

03445/84

13 June 1984

14 JUN 84  
ADDI CHRONO

MEMORANDUM FOR: Associate Deputy Director for Intelligence

THROUGH: Director of East Asian Analysis  
Chief, OEA Administrative Staff  
Chief, China Division, OEA

FROM:  Chief, Domestic Policy Branch, OEA

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SUBJECT: Request to Speak and Publish

1. I request approval to make an oral presentation based upon the attached outline. This will eventually be published in a volume of conference presentations. Full approval for publication will be requested when draft is completed. The subject of my presentation will be Reform and the People's Liberation Army.

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3. None of the material in my oral presentation or subsequent paper will be drawn from classified materials.

4. I  will be identified as an Agency employee. To both my oral presentation and my paper, I will append the standard disclaimer that the views expressed are my own and not necessarily those of the Agency or the US Government.

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Attachments:

- Copy of proposed oral presentation outline
- Outside Activity Form 879

ADMINISTRATIVE INTERNAL USE ONLY

I have reviewed the attached text, to the best of my knowledge have found it to be unclassified, and approve it for presentation and publication.

[Redacted Signature]

Chief, China Division, OEA

*6/13/84*  
Date

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CONCUR:

[Redacted Signature]

Director of East Asian Analysis

13 JUN 1984

Date

STAT

APPROVED:

[Redacted Signature]

Associate Deputy Director for Intelligence

14 JUN 1984

Date

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Distribution:

- Original & 1 -- Addressee & return to OEA Admin
- 1 -- Chairman, Publications Review Board
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- 1 -- Chief, China Division, OEA
- 1 -- [Redacted]

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REFORMING CHINESE ORGANIZATIONS: THE PEOPLE'S LIBERATION ARMY

I. The PLA and China's Political Reform -- Is the Military in Opposition?

- A. The PLA and post-Mao political events
  - 1. Purge of the Left -- the Old Guard's triumphant return.
  - 2. Restoration of Deng Xiaoping -- Army support.
  - 3. Deng vs. Hua Guofeng -- the PLA's reluctant choice
  - 4. The Democracy Movement - Reform's inauspicious beginning.
  - 5. Literary reform -- the PLA as a target.
  - 6. Economic reform -- a failure of communication.
- B. Deng takes command of the Military Commission
  - 1. Soothing troubled generals.
  - 2. Addressing PLA concerns.
  - 3. "Making up the missed lesson"
  - 4. Changing the guard, retiring the commanders.
- C. The mini-revolt of the Commissars
  - 1. Dogmatists on the firing line.
  - 2. Bai Hua, Zhao Yiya, and spiritual pollution -- case studies of withering PLA influence.
    - a. Wei Guoqing and the General Political Department in retreat.
  - 3. 12th Party Congress -- loyal, if grudging support.
- D. Returning to the Barracks -- The PLA's retreat from politics.
  - 1. Traditions and bitter lessons.
  - 2. Playing by the rules and winning.
  - 3. The military modernization angle -- new toys for the army.

II. Reform of the PLA

- A. Deng's harsh assessment of 1975 -- "soft, lazy and loose."
  - 1. Mao's army and its weaknesses.
- B. Defense modernization and reform.
  - 1. Vietnam exposes the problems.
  - 2. The modernizers take charge.
  - 3. Changing attitudes. Professionalization becomes a goal.
    - a. Peng Dehuai's rehabilitation
- C. Reforming the "three PLAs"
  - 1. Main forces: subordinating military regions to the General Staff, combined force training, improving logistics, educating the officer corps.
  - 2. Technical Service Arms: Modernization of equipment, instilling pride, promoting the experts, buying foreign arms.
  - 3. Local forces: Reorganize, restructure, retire and retrain.
- D. Performance, Problems and Prospects
  - 1. Toward a younger officer corps
    - a. But the old guard hangs on at the top.
  - 2. Education and promotion -- reopening the military academies.
    - a. But the peasants are grumbling.
  - 3. Commanders vs. commissars -- settling old scores?
  - 4. Loyalty to the party.
    - a. But what about after Deng?

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