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JPRS 81755

13 September 1982

China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 336

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13 September 1982

CHINA REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 336

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

ISRAELI EXPANSIONISM ALLEGED

Beijing SHIJIE ZHISHI [WORLD KNOWLEDGE] in Chinese No 11, 1982 pp 4-5

[Article by Yuan Yin [5373 0995]: "Such a 'Greater Israel' Plan"]

[Text] Goal and Realistic Demands of the Plan

On the triangular lintel over the door of the Israeli Knesset is written a passage from The Five Books of Moses (the Jews' appellation for the "Old Testament"); it indicates the Israeli expansionists' never forgotten dream of wanting to realize the establishment of a "Greater Israel" from Palestine "to the Nile and the Euphrates." This implies that the Israeli expansionists are by no means satisfied with the fait accompli but still think of partitioning a part of the territories of Egypt, Jordan, Lebanon, Syria, and Iraq. Everyone knows how preposterous it is to take the Bible which mixes myths with religious legends as the basis for defining national territory; yet Israel glaringly honors it as the infallible law for deciding on its national policy. They seem to think that if their expansionist ambition is put on a "divine" cloak, it would then have a legitimate basis.

The Zionists, basing themselves on religious legends, call themselves "God's chosen people" and the ancient Palestine, "God's promised land." They at first wanted to find a "national homestead" for the Jews. After the Jewish state, namely Israel, was established in 1948, they immediately sought to expand. After the first Middle Eastern war, the territory of Israel expanded from the 14,500 square kilometers prescribed by the United Nations "Resolution on the Separation of Palestine" to 20,700 square kilometers. During the third Middle Eastern war, Israel again occupied the West Bank of the Jordan River, Gaza Strip, East Jerusalem, the Sinai Peninsula of Egypt, and the Golan Heights of Syria. Apart from the Sinai Peninsula which has already been returned to Egypt, all the rest occupied territories are, in some cases, annexed and, in others, being annexed. In continuing thus to pursue expansion, Israel's blueprint is no other than its "Greater Israel" plan.

While Palestine was still a mandate under British administration and the Zionists were engaged in founding their Jewish state, the Jewish underground army and freedom movement already put forward this slogan: "The shores of the Jordan River, whether this side or the other side, are both ours." After the founding of Israel, the "national anthem" of the Zionist extremists

repeats this slogan in refrain. After its victory in the 1967 Middle Eastern war, Israel under the stimulation of military triumph, was fraught with chauvinistic sentiments. At this juncture, the Zionist extremists started the "movement to establish a Greater Israel." In 1977, the leader of the erst-while freedom movement Begin acceded to power; the "Greater Israel movement" developed further. Begin never acknowledged any Arab "occupied territories"; he holds that those are "liberated territories." He calls the West Bank of the Jordan River Judea, Sumeria, according to the Biblical usage. He takes Israel's occupation of the West Bank as "the Jews returning to their own land." In 1979, Israeli extremists established a new party called "Organization of Believers in Israel." That party's purpose is to expand the national territory of the Jewish state to the borders of the Israel in the Bible, to oppose withdrawal from the occupied territories, and even to oppose the Peace Treaty with Egypt and oppose returning the Sinai.

Although the Begin Government is anxious to ultimately extend Israel's boundaries to the territories of the Jews in Biblical times, because of the prevailing situation it has been forced to temporarily suppress its avarice; for the sake of tranquility on the western front and of avoiding fighting a two-front war, it withdrew from the Sinai. Some asked Begin's foreign minister Shamir, "How are you going to draw Israel's boundaries?" Shamir answered: "In different times we have had different boundaries. But today's Israel denotes a very small concept...it is but the western half of the Palestine administered by Britain in the past." Even according to this "very strict" interpretation of Shamir, it obviously still encompasses the West Bank of the Jordan River and the Gaza Strip in the territory of today's Israel." Shamir added: "If it were up to me, we should have power even over the land of today's Jordan! But we have discarded that demand."

The ultimate goal of the "Greater Israel" plan is not going to be abandoned, otherwise no Biblical quotations would have been hung over the door of the Knesset; but its realistic steps do change because of circumstances.

Murderous Strategy

When the Israeli Knesset made the decision to annex the Golan Heights, Defense Minister Sharon distributed to its members his research report on "The Question of Israel's Strategy in the 1980's." This was a formal document nakedly revealing the "Greater Israel" plan as a whole. The report united Israel's series of annexations with its long-range strategy; it indicated that, in order to realize the "Greater Israel" plan, Israel's strategy from its founding to 1967 was to expand its territorial area and, thereafter, to consolidate the fruits of its aggression; by the 1980's, it would turn to expanding its realm of frontier security so as to change Israel into a big country endowed with the freedom of action in an extensive realm of politico-geographical area. According to a report in the Lebanese "Future" weekly, this area "starts from the Arab countries around Israel and proceeds eastwards to Iran, Afghanistan, and Pakistan, northward to Turkey, and westward to join force with racist South Africa!"

From the analysis of Israel's strategy in Sharon's report, people can clearly see how the Israeli expansionists have deliberately launched repeated wars of aggression to seize Arab territories and how they have in orderly steps and in a planned way annexed Jerusalem and the Golan Heights and are intensifying their activities for the annexation of the West Bank of the Jordan River. Will the Israeli Knesset stop here? No. Geographical expansion can no longer satisfy Israel's demands. Said Sharon: "The strategic interest of Israel in the 1980's demands to depart from the traditional limits of conflict to enter into two new geographical areas." One is "countries not facing Israel but the development of whose military forces constitutes a direct threat to Israel," and the other is "other countries whose political policies or strategy constitute a danger to the security of Israel." Under such circumstances, the extent to which Israel wishes to encroach upon others most certainly goes beyond its neighboring countries. For 30 years, Israel has always committed aggression and expansion under the pretext of "its own national security." It insists that the nationalism of the Arabs (including the Palestinians) is a threat to its security. Sharon's report repeats this slander; the only difference is that it includes the threat of the Soviet Union. Because the United States has unrestrictedly shown its partiality to Israel's expansionist activities under the banner of "strategic consensus" against the Soviet threat. Naturally, the Soviet threat to the Middle East does exist; but the relentless fact is that the way Israel repeatedly invaded the Arab areas and created turmoils in the Middle East provided precisely convenient conditions for Soviet infiltration into the Middle East. Under whatever pretext, the actual victims of Israel's expansion are the Arab people.

Under the pretext of maintaining its security, Israel has made the following so-called strategic demands:

1. It is impossible to tolerate "any sabotage against the military balance between the Arab countries and Israel," including the ratio in the quality of weapons and in the technological aspects, especially "impossible to tolerate the introduction of nuclear weapons into the areas of conflict." This is to maintain Israel's military deterrent position vis-a-vis the Arab countries.
2. "Any approach to change the geographical and military situation in the areas of confrontation" must be stopped and "the balance between various forces in the southern part of Lebanon must be maintained."

While putting forward all kinds of restrictions against others, what about Israel itself? It is itself nonetheless entitled to "develop the production of advanced weapons in order to establish its own military powers." It "should increase the rate of its weapons export so as to make it one of the world's principal exporters of weapons." It may also launch large-scale military action against Lebanon "to destroy as much as possible the military and political establishments of the PLO so as to spare Israel from all raids originating from southern Lebanon." It is entitled to "destroy the missiles deployed in the territories of Lebanon and Syria" because these missiles "restrict Israel's reconnaissance space" and "constitute a direct threat to Israel's security."

Sharon puts it this way in summing up his report on Israel's strategy: "From now on, the world should not be puzzled because of the action Israel shall take under the slogan of maintaining its own national security. Nothing can prevent Israel from bombing Baghdad's nuclear reactor or attacking Beirut if it discovers that its own security requires it to do so."

How impudent! How murderous! People may conclude: the "Greater Israel" plan and its strategy constitute a great threat to the peace in the Middle East and to the security of the Arab countries and an important source of turmoil in the Middle East, and the United States must shoulder the responsibility of having abetted them.

There is a view which alleges that Israel's territory is very small, there being 600 miles of land borders and 150 miles of coastal frontiers around 8,000 square miles of territory; its east-west width measures at its narrowest section only 8 miles and at its broadest section not more than 69 miles; hence it is most susceptible to attack and it therefore tends to be extremely calculating about its territory and most sensitive about its security. Such a view actually apologizes for Israel's expansionism, as if its expansionism is somehow excusable. After it has occupied many Arab territories, has Israel felt secure enough? No. Sharon said: "Because there are some new weapons in the armory of the Arab troops, including missiles and advanced weapons, therefore the Arabs can encircle and attack Israel's entire territory." Then, where can ultimately be Israel's secure boundaries? The many facts listed above tell people that Israel's so-called security borders are determined by the appetite of its aggression and expansion.

It Won't Work

Although the Israeli expansionists are enthusiastic about realizing their "Greater Israel" plan and have gotten away with things in the past 30 years, it ultimately won't work and could possibly draw fatal disasters upon itself.

Israel's unjust cause finds little support, and the Arabs' just cause finds plenty of support: this calls for no elaboration.

In terms of the ratio of their forces, time is of advantage to the Arabs. Speaking of manpower, the Arabs number more than 100 million whereas Israel's Jews number only slightly more than 3 million. Speaking of material power, Arab resources, financial sources and economic potential far exceed those of Israel. Speaking of military power, Israel enjoys some temporary superiority, but that cannot be maintained for very long. The developing situation is becoming less and less advantageous to Israel.

In occupying Arab territories Israel is like putting heavy burdens on its back. Israeli occupation more than any other factor powerfully promotes the national unity of the Palestinians and provokes the Palestinians' fighting will against oppression and for liberation. Just take a look at the recent anti-Israeli struggle of the Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza, etc., one can readily realize this.

The "Greater Israel" plan also gradually runs into conflict with America's world strategy and Middle Eastern strategy. Along with the enhancement of the power of the Arab countries, the United States, in order to prevent the southern thrust of the Soviet Union and protect the security of its sources of oil supplies, needs urgently to improve its relations with the Arab countries, whereas Israel's long confrontation with the Arabs seriously hampers America's anti-Soviet deployments. Although the United States remains partial to Israel even today, it has exhibited uneasiness to a series of actions on the part of Israel such as the annexation of Jerusalem and the Golan Heights, the increasing of settlements in the occupied zones, the bombing of the Iraqi nuclear establishment, and the bombing of Beirut, etc. Among America's ruling clique there are already those who hold that "forceful measures should be undertaken to liberate Israel from the desperate situation of its own making and thereby prevent a tragic war."

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CSO: 4005/1083

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

SOVIET TALK ABOUT DISARMAMENT AT VARIANCE WITH ACTIONS

Habin HEILONGJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 26 Jun 82 p 4

["Notes" by Zai Li [0961 4539]: "Words and Deeds"]

[Text] Gromyko, on deplaning to take part in the UN General Assembly's second special session on disarmament, in all seriousness said: "At present it is not enough to talk about peace. It is necessary to do some concrete work suited to actual circumstances."

People know clearly that what the Soviet hegemonists say is one thing and what they do is another.

Moscow once publicly declared: "The Soviet Union does not threaten any country on any continent." But the facts are: Soviet-made tanks trampled upon Afghanistan's land, Soviet supersonic jets fighters danced wildly in the skies over Afghanistan, and the Afghan people were driven by the aggressors into wandering about as refugees; the Soviet Union instigated Vietnam to invade Kampuchea, and in the last 4 years the conventional and chemical weapons it supplied have killed and wounded hundreds of thousands of Kampucheans.

Day after day, the Soviet Union shouts about "disarmament" and "freeze," but the fact is: its "armament" far exceeds its "dis" and its powder magazine is more bloated than "frozen." Today it possesses 2,400 long-range guided missiles, an increase of 11 times as compared with the number in the early 1960's; with regard to intermediate-range nuclear weapons, in the past several years there have been overall replacements, and in Europe alone the Soviet Union has deployed 300 SS-20 guided missiles: it possesses 45,000 tanks, a fourth of which were produced in the 4 years since the UN General Assembly's first disarmament session; and its war machine and number of chemical weapons stands above the world in first place....

What it says are the words of men of honor, but the business it is engaged in is killing people and creating disturbances! Truly, the "words" of the Soviet hegemonists are up in the sky while their "deeds" are down on the ground.

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CSO: 4005/997

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

U.S. SAID TO COLLUDE WITH ISRAEL IN INVASION OF LEBANON

Harbin HEILONGJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 26 Jun 82 p 4

[Article by Sun Yingkang [1327 2503 1660]: "Patching Up a Quarrel and Reconciling the Parties Concerned or Helping a Tyrant To Do Evil?"]

[Text] Israel's savage act in mounting a large-scale invasion of Lebanon out of a desire to put the Palestinian armed forces in a death trap has filled the world with righteous indignation and has been vehemently condemned.

U.S. special envoy Habib once again travelled afar across the ocean to the Middle East and rushed about in Jerusalem, Damascus, and Beirut, mediating and seeking a "cease-fire." Did Habib come as a "peacemaker"? From the start, people were puzzled about this.

On 4 June, Israeli U.S.-made aircraft wantonly bombed Beirut and southern Lebanon, but the U.S. authorities pretended to be deaf and dumb. Two days later, several tens of thousands of Israeli soldiers, covered by several hundreds of tanks and armored vehicles, crossed the border and poured into Lebanese territory, wantonly slaughtering as they went and causing thousands of innocent civilians to die violently, but the Reagan government still did not say a word. How could they have not had the least inkling beforehand of this aggressive expansion of Israel's?

It does not seem likely because Begin, on the very day, 6 June, that his troops marched into Lebanon, sent a telegram to Reagan, notifying him: the Israeli armed forces have been ordered to drive the Palestinians out of southern Lebanon. The next day the U.S. Government hurriedly withdrew 25 diplomatic officers and their dependents from its diplomatic mission in Lebanon. Obviously, the U.S. Government had obtained this information: Israel would expand its aggressive war to the Beirut area. Not until after Israel had occupied a large slice of Lebanon's territory and had attacked and occupied the important bases of the Palestinian armed forces in southern Lebanon and had basically realized its military goals did Habib rush to Jerusalem and conspire and consult with the Israeli authorities, after which he took a letter of Begin's to Damascus and met with President Al-Asad. According to an Israeli radio broadcast, in this letter Begin put forward the following conditions for the withdrawal of his troops: the withdrawal of the Syrian armed forces stationed in Lebanon, the establishment of a 40-km

demilitarized zone in southern Lebanon, and the Palestinian Liberation Organization not being allowed to return to the southern area of Lebanon. On this mission, Habib assumed the posture of a man patching up a quarrel and reconciling the parties concerned, put up a "signboard," and announced he was seeking a "cease-fire," but it was hard to conceal his partiality and connivance with Israel's consistent policy of aggressive expansion. Foreign news agencies think this large-scale action by Israel was agreed to and supported by America. International public opinion holds that this view is not without truth.

How could the U.S. Government side with this aggressive and savage act by Israel?! After Israel invaded Lebanon, the Reagan government was unwilling to postpone delivery of weapons originally meant for Israel and also refused to impose "sanctions" on Israel. When the UN Security Council drew up a resolution demanding that Israel withdraw its troops, the Reagan government vetoed it. Afterward, the so-called cease-fire agreement that Habib helped to bring about through his shuttle activities made the continued stay in Lebanon of Israeli soldiers a fait accompli. It not only does not restrict the aggressive activities of the Begin authorities but also binds hand and foot the side suffering aggression. In the final analysis, isn't it clear at a glance whom this kind of cease-fire benefits?

In short, no matter how well the U.S. special envoy might argue and how skillful his diplomatic strategy is, the Reagan government wants to attain, through Habib's shuttle "mediation," its goal of closely coordinating with the Israeli actions and giving them effective support. The Reagan government cannot cover up its true features of helping a tyrant to do evil, and there is no way it can evade the condemnation of the Arab world and of people throughout the world who uphold justice.

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

U.S.-SOVIET ARMS CUT TALKS SEEN AS MASKING CONTENTION

Harbin HEILONGJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 29 May 82 p 4

[Article by Jiang Ren [3068 0086]: "Another Round of Acrimonious Words in the Debate"]

[Text] Recently, America and the Soviet Union again, amid wild beating of drums and gongs, prepared to put on the stage an act in the farce about negotiations concerning strategic nuclear weapons. On 4 May, Reagan threw out a two-stage plan for the reduction of strategic nuclear weapons and urged the Soviet-U.S. talks begin before the end of June. On 16 May, although Brezhnev refused to accept the U.S. plan, he indicated that the Soviet Union would be willing to talk with America. He also elaborated on a proposal that, with regard to Soviet standpoints in the negotiations, there be an immediate freeze on existing strategic nuclear weapons.

America wants to "reduce," the Soviet Union wants to "freeze." All the words spoken with absorbing interest cannot cover up the wild ambition of America and the Soviet Union to contend for nuclear hegemony.

As everybody knows, with regard to warheads and throw-weight of guided missiles and land-based guided missiles, the Soviet Union has a fairly big superiority over the United States.

The main goal of the Reagan proposal is the reduction of land-based guided missiles. He proposed that in the first stage the two sides reduce the number of guided missiles to 850 and that they reduce the number of warheads by a third; and stipulate that the number of warheads on land-based guided missiles must not exceed half of the total number of warheads after the reduction. The second stage would bring the throw-force of the two sides to the same level. Based on this proposal, the Soviet Union would make a larger reduction than America. Obviously, the goal of the Reagan proposal is to lessen the Soviet Union's nuclear superiority in this respect.

Brezhnev criticized Reagan's plan as "not being geared to actual circumstances" and as "being harmful to the security of the Soviet Union." He asserted that he would not permit the "breaking of the already formed equity." He would not permit the undermining of the Soviet Union's superiority in land-based guided missiles. He put forward the proposal that America and the Soviet

Union, at the beginning of their negotiations, immediately freeze the existing nuclear weapons in order to ingratiate himself with the current vigorous nuclear weapon freeze movement launched in the United States, and was obviously in order to attain his goal of fixing the Soviet Union's superiority in land-based guided missiles.

As for Reagan, his proposal put forward for the reduction of strategic nuclear weapons did not say a word about the question of America's superiority in long-range bombers, and even the number of nuclear warheads carried by the bombers were not reckoned in the total number of warheads. In his speech, he also stressed that America's objective was to strengthen its deterrent force and to maintain a nuclear force sufficient to contain conflicts, insure the country's security, and fulfill its obligations to its allies and friends. All of this shows that Reagan, on the one hand, talks about reducing nuclear weapons and, on the other hand, wants to expand nuclear weapons.

No matter how necessary it is for Brezhnev and Reagan to shout about reduction of strategic nuclear weapons, they certainly will not change their consistent trick of "talk, talk, expand, expand." Even if America and the Soviet Union hold talks before long at a certain place on reducing strategic nuclear weapons, it will merely be opening up a battlefield for carrying out their contention with acrimonious words.

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CSO: 4005/997

PARTY AND STATE

COUNTERREVOLUTIONARY REMNANT 'MUST NOT STAGE COMEBACK'

Shanghai MINZHU YU FAZHI [DEMOCRACY AND LEGAL SYSTEM] in Chinese No 4, 82
pp 3-4

[Text] Comrade Peng Dehuai had performed signal feats for the Chinese people. Chief Peng was such a courageous and competent commander that no enemy, whether domestic or foreign, had ever been able to hurt him in the life-and-death struggles at the battlefield. Yet he died by ruthless persecution in the 10 years of turmoil after the revolution had triumphed. Every fair-minded Chinese still feels indignant with Lin Biao and Jiang Qing over the tragedy. Now, reality reminds us that indignation alone is useless. We must be clearheaded, and completely sobered up.

According to RENMIN RIBAO, 26 March 1982, Liu Hanru, the ringleader of the "Beihang Hongqi" rebels, who had denounced, beaten, and led Chief Peng to mass struggles, and whose despicable and outrageous conduct had aroused public indignation has been recruited as an alternate member of the Chinese Communist Party and appointed a deputy chief of the scientific research institute of a certain plant in 1980, 4 years after the down fall of Jiang Qing's counter-revolutionary camp. One can imagine this unique adept political animal would win more promotions step by step if his identity were not disclosed. Isn't it time that the people watch out for incidents like this?

Is the case of Liu Hanru an isolated incident? According to RENMIN RIBAO, 29 March, the Municipal Aquatic Products Bureau of Tianjin is still in the hands of those who rose to power through "rebellion," including the secretary and deputy secretary of its party organization, and its bureau director and deputy director. With the bureau under their control, these bunch of people, acting against the organizational line of the party, called for redressing the injustice inflicted upon those who were forced out of office by the "exposure, criticism, and investigation" drive, and reappointed them to important posts. Their usurpation of power has led to ideological confusion and disruption of work and production. For instance, the amount of fish caught by the Tianjin Municipal Maritime Fishing Company falls far below that caught by a single production brigade at Yantai, Shandong. When the Tianjin Municipal Party Committee became aware of the situation, it dispatched agents on several occasions to investigate the case. But those who conducted the investigations filed false reports to cover up the matter. The people involved include a former director of the organization department of the municipal party committee, a deputy director of the finance, trade and political department of its committee on finance, and so on. The incident took place 5 years after the "downfall"

of the gang of four. Can anyone believe that similar cases like that of Tianjin Aquatic Products Bureau have never occurred anywhere else? This shows how important it is for us to be clearheaded. The case of Liu Hanru and the Rianjin Aquatic Products Bureau affair are indeed very good sobering agents. But what do they tell us to watch for?

--These people who gained power through "rebellion" during the 10 years of turmoil have demonstrated a unique skill. They have "a keen political sense" who see clearly which way the political wind blows, and pose "as being persistently upright." They are good at flattery, ganging up, and trickery, as well as phrase-mongering and high-sounding eloquence. They could often appear admirably "Left," but have no qualms about capitalizing on the emotional depression of people to create confusion. Knowing which way the wind blows and being slick, these people could win the confidence of others and get themselves promoted to positions of leadership.

--While pushing for construction and consolidation, the leadership at all levels should begin constructing and consolidating the organization departments. The organization department at every level must be clean and honest, resolved to implement the organizational line of the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, and have a firm organizational commitment to act fairly and justly to use virtuous and capable people. The leadership at all levels must do away with bureaucratism, and work painstakingly and thoroughly to understand the true condition, know the feelings of the masses and listen to their demands. Otherwise, the above-mentioned slick exploiters would take advantage of the loopholes.

--Due to lack of thoroughgoing exposure and criticism of the "gang of four," organizational and ideological impurity still exists in certain localities and units. We must not assume that we could now focus on "stability and solidarity" and "look to the future" as if all our problems have evaporated with the "down-fall" of the gang of four so many years ago. Of course we need stability and solidarity to pursue modernization, and should look to the future instead of dwelling on old grievances. We should be lenient toward past criminal offenders under certain conditions, and we must not overlook the overall situation and the interests of the people and the party when we handle any problem that occurred in the past. However, we must not lower our guard and become careless. It would be extremely dangerous if we let the followers of Lin Biao and Jiang Qing who gained power through rebellion, those who have firm factional convictions, the plunderers, and those who oppose the line, program and policy of the party since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee to work their way to positions of power where they could look for opportunities to attack. The "time bombs" must be removed. That is the only way to achieve lasting stability and solidarity.

The fact that the ringleaders of the rebel faction can still have their own way in certain localities is because the line and program laid down by the Third Plenary Session have run into varying degrees of overt or covert resistance, and have not been fully implemented in those localities. The crucial problem confronting many localities is attributable to lack of adequate liberation of the mind, lack of democracy, and lack of thoroughgoing criticism of the pernicious

"leftist" influence. There are different groups of people in certain localities who offer varying degrees of overt or covert resistance to the line and program of the Third Plenary Session. They include some comrades who have not yet shaken off the leftist ideology, and three groups of people mentioned above who do not favor the Marxist principle of seeking truth from facts, the liberation of the mind, the promotion of democracy, and the right of the people to express their views. Haven't you heard people gnashing their teeth? Haven't you noticed people carrying concealed weapons? We must take a close look at those localities where there is serious resistance to the line and program of the Third Plenary Session, and do some investigations down there. Some of the offenders identified in the latest drive against economic crimes are the former plunderers who are still in positions of power. We must watch this very closely.

The party Central Committee has stated many times that the leadership cells must be consolidated and restructured. The three groups mentioned above and those who oppose the lines, programs and policies of the party since the Third Plenary Session of its 11th Central Committee should never be promoted to leadership positions, none at all. Those already in leadership positions must be jettisoned. This is a vital issue which affects the prevention of a repetition of the tragic 10 years of turmoil, the success of our great socialist undertakings, and the future of our fatherland and its people. There is no room for hesitation and carelessness.

Fellows, watch out! The remnants of the counterrevolutionary camp of Lin Biao and Jiang Qing must never be allowed to stage a comeback. The decadent reactionary forces will no doubt die out by the law of historical development. But history might turn backward for a time if we are complacent and do not do a good job. We must never forget the lesson of those 10 years of internal turmoil!

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CSO: 4005/1030

PARTY AND STATE

STRUGGLE STRESSED IN PARTY RECTIFICATION

Hangzhou ZHEJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 24 Jun 82 p 4

[Article by GONG CHAN DANG YUAN [THE COMMUNIST] commentator: "Rectifying Party Style Through Struggle"]

[Text] "The Resolution on Cracking Down On Serious Criminal Activities in the Economic Field" issued by the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and the State Council points out: "Cracking down on the serious criminal activities in the economic field is one of the most practical and effective measures to rectify the party and its style of conduct in the present situation." Party organizations at all levels in our province are following the instructions of the party-member cadres to actively throw themselves into the struggle, using both positive and negative examples to carry out lively education to rectify party style. We are convinced that as long as all places and units do the same, our party style will take on a new look; the communist purity of the party ranks will be further improved.

Some of our comrades, however, lack sufficient understanding of this matter. They think that this struggle is only to deal with a few big and important cases, and do not regard the struggle as a long-term overall struggle that has a bearing on the flourishing or decline, success or failure of the party's cause and socialism. We say that the current struggle to crack down on the serious crimes in the economic field will be carried out mainly in the form of dealing with cases, but at the same time, we will also, through this struggle, conduct a universal ideological education in the party, in order to strengthen the party members' and cadres' ability to resist corruption and prevent degeneration. Only in this way can the party organizations improve their fighting capacity.

Our party has the heavy responsibility of leading the people of the whole country to realize the four modernizations. After the overthrow of the "gang of four," through investigations and discussions of the criteria of truth, the party ranks have undergone great changes and made great improvements in ideology, work style and organization. But there is no denying the fact that in recent years there have indeed been weak-willed persons within the party who failed to stand the test in the new situation. They sought ease and pleasure, were blinded by the lust for gain, and gradually degenerated. Even though they constitute only a very small number, they seriously disrupted

party style, damaged the party's image among the people, and impeded the building of socialist material and spiritual civilization. This situation set a new task in the building of the party: To adopt practical measures to preserve and improve the communist purity of the party. One of the most practical and effective measures is to crack down on the illegal and criminal activities in the economic field.

Why do we say this struggle is one of the most practical and effective measures in the present situation? This is because through handling the cases, on the basis of investigation, we will be able to accurately and unmistakably purge the corrupt and degenerated elements, dismiss from the leading posts the leading cadres who cover up, abet and even participate in economic crimes, thereby effectively preserve and improve the communist purity of the party organizations. Obviously, if we allow the corrupt and degenerated elements to continue to corrode the party, if we allow the irresolute elements to continue to wield power, then not only will the fighting capacity of party organizations be weakened, but the enthusiasm of the great numbers of fine cadres will be dampened as well. The grave consequences are obvious. This measure is the fundamental guarantee to the successful implementation of the party's line, principles and policies. We must understand this fully.

On the other hand, this struggle is not just a matter of dealing with a few cases. Through the analysis of big, important and typical cases, we will sum up experience and draw lessons, so that the masses of party members will experience a vivid and concrete education in party style and discipline. Why is it that under the same new historical conditions, the broad masses of our party members are throwing themselves into the effort to achieve the four modernizations with great enthusiasm and high morale, while some irresolute elements in the party have degenerated into economic criminals? Why is it that "sugared bullets" and "gift guns" have absolutely no effect on the great majority of the party members while others were affected by the first shot? Why is it that some of those who could not be conquered by enemy force in years gone by, who could not be subdued by the tyrannical power of Lin Biao and "gang of four," today became captives of money? This calls for deep thought by all party members. We should be able to draw beneficial lessons from it so that we can heighten our vigilance, keep a clear head, and consciously resist the corrosion of capitalist thinking and the bourgeois style of life, strengthen our ability to struggle resolutely against all unhealthy trends and evil practices. Those party members who have made mistakes should learn their lessons and quickly and completely wake up to their errors.

This struggle to crack down on illegal and criminal activities has a direct bearing on the success or failure of the party's cause. Whether we are able to persist in the struggle hinges on the determination of party organizations at all levels. We must fully recognize the seriousness and long-term nature of the struggle. We must not be apathetic and perform our duties in a perfunctory manner. Still less must we develop the idea that the work is more or less done and we can relax our efforts. As for concrete methods and steps, we must be careful and prudent. In rectifying the party and its

of conduct through struggle, we must not make each and everyone subject to self-examinations and must not conduct exaggerated criticisms. We must resolutely carry out this struggle and through struggle successfully rectify the party and its style of conduct.

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CSO: 4005/1014

PARTY AND STATE

COMMENTARY ON LEADERSHIP ATTITUDE TOWARD TALENTS

Nanjing XINHUA RIBAO in Chinese 24 Jun 82 p 1

[Commentary by staff commentator: "Leaders Must Have an Attitude of Treasuring Talents"]

[Text] Not long ago, our province convened the 1981 labor models and advanced collectives awards-conferring meeting; at this meeting we saw that in various localities in our province, including the Yangzhou region, a large continent of advanced personalities once again surged forth. It was really a sense of teeming talents and unprecedented exuberance. But we must also see that there are still some units where our leading comrades fail to stress the training of talents and do not seem to treasure talents. Today's report on worker Lu Jian's (7120 1017) development into a talent through self-study and his encounter with suppression is an example.

Reviving China and developing our four modernizations require large contingents of talents. How to discover and select talents as speedily as possible? One leading comrade has said four things, and they are: we must have an attitude of treasuring talents; we must have the ability to recognize talents; we must have the capacity to accommodate talents; and we must shoulder the responsibility of training talents. The first thing is the key. Only with an attitude of treasuring talents can we sum up our experience, strengthen our study and improve our ability to recognize talents; only with an attitude of treasuring talents can we refrain from suspecting or feeling jealous about others, select the virtuous and the talented, and exhibit the magnanimous capacity to accommodate talents; and only with an attitude of treasuring talents can we guide others with skill and patience, help others with enthusiasm, and earnestly fulfill our responsibility in training talents. Contrariwise, without an attitude of treasuring talents, even if a talent stands right in front of you, you would look at him but not see him, or even take a shining personality as something else. The basic reason why the individual leaders of Yangzhou's municipal bureau of industries, municipal chemical fertilizers plant, and chemical engineering plant No 5 were so indifferent and fault-finding toward Lu Jian and even resorted to the spreading of rumors and slanders to hurt him lies in that they lack such an attitude of treasuring talents, they are incapable of understanding how precious are talents to the construction of our four modernizations, and they also fail to understand how difficult it is for a talent to develop into maturity.

Speaking of treasuring talents, many people would be able to cite a series of reasons. But, in our actual work some treasure only products but not talents. When speaking of their factories' relatively good products, they often become enraptured and cite with relish; but when asked about their factories' talents, they begin to find fault with one after another and find satisfaction in none. Such comrades in reality still fail to understand the importance of talents. They need to know that the socialist emulation between enterprises is of course reflected in various aspects, but when concentrated on one point it is no other than emulation over products; yet emulation over products, in the final analysis, is nothing but one between talents. However high a level of talents you have at your place would also ensure however high a level of products to be designed and produced, including whether or not their endurance is good, their appearance is appealing, their packing is elaborate, and their usefulness is great. Hence, those who are interested in running their enterprises well should also be people who treasure talents. If this not being the case, and their eyes are set only on products and they fail to treasure talents, and if when products are being test-produced they put on a cordial face toward people, but once such products are successfully test-produced, they then turn on a cold face toward people, they are really adopting a utilitarian attitude which neither benefits the growth of talented people nor preclude the possibility of eventually hindering the development of production. In this regard, is there also any lesson to absorb from the Yangzhou municipal chemical fertilizers plant?

When we stress treasuring the talented, we by no means ignore virtue; a good talent should himself be a unity of both talent and virtue who has both the special skills for the construction of our four modernizations and a sincere heart adhering to the four basic principles and dedicated to the four modernizations. Worthy of note is that today some leaders often take those who tend to speak frankly and refuse to follow orders blindly as lacking in virtue and, on that pretext, suppress such talented people. This is highly erroneous. Yangzhou's Lu Jian has been a good worker who matured through self-study in the first place, and he made new contributions in the research on luminous materials. But, just because of the prejudice of the individual leaders of the bureau and the plants toward him, an enormous label was attached to him, alleging that "this man does not think in the same way as the leadership does," that "the aim of his experimentation is not very clear as to whether it is intended for himself or for the state," and that "this is a technological swindler." Just listen, how vicious these words can be! Many people should still be able to remember, under the guidance of an erroneous ideology during the 10 years of internal disturbance, these words were involved groundlessly to persecute people; if today some people should continue to do things in this manner, while they may not play such havoc as they did then, it is still possible for them to woodwink some people. Were not because the responsible comrade of the provincial bureau of scientific and technical cadres personally went to Yangzhou to investigate this time, this man Lu Jian could well have been overlooked. In saying so we do not mean that as a talent one cannot have any defects or make any mistakes; actually, a person who has no defects and who makes no mistakes does not exist. The question lies in how a leader treats a person with defects and mistakes--to help him with enthusiasm or to rudely discriminate against him? The correct attitude can only be the former.

The Party Central Committee time and again stresses active discovery and training of talents and encouragement to middle-aged and young people for their own development through self-study. Yet, even today leaders of some units still fail to keep this matter in mind, and the practices of wasting or even suppressing talents still are not eliminated. We hope that this report about Lu Jian can attract everybody's attention so as to absorb lessons from it, do the necessary work, and thereby select and train more talents for the construction of the four modernizations.

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CSO: 4005/1086

PARTY AND STATE

PARTY WORK RECTIFICATION CONFERENCE HELD IN HEILONGJIANG

Harbin HEILONGJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 29 Jun 82 pp 1, 4

[Article by Liu Wenbin [0491 2429 1755]: "Provincial CCP Committee Convenes Provincewide Work Rectification Conference; Deepen Understanding; Strengthen Leadership; Take Work Rectification Deep in People's Minds"]

[Text] The 8-day, provincewide work rectification conference convened by the provincial CCP committee concluded on the 25th. The conference summarized the progress of the previous stages of our province's work rectification, exchanged experiences, and made plans for future work rectification. At the conference it was emphasized that the work rectification must adhere to using party rectification as its core, use the crackdown on severe crime in the economic realm as the guiding theme, use ideological education as the key link, and have as a goal a fixed rate and moderately good results in the economy and on the political front the achievement of decisive improvements in party practices, the attitude of society, and public order.

Attending the conference were secretaries of each prefectural and municipal CCP committee, leading figures of the rectification staff offices, secretaries of the discipline committee, and department heads and leading comrades of sections of the county CCP committee. Also in attendance were leading cadres of departments, staff offices, and committees directly under provincial jurisdiction.

Yang Yichen [2799 2496 6591] and other leading comrades of the provincial CCP committee gave talks at the conference.

At the conference it was acknowledged that the more than 5 months of work rectification launched at the beginning of the year has unified understanding regarding the major significance of overall rectification. The struggle to crack down on severe crime in the economic realm was quite successful and increased economic benefits. The spring plowing production rate was accelerated throughout the province and quality was good. The total industrial output value of the first 5 months increased 7.5 percent over that of the corresponding period of last year, and revenue increased 14.6 percent. The rectification helped to improve party practice, the public attitude, and public order. The work rectification of the entire province has already made breakthroughs in its initial stage.

It was pointed out at the conference that the overall rectification must adhere to using party rectification as the core and that the quality of party rectification must be improved. In this rectification it is required that the party committees at all levels, in the guiding ideology, must truly place party rectification at the core and must give free rein to the central function of party organizations and the leading role of party members. The rectification of the party and the reorganization of enterprise must be merged into an organic whole, standards maintained and quality insured. In this rectification, leading groups of the party committees must take the lead in solving their own problems.

At the conference it was recognized that we must adhere to using the attack on severe crime in the economic realm as the guiding theme of the rectification. Regarding this crackdown as the major task for the entire year is one of the most realistic and most effective measures of party rectification and the rectification of workstyles in the present conditions. Inasmuch as a direct goal of this struggle is to attack severe economic offenders, the far-reaching significance is that undertaking this struggle will educate the vast ranks of party members and cadres in anticorruption practices and will enhance their ability to oppose corruption and preserve the purity of communism. Thus, notorious cases must be dealt with firmly and strong measures must be taken. If there are no notorious cases, then there will still be less severe and minor cases. Although they are not the focal point of the attack, still they must be resolved. And if there are no minor cases, there will still be unhealthy tendencies, and here we must unite in this struggle and earnestly dispose of them. What particularly needs to be pointed out is that whether or not notorious cases exist in units, everyone without exception must get a good grasp on anticorruption education. Whether it be specifics or generalities, everyone without exception must regard the attack on severe crime in the economic realm as the guiding theme of the rectification. How can we take this struggle deep into people's minds? First, firmly grasp the weak links and analyze and classify the instruction of each unit one by one, never stopping at a single call for action. Second, definitely investigate and get to the bottom of already discovered notorious cases and guard against starting out well but finishing poorly. Third, give further wide publicity to policies and continue to provide the impetus for confession and voluntary surrender.

It was pointed out at the conference that to handle the rectification well, we must take hold of this key link of ideological education. The experiences of the previous stages of work rectification proved that any unit that achieved remarkable success regarded ideological education as the key link of work rectification and this ran through its entire course. For every step forward in work rectification, we must at first carry out ideological education in the party spirit, party practices, and party discipline, the "one history and three loves," economic situations, and democracy and legal systems. We must place particular emphasis on specific work plans on the basis of different units and different targets. Nevertheless, we must regard strengthened party spirit, correct party practices, enforcement of discipline, and counter corruption as prominent factors of the rectification. We must pay close attention to uniting theory with ideological practice and to studying and comparing the dissection and analysis of the concrete instances of positive and negative aspects to enhance the ability of party members and the masses to fight corruption.

At the conference it was emphasized that we must adhere to using as a goal of the rectification the achievement of a fixed rate and good results and the attainment of "three decisive improvements." To do this, we must take firm hold of the following items of work. First, we must convert simple production-type enterprises into production-management enterprises so that they will be suitable to the needs of a developing commodity economy. Second, we must carry out the reorganization of labor; organize production according to quotas and fixed staffs; solve the problems of excessive personnel and groups, overstaffing, and overlapping organizations; and strive to increase labor productivity and economic benefits. Owned enterprises must pay full attention to training every kind of person with professional skills. They must adopt training, readjustment, job vacancy notices, joint tackling of key problems, and other measures. They must give free rein to scientific and technological personnel and cadres with special skills, assign them important status, and solve their problems of living and working conditions. Third, we must restructure the internal leadership system in enterprise. Fourth, we must implement the "four rules" issued by the Central Committee and improve and strengthen party leadership in enterprise. Fifth, we must further reorganize and set up leading groups in enterprises, and eliminate laxity, feebleness, overstaffing, the problem of aging members, bureaucratism, and other phenomena that exist in some leading groups.

We must continue to do a good job of using party practice as the core of the work rectification with regard to the attitude of society and public order. We must thoroughly carry out the study of Lei Feng [7191 6912] and foster new practices that will cause the "five stresses and four points of beauty" to become regular practices, become institutionalized and standardized, and be practiced for some time.

At the conference it was demanded that the party committees at all levels must make unified plans and strengthen leadership. They must unite specifics with generalities and help each move forward. While undertaking the rectification of specifics, a great deal of effort must still be expended to undertake the rectification of generalities. We must proceed from reality and not engage in "arbitrary uniformity." However, we surely must formulate individual rectification plans and clarify for ourselves just what individual problems we want to solve this year. We must increase the level where leaders stay in selected basic units, observe, and fully play their advisory role." We must use rectification as the "master switch," do a good job of making unified plans for each item of work, even more thoroughly carry out work rectification throughout the province, and spur on each work project.

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CSO: 4005/1053

PARTY AND STATE

'OUTLINE' FOR EXTENSIVE REBUILDING OF SHANGHAI APPROVED

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 18 Jun 82 p 1

[Local dispatch: "What Will Shanghai Be Like in the Year 2000? Municipal Government Approves in Principle 'Outline of Master Planning of Shanghai'"]

[Text] "The Outline of Master Planning of Shanghai" has recently been examined and approved in principle by the municipal people's government and will serve as the basis of a master plan to build up and manage the city.

"Outline" proposes that planning and building of Shanghai will proceed from the present and look ahead and implement the policies of integrating rational distribution of industries with rational layouts of municipal communications, integrating technical reform with urban reconstruction, and integrating the improvement of production with the improvement of living conditions. It proposes making overall planning, looking for both temporary and permanent solutions, and gradually achieving the goal of a modern city and modern management, with better conditions for production and greater convenience for everyday living. In actual implementation, 1981 to 1985 will be the short-term stage, the goal being to initially ease the most outstanding contradictions; the intermediate stage will be reached by 1990, the goal being to attain marked improvements; the long-term stage will be reached by 2000, the goal being to realize the modernization of the city.

According to the plan of the "Outline," by 2000 Shanghai will become an urban complex with metropolitan area as the main body, the outlying towns relatively independent but interconnected with one another and with the metropolis. The plan includes the development of the region south of the Yangtze River estuary (including the industrial points of such towns as Wusong, Baoshan, Yuepu, Shengjiao and Luojing) and the region north of Hangzhou Bay (including the industrial points of such towns as Jinshanwei, Caojing and Zhelin, and Xinghuo State Farm), at the same time consolidating and developing the satellite towns, and stepping up the construction of small outlying county towns. Land for use in the metropolis will be expanded suitably in a controlled way, so that population density per square kilometer will be 40 percent lower than at present.

In order to readjust the industrial distribution of Shanghai, gradual readjustment will be made regarding unplanned and redundant factories, which

will be shut down, suspended, amalgamated with others, or shifted to other products. New plants or large-scale expansion projects will be generally located in satellite towns. Factories creating serious pollution problems which cannot be solved locally and factories which produce inflammable and explosive products will either shift to other products or be moved out of the metropolitan area. No plants with serious pollution problems will be located in towns situated upstream of the Huangpu River or windward of the metropolis.

In addition to clearly stating the nature, scope, and direction of development of the city, "Outline" sets forth projected plans for the development of the city's industry, communications and transport, post and telecommunications, science and education, health care, sports, housing, greening of gardens and parks, tourist facilities, treatment of wastes, and non-staple food bases in outlying counties.

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CSO: 4005/1014

PARTY AND STATE

LENIN'S VIEWS ON BENEFITS OF INTERNATIONAL TRADE DISCUSSED

Shanghai JIEFANG RIBAO in Chinese 3 Jun 82 p 4

[Article by Wang Zhaozheng [3769 0340 6927]: "Strategic Foresight and Practical Measures--A Study of Lenin's Exposition on External Economic Relations"]

[Text] Socialist countries should be good at using foreign capital to serve their own interests. It was Lenin who first advanced this idea.

Lenin raised this question not only because Soviet Russia at the time was ravaged by war with all business in a state of languish. He was viewing things with a broad strategic foresight. He held that socialized mass production was an indispensable economic requisite to achieving socialism. Socialized production broke through the barriers of national boundaries and fused the whole world into one entity. Socialist Soviet Russia at the time had just freed itself from the fetters of imperialist rule, its economy and culture were extremely backward. In order to develop socialized production, it had to and was likely to have economic contacts with capitalist countries. On the one hand, Soviet Russia must have dealings with foreign capital through foreign trade and leasing in order to obtain equipment and raw materials. On the other hand, foreign capital, looking for capital outlets and sources of raw materials and trying to sell its products also needed to have contacts with Soviet Russia. This fits with the requirements of the law of development of socialized mass production. They were the confrontations, contacts, competition and struggles that appeared when neither socialism nor capitalism, within the worldwide scope, was yet able to overcome the other side. "This is also a special kind of war, a warring competition between the two ways, two forms, and two economies of communism and capitalism."

"Give Up Secondary Interests To Preserve Basic Interests"

Are there risks in taking such steps? At the time, some people were afraid of being cheated and getting the worst, and worried that this would bring in decadent ideology and ways of life, and so were for closing the doors. Certainly such worries were not entirely unfounded. Just as Lenin said, "Once the capitalists we let in through one door or several doors (some of which we were unaware of and were opened without our consent or even against our will)...get organized, they would try and drive off the communists."

We must not forget, however, that we have in our hands great numbers of factories and railroads and a party in a leading position. A socialist country with its dominant position can rely on its political power, its people and its law to make foreign capital, in keeping with our demands, "law-abiding" capitalism, capitalism that does not go beyond the orbit of state capitalism. Of course, foreign capital, whose aim is to make profit, will not work with us if there is no profit for them. Lenin had said that it was necessary to pay a certain amount of tribute and taxes, but the proletariat absolutely should and can "carry out this work widely, persistently, ingeniously, and cautiously," "being good at safeguarding our own interests in this war," "winning all benefits that can be won," and "finally standing up and defeating capitalism economically." In Lenin's view, the general guiding principle to cautious, ingenious, persistent, and practical steps is to "give up secondary interests to preserve basic interests."

Politically, national sovereignty and the basic fruits of victory of socialist revolution must not be touched. Lenin criticized the narrow viewpoint which believed it would be a pity to lease some of the oil fields and forests, and stressed the point that new technology and equipment cannot be obtained without a price. But he consistently made it clear that such leasing would be made under agreement and would have a time limit, that it was not cession, much less a compensation for confiscated capital. Lenin had instructed the delegates of the Supreme National Economic Committee supervising the negotiations with the Swedish Bearings Plant Stock Company: "We will never make concessions on the following principles: We are the owners of all the enterprises and warehouses which we have nationalized. They can transfer the possession of these enterprises and warehouses to them only through formal purchasing procedures. In some cases we can make concessions and transfer the possession these enterprises and warehouses to them at low prices. But at no time will we make concessions regarding our rights of ownership." Territorial sovereignty must not be infringed upon; leased enterprises must not become states within a state; there must be no interference or attempt to influence Soviet Russia's policies; trying to use the opportunity to engage in spying activities will be properly punished."

Economically, we must learn to "have the ability to do business and the ability to make money," to be able to really safeguard interests that can be won by socialism in negotiations and agreements. For example, while getting oil, coal, timber and ores and other resources and profit from Soviet Russia, foreign capitalists must at the same time build for Soviet Russia a good number of plants equipped with advanced technology and equipment and scientific management. That is to say, a price must be paid in order to obtain advanced technology and equipment and management experience. At the same time, there must be supervision in the execution of the agreements, making sure that capitalists will get the profit due them, while steps are also taken to "restrict, prohibit, supervise and uncover criminal offenses, and severely punish any capitalism that goes beyond state capitalism."

The Key Is To Maintain Communist Party

Lenin's attention to developing external economic relations certainly does not mean taking in everything. He fully foresaw that dealing with foreign capital would "bring in capitalist practices that corrupt the peasants." Lenin held that "there should be supervision and everywhere we should resist with our own communist influence." Socialism has the power to play an exemplary role. The communist party has the strength to transform itself and the world. "We should demand that communist party members learn to do business and obtain profit for the state...On the one hand, the most active of the party members should wholeheartedly throw themselves into the work of the economic and commercial departments that currently deal with capitalist relations. On the other hand, these same most active party members must also carry out the most tenacious struggle with capitalist relations, pointing out for the masses the practical road to socialism and setting examples of working selflessly in the effort to achieve socialism." The key is preserving the purity of the Communist Party member and communist ideology and strengthening the propaganda of communist ideology within the party. Guided by Lenin's thinking, the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party adopted a series of measures, such as the publication of Marxist literature, the formation of a network of party school education from the central to the local levels, appointing able party-member cadres to work in Marxist education, requiring that all communist party members master rudimentary political knowledge, and establishing a system of checking. To enable all the party members to have a basic knowledge of Marxism, the Bolshevik party put forth the slogan of wiping out "political illiterates" among the party members.

It is inevitable that a number of weak and degenerated elements would appear in dealings with capitalism. Some of the errant ones can be saved and their immunity increased through education by the party, yet it is inevitable that would defy the law. Therefore, to deal with this phenomenon and safeguard the purity and fighting power of the party, Lenin advocated periodical purges of the party, "purging the party of un-communist elements, mainly those who sneaked into the party because the party has gained a ruling position, and those who make use of the title of party members for personal purposes." At Lenin's suggestion, the "Ninth Congress" in 1920 set up a supervisory committee that paralleled the party committee to take charge of struggles against all kinds of degenerated elements.

Once the proletariat of a socialist country controls the state machine, it can exercise its political power to realize its aims. Lenin repeatedly urged the judiciary people's committee to compile a code of civil law and a code of criminal law, and asked the committee to carry out the work with an earnest and down-to-earth style. In order to fully demonstrate the role of the bureaucracy in the administrative organs, believing that bureaucratic practices would turn the vigorous cause of socialism into stagnant and muddled water, so that the people's political power would have no strength to promote the strong points and eliminate the malpractices in external economic relations. In Lenin's view, it is nothing terrible to let in some capitalists, but instead doing so, may be useful. The question is how the party will handle it. If the communist party abandons its responsibility, then the problem is serious. That is why Lenin from his later years to the time of

his death when he proposed to the party congress, repeatedly called people's attention to the importance of reforming the state organs.

Lenin's strategic foresight on the question of external economic relations and practical steps in implementation showed that he was good at applying the dialectic method. It was a pity his ideas were never fully implemented during the Stalin period. On the eve of the Chinese people's revolution, Comrade Mao Zedong announced, "We must first of all do business with socialist countries and the people's democratic countries. We must at the same time also do business with capitalist countries." In 1956, in his "On the Ten Relationships," he further expounded this thinking. Later, under the influence of "left" thinking, China's efforts to open up to the outside world met with many obstructions. Since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, the decision was made to open up to the outside world at the same time that steps were taken to enliven domestic economy. In the past few years a series of specific policies have been gradually implemented. The current struggle against capitalist corruption is precisely to "widely, persistently, ingeniously and cautiously carry out work in this respect." Therefore, it is of enlightening significance to review Lenin's relevant ideas today.

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CSO: 4005/1014

PARTY AND STATE

CULTIVATION OF COMMUNIST MORAL TRADITION EMPHASIZED

Shijiazhuang HEBEI RIBAO in Chinese 3 Jul 82 p 3

[Article by Bao Ping [7637 1626]: "Be a Man of Noble Moral Quality"]

[Text] In real life when we see a Lei Feng-type person appear in our midst, we may hear widespread applause occasionally disrupted by an absurd remark: "No one is interested in this these days. They are really fools!" Although such words are voiced by a minority, they are bound to have a tremendous corrosive effect on the thinking and conduct of people. Isn't it true that under the effect of such sarcastic remarks, some advanced individuals are now approaching the study of the communist code of conduct with disdain? Such words echo the moral concept of the exploiting classes which emphasizes that "the day man stops thinking of himself being a selfish creature, the heavens will fall and the earth will tumble." Originally, this was an idea for which few wanted to act as spokesmen. Even the phony doctrinaires of the exploiting classes were ashamed to mention it publicly, although they tacitly agreed with it. The fact that today some people dare to promote it publicly proves that the disruptive influence of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" on the moral fiber of our society has reached alarming proportions.

At a common code of conduct governing the daily activities of human society, morality is as old as the existence of human society itself. It is devoted to preserving the social economic base. The moral beliefs are as diverse as social systems and classes. In society dominated by the exploiting classes, their moral beliefs are devoted to preserving their system. In the eyes of the exploiting classes, obedience displayed by the exploited reflects a noble moral act, while resistance to being exploited and to knuckling under to the pressure of the exploiters reflects a traitorous tendency. As a matter of course, we have no alternative but to eradicate this form of morality. But the moral force in the hands of the exploiting classes is not only a tool to preserve their system but a vehicle for resolving their internal contradictions--contradictions between the exploiters and the exploited, and the internal contradictions of the exploited. This can be called the common code of ethics in society. Without it, the social life of the exploiting classes would be disrupted and their rule would be in danger. In view of this, in lieu of an explicit statement of the true nature of their morality, the scholars of the exploiting classes usually implicitly declare that "we must extend to others the same care we give to our own parents and children," and that "we must be

concerned about the affairs of the state before others and enjoy comforts after others." Of course, we have also seen people in the society of the exploiting classes driven by selfish desires to destroy the common code of conduct of their own making. This is why those phony doctrinarians of the exploiting classes are viewed by the public as merely hypocrites who often say one thing and mean another and whose works are often in conflict with their deeds.

Only since the proletariat committed to the emancipation of all mankind, captured political power have we been able to consider it possible to achieve unity between words and deeds with regard to the enforcement of the common code of conduct in society, to exert our utmost to carry forward the excellent moral tradition of the Chinese nation, and to enliven the new practice of communist morality. Frugal-minded Hu Asu [5170 7093 4790] donated all his savings to the state before his death.

Du Yunyun [2629 5366 5366] donated to the state some 100,000 yuan worth of property she was to receive from her deceased parents, as a demonstration of determination to wrest a living with her two hands. Bian Tingmin [0593 1694 2404], a girl of Shandong, left her parents and travelled to Hebei in order to take care of some widowed old men she never met before. One day young female worker Chen Yanfei [7115 3601 7378] valiantly plunged into the river to rescue a man from drowning, despite the fact that she was 5 months pregnant. Such heart-stirring deeds, imbued with the communist moral spirit, are too numerous to mention in our socialist motherland. This proves that our Chinese nation deserves to be called a nation with an excellent moral tradition, and that despite attempts by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" to corrupt the minds of some people and to demoralize our society, the communist moral tradition, which is built on the basis of the socialist system of public ownership and which has taken root in the hearts of the socialist system of public ownership and which has taken root in the hearts of the proletariat vowing to liberate all mankind, is unconquerable, like "green grass which will grow again in the spring breeze in the wake of a wildfire." We must exhibit full confidence in the restoration and development of our communist morality.

"We are still in the stage of socialist society. Promoting communist morality at this stage seems out of tune with our current policy." This idea of pitting communist morality against our current policy needs to be purified. It must be understood that both socialism and communism are built on the basis of the system of public ownership of the means of production, and the collectivism-oriented communist moral belief, devoted to preserving its economic base, is desirable not only in the stage of communism but also in the stage of socialism, despite the fact that the characteristics of the moral beliefs of these two stages differ. For example, the lofty noble quality of donating property to the state displayed by Hu Asu and Du Yunyun should be highly praised. Although at the present stage no one can be asked to follow this example as a universal code of ethics, the communist spirit reflected in their behavior is worthy of emulation by all. Without this spirit, people may try to make profits at the expense of others, may feel free to fatten their private coffers at the expense of the public interest, and may become a stumbling block to the implementation

of our current policy. Meanwhile, Chen Yanfei's heroic and self-sacrificing spirit should be publicly declared a universal code of ethics to be observed by all our citizens. Is it not true that even in the society of the exploiting classes, not to mention the socialist society, knowingly failing to save someone from drowning is denounced as a sign of moral decay? Those who acrimoniously ridiculed and scolded Chen Yanfei when she dived into the river to rescue a man in distress should be tried by a moral court. Although Hu Asu's and Du Yunyun's donations of property to the state fit only the moral conduct of advanced individuals, those who tried to grab the property by all means at their disposal, and even tried to kick and beat Du Yunyun into submission--an exhibition of selfish and crafty bourgeois conduct which is in sharp contrast to the communist moral practice--should also be tried by a moral court of justice. It is true that the socialist economy is a multitiered system in which the level of political consciousness varies from person to person. The same is true of the moral aspect of the superstructure which is attached to the economic base. Although it is impossible for everyone to reach the moral standard of heroes and models, everyone must be encouraged to learn from their moral practice. We must consider observing the common social code of ethics essential to the preservation of the socialist system.

The moral standard of a nation is conditioned by the level of its people's political consciousness. As far as the cultivation of communist morality is concerned, we cannot merely confine the discussion to the matter at issue; we must take a step forward to educating people in Marxism-Leninism with the aim of raising their communist awareness. At present, it seems that face-to-face reasoning is hardly enough to convert those who wrongly view Lei Feng-type persons as fools and people capable of immoral tricks to make a profit at the expense of the public interest as geniuses. This is why we must arm people with the theory of scientific socialism so that they will be able to understand the laws governing the development of society and the historical mission they must assume. Only by enlightening people about the fact that socialism represents the fundamental interests of the people and that their individual interests can be secured only by the development of the socialist cause, can we convert them into men and women of noble moral quality, of determination to make contributions to the development of the socialist cause and to make sacrifices if necessary. Among those known for their noble moral quality are revolutionary martyrs who laid down their lives in the people's interests and heroes who died in action against Vietnamese invasion. To those who are well aware of the historical mission they must assume, personal gains or losses mean nothing at all.

In the course of fostering communist morality, we must make clear to people from all walks of life the universally abiding code of conduct governing occupations, scientific activities, family affairs, and marriage, or the specific code of ethics which will have a binding effect on people in the conduct of their social activities. Those in factories, mines, and enterprises must be encouraged to make the greatest contributions to work, to spare no effort to expose bad elements, to do everything on a solid basis, and to produce goods of high quality. Those in the countryside must be encouraged to pay equal attention to the interests of the state, the collective and the individual. Those in a service trade must be encouraged to serve their customers wholeheartedly. Only

in this way can we extend our common moral beliefs in cherishing the motherland, the people, manual labor, public property, and socialism to all aspects of social life, and make clear to the public the commonly abiding code of ethics and code of conduct. Although generally speaking, there is no effective way to bring those violators of the common code of ethics into compliance with the provisions of the law, it must be understood that they cannot be allowed to do whatever they wish. Otherwise, our social life will be in danger of disruption. We must react to immoral behavior by organizing the mass media in society to bring it into line with the commonly abiding code of ethics. This means that we must count on the organization of the mass media in society to foster communist morality and to make justice prevail over evil. We must be good at commending decent moral conduct and discrediting indecent conduct. The ruling classes have proved themselves quite capable of using the mass media in society to impose their code of ethics on people. They can impose the feudal code of ethics on women through the erection of monuments to chastity and the dissemination of superstitions. They can use the mass media in society to pressure those women guilty of violating the feudal code of ethics into launching self-criticism. Can we say that sister-in-law Xianglin, a female character in Lu Xun's novel, was crucified by the mass media in society in the name of the feudal code of ethics? Unlike the feudal code of ethics, which is harmful to the people's fundamental interests, our common code of ethics in society is compatible with the fundamental interests of the people, including those who temporarily cannot promise to obey it. If we can candidly and scientifically explain to the people why they should abide by the communist code of ethics, we can certainly lead those unwilling to obey it to launch sincere self-criticism, and increasingly improve the moral practice in our society. As a result of the development of the five stresses and four points of beauty, and especially the "nationwide month of civil courtesy campaign," we have washed away dirty trash from the souls of people resulting from the 10 years of turmoil, revived the collectivism that once lay dormant in their hearts, and produced new people and new things that personify communist morality and that can inspire us to carry forward the excellent morality of the Chinese tradition. If we can do a good job of cultivating communist morality, we can certainly score success in sweeping away the moral trash of the exploiting classes which came to life during the 10 years of turmoil.

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CSO: 4005/1059

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

IMPROVEMENT OF CONDITIONS FOR INTELLECTUALS URGED

Investigation Report

Beijin GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 14 Jul 82 p 1

[Article: "Sakongliao Reports On CPPCC Fact-Finding Team's Investigation Into Implementation of Policy for Intellectuals in One City and Four Provinces, Says Special Attention Must Be Given to the Difficulties Encountered by Middle-Aged Intellectuals at the Present Time. Vice Chairmen Attending Report-Back Conference Believe That We Must Continue To Overcome 'Leftist' Influence in Treating Intellectuals and Solve Their Problems as Integral Part of Capital Construction"]

[Text] On the 12th, Sakongliao [5646 4500 0055], Deputy Secretary General and concurrent member of the standing committee of the CPPCC, delivered to the vice chairman's work committee of the CPPCC his report concerning the investigation into the situations of middle-aged intellectuals in which he stated that the policy for intellectuals has gradually been implemented since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee. However, a serious problem at present is the poor living and working conditions of middle-aged intellectuals. If this situation is not changed, it will inevitably have an adverse affect on our cause.

In order to become acquainted with the policy implementation situation, the CPPCC sent a fact-finding team on visits to Shanghai, Zhejiang, Jiangsu, and Shandong in the mid 10-day period of this May. The team was composed of standing committee members Sakongliao, Wu Liangping [0702 0081 1627], Yang Fangzhi [2799 2397 0037], Shen Qizhen [3088 0366 7201], Qian Weichang [6929 0251 7022], committee members Shan Shiyuan [0830 1102 0337], and Zheng Xiaoxie [6774 1321 3610], and urban construction deputy group leader Tong Zheng [0157 6927].

Sakongliao stated in his report that the overall impression from the investigation of three provinces and one city was that the policy for intellectuals had gradually been put into effect since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee and that in general the problems of older intellectuals have been satisfactorily solved. However, the living and working conditions of middle-aged intellectuals are still poor. At present, there are four rather striking problems. One is low wages.

Middle-aged intellectuals on the whole are 40-50 years of age and their salaries 60-70 yuan. The older ones are at the upper level and the younger are at the lower level. Their economic burdens are heavy, and the average family income for most of the middle-aged intellectuals in many places is lower than metropolitan and other residential average incomes. In Shanghai, board and pocket money for many college students is 30-40 yuan per month, but many middle-aged teachers have not reached this level. Second, is poor housing conditions. Housing is quite cramped for many middle-aged intellectuals at some institutes of higher learning and scientific research units in Shanghai, Nanjing, and Hangzhou. Most of them share one desk with a wife and child and many must wait for the family to sleep before beginning to prepare lessons. Some evenings they return to their offices and work overtime, which affects their health and work. Third, is generally poor health; and fourth, is lack of opportunities for pursuing advanced studies, which makes it difficult for them to advance in their professions. In general, the middle-aged intellectuals graduated at the end of the 1950's and beginning of the 1960's. Since they all work full time at their posts and lack the opportunities to study and pursue advanced training, they generally rely on the practice of their student days, eating their "capital."

Sakongliao stated that there are now 350,000 intellectuals at their posts in Shanghai, among which 230,000 middle-aged people account for 70 percent. The proportion in other provinces and cities is for the most part the same. Most of these people welcomed liberation at the age when they wore the Red scarves, grew up under the Red flag, and along with ourselves were nurtured and educated in the best era of party practices. They are full of affection for the CPC and socialism. Their study of vocational work and technology has been rather systematic and sound, and the vast majority of them are already the mainstay of every front. Sakongliao cited as an example the statistics of a few Shanghai universities which indicate that middle-aged teachers are responsible for over 70 percent of the teaching and scientific research at all institutes. About 80 percent of the major achievements in scientific research were a result of their work. Ninety percent of them are assigned to party and government leadership posts at departmental and educational research offices. In the past 3 years the Shanghai Pharmaceutical Institute has won 37 major scientific research achievement awards, 90 percent of which were dependent upon the work of middle-aged scientific and technical personnel. In 1981 the Shanghai Diesel Engine Plant [2693 3111 2623 0617] developed 67 varieties of new products and its total output value increased 2-fold. Technical personnel made significant contributions, but of the entire plant's 536 engineers and technicians more than 90 percent were middle-aged.

Sakongliao believes that we must further implement the policy for intellectuals and especially resolve the difficulties of middle-aged intellectuals. It is essential that we overcome the "leftist" influence in the problems of treating intellectuals, and we must appropriately improve their living and working conditions. We must also appropriately change the cadres "unit system of ownership" and accelerate the flow of qualified personnel.

Additional speeches were given at the conference by fact-finding team members Wu Liangping, Yang Fangzhi, and Qian Weichang.

Vice chairmen attending the conference were Liu Lantao [0491 3482 3447], Lu Dingyi [7120 1353 0001], Xu Deheng [6079 1795 3801], Kang Keqing [1660 0460 3237], Ji Fang [1323 2455], Zhou Jianren [6650 1696 0086], Hu Ziang [7579 1311 2491], Xiao Ke [5135 0344], Qian Changzhao [6929 2490 3564], and Dong Qiwu [5516 0366 2976]. In their discussions they acknowledged the important role the intellectuals have played in the cause of our nation's enduring revolution and construction and they recognized that so many more of them are needed for the cause of our future socialist modernization construction. There are too few intellectuals in our nation. At present, our middle-aged intellectuals are faced with the situation of "three heavies and one low." Education and scientific research tasks are heavy, grass-roots party and government workloads are heavy, economic burdens and housework are heavy, but wages and income and standards of living are low. The vice chairmen believe that not solving the difficult problems that now exist for middle-aged intellectuals will affect the development of our present and future causes. Some say that middle-aged intellectuals are our precious riches and that solving their problems is the most pressing investment of talent and is an integral part of capital construction. Even though our country is now poor, we must strive to resolve gradually some problems of middle-aged intellectuals where conditions permit.

Study Group Meeting

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 14 Jul 82 p 1

[Article: "Study Groups of Democratic League Central Committee That Investigated the Use of Intellectuals Hold Conference, Recognize That Pressing Obligation Is To Improve Living and Working Conditions of the Middle-Aged Intellectuals"]

[Text] The study groups of the central committee of the China Democratic League that investigated the use of intellectuals met in full session in Beijing from 6 to 13 July and debated and discussed how to best assist the CPC in its work in implementing the policy for intellectuals. Attending the conference were the following vice chairmen of the league central committee: Hu Yuzhi [7579 1937 0037], Chu Tunan [2806 0956 0589], Hua Luogeng [5478 5012 1649], Sa kongliao [5646 4500 0055], Li Wenyi [2621 2429 1355], Fei Xiaotong [6316 1321 6639], and Wen Jiasi [5113 1367 7475].

Before this conference was convened, the league central committee and local organizations at all levels spent over 3 months in surveying and interviewing close to 20,000 intellectuals in education, science and technology, literature and art, and all fields. Viewing the survey data from all localities, the work in implementing the policy for intellectuals since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Committee has been quite successful and has received the wholehearted support of the intellectuals.

Because the pernicious influence of the "Left" has not yet been fully liquidated, however, the progress of the work is uneven and there are some comrades, including some leading cadres, whose understanding of the importance of implementing the policy for intellectuals is insufficient. As a result many problems still exist. At present, the overall situation is as follows: implementation at upper levels and by public figures is good, but is rather poor at mid- and lower levels; rather good by the elderly but rather poor by the middle-aged. In the large cities implementation is good but rather poor in mid- and small cities. At the conference it was recognized that the cadres and masses should be further educated in the policy for intellectuals so that they will have a clear understanding of the status and function of intellectuals in the new historical period and will go a step further in successfully completing the policy implementation work.

The problems of middle-aged intellectuals were also thoroughly reviewed at the conference. They are regarded as the backbone of every department in undertaking a lasting mission in the socialist construction. However, at present, their general situation is one of heavy workloads and household duties, low pay, and poor health. Thus, the improvement of the living and working conditions of the middle-aged intellectuals, particularly in regard to wages, already has become a pressing obligation. Everyone should also recommend the active resolution of the problems of some of the intellectuals where planning and utilization of them is improper and where their occupations have nothing to do with their training or specialties. We must permit the equitable flow of qualified personnel and spiritually and materially encourage personnel in specific fields to go to the most needed places, the countryside and remote locations. At the conference some suggestions were also made in regard to the leadership and management systems currently in effect, and it was recognized that what must now be changed are those kinds of irregular situations where some vocational work leaders and personnel in specific fields are unable to exercise their powers and who face difficulties in playing their proper role.

Although most of the misjudged cases from all previous political movements have already been redressed and corrected, nevertheless, everyone hopes that remaining problems will be properly solved in this investigation into the implementation of the policy for intellectuals.

At the conclusion of the conference Chu Tunan, vice chairman of the league central committee, delivered a speech in which he hoped that all of society will develop the good regular practice of respecting knowledge and valuing intellectuals and will change the bad practice that exists in some people's minds in which knowledge is scorned and intellectuals are discriminated against. This will enable the vast intellectuals to give free rein to their intelligence and wisdom so they can devote their strength to building a powerful socialist nation.

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

WAY TO TREAT CULTURAL REVOLUTION PERIOD GRADUATES DISCUSSED

Kunming YUNNAN RIBAO in Chinese 30 May 82 p 3

[Article: "A Force Not To Be Ignored"]

[Text] How should we treat graduates who graduated during the "cultural revolution?" Because of differing views, there is a great divergence in the attitudes on how to treat them.

These graduates are large in number and are a force not to be ignored. In the 10 years of upheaval they did not have the opportunity to get a standard college education. Their poor elementary and professional knowledge is an undeniable fact. These young people are already over 30, but they are energetic and full of vigor. Among them is a group who are now studying energetically and unremittingly and for whom success is within sight. This is also an undeniable fact. Some of our comrades, particularly the leading cadres of some units, only see one thing and ignore the other, so much so that they regard these graduates as altogether useless material. They throw them aside and take no interest in them at all. This is not a comprehensive understanding. There are also many units, particularly the leaders of scientific research units, who understand the importance of exploiting talent. These leaders both face up to the graduates' deficiencies and value their positive factors. They are willing to invest in them and are doing what they can to create conditions for improving the graduates' learning. It can be said that this kind of leader has foresight. The practice of some units has already proven that whatever methods were adopted, most of the young people have improved notably and already have remarkably come to the fore.

For talented people to mature, the conditions are of the utmost importance. To be sure, internal factors are still a determinant. If young people do not have ambitions and aspirations, if they do not have a tenacious and diligent spirit, and if they do not have good objective conditions, then it will be difficult to bring about major change. Conversely, there are some who are diligent and fiercely determined, which is of course commendable, but if they lack organizational support and training and do not have the conditions for improving upon advanced studies as well as practices, then this will inevitably affect the rate at which their abilities develop.

Time and people are not the same. It is desired that the leaders of many more units study and draw on the experiences of the Yunnan Provincial Scientific and Technical Information Center and other units in order to create conditions for this group of graduates. Those who excel should be utilized boldly. Let the power of this group of young people play an active role in the four modernizations construction.

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CSO: 4005/1041

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

YUNNAN CENTER TRAINING CULTURAL REVOLUTION PERIOD GRADUATES

Kunming YUNNAN RIBAO in Chinese 30 May 82 p 3

[Article by Sun Cuifang [1327 5050 5364]: "Pay Attention to Training and Utilization of Graduates Who Graduated During 'Cultural Revolution'--Young Scientific and Technical Personnel of Yunnan Provincial Scientific and Technical Information Center Rapidly Maturing"]

[Text] The leaders of the Yunnan Provincial Scientific and Technical Information Center have devoted a great deal of attention to the training of young and middle-aged scientific and technical personnel. These personnel have been boldly utilized, and a group of young scientific and technical personnel are maturing rapidly.

The Yunnan Provincial Scientific and Technical Information Center was established in 1971. At present, the vast majority of the entire center's 73 scientific and technical personnel are young and middle-aged, among whom graduates of the 1966-1976 period account for over half. Because these young people were harmed by the "gang of four," their rudimentary knowledge is lacking, and for them work is rather strenuous. This is a disadvantageous aspect. However, they are enthusiastic and responsible regarding scientific and technical information work, and they want to progress and make the most of themselves. This is a beneficial aspect. In analyzing this situation, the center's leaders have come to believe that they must create conditions for improving the young people's learning in order to help them gradually become suited to the needs of the work.

The leaders have based the center on the foundation of this knowledge and have organized various vocational studies to train this group of young people. Beginning in 1978, the center successively offered 4 to 5 hours instruction in English- and Japanese-language courses per week. Thirty-four people have completed these two classes and now, with the aid of dictionaries, can translate scientific and general articles and English and Japanese materials in their specialties. In addition, to offering these training classes, beginning in 1977 the center organized the scientific and technical personnel to keep up 1 hour of foreign language study per day, a practice that continues to this day. The center's leaders also adopted the method of rotating personnel to raise the level of the scientific and technical personnel. Since 1978, 19 people have successively been sent to various universities inside and outside the province

to pursue advanced studies. The center organized a series of academic lectures in cooperation with Sichuan, Guangxi, and Guizhou Provinces, and invited domestic scientific and technical information experts to give lectures probing into problems on the scientific and technical information front. Up to the end of last year, 30 of the personnel throughout the center had participated. This broadened their horizons and raised their theoretical levels. For the young people who graduated during the "cultural revolution," the leaders have assigned training on the basis of their own foundations in addition to having them participate in joint study at the center. For example, they are allowed to take courses independently, attend outside vocational conferences, and so on. At the same time, attention is being given to strengthening ideological and political work, with frequent instruction given to the scientific and technical personnel in the circumstances and basic knowledge of the party. This will strengthen their sense of responsibility toward the party and will make them resolute in taking the red and expert road. In these few years the center's party organizations have admitted six new party members, among whom five are the middle-aged mainstay of vocational work. Eighty percent of the scientific and technical personnel have submitted applications for the admission to the party.

Because training measures were sound, the young people have rapidly matured in just a few years. There have been over 60 people throughout the center who have successively obtained technical personnel titles, 92 percent of whom are young and middle-aged. Of the 14 newly promoted directors and deputy directors of technical offices, 12 are young and middle-aged mainstays of vocational work. Since coming to the center, Du Kaitan [2629 7030 0982], Zeng Delu [2582 1795 4389], Li Yigan [2621 5030 2413], Lin Dechang [2651 1795 2490], and others who graduated in 1967-68 have actively gained professional proficiency and possess definite organizational capabilities. They have already been respectively promoted to become deputy directors of the scientific and technical information editing and compilation offices and the industrial information office. Zhao Xinzhi [6392 2450 2535], who graduated during the "cultural revolution," has a firm vocational foundation. He was sent to Nanjing University to pursue advanced studies for 1 year and now has already mastered scientific and technical information study and computer research vocations.

The leaders of the center are quite concerned about the lives of these young and middle-aged scientific and technical personnel. Since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, they have already solved a problem involving a middle-aged husband and wife who lived apart. The center constructed 3,000 square meters of housing and in allocation has given consideration to midlevel scientific and technical personnel. The requirements for elementary level personnel are calculated on a prior 10-year length of service (namely, those who have taken part in work since 1966 and administrative cadres who have worked since 1977 enjoy equal housing criteria). The leaders of the center are concerned with every aspect of the lives and work of the intellectuals and have helped them in resolving difficulties. This enables the scientific and technical personnel to keep their minds on, and do their best at, their work. Only last year over 150 various materials were compiled and edited and more than 70 information service and information survey and research projects were launched.

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

MARXISM AS FORM OF HUMANITARIANISM DISCUSSED

Jinan WEN SHI ZHE [LITERATURE, HISTORY AND PHILOSOPHY] in Chinese No 3, 1982
20 May 82 pp 87-92

[Article by Wang Fusan [3769 1788 0005]: "Our Scientific Belief and Humanitarianism"]

[Text] Not long ago I came across in a volume of philosophical translation the view that ours is an era in which various humanitarianisms jostle against one another. According to this view Marxism can only be regarded as a form of expression of humanitarianism, even though it is the most "thorough" form of expression among all. Taken together with the prevalent proposition in our philosophical circles in recent years that "Marxism embodies the principle of humanitarianism in itself," or simply called the proposition of "Marxist humanitarianism," I feel that it merits some serious effort on our part to study it.

I.

I wish to begin by discussing people's pursuit of beliefs.

History follows a zigzag path. So does the perception of people who are good at reflecting on the movement of history. As for the people's pursuit of certain theories and certain beliefs, there have been different manifestations under different historical conditions. During the Renaissance of the 15th and 16th centuries in Europe, some of the bourgeoisie, in an attempt to break the constraints of the spiritual fetters of the medieval institutions of feudalism and autocracy, discovered humanitarianism which had as its theme the praise of the liberation of man's individualistic character; this was quickly welcomed by the entire bourgeoisie and became the spirit of the era eagerly pursued by them. Precisely because of this, the names of those few philosophers who invented humanitarianism were permanently recorded in the history of human civilization. Not only so, all ideologies and theories which thereafter sought to break feudal and ideological shackles somehow derived the title of humanitarianism in one way or another and took it as an honor. In the Germany of the 1840's, when many young Hegelian elements were just finding themselves ensnared in, and incapable of escaping from, their teacher's "coercive structure," Feuerbach's "On the Essence of Religion" came off the press. Feuerbach's work played a great enlightening role in

"blowing up" Hegel's system, dispelling Hegel's "magic," and directly restoring the throne to materialism. Even though Feuerbach's philosophy itself harbored a certain aesthetic tone, a worship of abstract love, and similar defects, because his philosophy did play an epoch-making role in liberating people from the ideological fetters of Hegel's "pure thought," Feuerbach felt that it was far more glorious to call his own philosophy "empirical humanitarianism" rather than materialism. More than 100 years passed when, in the wake of World War II, there appeared in Europe the theory of existentialism. Existentialism reflects the psychology of the petit bourgeois who attempt to liberate themselves from pain in the midst of hard, exhausting struggle. Precisely on this account, existentialism becomes in some countries the lofty belief of certain petit bourgeois and intellectuals; many youths take this master of existentialism Sartre as the northern star of their mind and lay prostrate in front of it in full submission.

In the China of the late 1970's and early 1980's, there has appeared also a situation in which people ran after certain beliefs. This had resulted from the 10-year turmoil. As people trudged through those tumultuous 10 years in difficult steps, and after a period of reminiscence of their painful experience in the wake of recovery, they were bound to turn on their brain, this machine which specializes in thinking, in order to sum up the causation and development of this past disaster. The responsibility of philosophers is to elevate the problems people think about to a rational plane and provide them with possible philosophical enlightenment.

It is necessary to point out that the behavior of believing is determined by people themselves by proceeding from their own experience; it is therefore impossible to force people to accept a belief, or abandon another belief, by means of an administrative order. In our country, those who believe in Marxism are bound to become more and more numerous; but we must not force people definitively to accept Marxism. Living in a socialist state, socialism as a new-born thing is of course incomparably superior to capitalism, but socialism, too, develops in the midst of contradictions. If we lack a correct attitude in treating contradictions in the socialist period, that would affect people's scientific belief in Marxism. The 10-year turmoil was doubtless a disaster. There are evidently two attitudes in treating this turmoil: One is that, in the face of the serious damage that has resulted from it, people seek, not to complain negatively, but to establish a point of departure for continued advance in the struggle of actively correcting mistakes; the other is that, in the face of calamities resulting from the turmoil, people become downcast and lose heart, or they may even make further mistakes on the basis of past ones, forfeiting their confidence in the future of socialism. The latter situation was the very ideological root which grew at one time into a "crisis of confidence."

But belief has always been needed by man throughout history. Therefore, the result somehow came to this: in connection with this "crisis of confidence," the pursuit of another belief rose in its wake. Consequently, some people began to think of fatalism, others thought of individual struggle, still others thought of existentialism, whereas some finally embraced the idea of humanitarianism as a result. Closing their eyes, some people thought of the

scenes of the dark world of the 10 years of turmoil, and felt that they could not understand them. Hence they said to themselves: in a country in which Marxism has become widespread, a 10-year catastrophe had actually resulted, whereby some actually had perpetrated the prank of refusing to stress the value of man or even of administering beastly abuses upon man; how could this compare with the humanitarianism in history? Thus, people thereby elevated the attacking of the beastly way and the developing of the humane way to the plane of spiritual civilization.

This is precisely the idea and psychology of people in our country who pursue existentialism and humanitarianism today. This idea and psychology, in the case of philosophers, is naturally not so simply manifested. A philosopher's special talent is his deliberate consideration. People realize that our perceptions about Marx in the past seem to have been rather narrow and in our present-day real life they seem to require supplement by something else. Under such circumstances, the proposition of "Marxist humanitarianism" begins to melt into this ideological soil like a powerfully effective catalyst. Meanwhile, people discover from Marx's early works such statements and terms as "man is man's highest essence," "humanitarianism," etc. According to a philosopher's process of re-creation, this leads further to the following proposition: "Marxism should embody the principle of humanitarianism in itself." This proposition hangs high in the space of philosophy and brightens up the souls of certain people in pursuit of a new belief.

II.

The exploration of this question saliently touches upon different perceptions of the early works of Marx. Our examination discovers that Marx's scientific conviction, that is, Marx's new world view, was gradually shaped and perfected in the process of liquidating old philosophies, including the liquidation of humanitarianism. This process roughly went through three stages.

(1) Marx Changing From a Democrat Into a Communist

Everything in the world is defective in the formative period of its growth. The development of a theory or the growth of a man is no exception. Marx was a great revolutionary and a master of science; but Marx was only a man and not a god. When Marx had not yet become a communist, he said something that was already truly Marxist: "All developing things are imperfect, and development comes to a close only upon death."¹ He also said: "Man must learn how to walk, and also learn how to fall; and only after he has learned how to fall will he learn how to walk."² In his processes of changing from a democrat to a communist and from an idealist into a materialist, Marx himself also went through many "falls."

In the spring of 1842, Marx began to take up the work of editing the RHEINISCHE ZEITUNG [RHINE JOURNAL]. The Marx of the early days of the RHEINISCHE ZEITUNG neither knew what communism was nor could analyze social phenomena by the materialist viewpoint. During this period, Marx was still a revolutionary democrat in politics. Indeed, for someone of the democratic standpoint, the view by which he observed and explained social phenomena

could not possibly go beyond the limits of the bourgeois world view, including the limits of the humanitarianist world view. For instance, at that time Marx still appreciated the bourgeois view of freedom, thinking that freedom was "man's spiritual privilege" and "the essence of the species in his entire spiritual existence." Obviously, at that time Marx regarded the bourgeois view of freedom as the best theoretical weapon possible. Later on, Marx gradually came to understand that various unreasonable social phenomena all result from private ownership, and all abuses from private ownership cannot possibly be solved in existing society. This idea indicates that in Marx' thoughts there already sparked the ember of communism. This preliminary establishment of the communist standpoint enabled Marx' method of observing problems to begin to cast off the bad trait of the bourgeois world view. Like a scientist hitting upon a major discovery, Marx' theoretical thinking began to touch on the social roots and class roots of humanitarianism. Although this perception was still rather shallow and lacked careful, scientific proof, Marx was already able to separate his own theory from the humanitarianism in history; this was a precious fact. In September 1843, Marx mentioned in his letter to Ruge, Arnold that the communism he was advocating was not only distinct from "certain imagined and possibly existing communism" but also different in principle from the actually existing communism trumpeted by Qia-bei-de-sa-mi and Weitling, Wilhelm and others." From his point of view, such communism "is but a special reflection of its opposite, namely, the existence of private ownership. Therefore, the elimination of private ownership and this kind of communism are definitely not the same thing."³

Humanitarianism is the theoretical reflection of private ownership; it is a radically different world view from the Marxist communism which has as its core the elimination of private ownership. This important watershed had already made its preliminary appearance at the time when Marx just indicated his readiness to rupture with private ownership.

This was the Marx who was changing from a democrat into a communist and his attitude toward humanitarianism. This attitude, primarily determined by his political viewpoint, did not seem to show, as yet, any brand new spirit of the time.

(2) Marx in Preliminary Exploration of the Principle of Communism

The period from early 1844 to the spring of 1845 was one in which Marx actively explored the principle of communism and paved the way for the shaping of his new world view. During this period, while Marx provided a discourse on the theoretical ideas of communism to the extent of his ability at the time, he still could not establish these ideas on the philosophical basis of the materialist view of history, and his new world view still did not take a scientific theoretical form. Later, Marx and Engels called their world view of this period "a really critical world view."⁴ In his works of this period, Marx really had some humanitarianist expositions; the appearance of these expositions indicates that, in his transition toward the materialist view of history, Marx still evinced the ideological tinge of a certain old philosophy, and that that was altogether inevitable.

Since Marx' "1844 Manuscript on Economic Philosophy" was made public in 1932, it aroused the interest of certain researchers. Some surprisingly discovered that the Marx who authored the "Manuscript" was after all the "real Marx," claiming that "young Marx is a discovery of our time." This kind of moving song of praise appears to be especially appealing, but the problem is, is Marx' "Manuscript" really, like some say, a song of praise for humanitarianism? On this question, our examination has reached a different conclusion. Indeed, in his "Manuscript" Marx said certain things which look very humanitarianist. At first glance, the Marx writing his "Manuscript" seemed to be a philosopher in humanitarianist clothing; but, examined carefully, he may be discovered to be something entirely different.

First, by early 1844, along with the completion of Marx' change toward communism, he began to establish his theoretical activities entirely on the basis of building a new-type revolutionary theory of communism. In writing the "Manuscript," Marx' purpose was to expose the essence of private ownership and he did so not because of an incitement of humanitarianism. The principal goal of the "Manuscript" was to expose the real relationship between labor and capital and, proceeding from this point, explore the theory and strategy for the liberation of the proletariat. It was in this "Manuscript" that Marx demonstrated this theory on "alienated labor." The point of departure of this theory was to provide a basis of philosophical methodology for the real relationship between labor and capital, even though this methodology was still in a stage of preliminary exploration. Marx' "alienation" theory indicated that only by using the form of political struggle and discarding private ownership could the working class relieve workers from the suffering resulting from capitalist alienation and thereby establish the communist system. This shows that Marx' theoretical activities at the time he wrote "Manuscript" indicated that he did not confuse his own theory with the special manifestation of humanitarianism but aimed at creating a brand new theoretical system. The establishment of this viewpoint fully reveals the main character of Marx in this period of his ideological development.

Second, in his "Manuscript" Marx inherited certain humanitarianist expositions; this illustrates his inevitable ideological limitations prior to the discovery of the materialist view of history. The establishment of a correct view of departure in his theoretical activities naturally was of decisive significance in the establishment of a correct theoretical viewpoint. Yet, the presence of merely a correct point of departure is not yet equivalent to the creation of a scientific theoretical form. Things are not only not so simple but they are in a given period liable to manifest many vestiges of the old world view. The Marx at the time when he wrote "Manuscript" was situated precisely in such a state. At that time, Marx was politically obviously situated higher than Feuerbach, but philosophically he still had not discovered Feuerbach's mistakes. Marx even heaped incorrect praise on Feuerbach's religious philosophy. While discussing the three great merits of Feuerbach's philosophy, Marx said: Feuerbach turned "the social relationship 'between man and man' into a fundamental principle of theory."⁵ This is to say, Marx took Feuerbach's humanist view of history as a scientific view of history. This shows that the Marx at the time of his writing of the "Manuscript," because he could not clearly distinguish Feuerbach's materialist view of nature from

his religious and ethical view of history, was naturally unable to replace Feuerbach's expositions entirely with the scientific expositions of the materialist view of history; rather, he had to continue to follow Feuerbach's expositions in certain aspects. On this point, we should not expect too much of a Marx who had just established his "really critical world view."

In their "Divine Family," Marx and Engels obviously took another big stride forward in the application of the materialist viewpoint in the explanation of social phenomena compared to the success achieved in the "Manuscript." But, comprehensively speaking, this work continued to maintain an inseparable relationship with Feuerbach's humanist view of history. While writing this work, they still followed Feuerbach's view by calling their own theory "realistic humanitarianism" or "real humanitarianism." The very first sentence of their book states: "In Germany, there is no enemy more dangerous to real humanitarianism than inspirationalism, namely, epistemological idealism."⁶ During the period they wrote the book "Divine Family," Marx and Engels, in order to struggle against the school of epistemological idealism in Germany, clearly took materialist thinker Feuerbach as a representative of their own school of the new world view and therefore accorded high praise to Feuerbach; this praise included their inadvertent affirmation of Feuerbach's humanist view of history. On 10 August 1844, Marx said in his letter to Feuerbach: "Although the lengths of your two works, 'Future Philosophy' and 'The Essence of Belief,' are limited, their significance in any case exceeds that of all works in Germany today." Also: "In these works, you have (I am not sure knowingly or not) provided socialism with a philosophical basis, and communists thus also immediately understand your works."⁷

This shows that by the end of 1844 Marx still did not discover the materialist view of history. The influence of Feuerbach's humanist view of history still duly remained in his head awaiting for further, decisive liquidation. Under such circumstances, it was small wonder that Marx still followed in his works certain expositions of Feuerbach concerning humanitarianism.

(3)

Marx' dissolution of humanitarianism happened after he discovered the materialist view of history. In the process of criticizing the school of epistemological idealism in Germany as represented by [Bruno] Bauer, Marx and Engels discovered a secret of the "real socialism" then prevailing in Germany. They took Feuerbach's ethical socialism and humanitarianism as the point of departure of their theory; their purpose in this regard was to purify Marx' theory of communism centered on the elimination of private ownership with Feuerbach's humanitarianist preaching predicated on the theme of "love." After Marx and Engels sensed this secret, they began to realize that, if they failed to draw a clear line from Feuerbach's humanist view of history, that would be equivalent to tolerating German epistemological idealism. In early 1845, when Marx and Engels again met in Brussels and planned their new theoretical activities, they decided to put this task on their urgent agenda. Forty-three years later, that is, in 1888, Engels said when he recalled this stage of history: "Worshiping the abstract man is the core of Feuerbach's new religion; this must be replaced by the science of the

realistic man and his historical development."⁸ In April 1845, Marx mentioned preliminarily his own view of history in his "Outline on Feuerbach" and criticized Feuerbach's erroneous view of man's essence. Subsequently, he extended this task of criticizing Feuerbach's humanism to the criticism of the entirety of humanitarianism. This task was ultimately accomplished in an outstanding way in the book he coauthored with Engels, "German Ideologies."

Concerning the situation about the liquidation of humanitarianism by Marx and Engels, I have already mentioned this in my article "Humanitarianism Is Not a Principle of Marxism." The present article stresses the criticism of the humanitarianist slogan by Marx and Engels.

The slogan advanced by advocates of the "real socialism" in Germany was: "We are all men." This slogan was in reality the common slogan of humanitarianism. Advancing this slogan by the advocates of "real socialism" was a means by which they opposed communism. They cockily said to communists: you need no longer quarrel about what is communism and socialism; only in humanitarianism can "the supreme unity of the two" be reached. In addition, as you reach this "supreme unity," you are also entering the real plane of "man." Advocates of "real socialism" sang loudly: Since "all quarrels about names are solved in humanitarianism, then why should we still make any distinction about who are communists and who are socialists? We are all men."⁹

In the "real socialism" of Germany, people saw the socialist model with "man" as its point of departure. According to the proposition of "real socialism," so long as people are led onto the plane of "man," socialism and communism will be on earth with us. This was the socialism invented by certain starry-eyed theoretical heroes in Germany 140 years ago.

But, the slogan "We are all men" is after all a preposterous slogan. While criticizing "real socialism," Marx and Engels profoundly exposed this slogan. Marx and Engels pointed out, if we should speculate from this logic of "We are all men," then there would be no need even to "differentiate between men, animals, plants, and stones because we are all material entities."¹⁰ This way, only by classifying all men in the category of "material entities" can it be said that they have reached the plane of "man" as stipulated by "real socialism."

From this, we can see that communism with the so-called "man" as its point of departure is definitely not Marx' communism. As to which school of communism it belongs to, that is not important here. Attaching this kind of "communism" to Marx and taking it as "Marxist humanitarianism" is not in accord with historical fact.

III.

Let us continue to explore this question from the plane of the spiritual civilization of our time.

"Any real philosophy must be the quintessence of the spirit of its time,"¹¹ this was a famous statement made by young Marx who had not yet changed into a communist. All communists later regarded this statement as a classic.

In Europe, the 15th and 16th centuries began to enter the era of bourgeois revolution. The quintessence of the spiritual civilizations of this era was humanitarianism and liberty, equality, love, etc. At that time, the revolutionary bourgeoisie, with humanitarianism as its weapon, mobilized all revolutionary forces to break the fetters of the rule of feudal autocracy and theology. The sound waves hailing liberation of man's individualistic character and freedom occupied the rational platform of judgment. Along with the accomplishment of the revolutionary tasks of the bourgeoisie, history itself slowly advanced toward a new era. By the last stage of capitalism, the world as a whole entered the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution. We are today still situated in such an era.

The quintessence of the spiritual civilization of our era is no longer the humanitarianist philosophical enlightenment of the 16th century, nor the 18th century French materialists' view of liberty, equality and love, but the proletarian world view and methodology created by the communist warriors Marx and Engels; and the essential part of this quintessence is the materialist view of history and revolutionary dialectics. The establishment of the Marxist philosophy represented the most positive and brightest side of the spirit of the era; it enabled the proletariat to gain the best spiritual weapon for changing the world and thereby to become extremely encouraged. Just as Lenin said, the Marxist philosophy "gave a great perceptual tool to man, especially the working class."¹² Marx' ideology of revolutionary dialectics became the proletariat's "best tool of labor" and weapon of struggle; this therefore aroused the fear of the bourgeoisie and its spokesmen. With its powerful theoretical strength and logical strength, Marx' materialist view of history stipulates human society as a natural historical process and provides a doubtless philosophical basis for illustrating that the capitalist system is bound to disappear. By endless plots and approaches, the bourgeoisie and its spokesmen in the ranks of the workers have attempted to blunt the revolutionary sharp edge of the criticism of this Marxist philosophy with a view to modify Marxist revolutionary dialectics into something they can accept. But historical facts have come more and more to prove that the Marxist philosophical world view is invincible. Lenin said with profoundness: "The reason why the theory of Marx is omnipotent is because it is correct, very comprehensive and compact; it gives people a complete world view which appeases no superstition, no reactionary force, no argument for capitalist oppression whatsoever."¹³ On the basis of the practical experience of the Chinese revolution, Comrade Mao Zedong likewise clearly pointed out, "the communist view of the universe and theory of social revolution"¹⁴ alone are the invincible weapons of the proletariat.

All the above is the truth proved by history, whether people acknowledge it or not. In the case of the question currently under discussion, people do not seem to deny the above fact, and everybody seems to stand on the affirmative side of the spiritual civilization of our time. But nothing is absolute; the important thing is to conduct concrete analysis.

In the past few years, along with the progressive expansion of our relations with foreign areas economically and culturally, there have also been introduced

to us in the academic journals many Western views about Marxism; this is highly beneficial to our understanding of things over the world. However, our country has our own national conditions. On economical questions, we have clearly prognosticated the danger of capitalist corrosion; we must maintain our Marxist clear-headedness under all circumstances. Similarly, on the questioning as to what is the quintessence of the spiritual civilizations of our time, we must also maintain our steadfast Marxist stand and become striving Marxists. With respect to certain ideologies from the West, we can neither close our doors and negate all of them nor leave all our doors widely open and affirm all of them; the important thing is to adopt an analytical attitude. For instance, in treating the trend of existentialism prevailing abroad, we must first of all see the social causes for the rise of this trend and affirm its positive meaning to opposition to the horrors of war, and at the same time we must also see its social limitations and class limitations. In our country, people seem to have the trouble of absolutely affirming Sartre insofar as his existentialism view is concerned. Some say, Sartre's existentialism is not "pessimistic humanitarianism" but "optimistic humanitarianism." Of course, if this is really the nature of the matter, that would be beyond reproach; but, as I see it, certain philosophical categories prescribed by Sartre, such as "anxiety," "isolation," "desperation," etc., can hardly be said to contain any spirit of optimism; on the contrary, they are full of pessimism. Even though what Sartre defines as "anxiety" means a person's feeling at the time when he makes a meaningful decision on life, such as when a hard-pressed youth makes a decision on not to commit suicide, what he defines as "isolation" means the inevitable consequence man must accept if God is absent, as if man can exist independently irrespective of God. There is really an unbridgeable gap when categories such as these are compared to the categories of revolutionary dialectics and materialist view of history in Marxism. Here, a question itself: Why should we not encourage the masses of the people with the revolutionary optimistic spirit of Marxist dialectics but, instead, put a premium on Sartre's "optimism" which partakes of but a little humanitarian spirit? Therefore, the point is clear: "supplementing" Marxism with humanitarianism, would be like diluting a martial, solemn march with a chokingly downcast requiem.

Furthermore, even if we follow the view of certain people by supposing that Sartre's humanitarianism is a kind of "optimism," can we therefore say that Sartre's philosophy is a scientific world view? It certainly looks as if we would be unable to arrive at such a conclusion. What is called optimistic is not necessarily scientific or revolutionary. As everybody knows, religious teachings, to their believers, are also a kind of optimism. Because religious believers can seek salvation and consolation in religious fantasies, thinking that their souls can escape from their dead bodies and float to the beautiful happy heavenly kingdom and thereby enjoy in their future life the happiness which they have not enjoyed on earth. This is of course optimism. But this kind of optimism is equivalent to spiritual emptiness. Although Sartre's optimism is opposed to religious optimism and, therefore, one above the latter, Sartre never intends to change unreasonable social systems by revolutionary means. What he can do is limited to advising his believers to return to the paradise on earth from the religious paradise, and to find self-consolation in "isolation" and "anxiety" and find their "happiness." Apart from this, nothing else can be added.

From the class viewpoint of Marxism, Sartre's humanitarianism reflects the appeal of the petit bourgeois who since the war have been seeking to relieve themselves from material and spiritual pains in a struggle for their own preservation. Such a spiritual pursuit is in essence the appeal for rescue on the part of those who are disappointed or even desperate. Therefore, this kind of humanitarianism is not optimism but pessimism. Or, as Lenin said, it is optimism in form but pessimism in substance.

From this, we can see that it cannot be said that all that which is pursued by people is necessarily quintessential, just as it cannot be said that all that glitters is gold. Whether or not a philosopher is great depends not on how much suffering of the oppressed he has cited, nor on how many promises he has made to the oppressed, but on that degree to which he has revealed the laws of nature and of the development of human society and thereby provide man with the most correct world view in his confrontation with the future. Marx put it well: "The growth of philosophers is not like bamboo shoots after a spring rain; they are the products of their own times and their own people; all the people's most exquisite, most precious and invisible quintessence is concentrated in their philosophical thought."¹⁵

It should be acknowledged that there is a social reason why, in our current life, questions of man's value and humanitarianism are elevated anew to the plane of theoretical questions, and that is also understandable. In the past period, because of the influence of the "leftist" guiding ideology, people mostly did not dare to touch the questions of human nature and humanitarianism, and the discussion of these questions even led to an aftermath which made people turn pale at the mention of them. This was rather abnormal. Especially serious was that, during the 10-year catastrophe, the tyranny of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" resulted in unspeakable sufferings and calamities for no one knows how many people; on the questions of whipping the fascist behavior of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," it is understandable that people should criticize fascism of the "gang of four" with humanitarianism and the theory of the nature of beasts on the part of the "gang of four" with the theory of the nature of man. In this sense, there is a social cause for people to come up with thought of historical humanitarianism. Similarly, this stands to reason that wherever savage aggression and tyrannical rule are administered to the masses of the people in a beastly manner, the progressive nature of humanitarianism should always be upheld. Under such circumstances, it is a requirement of historical progress that Marxist should support humanitarianists in their opposition to all reactionary people.

But, this is only one side of the question, even though a side that should not be taken lightly. On another side of the question, that is, where the question of the fundamental theory of Marxism is touched upon, where the question of the purity of the Marxist world view is touched upon, the boundary between Marxism and humanitarianism is clearly demarcated. In those days, when Marx criticized the school of epistemological philosophy in Germany, he held high the banner of Feuerbach's humanism and humanitarianism; but on the questions of man's essence and the whole view of history, Marx clearly declared that he was no longer a follower of Feuerbach. Today, in the midst of the struggle for the liquidation of the perverse acts of Lin Biao and the

"gang of four," people have exposed the diverse criminal acts of these scabs trampling on the dignity of man; this may be said to be a case of historical progress remedying historical calamities. However, as we build our socialist spiritual civilization as a whole on a new basis, we should not halt ourselves on the level of humanitarianism. Because the individualistic liberation advocated by humanitarianism is bound to run counter to the principle of our socialist spiritual civilization. Obviously, in a country in which the proletariat exercises dictatorship and a democracy under centralist guidance is practiced, it is impossible to permit that kind of unrestrained "individualistic liberation" to develop randomly. Similarly, on the ideological front of Marxist ethics centered on the principle of communist morality, it is impossible to permit the ethical thinking of a bourgeoisie and petite bourgeoisie which orally flaunt the virtue of being "subjectively for themselves, objectively for others" but who actually engage in extreme egotism spreading it everywhere. Furthermore, in a university of socialism where the needs of the state and the needs of the people are held up as its first preference, can it be permissible to instigate the kind of conduct that would stress only one's own future and values while ignoring the needs of the state and the people?

Anybody with the slightest socialist spirit would recognize that all this would simply not do, and is becoming less and less so. Those who did their best in advocating "subjectively for themselves" a year ago have, after the year's discussion, become less steadfast in their stand. Even those who have invented this view have come to understand that it deviates far, far from our spiritual civilization, and only people of low interest can possibly need such a spirit. People will educate themselves in the practice of their life. People have come more and more to understand that the moral concepts of humanitarianism are more shallow than those of communism to a degree not worth mentioning. It is not a spiritual weapon which mobilizes hundreds and thousands of people to continue to forge ahead; it only makes people waver and hesitate in the midst of anxious, isolated, disappointing and negative pursuits, or even bog down in feelings of emptiness and desperation because of failures in such pursuits and thereby embark upon a path of self-destruction. Such things are commonplace in countries where humanitarianism prevails. In our country, at a time when Marxism and Mao Zedong Thought are today educating people anew, we cannot overlook such kinds of unhealthy ideological conditions. In our era, only the Marxist world view is forever a vigorous spiritual force and a sharp weapon for eliminating various political dust and ideological dust. If our state wishes really to become strong, if our Chinese nation wishes to prosper, and if our people wish to exert themselves, the only thing to do is to arm themselves with the weapon of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought.

FOOTNOTES

1. "Complete Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 1, p 60.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid., Vol 1, p 416.

4. Ibid., Vol 3, p 261.
5. Ibid., Vol 42, p 158.
6. Ibid., Vol 2, p 7.
7. Ibid., Vol 27, p 450.
8. Ibid., Vol 4, p 237.
9. Ibid., Vol 3, p 550.
10. Ibid., Vol 3, p 551.
11. Ibid., Vol 1, p 121.
12. "Complete Works of Lenin," Vol 19, p 5.
13. Ibid., Vol 2, p 447.
14. "Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 2, 1952 edition, p 690.
15. "Complete Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 1, p 120.

CSO: 4005/1067

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