 1980, p.626.
- ³ Ibid., pp.573-607.
- ⁴ Cf. Cheng Ming, Hong Kong, No.48 (October 1981), p.2.
- ⁵ Beijing Rundschau, Vol.18, No.20 (May 19, 1981), p.23.
- ⁶ According to *ibid.*, Vol.17, No.20 (May 20, 1980), p.27, there were 4 such stations in Fujian Province which in 1979 "rescued or received" 1,147 Taiwanese fishermen.
- ⁷ Cf. Qishiniandai (The Seventies), Hong Kong, No.160 (May 1983), p.8.
- ⁸ Cf. Li Zan, Jinri Taiwan (Taiwan Today), Peking 1979, p.68.
- ⁹ Qishiniandai (The Senties), Hong Kong, No.164 (September 1983), p.83.
- ¹⁰ For the following data cf. Jörg-M. Rudolph, "Media Coverage on Taiwan in the People's Republic of China" Occasional Papers/Reprints Series in Contemporary Asian

- Studies, No.3, 198 (56), pp.38-56.
- 11 For an English translation cf. *ibid.*, pp.65-68.
 - 12 Zhongguo Baike Nianjian 1982 (China Encyclopaedic Yearbook 1982), Peking: China Encyclopaedia Publishing House, 1982, p.106.
 - 13 *Supra*, note 5.
 - 14 This number of printing offices is given in a "Cankao Xiaoxi" subscription advertisement carried by "Cankao Xiaoxi" on Dec. 7, 1981.
 - 15 *Ibid.*
 - 16 Henry G. Schwarz, "The Ts'an-k'ao Hsiao-hsi: How well informed are Chinese officials about the outside world?", *The China Quarterly*, No.27 (March 1966).
 - 17 Thus the headline of an article by David Bonavia in: *The Times*, London, July 8, 1975.
 - 18 *Ming Pao* (Monthly), Hong Kong, No.195 (March 1982), p.4.
 - 19 *Supra*, note 10, p.26.

Appendix 1

PRC Public Media Sector:
Proportion of "domestic" (guonei) Periodicals
(Along categories, for magazines only)

Category	1 9 7 9			New Public. in 1980		
	total	domest.	%	total	domest.	%
Metallurg. Technology	13	13	100	-	-	-
Metallurg. Industry	7	7	100	-	-	-
Electrotechnics	19	17	89	-	-	-
Industry and Technology	8	7	87	22	2	9
Engineering Industry	30	26	86	-	-	-
Comprehensive Magazines	65	56	86	-	-	-
Oil and Gas Industry	14	12	85	-	-	-
Chemical Industry	17	14	82	-	-	-
Nuclear Technology	5	4	80	-	-	-
Environmental Sciences	5	4	80	-	-	-
Light Industry	9	7	77	-	-	-
Culture, Education	35	25	71	5	-	-
Computer Technology	6	4	66	-	-	-
Traffic and Transport	21	14	66	3	-	-
Youth Periodicals	46	30	65	-	-	-
Telecommun. Technology	22	14	63	-	-	-
Mining Industry	10	6	60	-	-	-
Agriculture, Forestry	62	37	59	4	-	-
Natural Sciences	21	11	52	4	-	-
Power Engineering	4	2	50	-	-	-
Water Engineering	6	3	50	-	-	-
Pictorials	26	12	46	-	-	-
Medicine, Hygiene	87	38	43	6	-	-
Astronomy, Geoscience	34	14	41	-	-	-
Acad. Period. (nat.scie.)	35	14	40	-	-	-
Construction Science	15	6	40	-	-	-
Philosophy, Social Science	57	21	37	24	1	4
Languages	14	4	28	3	-	-
Acad. Period. (phil.,soc.)	42	11	26	-	-	-
History, Geography	15	4	26	7	-	-
Mathematics, Chemistry	22	5	22	-	-	-
Literature, Art	129	24	18	18	2	11
Biology	22	3	13	-	-	-

Source: Own survey, arranged according to categories and figures as given in: "Simplified List of Magazines and Newspapers" for 1979 and 1980, Zhongguo Chuban Nianjian 1980 (China Publishers' Yearbook 1980), Peking: Shangwu (Commercial) Press, pp.573-607.

Appendix 2

Concordance of "Daily Telegraph", November 11, 1981

and "Cankao Xiaoxi" version of November 29, 1981

格·厄恩肖 著 《驻北京记者对台湾生活的一次体验》

文章将大陆和台湾作了对比，指出大陆在三个方面比台湾做得好；说大陆的情况不像台湾所说的那样坏，台湾的情况也不像大陆一些人想象的那么好

The two characters of China

【美国《每日电讯报》十一月十一日文章】
 稿：驻北京记者对台湾生活的一次体验（记者：格雷厄姆·厄恩肖）

中国已经分裂三十二年了，大陆和台湾几乎象隔他的实验室一样各自在发展截然不同的制度。

ONE of the few things that the Communist Chinese in Peking and the Nationalist Chinese in Taiwan can agree about is that there is only one China. But anyone visiting the two places could be forgiven for disagreeing.

For 32 years, China has been a divided country, with the mainland and Taiwan developing their drastically different systems in almost laboratory-like isolation. Modern Chinese history has been in some ways like an elaborate experiment to test which system is more efficient, socialism or capitalism.

On the face of it, the generally laissez-faire economic policies of Taiwan have won hands down. The Nationalist party may have lost the mainland in 1949, but it has since presided over one of the true economic miracles of the post-war era.

The 17 million Chinese on Taiwan have almost everything the one billion Chinese on the mainland want — reasonable housing, high wages, televisions, nice clothes, no rationing, no political campaigns, and the freedom to choose their own jobs and where they wish to live. The Communist mainland, meanwhile, is still struggling to provide many of the basic necessities of life.

But the problem is not quite that simple. Taiwan is not mainland China, and the factors that have made the island so prosperous would never have worked to the same degree in the country as a whole.

IT IS a tantalising question. What would China be like today if Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek had won in 1949 instead of fleeing defeated to Taiwan in the face of Mao Tse-tung's Communist armies? There is, of course, no way of knowing. But the Nationalist party of today is different from the one which lost the civil war in the 1940s. The old party was divided, ineffectual, riddled with corruption and had quite obviously lost the "mandate of heaven." Had that party maintained control of all China, there is no guarantee that they would have done any better than the Communists have done.

The Nationalists were given a second chance in Taiwan after 1949, thanks largely to massive American aid, and they appeared to learn from some of their previous mistakes. But politically, there is little to choose between the two parties, enemies and rivals for more than 50 years.

Both are run by old men expounding causes which have become increasingly irrelevant. The Nationalist party swears that it will one day lead the faithful back to the mainland in victory, but few people on Taiwan still believe it. The Communist party still claims it is leading China towards a socialist utopia. But once again few among the disillusioned masses still believe it is possible.

Both parties seem incapable of allowing any real political opposition to exist and exercise power

国民党发誓总有一天要光复大陆，然而台湾没有多少人相信这种警告。

ensorship over news coverage, books and films. Both keep a close watch on their citizens for signs of political deviation.

China's so-called "democracy movement," which surprised the world in 1979 with its free-thinking, reformist ideas expressed mainly in posters stuck on the vanished "Democracy Wall," has been ruthlessly suppressed, and many of its leading members are in jail. Taiwan's independent "Formosa Magazine," which also in 1979 called for reform of the Nationalist party, more democracy and something approaching Taiwan independence, was similarly suppressed by the Taiwan authorities, and many of its leading members are likewise in prison.

But there is one important difference: the Communist party considers it has the right to regulate virtually every part of a person's life, while the National-

GRAHAM EARNSHAW, Peking correspondent, has a taste of life in Nationalist Taiwan

ist party generally stays off the backs of its people. The difference is immediately noticeable and very welcome. On my third night in Taipei, for instance, I had dinner in the home of a Chinese friend I had met two days previously. The idea of such a thing happening on the Chinese mainland is almost inconceivable.

On some days, the air pollution in central Taipei is so bad it is like being in the middle of a sandstorm. The thousands of motorcycles, buses and cars which fill the city's roads and pump filth into the atmosphere are both a symbol of Taiwan's economic achievements and a warning that progress has its drawbacks.

Just as Taiwan runs on the motorbike, China travels at a more sedate pace by bicycle. It is a more primitive form of transport, and, in the winter, suicide, but if every one of Peking's three-million-odd cyclists acquired a motorbike, the city would have to be evacuated.

In sharp contrast to the grimy, grey gloom of the mainland cities the streets of Taipei are alive with flashing neon lights, endless streams of traffic, thousands of shops, restaurants, coffee bars and beauty salons, symbols of the success of decadent bourgeois values.

But perhaps—just perhaps—the Taipei of today could become the model for the mainland cities of tomorrow. The economic policies of the Communists are changing, allowing for more and more individual initiative.

First, the peasants were allowed to sell produce at free markets for their own personal profit, then retire hawkers were allowed to resume their trade after a break of 15 years. Now, small privately

owned businesses are springing up in China's cities.

店也正在出现。如果大陆上允许这种新兴的私人商业大规模发展的话，那么，中国许多紧迫的经济问题，也许会在今后的三
十年得以解决。

我经过长时间的考虑，觉得大陆比台湾做得好的有以下三个方面：

一、大陆的生活没有资本主义社会那种普遍的紧张和过度劳累。大陆人民没必要操心吊胆，也无庸过分地辛劳。他们由政府负责找工作，不需要自己奔波，而且一旦有了职业，实际上永远不会被解雇。

二、贫富之间的差别不像台湾那么大。

最后一点，大陆比台湾较为平等地对待妇女。

我在台北遇到一位妇女，她创办了一家经济杂志。杂志社所有的职员全是妇女，因为她接触到的一些男人谁也不愿意在她手下工作。她竭力对这件事保密，以便不影响这个杂志的声誉。在台湾，卖淫也是一种巨大的行业——这对于任何社会来说，都不是一种耻辱的特征。而大陆则不然，那里严格处理暴露出来的这类事件。

在台北机场，一位办理移民事务的姑娘，惊讶地看到我的护照的背页全是她向人民共和国的职员。她问：“你住在红色中国吗？那里的情况怎样？”我所到之处，都是同样的提问：大陆的情况怎么样？这里好还是那里好？恰如其分的回答是：大陆上的情况不象国民党所说的那么坏，台湾的情况也不象大陆许多人想象的那么好。

当然，台湾人在一些方面比他们的大陆同胞好一些，但是，直接作比较是不合理的，因为中国大陆是那么大，问题的面那么宽而且复杂，而台湾却是那么小，便于管理。

owned businesses are springing up in China's cities.

If this newly resurrected private sector on the mainland is allowed to develop on a large scale, then many of China's pressing economic problems, including unemployment and shortages of consumer goods, could perhaps be solved over the next couple of decades.

After long consideration of the differences between "the two Chinas" (a forbidden phrase), I came up with only three aspects where the people on the mainland are doing better than the Taiwanese.

First, life in Communist China has less of the tension and strain so common in capitalist society. There's no great need to worry, or even to try very hard. It is the Government's responsibility, not yours, to find you a job and, once you're on the payroll you can virtually never be sacked.

Second, the gap between rich and poor is not as great as in Taiwan, although supporters of capitalism would of course argue that the gap is necessary to provide an incentive to increase production and efficiency.

And last, women are treated much more equally on the mainland than in Taiwan. On both sides, women are still very much the victims of age-old prejudices, but at least in Communist China there is a theoretical recognition of the problem.

One woman I met in Taipei publishes a successful economic magazine. The staff is composed entirely of women because none of the men she approached were willing to work under her. She tries to keep the all-female staff a secret so as not to affect the magazine's credibility.

Prostitution is also a massive industry in Taiwan — not a healthy sign for any society and a far cry from the mainland where the Communists sternly deal with any cases that come to light.

THE immigration girl at Taipei airport looked in astonishment at my passport with all its visa stamps for the People's Republic of China. "Do you live in Red China," she asked. "What is it like?" Everywhere I went, the questions were the same: what is it like on the mainland? Which is better, here or there?

The pat answer is that it is not as bad on the mainland as the Nationalists say it is, nor are things on Taiwan as good as many people on the mainland imagine.

In almost everything of course the average person on Taiwan is better off than his cousin in the mainland, but it is not altogether fair to make a direct comparison. Mainland China is so huge, and its problems so vast and complex, while Taiwan is so small and manageable.

The Communist party, and particularly Chairman Mao, have made some appalling mistakes during their 32 years in power, and it is easy to criticise the Communists for the way they dominate the lives of their subjects, but would it be possible to run a country of one billion people any other way?

It is nice to think that it would.

台北市中心空气污染严重，如同在风沙之中。成千上万的摩托车、公共汽车、小汽车挤满了城市的街道，把浓烟倾泻于空气之中。这既是台湾经济成就的一种象征，也是对存在的一种警告。

大陆人则骑着自行车以平稳的速度行进，自行车是一种比较简单的交通工具，如果北京三百多万骑自行车的人都换成摩托车，那么，这个城市势必

要疏救人口。

共产党的经济政策正在变化，允许更大的发挥个体的积极性，农民可以在自由市场出售产品了，城市里一些小型的私营商