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China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 303

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CHINA REPORT

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

COMMENTARY ON THE FALKLANDS CRISIS

SFRY Urges Settlement

OW052028 Beijing XINHUA in English 1630 GMT 5 May 82

[Text] Belgrade, May 5 (XINHUA)--Yugoslavia last night urged Britain and Argentina to settle the crisis over the Malvinas Islands in a peaceful way.

The Yugoslav stand was made public in a statement by its Foreign Ministry spokesman.

The statement said that Yugoslavia has followed with grave anxiety the escalation of the military conflict between the two states in that area.

It is hoped, the statement said, Argentina and Britain should stop their hostilities without delay and settle their dispute through negotiations in accordance with the U.N. Charter and the stances taken by meetings of the United Nations and the non-aligned countries over this issue.

The statement said that Yugoslavia through its envoys has repeatedly urged both Argentina and Britain to achieve a just and perpetual settlement of their dispute over the Malvinas Islands in a peaceful way and in the interest of peace and security both in that region and the whole world.

Ceausescu on Settlement

OW052034 Beijing XINHUA in English 1625 GMT 5 May 82

[Text] Bucharest, May 4 (XINHUA)--Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu recently said the clashes between Argentina and Britain should be settled through peaceful means, Romanian newspapers reported today.

In an interview with the Greek newspaper TA NEA and the state television station of Greece here on April 22, shortly before he left for Greece, Ceausescu said that "international life has grown particularly tense."

"This is the direct outcome of the actions aimed at maintaining and re-dividing the zones of influence and, at the same time, of the deep-going transformations taking place in the world, of the fact that the old balance

is changing and a new balance is to be achieved on a world plane through the diversification of the zones of power," he said.

He continued, "Colonialism, in its classical form, was virtually abolished. The new states which have emerged do their utmost to consolidate their independence. They have already played an ever more important role in international life."

"Until a new balance is achieved, until stability is reached in the balance of forces, further divergencies and conflicts can occur--as it has recently happened between Britain and Argentina," the president said.

He stressed, "Under such circumstances, Romania considers it necessary that greater attention should be paid and, we may even say, greater wisdom should be shown, that highly responsible actions should be taken, that nothing conducive to further conflicts should be undertaken. Events prove that it is easy to start a conflict but difficult--since many other problems may occur afterwards--to stop it, to solve it."

He said that everything possible should be done for the settlement of any interstate conflict through peaceful negotiations alone.

He also said firm action should be taken to put an end to the current conflicts and to ensure a political, negotiated settlement.

President Ceausecu left here for Greece today on a four-day state visit.

Argentina Publishes Protest

OW052040 Beijing XINHUA in English 1500 GMT 5 May 82

[Text] Buenos Aires, May 4 (XINHUA)--The Argentine Foreign Ministry today published an official note of protest against the U.S. partiality to Britain in the Argentina-Britain dispute over the Malvinas (Falkland) Islands.

The note was sent to U.S. Secretary of State Alexander Haig on May 2.

The note said that the U.S. attitude was unfriendly and surprising because "only a few hours ago, the United States acted in its capacity as friend of the parties, assisting them in search of a negotiated, just and honorable settlement."

It said that today, while arguing about the failure of its mediation efforts, the United States "unilaterally defends one side and imposes the unacceptable sanctions on us, with the obvious intent to break our determination and impose on us by force the solutions that serve the most particular purposes the U.S. Government maintains on this question," it added.

It said that the United States attributed the failure of the negotiation to Argentina's "intransigence" but "said nothing about Britain's intransigence

nor about the form of aggression Britain takes." The U.S. also remained "indifferent" when the powerful British navy and air forces made final preparations for attacks on Argentina, the note said.

The note also said that Argentina far surpassed Britain in its desire for compromise and sincerity for negotiation because it "has made important concessions and shown flexibility on all the questions."

Nevertheless, the note said, Argentina cannot agree to the approach of turning negotiations into "an exercise whose result must necessarily be our capitulation and the renunciation of our most fundamental rights."

The note said that Argentina did not reject the U.S. proposal and was ready to hold dialogues to work out a solution.

It said that the U.S. position "will have to leave a deep wound in the relations between our two countries." The Argentine people neither understand nor forget that in one of the most critical hours of their history, the United States "has preferred to side with a power outside this hemisphere and cooperate with its aggressive designs."

A communique issued by the U.S. Embassy in Argentina said that a number of people of the embassy and family members of some U.S. diplomats will leave Argentina soon.

U.S. 'Regrets' Sinking

OW052024 Beijing XINHUA in English 1830 GMT 5 May 82

[Text] Beijing, May 5 (XINHUA)--The United States Tuesday expressed regret at the loss of life in the sinking by Britain of an Argentine cruiser, but it pledged continued support for Britain in its conflict with Argentina, according to reports from Washington.

Answering reporters' questions on British torpedoing of Argentine cruiser "General Belgrano," White House Press Secretary Larry Speakes said, "We regret the loss of life, and we think it points up the seriousness of the situation."

The U.S. remains "available to both parties" and is willing to resume its mediation efforts, Speakes said.

The same day, Secretary of State Alexander Haig said at a Senate committee that the U.S. still supports Britain in the dispute over the Malvinas (Falkland) Islands. He noted, however, the U.S. backing will not lead to direct U.S. military support or involvement.

The House of Representatives, in a resolution adopted Tuesday, said the U.S. fully supports Britain in a diplomatic settlement of the crisis.

Defence Secretary Caspar Weinberger told reporters at Brussels airport on his arrival for NATO defence ministers' meeting that Britain's attack on the Argentine warship was justified.

Weinberger said he agreed with British Foreign Secretary Francis Pym that British military actions in the South Atlantic were only in response to aggressive acts by Argentina. He said he would meet British Defence Secretary John Nott to discuss possible British requests for support. The U.S. would consider any new British requests for support of its military operations in the Malvinas (Falkland) region, he said.

Moving OAS Out of U.S.

OW051325 Beijing XINHUA in English 1215 GMT 5 May 82

[Text] San Jose, May 4 (XINHUA)--Costa Rican President Rodrigo Carazo proposed today moving the headquarters of the Organization of American States out of Washington because of "the partiality of the United States in the problem of the Malvinas."

He also suggested in his message to the heads of the state of other OAS member countries that his own country be accepted as a suitable alternative site.

His message called their "attention to the problem which the OAS will have in the future in view of the possible resentment, tension and conflict of the U.S. with many countries of the continent. For this reason, it is necessary to raise the question of a possible moving of the seat of the OAS in order to save the said system."

Costa Rica's Foreign Minister Bernd Niehaus said later that Carazo was not suggesting the United States withdraw from the OAS.

Ready for Cease Fire

OW061914 Beijing XINHUA in English 1632 GMT 6 May 82

[Text] Brussels, May 6 (XINHUA)--Britain is still seeking a peaceful settlement with Argentina over the Malvinas (Falkland) Islands in the South Atlantic and is prepared for a ceasefire, Defense Secretary John Nott said here today where he is attending NATO defense ministers' meeting.

Before a ceasefire, however, Nott said Argentine troops must withdraw from the disputed islands.

He told reporters that after the proposed ceasefire there should be some transitional arrangements for a long-term solution over the Falkland Islands. If the British task force is not challenged or threatened by Argentine forces, there will be no further military actions in the next few days, he said.

Nott confirmed he had discussions with U.S. Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger on possible American material and logistic support to Britain if the conflict continues.

Argentina Accepts UN Proposals

OW061650 Beijing XINHUA in English 1510 GMT 6 May 82

[Text] Buenos Aires, May 5 (XINHUA)--Argentina declared today that it is ready to accept the intervention of the United Nations for a peaceful solution to the British-Argentine dispute over the Malvinas Islands.

A statement issued by the Argentine Foreign Ministry said that the Argentine Government is prepared to negotiate a peaceful solution to the dispute over the Malvinas Islands, the South Georgia Island and the South Sandwich Islands.

The first step towards the settlement of the dispute should be an immediate cease-fire between the British and Argentine troops, the statement pointed out. Argentina, it said, agrees to U.N. intervention in the dispute through the secretary general, the security council or both, considering it as the most appropriate channel for resolving the problem.

Concern Over Falklands Developments

OW060738 Beijing XINHUA in English 0719 GMT 6 May 82

[Text] United Nations, May 5 (XINHUA)--President of the security council Ling Qing was authorized this evening to issue a statement on behalf of the council members expressing deep concern over the deterioration of the situation in the region of the Malvinas (Falkland) Islands and the loss of lives.

The statement declared that "the members of the security council also express strong support for the efforts of the secretary-general with regard to his contacts with the two parties."

The statement was issued after the security council ended its consultations at the request of Ireland to seek an end to the battle over the Malvinas (Falkland) Islands.

The members of the council have agreed to meet for further consultations tomorrow.

Ireland yesterday asked for an urgent council meeting. However, U.N. Secretary-General Perez De Cuellar persuaded Ireland not to press for an immediate meeting of the council but to wait until replies from Britain and Argentina came in to his peace plan. He was supported in this move by the current president of the council.

The secretary-general said this evening that he had received a "positive reaction" from Argentina to his proposals. He also said that Britain had assured him it was considering his peace plan "with great interest and a sense of urgency."

The secretary-general has reportedly proposed a ceasefire and the withdrawal of Argentine troops from the Malvinas (Falkland) Islands and the British fleet from the area. According to the plan, a small number of U.N. officials will administer the islands while negotiations between Argentina and Britain are to be conducted by a U.N. official.

A U.N. spokesman today announced that in a statement on yesterday's fighting in the Malvinas (Falkland) area, Secretary-General Perez De Cuellar noted: "This tragic development underlines once again the urgency of a solution of this problem on the basis of Resolution 502."

Argentine representative Eduardo Roca today charged that the abortive U.S. mediation effort gave time for the British fleet to arrive at the Malvinas and accused the U.S. Government of siding at last with Britain in the conflict.

The situation in the Malvinas (Falkland) area has reached a critical stage after the sinking of an Argentine cruiser and a British destroyer. Facing the escalation of the armed conflict, many nations have called for immediate cessation of hostilities by both British and Argentine forces and a negotiated settlement.

Parties Back Government

OW061254 Beijing XINHUA in English 1228 GMT 6 May 82

[Text] Buenos Aires, May 5 (XINHUA)--The Argentine multi-party committee today reiterated its "absolute solidarity with the armed forces of the nation in military actions in defense of the Malvinas Islands.

A document, signed by leaders of the five major parties forming the committee, said that Argentina was attacked by "the colonialist war of a decadent empire." Britain's sinking of the Argentine cruiser, "General Belgrano," "violated the most fundamental norms of civilization and international law," it said.

It said, "Equally censurable is the undeclared economic blockade adopted hastily by the European Economic Community because this only stimulates the bellicose spirit of the British aggressors but at the same time violates the elementary principles of universal co-existence."

The Argentine General Confederation of Labor and the Peronist 62 trade unions also condemned Britain for attacking the Argentine cruiser "General Belgrano" and the signal boat "Sobral."

They said in a joint communique yesterday that the British attacks are "only military actions in an undeclared war," these events cannot but heighten the militant spirit of the Argentine people in defending their sovereignty, the communique said.

Pym Speaks to Parliament

OW060120 Beijing XINHUA in English 0104 GMT 6 May 82

[Text] London, May 5 (XINHUA)--British Foreign Secretary Francis Pym said today the government was working actively on new ideas for an early ceasefire in the South Atlantic.

Pym told the House of Commons that "a vital ingredient of the ideas on which we are working is an early ceasefire and the prompt withdrawal of Argentine forces."

The foreign secretary's statement came after an emergency cabinet meeting to discuss the new situation in the South Atlantic in the wake of the sinking of the British destroyer HMS Sheffield by an Argentine missile Tuesday. A vital issue which the cabinet is believed to have discussed is whether to step up military operations around the Falkland (Malvinas) Islands in an attempt to secure the withdrawal of Argentine forces or to accept international calls for a ceasefire.

Pym assured the House of Commons: "Any obstructionism (in an early ceasefire) that may be will not come from our side."

The British Broadcasting Corporation reported today that Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher was "devastated" by the loss of the destroyer with some 30 of its 270 crew. There have been reports that Britain's mood of confidence was shaken by the losses.

Some of Britain's staunchest allies were also reported to be "stunned" and "appalled" by the British navy's sinking of Argentina's cruiser General Belgrano and the loss of 362 lives earlier. Ireland has called for an end to common market trade sanctions against Argentina.

Premier Insists on Pullout

OW070801 Beijing XINHUA in English 0716 GMT 7 May 82

[Text] London, May 6 (XINHUA)--Britain will not accept a ceasefire in the South Atlantic without a withdrawal of Argentine forces from the Falkland (Malvinas) Islands, Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher stated here today.

In the House of Commons this afternoon, the opposition labour party leader Michael Foot pressed hard for an immediate and positive response by the government to the peace proposals of the United Nations secretary-general and urged no further military escalation around the Falklands while negotiations continued. Mrs Thatcher replied that Britain was pursuing two diplomatic paths to a negotiated settlement--one set of ideas advanced by the U.N. secretary-general and the other by the United States and Peru. She indicated that she was more favorably inclined to the U.S.-Peru proposals, to which the government had already made "a very constructive response."

She also said that she welcomed the U.N. secretary-general's ideas as "a framework on which more specific proposals could be built." A report from New York later said that the secretary-general had received a "positive reply" from London.

However, Mrs Thatcher repeated her government's tough negotiating position and told Parliament that "there can be no ceasefire unless it is accompanied by a withdrawal which is fully and properly supervised." Defence Secretary John Nott stressed the same position at a NATO meeting in Brussels today.

UN Secretary General Comment

OW070216 Beijing XINHUA in English 0153 GMT 7 May 82

[Text] United Nations, May 6 (XINHUA)--U.N. Secretary-General Javier Perez De Cuellar declared this afternoon that Britain and Argentina have given "positive responses" to his peace plan for resolving the Malvinas (Falkland) crisis.

He was "looking forward to more progress this night and tomorrow," he said.

He told reporters waiting outside the security council chamber that the situation there is "very delicate," but he felt "a little more optimistic" over his peace ideas.

Sources close to the secretary-general disclosed that Britain said at noon today that it will "accept the ideas put forward by the secretary-general as a framework to build more specific peace programme to end the conflict with Argentina."

The secretary-general hoped that an agreement on cease-fire and withdrawal of all forces from the Malvinas area should be reached as a first step.

As to the questions of cease-fire and withdrawal of forces, the two parties have different views. Argentina holds that "the first step toward a solution should be an immediate cease-fire." Britain makes a total withdrawal of Argentine troops from the islands as a "precondition for cease-fire."

Another main point of the secretary-general's peace plan is that United Nations administrators would govern the islands while negotiations between Argentina and Britain were held under the direction of a representative of the secretary-general.

The peace plan does not mention the thorny issue of sovereignty over the Malvinas (Falkland) Islands. Argentina who claims sovereignty over the islands pointed out repeatedly that the issue is "non-negotiable." However, Britain insisted that sovereignty is "a matter for negotiation" and any solution must respect the islanders' right to "self-determination." Some U.N. diplomats indicated that this issue apparently would be left to be resolved in later phase of the negotiation.

The security council conducted its second consultation on the matter this afternoon. The secretary-general briefed the council the responses from Argentina and Britain [sentence as received]. The council members expressed their continued support for the secretary-general's efforts to end the conflict on the Malvinas (Falkland) Islands. U.N. sources said that the council will meet again when needed in a few days.

Defense Minister on Conflict

OW071253 Beijing XINHUA in English 1209 GMT 7 May 82

[Text] Buenos Aires, May 6 (XINHUA)--Argentine Defence Minister Amadeo Frugoli said here this afternoon that to defend its sovereignty, Argentina is prepared to fight wherever it is attacked. But Argentina is also ready to hold negotiations for a peaceful settlement of its conflict with Britain.

Frugoli stressed at a press conference that such negotiations must always be based on the recognition of Argentina's sovereignty over the Malvinas Islands without impairing its honor.

He said that Argentina would accept the U.N. mediation on condition that hostilities cease by both sides.

He said that Britain's argument of self-defence in attacking the Argentine cruiser General Belgrano "is an inadmissible excuse," because the cruiser was not equipped with modern anti-submarine weapons. What is particularly intolerable is that the attack was launched at the time when diplomatic efforts promoted by the Peruvian Government were intensified, he added.

"Argentina is not an aggressor and will defend itself wherever it is attacked," he stressed.

He added, "Argentina did not attack any British warships outside the exclusion zone because it only defended itself from British attacks.

Referring to military aid from other Latin American countries, he emphasized that his country will rely on its own efforts.

In reply to a question, he said that "Argentina belongs to the Western bloc" and Argentina hasn't intended to ask for and will certainly not ask for military aid from the Soviet Union."

Britain Extends Blockade Zone

OW081056 Beijing XINHUA in English 0700 GMT 8 May 82

[Text] London, May 7 (XINHUA)--Britain today extended its total blockade zone around the disputed Falkland (Malvinas) Islands in the South Atlantic almost to the Argentine coast, causing worries about its military and political implications amidst renewed diplomatic activity to find a peaceful settlement of the Anglo-Argentine conflict.

The Ministry of Defence announced this evening that any Argentine warship or military aircraft found more than 12 nautical miles from the Argentine coast would be regarded as hostile and liable to attack. The new measure was taken "in the self-defence of British ships and aircraft engaged in operations and in resupplying and reinforcing British forces," it said.

Britain imposed a 200-mile sea blockade around the islands on April 7, two days after its naval task force set sail towards the South Atlantic. The blockade was extended on April 25 to include air space over the zone. These moves were followed by an escalation of military conflict between the two countries, including the sinking of warships and loss of lives on both sides.

A few hours before the Defence Ministry's announcement today, Foreign Secretary Francis Pym accused Argentina of blocking diplomatic efforts to end the conflict and warned that Britain would not allow "diplomatic obstructionism" by Argentina to halt the military operations of the British task force.

In an address to Parliament he repeated Prime Minister Thatcher's statement yesterday that there could be no "unconditional ceasefire" and that implementation of a truce must "be unambiguously linked to the commencement of Argentine withdrawal which must be completed within a fixed number of days."

If the U.N. talks fail, Pym said, Britain would do "whatever may be necessary" to retake the islands. He did not rule out military options.

Threat 'Embarrasses' UN Mediators

OW081052 Beijing XINHUA in English 0741 GMT 8 May 82

[Text] United Nations, May 7 (XINHUA)--Argentine Deputy Foreign Minister Enrique Ros this afternoon discussed with U.N. Secretary-General Javier Perez De Cuellar a possible way to end the conflict between Argentina and Britain over the Malvinas (Falkland) Islands.

Enrique Ros later told reporters in the U.N. headquarters lobby he had made comments on the secretary-general's peace ideas, but declined to disclose any details. He will meet the secretary-general again tomorrow, he said.

Although Britain and Argentina have accepted the secretary-general's ideas as "a framework" for a more specific peace programme to end the conflict, they are far apart as to how to fill it with details. Britain insists that any cease-fire must be linked to an Argentine agreement to withdraw its troops from the Falkland (Malvinas) Islands, while Argentina stresses that its sovereignty over the islands must be guaranteed.

Argentine Foreign Ministry officials have announced that they will not negotiate any substantive points--including an Argentine troop withdrawal--until Britain agrees to halt its military activities.

Meanwhile, observers say that Britain seems to step up rather than reduce its military activities in the South Atlantic. After Argentina turned down a U.S.-Peruvian plan for a cease-fire and a phased withdrawal of forces from the Malvinas (Falkland) area, Britain today threatened to attack any Argentine warship or warplane found more than 12 miles from the Argentine coast. London's new threat embarrasses those in the United Nations who are seeking a peaceful solution to the Malvinas crisis.

More and more nations are calling for cessation of the armed conflict. The co-ordinating bureau of the movement of non-aligned countries and the Latin American group in the United Nations held meetings respectively in the past two days, urging Britain and Argentina to begin negotiation with a view to achieving a just, peaceful, practical and lasting settlement. The co-ordinating bureau reiterated its support for Argentine sovereignty over the Malvinas Islands.

In a letter to the U.N. secretary-general yesterday, the Nordic countries (Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway and Sweden) expressed their full support to the U.N. secretary-general in his endeavours to find a peaceful solution to the conflict.

Minister Lauds UN Intervention

OW081346 Beijing XINHUA in English 1206 GMT 8 May 82

[Text] Buenos Aires, May 7 (XINHUA)--Argentine Foreign Minister Nicanor Costa Mendez today described the intervention of the U.N. secretary-general as "the only positive point so far" in diplomatic efforts to solve the Britain-Argentina conflict.

Mendez made the comment to a local radio station after the departure Thursday night of Deputy Foreign Minister Enrique Ros for the United Nations to discuss the peace proposal by U.N. Secretary-General Javier Perez De Cuellar.

He said the intervention of U.N. secretary-general was backed by the U.N. Security Council. This means that the United Nations "has intervened in the problem in substitution of some unsuccessful private mediations," he said.

"At this moment," he said, "we are trying to give a proper diplomatic response to achieve a honorable and just peace through negotiation."

He said, "The military action and the diplomatic action are closely linked and one depends on the other."

He said, "There is certain hope for progress towards an understanding with Britain." But, "all negotiations must lead inexorably to Argentine sovereignty over the Malvinas Islands," he added.

He said that the United States made a mistake in supporting Britain because it "has made a bad analysis of the current situation and, above all, a bad analysis of the future."

He said if Latin America unites to oppose the United States, the latter will fall into international isolation. Although the U.S. relations with Latin America "are bad, they should and can be recovered with goodwill on the part of the U.S.," he added.

Argentina Protests

OW081413 Beijing XINHUA in English 1222 GMT 8 May 82

[Text] Buenos Aires, May 7 (XINHUA)--Argentina tonight denounced Britain for its "lack of good faith" in search for a diplomatic solution to the Malvinas crisis, in a protest against Britain's extension of its "maritime exclusion zone."

An Argentine Foreign Ministry communique said the British decision to extend its blockade zone up to 12 nautical miles off the Argentine coast was "another escalation of the conflict."

The communique said that Britain, "while declaring its interest in undertaking negotiations and reaching a peaceful solution, contradicts that position with concrete actions, creating situations that seriously perturb any possibility of negotiation."

Britain's extension of its naval blockade "for all practical purpose amplifies the war zone to the entire South Atlantic," the communique pointed out, adding that "this extension of the scene of hostilities constitutes another escalation of the conflict, attributable, like the previous ones, to the unilateral decision and responsibility of the United Kingdom."

Argentine Defence Minister Amadeo Frugoli told reporters here tonight that Argentina was ready to fight against British aggression in whatever manners and wherever necessary to defend its own rights.

Reports from the United States said that Argentina today sent a note to the U.N. Security Council and the Organisation of American States separately, protesting against the extension of the British blockade zone. Argentina will "reserve its legitimate right to self-defence" in accordance with the U.N. charter, the note said.

In fact of [as received] the British threat, Argentine radio and TV network today began broadcasting a new patriotic song every 15 minutes, which calls on the Argentines to rise to the occasion and strive for victory. The Argentine military sources once again have pledged to smash the new British blockade.

Latin American Countries Score Britain

OW091900 Beijing XINHUA in English 1609 GMT 9 May 82

[Text] Beijing, May 9 (XINHUA)--Some Latin American states condemned Britain Saturday for its enlargement of the maritime exclusion zone around the Malvinas (Falkland) Islands in its dispute with Argentina.

A statement released by the Peruvian Foreign Ministry said Peru protested Britain's decision to extend the zone to Argentina's territorial waters. The statement urged an immediate end to the hostilities and expressed Peru's support to mediation by U.N. Secretary-General Javier Perez De Cuellar.

Guatemalan Foreign Minister Alfonso Lima condemned Britain's decision as "unopportune and inappropriate" and an indication of London's "new colonialist policies."

Panamanian Foreign Minister Jorge Illueca described the extension as "arbitrary and unopportune." It will not help create conditions for a dialogue leading to a settlement, he said.

Fidel Chavez Mena, foreign minister of El Salvador, said Britain's attitude damaged the dignity not only of the Argentines but also of the people of Latin America as a whole. El Salvador "can in no way accept such a decision," he said.

Ecuadoran President Oswaldo Hurtado expressed concern about Britain's decision and appealed for redoubled U.N. efforts to bring peace to the South Atlantic.

Venezuelan Defense Minister Bernargo Leal Puchi said his country, as well as other O.A.U. countries, would have to consider sending military assistance to Argentina "if Britain takes direct action against Argentina in its continental part."

An official from Belize, Fred Hunter, said his government supports mediation by the U.N. secretary-general for a peaceful solution.

UN Head Meets

OW090243 Beijing XINHUA in English 0205 GMT 9 May 82

[Text] United Nations, May 8 (XINHUA)--U.N. Secretary-General Javier Perez De Cuellar today intensified his efforts to end the conflict between Britain and Argentina over the Malvinas (Falkland) islands.

The secretary-general held two separate talks with Argentine Deputy Foreign Minister Enrique Ros and British Ambassador Anthony Parsons this morning to bridge the gap between the Argentine and British positions on his peace plan.

He told reporters that "there is some common ground. The simple fact that they were up there during this morning is already an expression of interest in a possible solution."

The secretary-general stressed his exercise was a limited plan that would not settle the future of the Malvinas (Falkland) Islands. "The discussion of the problem of sovereignty is excluded from my exercise," he noted. He

said that his goal was to stop the fighting so that negotiations between Britain and Argentina could begin.

The secretary-general indicated that he has won implicit and critical concession from each side. He said that yesterday he got comments on his peace plan from both Britain and Argentina.

Both Argentina and Britain have expressed their willingness to achieve a solution through negotiations. Argentine Foreign Minister Nicanor Costa Mendez said yesterday that "there is certain hope for progress towards an understanding with Britain." Britain indicated its agreement to dilute its earlier insistence that the inhabitants of the Falklands should have the right of self-determination. It was willing to accept a formula that the "aspirations and interests" of the Falklanders be taken into account.

But observers here feared that new military conflict will break out again if U.N. peace efforts fail. Britain sent 20 more Harrier jet fighters to beef up its Falklands armada Saturday following its extension of the exclusion zone Friday. Argentina vowed to challenge British threat of war by strengthening its coastal defences.

Asked by a reporter if "this could be a make-or-break day...for finding a diplomatic solution," Secretary-General Javier Perez De Cuellar said, "Yes, it is. I hope that today we will have real progress, or at least we will know whether there are reasons for hope."

Minister Scores UK Attacks

OW100241 Beijing XINHUA in English 0223 GMT 10 May 82

[Text] Washington, May 9 (XINHUA)--Argentine Foreign Minister Nicanor Costa Mendez today accused Britain of attacking the Malvinas (Falklands) early today when "sound talks" were under way for a negotiated settlement of the dispute.

In a pre-recorded interview in Buenos Aires shown in CBS TV's "Face the Nation" program, Mendez said, "That attack does not surprise me. It has always been the same. Whenever we are in sound talks some sort of attack comes."

An Argentine communique said British ships and helicopters attacked Puerto Argentino (Stanley) and Puerto Darwin in the Malvinas early Sunday and the attacks were repulsed by Argentine forces.

Mendez said his country has always been ready to negotiate. It "began the negotiations 17 years ago with great patience."

He said that Argentina is "ready to withdraw" its troops from the Malvinas if the British withdraw their fleet and the authority of the U.N. is established. "Then we will, as part of the arrangement, discuss the problem of

sovereignty because we have no doubts about our sovereignty...but all this must lead us to a recognition of the Argentine sovereignty of the islands."

"We are ready to begin negotiations but those negotiations in one way or the other should conduct to that recognition even if the British do not accept that sovereignty at the very beginning," he said.

"We want to negotiate, in the first place, ceasefire. We want to negotiate the withdrawal of troops and the withdrawal of the navy fleet. We want to negotiate the way that the islands should be administrated during the period." Mendez said Argentina wanted to settle all the fundamentals for the acceptance of Argentina's sovereignty but did not put sovereignty as a pre-condition for talks. "There is no other goal than sovereignty. Everything else can be discussed with Britain," he said.

He added that Argentina is "ready to be generous" with the inhabitants of the islands and with Britain itself on economic and other matters.

The Argentine foreign minister pointed out that the key to a ceasefire and de-escalation of tension is "good-will from the British."

Mendez said he was "very surprised" at the attitude of the U.S. "I think already the U.S. has gone too far. The U.S. should be really neutral," he said. He could not understand, he said, why the United States continues to put pressure on Argentina. "I cannot understand why the United States does not assume a more neutral position at this very moment when peace is being discussed" in the United Nations."

He indicated that Argentina has not talked with the Russians about the possibility of military assistance to Argentina.

Renewed Attacks Confirmed

OW100254 Beijing XINHUA in English 0231 GMT 10 May 82

[Text] London, May 9 (XINHUA)--The British Defence Ministry tonight confirmed reports of renewed military action by the naval task force on the Argentine-held Malvinas (Falkland) Islands, though it had initially denied any attempted landings to recover them.

A brief statement from the Ministry said that the task force "today attacked military targets in the vicinity of Port Stanley airport." A further statement reported that two British helicopters opened fire on an Argentine fishing vessel within the 200-mile exclusion zone, which was said to have been "spying" on the British fleet.

According to British reporters with the naval task force, British planes and ships bombarded military installations around Port Stanley airport for about 50 minutes in the early morning in a so-called "softening-up" operation to prepare for a possible full-scale attack on the islands. Press Association,

Britain's domestic news agency, reported that an Argentine troops-carrying helicopter was shot down during the operation.

Defence Secretary John Nott said in a TV interview today, Britain's present policy is to totally isolate the occupying forces on the Falkland Islands. Its aircraft has bombed Port Stanley airport several times since fighting started nine days ago to stop Argentine planes from using it to resupply the troops on the islands. But press reports here said the British-imposed sea and air blockade has not been a complete success.

Stand on Falklands Reaffirmed

OW100850 Beijing XINHUA in English 0822 GMT 10 May 82

[Text] Beijing, May 10 (XINHUA)--"Argentina will never under any circumstances relinquish its legitimate rights of sovereignty over the Malvinas (Falkland) Islands," Argentine Defense Minister Amadeo Frugoli said in a British TV broadcast Sunday.

Interviewed by the London weekend television program, "World Weekend," Frugoli said the Argentine people "are now more determined than ever to defend their legitimate rights."

Asked whether Argentine forces will withdraw if a ceasefire is agreed upon, the defense minister replied, "Ceasefire means specifically that no military operations should be carried out, but it does not imply a withdrawal of troops."

Answering the question on whether Argentina will accept the latest U.N. peace plan if the issue of sovereignty is left to a later stage, Frugoli said, this will depend on how the diplomatic talks develop. "But the principle of the recognition of sovereignty over the Malvinas Islands is unchangeable," he stressed.

Frugoli said, "Argentina has from the very outset been ready to seek a peaceful settlement to this dispute."

He added that for 17 years Argentina had negotiated its sovereignty claim with Britain, "within the framework of the U.N. based on resolutions adopted by the General Assembly but no specific result had been obtained."

Frugoli once again rejected the argument of self-determination for the inhabitants of the islands, saying the argument "has no justification, since what is involved is a population transported there by a colonial power, in this case Great Britain, which took over the Malvinas Islands by force in 1833." "But this does not mean that we do not take into account the interests of the Malvinas inhabitants," he added.

Ships Shell Port Stanley

OW110849 Beijing XINHUA in English 0707 GMT 11 May 82

[Text] Beijing, May 10 (XINHUA)--British ships today shelled Puerto Argentino (Port Stanley), the Malvinas (Falkland) capital, but caused neither casualties nor damage, the Argentine news agency SAPORITI reported from Buenos Aires today.

The bombardment followed yesterday's pattern, when one or two ships would approach the coast and fire their guns at random. Many of the shells fell in unpopulated areas outside the capital, according to a local newspaper "LA RAZON."

There was no immediate official word on the shelling from the Argentine high command thus far.

According to another report, the Argentine air force announced today that casualties of the Argentine air force in the Malvinas (Falklands) crisis so far total ten deaths, four men missing and 18 wounded. The communique did not mention the date of the battles.

CSO: 4000/115

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

REGIONAL COMMENTARY ON USSR, UNITED STATES

Views on Soviet Military Power

Harbin HEILONGJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 27 Mar 82 p 4

[Article by Ji Yanfeng [1323 1693 7364]: "Reaching the Same Goal by Different Routes"]

[Text] According to reports, Nikolay Ogarkov, Soviet military chief of staff, in a booklet recently issued by the Ministry of Defense criticized the pacifism of some young people. He complained that they "underestimate" the danger of war, and said that some young people do not understand the great effort to enhance Soviet defensive strength and that this "can produce serious consequences," and he advocated that this pacifist thinking "be struggled against wherever it appears."

Here, it is as if Ogarkov was covering up half of the pipa [a plucked string instrument] he was holding. His statement that some young people do "not understand" the great effort to enhance Soviet defensive strength and are "fond of tranquility and stability" revealed that many Soviet youths are dissatisfied and disgusted with the authorities' wanton engagement in military aggression and their policy of aggressive expansion. If you doubt this, look at the facts: According to disclosures, the Soviet Army that invaded Afghanistan is fed up with the Afghan war. Some soldiers doubt the necessity for the Afghan war; some refuse to go to the front; some desert; and some sigh with emotion, "I don't know when I will be able to return to my hometown!" What opened people's eyes even more was the Western news agencies' recent report that, due to falling morale, part of the Soviet Army stationed in the German Democratic Republic had been recalled back to the Soviet Union. With regard to all these things, in the eyes of the Soviet military chieftains, there "could be serious consequences" to their expansionist strategy and, therefore, Ogarkov has launched a large-scale punitive expedition against this "pacifism."

However, people note that Ogarkov's severe criticism of the youthful "pacifism" within the Soviet Union stands in sharp contrast to Moscow's extolling and supporting, for some time now, the peace movement in Western Europe.

People know that the Soviet Union is truly pleased with the emergence of a peace movement in Western Europe, and its press highly praises the advocacy

by Western European pacifists of the position which demands that the West unilaterally disarm, and crowns this movement with the laurel of being a "great antiwar movement." Of course, in a situation in which the contest between the Soviet Union and America for nuclear war preparations is continually intensifying, it is understandable that people in Western Europe who have experienced to the fullest the suffering caused by two world wars would love tranquility and stability, demand peace and oppose war. However, today, when the Soviet threat to Western Europe is increasingly overbearing, and its conventional military force already surpasses that of NATO, there are people in the peace movement who one-sidedly advocate that the West disarm unilaterally. They oppose NATO's guided missile plan but do not oppose the Soviet missiles already deployed--this can be advantageous for the Soviet Union's realization of its expansionist plan. The purpose of the Soviet press in extolling in every possible way this movement is obviously not peace, but it is to use this large-scale peace movement to split the Western alliance, so as to restrict the West, continue to maintain Soviet military superiority, and force Western Europe to knuckle under, and to realize its goal of exclusive domination in Europe.

The Soviet Union has adopted two sharply different attitudes in its approach toward pacifist thought: "wielding the big stick" and "carrying the sedan chair." On the surface, this seems hard to understand. Actually, these two attitudes reach the same goal by different routes: the Kremlin's purpose in wielding the big stick against pacifism within the Soviet Union is to protect its hegemonist policy of wanton military aggression and aggressive expansion; it carries the sedan chair for pacifism in Western Europe in order to attain the same goal. To its way of thinking, its goal will be attained by hook or by crook.

Relations With Egypt

Harbin HEILONGJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 27 Mar 82 p 4

[Article by Yang Wenke [2254 2429 4430]: "Soviet, U.S. Rivalry Over Egypt Intensifies Day by Day"]

[Text] In the nearly half a year that Mubarek has been in power, a new trend has appeared in relations between Egypt and the Soviet Union. In order to return to Egypt and vie with the United States for dominance in the Middle East, the Soviet Union is stepping up its use of Egypt's current situation to improve Soviet-Egyptian relations. According to a report, a deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers recently sent a telegram to Egyptian Prime Minister Muhi al-Din, which expressed the desire for normalization of relations with Egypt, offered to participate in the project to improve the Aswan Dam power station, and agreed to increase imports from Egypt this year and to send technical experts to Egypt.

After Mubarek came to power, he set about readjusting Egypt's policy toward the USSR and easing relations with it. The Egyptian foreign minister revealed that Egypt has requested that the Soviet Union send 66 experts back to Egypt and continue to give Egypt aid, and also that Egypt has agreed to the

Soviet Union's increasing, as appropriate, its embassy staff in Cairo. Mubarek also publicly expressed Egypt's willingness, on the basis of peaceful coexistence and noninterference in each other's internal affairs, to develop its relations with the USSR, and said that for the two countries "the principle of again exchanging ambassadors is unavoidable."

Why has flexibility appeared in Egyptian-Soviet relations? First, this is something required by both countries. Egypt occupies an extremely important strategic position in the Middle East and for a long time has been an object of contention between America and the Soviet Union. When President Nasir was in power, Egypt depended militarily and economically on the Soviet Union. After al-Sadat took power, he saw through the Soviet Union's wolfish nature of trying to control Egypt through "aid," reversed the old system and turned toward America, bringing Egyptian-Soviet relations close to zero.

After Mubarek came to power, he learned a lesson from his predecessors and, proceeding from the requirements for Egypt's independence and for its political, economic, and military interests, and while continuing to strengthen its relations with America, he relaxed its relations with the Soviet Union, so that Egypt's relations with the two superpowers were "a little more balanced," in order to enhance its image on the international political stage and restore its position as a nonaligned country.

Ever since Egypt made peace [with Israel], it has been isolated in the Arab world and its relations with some Arab countries supported by the Soviet Union have been strained. By easing Egyptian-Soviet relations, Mubarek is trying to improve Egypt's relations with these countries.

The serious internal economic problems Egypt is facing also impelled Mubarek to readjust relations with the USSR. Some of the large enterprises and installations in Egypt were built in the 1960's with Soviet aid. For example, there is the Aswan Hydropower Station, whose electricity provides 65 percent of Egypt's power needs. Operating for over 10 years now, its generating unit parts urgently need repair or replacement. Egypt wants Western countries to replace the Soviet technical equipment now in most enterprises, but this will be hard to accomplish in a short period of time. To again arrange for Soviet experts to return to Egypt is a great advantage for Egypt's economy. The easing of Soviet-Egyptian relations has caused America great concern. Americans know that an improvement in Soviet-Egyptian relations will have an important effect on the structure of U.S.-Soviet rivalry in the Middle East and will be extremely detrimental to America's position in Egypt and the Middle East. In order to tighten its ties with Egypt, and counter the Soviet offensive, the United States has taken relevant measures. When Mubarek visited America, it satisfied as fully as possible his military and economic requests. The United States still makes Egypt one of the key countries for aid. This year it will give Egypt \$1 billion in economic aid and has agreed that Egypt can flexibly use \$2.5 billion in economic aid funds that had not been put to use over the past several years, and also it has increased its military aid to Egypt, from \$900 million to \$1.3 billion.

Following the change in Egyptian-Soviet relations, the rivalry over Egypt between the two superpowers has sharpened day by day.

Confrontation Over Polish Issue

Harbin HEILONGJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 29 Mar 82 p 4

[Article by Xin Ji [6580 4764]: "The Focus of Soviet-U.S. Contention"]

[Text] Since the end of last year, the struggle between the two superpowers, the Soviet Union and the United States, over the Polish question has grown in intensity. One side threatens that it will "hold on and never let go" and the other side asserts that it will "deliver a firm counterblow"--you struggle against me and I struggle against you--and neither side will yield. Each side censures the other for "wanton interference in Poland's internal affairs" while defending its own actions. This sovereign country of Poland has become the object of the hegemonist powers' contention for interference.

Intensification of the situation began with the announcement on 13 December of last year that Poland had been put on a wartime footing (i.e., the imposition of military control). U.S. authorities held that this "suppresses the citizens' freedom," "violates the European Security Conference agreement," and "poisons the international atmosphere," and they charged that the Soviet Union "bears major direct responsibility"; and therefore they took "economic sanctions" against Poland and the Soviet Union. Under America's impetus, some other Western countries also separately took certain kinds of measures. At the same time as this, America launched large-scale propaganda activities and also used some international forums to condemn the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union also did not give the impression of weakness, and swiftly retorted in biting terms rare in the history of Soviet-U.S. relations, condemning with even more force America's "provocation," censuring the Reagan government for "trying to use the Polish affair to provoke" an East-West "conflict."

Now, with the Soviet Union and America still continuing to cross verbal swords, intercourse between the two sides obviously has lessened. The negotiations in Geneva between the two countries on the limitation of medium-range nuclear weapons are at a standstill. And the continuing session in Madrid of the European Security Conference, because it was engaging in heated arguments, announced a long-term adjournment. All East-West relations have been "chilled." All of these phenomena have centered on the Polish question.

The reasons for such fierce contention between the Soviet Union and America over the Polish question are complex and far-reaching.

First, it is a strategic necessity for the two sides in contending for hegemony.

For many years both America and the Soviet Union have made Europe the focal point of their strategy. They have considered Eastern Europe and Western Europe to be their respective spheres of influence, and neither allows the other to stretch its hands into its own sphere while at the same time each wants to undermine the other side's foundation. Since the beginning of the 1970's the Soviet Union has infiltrated Western Europe in many aspects, and although America has repeatedly tried to force its way into the "backyard"

of the Soviet Union's "big family," it has never achieved its wishes. After the Polish situation became turbulent in the summer of 1980, the United States was greatly heartened, and it expressed openly the hope that "Poland's political experiment" would become a "geopolitical victory," and actively supported the antigovernment forces in the "Solidarity" trade union. After Poland imposed military control, America expressed its strong opposition and demanded that Poland end the military control, release the detained leaders of "Solidarity," and restore the three-way (the authorities, "Solidarity," and the church) dialogue, threatening that if it did not, America would not have "normal contacts" with the Soviet Union and Poland. Obviously, America's goal was to impel Poland to break away from Soviet control and become "independent." The Soviet Union, doing its utmost to keep Poland under its control, has denounced America for trying to drag Poland out of the "big socialist family," has asserted that "Poland is certainly not within Washington's scope of jurisdiction," and has warned America to stop thinking of "tampering" with the "European postwar borders" fixed by the Yalta agreement, meaning that it does not permit America to enter the Soviet Union's sphere of influence.

Next, Poland's strategic position is extremely important.

Poland is situated in the middle of Europe, bordering on the Baltic Sea in the north, having a 1,240-kilometer-long border with the Soviet Union in the east, and bordering Czechoslovakia and the German Democratic Republic respectively on the south and east. What is usually called the "Polish Corridor" between the East and West has always been an area that military commanders had to contend for, and has many times been carved up and occupied by other powers; in both world wars it was the first battleground. Poland has a territory of over 310,000 square kilometers and a population of 35.4 million and is the largest country (excluding the Soviet Union) in Eastern Europe. Rich in natural resources, it places fourth in the world in coal output and third in the world in sulphur output; it ranks among the world's most advanced in shipbuilding, electrical power, iron, and steel, and motor vehicle manufacturing. At present, Poland is a member country of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance and Warsaw Pact, both of which are headed by the Soviet Union. Two Soviet divisions have been stationed in Poland for a long time. In the Soviet Union's view, if it were to lose Poland that would mean the collapse of its western defense line. From America's side if it could open a breach in Poland it would be able to press up to the Soviet Union's "soft belly." It is very obvious that the Polish question is crucial, that the Soviet Union naturally will refuse to budge an inch, and that America also will not easily let go.

Furthermore, Poland's special conditions play a role.

The Polish people have a tradition of struggling against aggression, particularly their long courageous struggle to resist the many occupations and enslavement by tsarist Russia. After World War II, a large slice of Poland's territory was incorporated into the Soviet Union (compensated for by part of Germany's territory); this is very much resented by Poles. In the most recent historical period, Moscow's great-nation chauvinistic, egotistical, and

"patriarchal" control have brought much suffering to Poland. Therefore, sentiment for breaking away from Soviet control and upholding national independence are fairly strong in Poland. Every turmoil in Poland in recent years has been connected with this fact.

Poland is also a Catholic country, 30 million of its over 35 million population being Catholics, and many members of the party in power and army officers are believers. The church has a great influence in society. The leadership of the party in power--the Polish United Workers' Party--has made repeated mistakes with regard to a series of policies, and its prestige among the masses is not high. The party's main leaders, Gomulka and Gierek, were both forced out of office because they could not gain confidence and support. This is something that has not happened in the Soviet Union and the other East European countries. But, in any case, this is Poland's internal affair and other countries have no right to interfere.

The Polish situation's complication of the intense contention between the two hegemonist powers also obviously affects international relations. Neither one of the superpowers can leave the matter at that. However, along with all the things that the two sides disagree on, and so long as there are no major changes in the situation, it will be difficult for the Soviet Union and America, except for exchanging curses, to do any new alarming things. The decisive factor is Poland itself. Only if the Polish authorities and people themselves satisfactorily handle their own internal affairs can the Polish question, which the whole globe is fixing its eyes on, be resolved.

Views on Reagan Administration

Harbin HEILONGJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 3 Apr 82 p 4

[Article by Ji Yanfeng [1323 1693 7353]: "Rob the Poor To Relieve the Rich"]

[Text] Since time immemorial, "rob the rich to relieve the poor" has always had a humanitarian flavor of opposition to exploitation and has been warmly eulogized by many poets and men of letters. However, in present-day America, people have seen in the budget plan proposed by the Federal Government a completely different scene: "rob the poor to relieve the rich."

The budget plan drawn up and proposed by the Reagan government was a big shock to the entire country. Some American newspapers and periodicals have said: The government's budget plan "will be a big disaster for poor people" and wealthy businessmen, from large-scale "reductions in tax revenues, will obtain astonishing profits." It looks as if this appraisal by the U.S. press is not an alarmist rumor. On the one hand, the Federal Government's budget drastically cuts social welfare, and almost all of the cuts are concentrated on items that provide aid to poor people. For poor people, this is no different than "taking away firewood under the caldron." Not long ago, President Reagan in his State of the Union Message, slashed a total of \$63 billion from welfare items. In the 1983 budget, Medicaid and Medicare are cut by \$4 billion and other health care plans by \$1.3 billion. Take New York City for example: Due to the Federal Government's cuts in welfare items, over the

next 2 years the city will lose \$2 billion in federal funds; this year 400,000 poor people will lose their eligibility to receive food stamps, 30,000 people will lose their eligibility to receive child support money, and the funds provided to old people's centers will be reduced by \$60 million. It is no wonder that a meeting of over 2,000 poor people and old people in New York criticized and hit government cuts in social welfare as "making poor people the first target of attack, and making people who have no way to protect themselves the first target of attack."

On the other hand, the government's budget provides excessive tax relief for rich people, and from this they get huge profits. According to a report in the WALL STREET JOURNAL, this year and next year the tax rate for rich Americans will be cut from the present 70 percent to 50 percent, and the revenues from capital gains taxes will be cut on a large scale. Some companies will be greatly enriched by relaxed depreciation regulations and tax reduction laws. As for members of Congress, who are among the rich people, the benefits they will get are even more astonishing; according to standard tax exemption provisions, they will pay almost no tax on their over \$60,000 salaries. It is no wonder that the chairman of the board of the First National City Bank of New York was pleased at President Reagan's insistence on carrying out his tax-reduction plan, and continually expressed his "happiness."

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CSO: 4005/776

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

COMMENTARY ON POLAND

Government-Episcopate Meeting

OW061844 Beijing XINHUA in English 1606 GMT 6 May 82

[Text] Warsaw, 5 May (XINHUA)--Both the Polish Government and the Catholic Episcopate expressed their concern over social stability in Poland at a meeting of the government-episcopate joint commission here today.

They discussed the internal situation after street demonstrations and riots took place in a number of cities on May Day and May 3.

The secretariat of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party also met today to discuss the political situation and made a similar assessment.

The Polish Catholic Episcopate said in a communique after its meeting on May 3 and 4 that "new tensions shaking the country have delayed social harmony and return to normal and disoriented the youth of Poland."

The communique reiterated its call for dialogue on social compromise between the authorities and representatives of all social strata and the trade union.

Telephone communication with other parts of the country has been restored since the situation is gradually calming down.

The Polish television station reported today that the summary martial law courts in several cities have started trials of demonstrators and rioters. [A total] of 597 cases have been tried till today. Among them 115 were sentenced to internment, 356 were fined and 26 were set free with a verdict of "not guilty." A number of other cases were sent for trial at civilian courts.

According to the Interior Ministry, 1,372 people were interned during the recent demonstrations and riots throughout the country.

Demonstrations Continue in Cities

OW081036 Beijing XINHUA in English 0752 GMT 8 May 82

[Text] Warsaw, 7 May (XINHUA)--Street clashes continued in a number of Polish cities in the past two days following widespread anti-authority demonstrations in a dozen of cities on May 1 and 3.

Polish television said today that university and middle school students in Gdansk took to the streets on May 4 and clashed with the police. To prevent incidents, the governor of Gdansk Province announced a curfew and the banning of the sale of drinks containing more than 4.5 percent alcohol.

In another Baltic city, Szczecin, small-scale street demonstrations were reported on May 4 and 5. The newspaper TRYBUNA LUDU disclosed yesterday that telephone service in the city was still out and sale of petrol to private cars and taxis and alcoholic drinks to residents banned.

The same newspaper also reported street disturbances in Elbrag on May 4. As a result the governor decreed a curfew between 9 p.m. to 6 a.m. for youngsters under 18.

To forestall similar riots, various provinces have reiterated restrictions under the martial law, such as the banning of public meetings without permissions, the banning of distributing leaflets and posts, harsh punishment for organizers of "protest actions" and for those who attack policemen and arrest or fining of disturbers of public order.

CSO: 4000/117

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

UN COMMISSION ON HUMAN SETTLEMENTS MEETS

OW082012 Beijing XINHUA in English 0713 GMT 8 May 82

[Text] Nairobi, May 7 (XINHUA)--The United Nations commission on human settlements has called for national action and international cooperation, and the integration for improving human settlement conditions (housing, infrastructures and services) with national and local economic development planning.

During the two-week meeting of the fifth session of the U.N. commission on human settlements which ended here this afternoon, many delegates expressed concern about the continued deterioration of settlement conditions in many developing countries and called for concrete measures at international, regional and national levels to reverse this trend.

Some delegates pointed out that the human settlement aid which accounts for only 1.7 percent in all U.N. development programme assistance needs to be substantially increased.

The meeting stressed in particular (?the) planning for human settlements in disaster-prone areas. According to U.N. estimates, natural disasters cost many countries as much as three percent of their gross national product annually. Thus, the meeting called for attention by governments concerned to incorporate natural disaster considerations into their settlement development planning.

A resolution sponsored by 15 African states appealed to developed countries and international financial institutions including the World Bank to increase their contributions to the improvement of settlement conditions in developing countries.

The meeting also called for easing transport difficulties of the low-income people both in urban and rural areas, for the difficulties have affected the people's job opportunity, schooling, marketing, social activities as well as family expenditure.

It was decided that the next session of the commission will be held in Helsinki of Finland in April, next year.

The commission is composed of 58 member states elected from all U.N. members for a three-year term.

CS0: 4000/116

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

'RENMIN RIBAO' CARRIES BIOGRAPHY OF GEORGE BUSH

HK070953 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 7 May 82 p 1

[XINHUA report: "People in the News: U.S. Vice President George Bush"]

[Text] The vice president of the United States, George Bush, was born in Milton, Massachusetts, in the eastern part of the United States on 12 June 1924. He graduated from (Phillips Academy) in June 1942. During the World War II, he joined the navy as an aviator and was cited many times. After resigning from the service, he studied economics in Yale University where he completed his study in 1948 and earned his degree of B.A. in economics.

In 1951, he set up the Bush-(Overby) Development Company in Texas. Together with his partners, he founded the Zapata Petroleum Corporation in 1953. He was general manager of the Zapata Offshore Company in 1954.

He started his political career in the late 1950's. He moved to Houston in 1959 and became a republican leader there. In 1964, he ran for a senator seat in the Texas legislature but was defeated. He was elected to the U.S. House of Representatives in 1966 and reelected for another term of office in 1968. He was a member of the House Ways and Means Committee.

He ran for the U.S. Senate in 1970 but was unsuccessful. In 1971, he was appointed permanent U.S. delegate to the United Nations. He was chairman of the Republican National Committee in 1973. He was director of the U.S. liaison office in China during the period from October 1974 to December 1975. He was director of the Central Intelligence Agency for the period from January 1976 to January 1977. He was elected vice president of the United States in November 1980. He visited China in September 1977 and again in August 1980.

CSO: 4000/116

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

PRC GROUP LEAVES FOR NAIROBI ENVIRONMENT MEETING

OW051327 Beijing XINHUA in English 1220 GMT 5 May 82

[Text] Beijing, May 5 (XINHUA)--A Chinese delegation left here for Nairobi today to attend a session of a special character of the governing council, of the U.N. Environment Programme in memory of the Stockholm conference on human environment held ten years ago.

The delegation is led by Li Jingzhao, advisor to the Ministry of Urban and Rural Construction and Environmental Protection and acting president of the council of the Society of Environmental Sciences.

The session will review achievements in implementing the action programme of the Stockholm conference exchange and sum up experiences and propose environment prospects for the coming ten years.

CSO: 4000/116

PARTY AND STATE

SIGNIFICANCE OF POLITICAL CONSULTATION DISCUSSED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 16 Mar 82 p 5

[Article by Sun Qimeng [1327 6386 1322]: "Political Consultation Is a Good Experience for Developing Socialist Democracy"]

[Text] As a whole, political consultation is a principle and method to handle political relations.

A brief look at the political practice in our country over the last 40 years shows that the nature of political consultation varied under different historical circumstances.

After the end of the war of resistance against Japan in 1945, a political consultation conference was held between the Kuomintang on one hand and the Communist Party and other democratic forces on the other. At that time, the Kuomintang, under the domination of Jiang Jieshi, adopted the policy of upholding dictatorship and exterminating the Communist Party, while the Communist Party united the democratic forces and adopted the policy of peaceful unification, building New China and protecting the rights of the people. Under these concrete conditions, political consultation was unavoidably a sharp and complex political struggle, namely, class struggle. This political consultative conference ultimately ended because of the destruction by the Kuomintang reactionary clique. On the surface it appeared to have achieved no results, but actually this was not the case. Two accomplishments can be ascertained. First, the true face of the Kuomintang reactionary clique was thoroughly exposed, and they thereby lost some of the only political capital they had among the people. The people were made to understand that there was no other way except overthrowing Jiang Jieshi's Kuomintang and its accomplices, the running dogs of imperialism. Second, it provided the experience and prepared for the implementation of the people's democracy and socialist democracy in New China. In 1949 after the victory over the Kuomintang reactionary government that was supported by U.S. imperialism, the Chinese people revived political consultation on an entirely new basis and convened the Chinese People's Political Consultation Conference.

After liberation of the whole country, the nature and scope of political consultation had new development. In the period between 1949 and 1954 the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference and its local committees took over the authority of the people's congress at the national and local levels

respectively. Activities of political consultation were launched and organized on a national scale. In substance, political consultation in this period was an important way for our organs of state power to exercise their functions and powers. After the National People's Congress was established in 1954 the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference no longer functioned in place of the people's congress, "but it remains in existence as an organizational form of the united front and an organ of consultation. Major state policies and principles must still go through its consultation before they are carried out by the government in accordance to the aims and principles of its reports." (Zhou Enlai: "Report on several questions concerning the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference") Actually, after this numerous matters were consulted by the national political consultative conference before the National People's Congress and the State Council deliberated on legislation and decrees or made major decisions. At a time when our country had not yet realized the socialist transformation of capitalist industry and commerce and when the capitalist class remained in existence, political consultation as a form for the realization of the people's democracy inevitably had the character of class struggle on questions concerning the contradiction of interests between the proletariat and capitalist class. In this sense, and in this sense alone, such political consultation had been a special form of class struggle in our country. This special characteristic of political consultation disappeared following the basic change in the class condition of our society. The former industrialists and businessmen had joined the ranks of laborers. There was no contradiction of fundamental interests between them and the workers and peasants. This shifted the political consultation of the new historical period to the focus of socialist construction. Through exchange of views and launching of discussion, all the people in the country unite even more closely in one heart and mind, pool the wisdom and efforts of everyone, and work positively for the victorious realization of the task of socialist construction.

Our country is striding forward toward the great goal of a strong, modern socialist state with a high degree of democracy and culture. Political consultation has already continued to manifest the increasingly explicit role it plays in developing socialist democracy. Adherence to the majority by the minority is an important principle in a democratic system. Due to the fine tradition of political consultation, when this principle is practiced in our social and political life it will not become mere formalism or autocracy in substance, since decisions by vote are carried out on the basis of prior and full ideological deliberations. Political practice in our country has clearly shown that proposals made by leaders on principles and policies in concern are often supplemented, revised and upgraded because of adequate political consultation. We persist in carrying out political consultation because for one thing it does not do harm to the implementation of the principle of majority decision, and for another it can truly respect the minority so that rational elements in the minority views will not be neglected but may play the part they should play. Political consultation is a good form to develop socialist democracy.

PARTY AND STATE

MUNICIPAL PARTY COMMITTEE DISCUSSES UNITED FRONT WORK

Harbin HARBIN RIBAO in Chinese 27 Mar 82 p 1

[Article by Qu Changan [2575 7022 1344]: "Harbin Municipal Party Committee Holds United Front Work Conference on Elimination of 'Leftism'"]

[Text] The Harbin Municipal United Front Work Conference ended its week-long discussions on 26 March.

The conference was held by the Harbin Municipal Party Committee. While in session, the guidelines of the National United Front Work Conference were distributed and studied, along with important speeches by leading comrades on the Central Committee, and plans were laid for future united front work. The conference also heard a speech by Li Lian [2621 0500 1344], second secretary of the Heilongjiang Provincial Party Committee and first secretary of the Harbin Municipal Party Committee, and a report delivered by Comrade Ma Kaiyin [7456 7030 0603], entitled "Further Strengthen the Patriotic United Front as a New Contribution to the Fulfillment of the Three Great Missions During This New Period of History." Leading comrades on the Harbin Municipal Party Committee--including Wang Zhao [3769 6856], Wang Huacheng [3769 0553 2052], Qian Xingmen [6929 5281 7024] and Niu Naiwen [3662.0035 2429]--attended the conference.

Comrades who attended the conference pointed out that since the last municipal united front work conference under the leadership of the Harbin Municipal Party Committee, held in 1980, united front work in Harbin Municipality has progressed rapidly. They stated: The united front is still regarded by our party as being a magic weapon for a considerable time to come. In the future, workers on the united front must continue their efforts to eliminate "leftist" influences and to prevent and overcome parochial tendencies. When we hold consultations and meetings with friends outside the party, we must treat them as equals and comrades so that a relationship of mutual trust and mutual concern will grow.

The conference pointed out that during this new historical period, united front work has become broader in terms of scope and the numbers of people involved. Today, the united front consists of various democratic parties, nonparty but well-known persons, nonparty intellectuals and cadres, former Kuomintang military and political personnel who have revolted and crossed over to our side, former industrialists and businessmen, upper-echelon figures of minority nationalities, patriotic religious leaders, dependents and relatives of families now living on Taiwan, returned overseas

Chinese residents and our compatriots residing in other countries, and friends in Hong Kong and Macao. On our shoulders is the very difficult task of finding ways to rally them behind our cause and to fully stimulate their enthusiasm for the realization of the four modernizations in their homeland. In the face of this task, party organizations at all levels throughout the city must undergo intensive reeducation in the theory and policy of the united front. They must thoroughly implement the series of policies related to the united front. The People's Political Consultative Conference, all democratic parties, and mass organizations concerned with united front work must be encouraged to play a role in further enforcing such policies, in effectively fostering a cordial and cooperative relationship between our party and nonparty people, in strengthening work concerning nationality affairs and religious and overseas Chinese affairs, and in intensifying the ideological and organizational construction of the united front work department. Only in this way can they contribute anew to the building of our socialist material civilization and socialist spiritual civilization and to the fulfillment of the three great missions during this new historical period.

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CSO: 4005/799

PARTY AND STATE

HARBIN ORGAN MOBILIZES CADRES TO COMBAT ECONOMIC CRIMES

Harbin HARBIN RIBAO in Chinese 27 Mar 82 pp 1, 4

[Article by HARBIN RIBAO reporter: "Broaden the Campaign to Combat Economic Crimes"]

[Text] At a meeting called by the Harbin Municipal Party Committee on the afternoon of 26 March and attended by nearly 5,000 cadres, including responsible members of various sections and higher level departments, Wang Zhao [3769 6856], secretary of the Heilongjiang Provincial Party Committee and second secretary of the Harbin Municipal Party Committee, delivered a mobilization report outlining the strategy to broaden the struggle against unlawful and criminal activities in the economic sector.

Comrade Wang Zhao pointed out: A central task now facing party organizations at all levels, party members, cadres, and especially leading cadres at all levels is to broaden our struggle against unlawful and criminal activities in the economic sector. Another task is to display determination to bring to a successful conclusion the campaign to combat all corrosive influences. We must fully recognize the seriousness and inevitability of this struggle and clearly understand the importance and the protracted and complicated nature of still another struggle against decadent capitalist ideology. As Marxists, we must be firm, sober-minded, and capable of getting things done. Leading cadres at all levels must convey and explain to the workers the "Resolution Aimed at Severely Punishing Those Found Guilty of Seriously Disrupting the Economic Order" and the relevant provisions of the "Criminal Law." The broad masses must be mobilized to play an active role in combating corrosive influences.

In his report, Comrade Wang Zhao said: Party committees at all levels must make an overall arrangement and work out a specific strategy for development of the struggle. Plans must be worked out and steps must be taken to lead the struggle to develop in depth. Party members and CYL members throughout the city must be encouraged to play a vanguard role in the struggle. The current extensive inspection of financial and economic discipline must be accompanied by a thorough investigation of economic problems caused by specific units. All important cases of economic crime, including cases of smuggling, speculation, extortion, cheating, embezzlement, bribery, criminal acts of converting state or collectively-owned property into that of private ownership, and other serious violations of law must be thoroughly investigated until justice is done. We must first make conscientious efforts to

investigate important economic crimes involving responsible cadres and cases of collective cheating. All cases, some of which may involve high-ranking organizations or cadres, must be thoroughly investigated and seriously dealt with--without discrimination. Under no circumstances should we show leniency, indecisiveness, and softness in dealing with them, or an attitude of appeasement of wrongdoers.

Comrade Wang Zhao pointed out: In the course of the struggle, the party's principles and policies must be correctly conveyed to the public. Determination must be displayed by party organizations at all levels to thoroughly implement the instructions issued by the Central Committee with regard to interpreting the policies designed to guide the development of the struggle. Although this struggle is not a political movement, the masses must be relied upon and the mass line must be followed in carrying it out. In the course of their investigation, investigators must emphasize evidence and must persist in seeking truth from facts; they must strictly distinguish those contradictions between ourselves and the enemy from those among the people; they must strictly distinguish between felonies and unhealthy tendencies, between mistakes in work and unlawful and criminal activities involving the abuse of power, and between those who have voluntarily confessed their crimes and made prompt compensation for their wrongdoing and those who have stubbornly refused to do so. They must analyze and understand every problem, its nature, and its details clearly and correctly. They must make the major targets of attack definitely clear, mete out severe punishment to those who really deserve it, and accord lenient treatment to others as deemed necessary. They must accurately explain the party's policies to the public, and vigorously publicize the "Resolution Aimed at Severely Punishing Those Found Guilty of Seriously Disrupting the Economic Order," adopted by the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress. They must convey to the masses the party's policy of "leniency toward those who confess their crimes and severe punishment for those who refuse to do so," so that the role of our legal system in preventing crime can be brought into full play. Those troubled with problems must race against time and prepare to convey their problems frankly to the party and government before the limited time between now and the expiration date of 1 May runs out, and before their eligibility for lenient treatment is forfeited.

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PARTY AND STATE

STREAMLINING OF ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE URGED

Proposal at Work Forum

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 4 Apr 82 p 1

[Report: "Peng Min [1756 2404] Makes Proposal at Capital Construction Work Forum: Let Us Interfere Neither With the Streamlining of the Administrative Structure Nor With Capital Construction Work"]

[Text] A Xinhua News Agency reporter and our own staff reporter report that a capital construction work forum was convened by the State Capital Construction Commission in the forenoon of the 34d of this month. Responsible comrades in charge of capital construction work in the relevant departments of the State Council attended the meeting. Deputy Chairman Peng Min proposed at the meeting: While streamlining our administrative structure, we must strengthen our leadership over the work of capital construction and try earnestly to interfere neither with the streamlining of our administrative structure nor with our capital construction work.

During the first quarter of this year, the situation with regard to our nationwide capital construction was fine. Progress in the construction of certain key projects in the energy, textile, communication and transportation, and raw materials industries was accelerated. In the large-scale mines of coal-mining areas such as Huainan and Huaibei, Gunzhou, and Handan, planned drilling progress was overfulfilled during the first quarter. Housing space completed in the country's cities and towns in January and February amounted to 740,000 square meters, a 16-percent increase over the corresponding period last year. But some departments were so busy streamlining the administrative structure that they failed to remain closely engaged in capital construction work. In the process of such streamlining, too, some departments failed to dovetail their projects capital construction smoothly, with the result that some problems awaiting urgent handling were not solved in time. Peng Min pointed out: The second quarter is going to be a good period for carrying out capital construction. We must do all we can to see to it that our leadership over capital construction work is not relaxed, and we must strengthen our daily instructions and adjustments, do a good job of dovetailing the various projects, and earnestly try not to interfere with either the streamlining of our administrative structure or our capital construction work.

Comrade Peng Min said that in our capital construction work this year, we must stress paying close attention to the following projects: shortening the period required for construction, improving the results of investment, paying close attention to the construction of projects to be put into operation and of key projects, doing a good job of rectification work with respect to constructing and designing units and making them operational, solidly carrying out basic work for capital construction, adhering to the operational procedures for capital construction, strengthening the groundwork for capital construction management, and striving to raise the level of our capital construction management.

Bureaucrat's Commentary

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 3 Apr 82 p 5

[Reader's commentary by Liu Zhenhua [0491 2182 5478], Secretary General, Luliang Administrative Office, Shanxi, in "Readers' Forum": "Let Us Not Wait for the Streamlining of Our Administrative Structure; Let Us Improve Our Workstyle First"]

[Text] With regard to the streamlining of our administrative structure, we must accomplish it in a planned, orderly manner. How should we proceed with this at the prefectural and county levels today? I think we should not sit and wait but should earnestly improve our workstyle first, so as to prepare well for such streamlining.

My work in the secretariat of the Luliang Prefectural Administrative Office has consisted basically of sitting in this agency. Apart from going to the party school of the provincial party committee to study, participating in meetings convened by the province, and taking sick leave for 10 days last year, I worked in this agency (including festivals and holidays) for about 310 days. What did I do for this long period of time? According to my calculations, my work mainly included:

1. Handling documents, most of my time. Apart from the Central Committee, provincial party committee, and prefectural party committee documents I reviewed according to regulations, even if only the documents I commented on and handled are counted, their number is still quite amazing. During the year, the State Council, the State Council General Office, and the Military Commission General Office sent a total of over 303 documents, and those which I commented on and handled numbered 259; the provincial government, the provincial government general office, and the various commissions, departments, and bureaus sent altogether over 305 telegrams, and those which I commented on and handled numbered 243; the prefectural administrative office itself sent out 262 documents in all, and I examined 153 of them; the various committees and bureaus under the administrative office and the various county governments sent a total of over 653 documents, and I reviewed 392 of them. All together, the above amounted to 1,523 documents, two-thirds of which I read myself, or as many as 1,047.

2. Commenting on and handling telephone messages and cards. During the year, the Prefectural Administrative Office's reception office received 328 recorded telephone notices and appeals for instruction from governments at various levels and relevant departments; I reviewed and handled 240 of them myself. There have been also countless ad hoc telephone calls.

3. Meetings. During the year, I spent 29 days on trips to the provincial capital to attend meetings, and no small number of days attending meetings convened by the prefectural party committee, too. The Prefectural Administrative Office convened 25 meetings, and I attended 20 of them. The duration of these meetings was generally limited, and they did solve certain practical problems. But what is terrible is that some meetings lasted a rather long time and were of very little consequence.

The result of these numerous documents, numerous telephone calls, and numerous meetings is: people don't actually go anywhere, real situations cannot be learned, and work efficiency is very low.

Such a situation may be rather general. From this, we can see that a streamlining of the administrative structure must be attempted. But I think the prefectural and county levels today should not sit and wait for the streamlining of their administrative structure but should energetically improve their work efficiency. My concrete suggestions are:

First, clearly define duties and responsibilities, so that every unit will take the responsibility of completing each specifically assigned task. We must do a good job of separating the party from the government. With the premise of letting the party committees take the lead, we must give full scope to the functional roles of government organs. Departments of the government must also clearly define their respective limits of responsibility so as to avoid passing the buck or monopolizing things when matters to be dealt with are at hand. We must strengthen our collective leadership and division of labor with individual responsibility. Among the general working personnel, an individual responsibility system should be established for each post.

Second, reduce the number of documents. We must improve quality, and stress practical results. There must be investigation and study before documents are drafted, and the procedures of examining them and commenting on them must be made strict. Attention must be paid to the implementation of the documents; they must not be set aside once they are dispatched.

Third, get deeply involved at the basic level in order to understand the conditions surrounding the implementation of established principles and policies. The focus of work of the prefectural and county leaders should be placed under investigation and study; it cannot be centered on transmitting the intention of the higher level downward one level after another, so that by the time it is transmitted to the basic level it still consists of the scant original statement. We must pay great attention to studying the conditions of our practical work.

Fourth, rectify our style of study and energetically promote the practice of engaging in study. Today, deviations in our style of study at the prefecture and county levels are very serious. Very few people bother about studying the theory of Marxism-Leninism. With regard to documents from the Party Central Committee and the State Council, most people simply let them go after a brief glance. Studying in an agency consists merely of reading newspapers, engaging in chitchat, and killing time, and some refrain from doing any studying at all. To get a handle on improving our workstyle, we must begin with getting a handle on our style of study. Leaders must take the lead in studying. Effective or ineffective study should be regarded as an important component in the evaluation of cadres.

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PARTY AND STATE

IDEOLOGICAL WORK, FORTHRIGHT WORKSTYLE STRESSED

Face-to-Face Approach

Harbin HEILONGJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 23 Mar 82 p 1

[Commentary by staff commentator: "Carry Out Ideological Work Face-to-Face"]

[Text] Since the beginning of last year, leading cadres at various levels, prompted and influenced by leading cadres of the provincial party committee, have all undertaken to go down to the basic level to carry out ideological work face-to-face among the masses and have achieved fine results. This is a successful experience.

Today, our country is in an important historical period of advancing from disorder to order and from poverty to prosperity, and of great change and great development. The reason why our line and principles since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee have been very popular is basically because they reflect the demands of this historical period and reflect the fundamental interests and will of the people. We cannot think that once the party's line and principles are correctly formulated, they will spontaneously become the conscious action of every party member, cadres, and individual. We should see that there are still people who lack sufficient perception and understanding of our party's line, principles, and policies since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee; their awareness is not comprehensive enough. There are also people who, because they have been subjected to rather deep "leftist" ideological influences, are still used to viewing questions by "leftist" standards and therefore frown upon or even suspect the party's line and principles. And there are a very few people who are opposed to the party's line and principles. Leading comrades at various levels must look squarely at this reality and personally go down to the basic level to do a good job of face-to-face ideological work, in view of such ideological realities on the part of the cadres and masses, in order to help them clear away such suspicions in their thinking so that the party's line, principles, and policies will genuinely become the unswerving will and belief of the vast ranks of our party members and cadres and will genuinely become the people's own ideas.

At present, not a few ideological problems among certain cadres and masses have arisen with regard to the economic aspects. Because they lack an

understanding of the overall situation, once they encounter certain concrete problems or come upon certain inconveniences in their individual lives, with no reasonable interpretation or solution at hand, they often immediately come up with this or that kind of opinion or go a step further by suspecting that the whole economic situation is not very good. This plays havoc with the concentration of their attention and efforts on the construction of our socialist modernization. Leading comrades at various levels must seek truth from facts and forthrightly carry out propaganda and education among the vast ranks of the cadres and masses on the economic situation. They must be good at using the methods of enumeration and comparison in order to illustrate the great efforts exerted by the party and government in the past few years to improve the people's livelihood. Without talking about them systematically and going into details, many people simply may not know about them. Once the masses learn about these main facts, they will understand the state's difficulties, and when an individual encounters some specific difficulty he should be able to deal with it correctly.

In doing ideological work among the masses, we must adhere to the principle of providing guidance by stressing facts, speaking the truth, and exercising persuasion. We must adopt different methods in response to each individual's specific conditions, and we must do very careful work. We must adopt the conversational form, persuasively answer questions that are on people's minds, and, in accordance with the party's established policies, do our best to help them solve certain practical problems. We hope that leaders at various levels, especially leading comrades above the county level, will systematically practice going down to the basic level personally to carry out ideological work face-to-face among the masses/and get involved with it on a long-term basis; this would be an important guarantee for our project of building our material civilization and spiritual civilization today.

Strengthening of Confidence

Harbin HEILONGJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 24 Mar 82 p 1

[Commentary by staff commentator: "Strengthen Our Confidence"]

[Text] We often hear this kind of comment: Unhealthy practices are prevalent today; unless one resorts to something devious, one can hardly handle "upright" things. Comrade Li Yonghe [2621 3067 0735] has handled several big "upright" matters, yet each was handled in the public interest and each was smartly handled. Was the situation in which he found himself the "Land of Peach Blossoms?" No, the troubles relating to "real power-holders" and "people with connections" he encountered were by no means rare. Did he have anything to "beat others" with? What one cultural section chief could brandish "was but a few movie tickets." What did he rely on to be able to withstand the encroachment of unhealthy practices while presiding over capital construction work and making it possible for several buildings to rise straight up? What he relied on was the firm belief of "the devious being never able to overcome the upright." What he relied on was his flaming enthusiasm toward the revolutionary cause.

Comrade Li Yonghe says he "never believes that the devious can overcome the upright." What a fine statement! What is mentioned as the "upright" here is nothing other than the party's standpoint, principles, and policies, and all ideas and deeds that deviate from them are the "devious." We are revolutionary contingents led by the Communist Party. Everything we do serves the people and serves the interests of the overwhelming majority. The consistent nature of the character and goal of these contingents determines that every member of them must be honest and upright, must work selflessly for the public interest, and must carry out the party's principles and policies in an exemplary manner; and every constituent part of them must sincerely unite and keep step with others in order to ensure the realization of the party's overall goals. That is to say, every word and every deed on our part must conform to the party's standpoint and principles, so that we can remain open and aboveboard, loyal and active, without ever deviating. Nor is it permissible to deviate from them and resort to the airing of dissension and complaints or to the tactics of evasion and manipulation. Comrade Li Yonghe has unswervingly adhered to this kind of "upright" conduct, despised and discarded that kind of "devious" conduct, and sought with great enthusiasm to "uphold the upright and get rid of the devious," thereby evincing the revolutionary integrity of a communist.

At present, many unhealthy practices still prevail in our life. Under such circumstances, whether or not we can adhere to the party's standpoint and principles has to do with the question of party character on the part of a communist and a revolutionary cadre, and with the question of revolutionary integrity. Whether or not we have the confidence that "the devious will never overcome the upright" is also such a question. If a communist does not firmly believe that the party's principles and policies are something more effective than "entering by the backdoor" and "seeking connections," or [does not believe] that the party's ideology and principles are something more powerful than "exchanges of authorizations" and "material lures," than how can he be called a communist?

Firm belief in "the devious being never able to overcome the upright" does not mean that the formidable effort required to "uphold the upright and get rid of the devious" can be underestimated. The tasks of overcoming the multifarious unhealthy practices, and especially of carrying out a struggle against economic crimes, is indeed formidable. We must devote our utmost efforts in order to win victory. But we are equipped with all the necessary conditions to win such a victory. First of all, unhealthy practices have already become the common scourges of our society and, apart from those very few persons who attempt to fish in muddy water, most people loathe them and urgently demand that they be removed as soon as possible. Where the party's wish is directed and where the people's will is directed constitute the source of our strength for carrying out struggle. Secondly, relevant party discipline, government decrees, and laws of the state are all made very clear; these are the weapons and norms with which we can carry out our struggle. At the same time, we should see that the ongoing building of our spiritual civilization and the crackdown on economic crimes and other illegal activities also serve to create a beneficial situation for the overcoming of unhealthy practices. Under such conditions, the proposal by the Party Central Committee

to score a considerable turn for the better in our party workstyle and social trends within the year can work from a strategically advantageous position. The issue today is to require every one of our comrades to take positive action and to struggle against erosion by bourgeois ideology and for rectification of the party's workstyle and purification of the people's habits.

For this reason, we must make sure that we ourselves do not resort to unhealthy practices in the first place. On the basis of the party's principles and policies, things that should be handled must be handled well and with utter devotion, and no attempt should be made to set up bottlenecks for others. Those things that should not be handled must not be handled, no matter what is involved. This is a key link. If I refrain from resorting to them and you refrain from resorting to them, unhealthy practices will disappear gradually naturally. In the meantime, if some persons still resort to them or induce you to "accommodate" them, or force you to follow suit, you must by all means firmly resist them and work to admonish them to desist in their practices. By doing this, you may temporarily encounter some trouble such as incurring retaliation and the like, but that should be nothing to worry about. Party discipline and the laws of the state ultimately will not tolerate such incorrigible evildoers.--This is a point in which we should firmly believe.

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PARTY AND STATE

ROLE OF SOCIALIST MORALITY IN BUILDING SPIRITUAL CIVILIZATION DISCUSSED

Harbin FENDOU (STRUGGLE) in Chinese No 1, 1982 pp 9-10

[Article by Ji Kefei]

[Text] Recently, at the Fourth Plenary Session of the Fifth National People's Congress, Premier Zhao Ziyang appealed to the entire nation to establish a high-level socialist spiritual civilization, and at the same time, to establish a highly material civilization. [This appeal] asks us citizens to cultivate more extensively socialist and communist thought, moral behavior, and work attitudes, to cultivate noble ideological sentiment, lifestyle and aesthetic appreciation, to cultivate the spirit of consciously obeying the law and a heightened sense of organization and discipline and to develop a spirit of patriotism and internationalism. Therefore, it is extremely necessary to recognize the status and role of communist morality in building socialist spiritual civilization.

Communist Morality Is the Main Substance and Symbol of Socialist Spiritual Civilization

We know that the substance of socialist spiritual civilization is abundant and widespread. On the one hand, it is the developing pattern and standard of educational, scientific, cultural, artistic, hygienic, and athletic undertakings and on the other hand, it is the developing orientation and standard of social political thought and moral principles. Since the beginning of human history, just as morality has always been the main substance of human spiritual civilization, communist morality, naturally, has been the main substance of socialist spiritual civilization. The increase in material civilization cannot automatically cause an increase in spiritual civilization. To bring about the development of spiritual civilization, we must develop the teaching of communist morality, and make communist morality the standard of thought and action of the great masses--this is the main symbol of socialist spiritual civilization.

Morality is social consciousness which is established on a definite socioeconomic base. It serves as the code for thought and action including ideals, values, and beliefs. This code helps an individual determine his relation and obligation to society and guides him in establishing principles of handling interpersonal relationships. Communist morality is a constituent part of the communist world view and is a powerful ideological weapon of proletarian and mass workers in carrying out revolution and construction. It

demands that we behave according to collectivism, the basic principle of communist morality. Everyone knows that to carry out modern socialist construction, develop production, and create abundant material wealth requires us to deal with the relationships among people and to stimulate the socialist enthusiasm and creativity of everyone. In building the four modernizations, skillful handling the relation among the state, the collective and the individual interest is the key to interpersonal relationships, and the principle of collectivism in communist morality is the guiding ideology for dealing with the three relationships correctly. Based on the requirements of the principle of collectivism, personal interests should yield to those of the collective, partial and local interests must be subordinated to the whole, immediate interests should be subordinated to long-term interests. When contradictions occur, the nation and the collective, keeping individual worker's interest in mind, should make revision and adjustment of their policies and measures, while the people are required to behave according to the guidance of collectivism--the basic principle of communist morality.

One of the fundamental details of communist moral standards is to encourage citizens' enthusiasm for work. A person's moral standard should be judged by his eagerness to work and his appreciation of the end products. If this communist standard of loving work can become the deep-rooted conviction of each [person participating in the] "four modernizations," then it will inevitably evoke immense enthusiasm and creative initiative. It is clear that strengthening communist moral education is an important condition in the political thought of our nation's economic development of socialism; otherwise, establishing a highly socialist material civilization and socialist spiritual civilization is empty talk.

Communist Morality Is the Spiritual Strength Which Promotes Wholesome Social Custom

One of the means to judge social spiritual civilization lies on social customs and habits. Whereas the popular custom is influenced by the fluctuations in the level of social morality. A socialist society is no exception. Good customs and habits depend on the dissemination of communist morality.

Experiences and lessons learned during the 32 years of fluctuations within our country have indicated that the forming of good habits requires the carrying out of communist moral education. Beginning with the establishment of our nation, under the leadership of our party, we popularized patriotic education throughout the entire country. Subsequently, Comrade Mao Zedong advanced the moral standard of the "five loves" [the love for motherland, the people, labor, science and public property]. As a result, public opinion in the entire country, lauded communist morality. The old, decadent social customs transformed radically, and the moral standards of the entire society rapidly elevated and accelerated the development of socialist construction. However, the influence of the vestiges of feudalism and bourgeois morality as well as various old traditions and customs are still in existence. Given a chance they will multiply, spread and assault the communist moral standards already established.

The 10 years of internal upheaval thus provided the catalyst for the revival of feudal and bourgeois morality; various old ideologies, morals and customs were permitted to grow and expand which brought about a rapid decline in the standard of social morality and critically corrupted social behavior. After the 3d Plenary Session of the [11th] Central Committee, [the party] brought order out of chaos, undertook thoroughgoing reforms, adroitly guided the people's struggle to victory, and consolidated control. Social behavior has undergone extensive changes; nonetheless, it still has not been fundamentally improved. Along with the development of economic activities with foreign countries, there also occurred some negative aspects. For example, some people advocated a philosophy of egoism, contending that it is "man's nature to be selfish." Therefore, the ideology of worshipping money and advocating power developed among some people. This kind of social behavior, if it is permitted to develop uncontrolled, will undoubtedly influence the building of our material and spiritual civilization. In order to thoroughly change social behavior, we must criticize feudal and bourgeois morality and strengthen the education of communist morality.

To be sure, eliminating feudal and bourgeois moral ideology, fostering the moral concepts of communism and establishing a socialist atmosphere will be a long-term and arduous task. Lenin pointed out that to establish a new morality is very difficult. In his discussion on communism's voluntary labor on Saturdays, he said: "For the workers themselves to create and organize communism's voluntary labor on Saturdays is an act of tremendous significance. Obviously this is only the beginning; however, it is an extremely important beginning. This beginning is even more difficult, more significant, more profound, and more decisively meaningful than the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, because it is a triumph in self-preservation, and it eliminates petty bourgeois egoism. This is a triumph over the extremely evil capitalistic customs passed down to the workers and peasants. (The Selected Works of Lenin" vol 4 p 1) To understand that the establishment of communist morality and the formation of a socialist atmosphere are extremely difficult and long-term, require that we treat communist moral education as a strategic task, and persevere in it.

The Basic Purpose of Socialist Moral Civilization Is To Use Communist Morality To Develop in an All-round Way a New Individual

The fundamental purpose of constructing socialist spiritual civilization is to develop in an all-round way a new generation. The base is material; the goal is to cultivate talents. To stress people's status, expand human values, and develop individuals in an all-round way are also basic features of the socialist spiritual civilization. As persons living during this socialist period, we not only should have an abundance of scientific knowledge and healthy bodies, we also need selflessness; we need to strive solely for others, to be unselfish, to work hard, to be steadfast in our work, to be modest and prudent, to be honest and faithful, and to have fine moral qualities. Only in this way can mankind then truly enter into a civilized period. Lenin profoundly pointed out: "The overall task of cultivating, educating and training the contemporary youth should be taken as the communist moral cause of cultivating youth." (Selected Works of Lenin" vol 4 p 351) The building of a socialist spiritual civilization is also a task of using communist morality to mold a new generation.

Our party has always attached importance to using communist morality in educating the next generation. In the 1960's at Comrade Mao Zedong's suggestion, the activity of "learning from Comrade Lei Feng" was initiated, communist morality deeply penetrated the hearts of the people, and there emerged a group of advanced personages who were brightly lighted with communist morality. However, because of 10 years of confusion, in the minds of the people, especially in the minds of the younger generation, selflessness has decreased while selfishness has increased, resulting in a decline in moral standards. Therefore, to carry out education on communist morality and to resist the decadent thought and life style of capitalism has become urgent tasks in building a socialist spiritual civilization.

The goal is clear-cut. The task is urgent. Let us justly and forcefully strengthen the education and propaganda on communist morality. This bears importantly on improving party style and people's habits, and on building a socialist spiritual civilization.

9936

CSO: 4005/713

PARTY AND STATE

BUILDING SPIRITUAL CULTURE BY VETERAN CADRES STRESSED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 5 Mar 82 p 5

[Article by Sun Qimeng [1327 6386 1322]: "The People's Political Consultative Conference and Democratic Parties and Groups Should Play a Part in Building Socialist Spiritual Culture"]

[Text] The Party Central Committee has repeatedly pointed out that in carrying out socialist construction we not only need to build material culture but also spiritual culture.

The People's Political Consultative Conference is a united front organization of the Chinese people led by the Communist Party. Democratic parties and groups constitute a political alliance of a portion of our socialist laborers and patriots who support socialism, which is also a kind of united front organization. They have made a valuable contribution to the socialist construction of our country. Here, I wish to discuss the question of the part they play in building spiritual culture.

Some believe that members of the political consultative conference and democratic parties and groups are mostly elderly people who cannot play too great a part. This is a one-sided view and a half-baked understanding. Old age is often accompanied by physical weaknesses and illnesses which are certainly "disadvantages" of elderly people who are restricted by the law of nature. However, precisely because of their old age, elderly people have the experience young people lack. Some veteran comrades even have considerably good mentality, good moral character and good work style which are their "advantages." These "advantages" of veteran comrades are valuable "resources" for building our spiritual culture. We must have resources for our construction. To investigate our resources, we must stress material as well as spiritual resources. Good mentality, good moral character and good work style hidden among veteran comrades are valuable spiritual resources for developing socialist construction. We must intensely investigate, properly protect and suitably utilize these spiritual resources. We must not underestimate or ignore them, nor must we take a nihilistic attitude toward them.

Recently, leading comrades of the Party Central Committee pointed out that veteran cadres who are retired or on sick leave should be given not only good care in their political life but also a correct and positive part to play. This is a major policy that is comprehensive and wise. It embodies the

superiority of the socialist system. This policy is in accord with the wishes of veteran cadres because as people say, they are in the frame of mind that "the days of dedicating oneself to the country are arduous and few, and the mind of dedicating oneself to the country is many times more anxious." This policy is also in accord with the interests of state and nation because whether we implement this policy or not, it concerns the major question of the speed and effect of realizing our modern construction.

There are diverse channels to give full play to the role of veteran comrades. Precisely because the members of the People's Political Consultative Conference and the democratic parties and groups are largely elderly people, they are an important channel for correctly giving play to the role of veteran cadres in building spiritual culture.

Comrade Zhao Ziyang pointed out that the main substance of spiritual culture consists of two aspects. One is the scope and level of development in education, science, culture, art, health and sports. The other one is the direction and level of development in socio-political thought and ethics. In the first aspect, the People's Political Consultative Conference and democratic parties and groups have already done a great deal of beneficial work. In the second aspect, because of numerous veteran cadres inside and outside the party the political consultative conference and democratic parties and groups can surely provide rich spiritual resources and make new contributions.

What are the spiritual resources of good mentality, good moral character and good traditions that veteran cadres have that can be used to build socialist spiritual culture? In general, they can use their personal experiences and what they have learned to carry out ideological education among the masses they contact, particularly the younger generation.

The first is education on patriotic thinking. Using facts to make comparisons is an effective way to increase the sentiments of patriotic thinking. Comrades inside and outside the party from the older generation are witnesses who have experienced the two historical periods of Old and New China. The tragic experience of the descendants of the Yellow Emperor who suffered oppression and devastation under imperialism in Old China and the pride and elation of the Chinese who have stood up in New China are vivid before their eyes. The rule of reactionary forces in Old China and the leadership of the Communist Party and the people's government in New China also have made deep impressions on them. Comparisons between Old and New China have taught them profoundly, and they in turn have the responsibility and qualifications to teach the younger generation. For comparisons of the motherland and foreign countries, there are numerous returned overseas Chinese, former students who studied abroad and compatriots from Hong Kong and Aomen among members of the People's Political Consultative Conference and democratic parties and groups who have rich first-hand materials that can be used to rouse patriotic thinking and sentiments among the people.

The second is education on collectivist thinking. The present social morality and habits basically have not improved because of the hindrance of individualistic mentality. We must use collectivism to overcome individualism and make

the mentality of subordinating individual and partial interests to overall and state interests the mentality that governs our society. On this question, members of the People's Political Consultative Conference and democratic parties and groups can use their personal experiences and what they learned in reality to explain by examples and carry out effective propaganda education among the masses they contact, particularly the younger generation.

9586

CSO: 4005/695

PARTY AND STATE

VIRTUES OF CIVILIZED MANNERS, CONDUCT EXTOLLED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 28 Mar 82 p 5

[Article by Li Zhun [2621 0402]: "A Discussion of Civilized Manners Pertaining to Meng Min's Disposition"]

[Text] The great reputable scholar Guo Linzong of the Eastern Han Dynasty was erudite and talented, insightful and good at perceiving people's character. He often observed a person's moral temperament and disposition through some minor mannerisms in his daily conduct. Once upon a time he was going to the market in a street in Taiyuan; a young peasant happened to be walking ahead of him. This peasant had bought a new pot and tied it to a pole, and he was carrying the pole on his shoulder with the pot slung on his back. Because of the crowding by many people, one person who was carrying a harrow on his shoulder inadvertently hit the pot, which dropped on the ground, its lower half broken. This person with the harrow hurriedly squeezed into the crowd and sneaked away; however, the young peasant with the pot did not even turn his head to cast a glance, but simply continued to walk forward with half a pot on his shoulder. Walking behind him, Guo Linzong saw this very clearly and hence rushed forward a few steps, patted that young peasant on the shoulder, and said: "Hey! Your pot is broken!" That young peasant somehow replied calmly: "I know it is broken." Guo Linzong was greatly amazed and asked once more: "Why don't you look for that person who broke your pot?" Un moved, the young man replied: "The pot is already broken. What would be the use of looking for him? Hardly anything can happen except a quarrel which would provide a noisy scene for bystanders. He apparently did not mean to cause what happened." Upon hearing this, Guo Linzong admired his disposition very much, and therefore held his hand and asked: "What is your name?" "My name is Meng Min, a native of Julu," replied the young man. Guo Linzong thereby enthusiastically advised him: "You should study and travel. You will certainly accomplish a great deal in the future." Under Guo Linzong's help and encouragement, Meng Min later became a great scholar.

This story about Guo Linzong and Meng Min happened more than a thousand years ago, but I somehow always continue to remember it.

In recent years I have been squeezing my way to catch a bus, but I feel that Beijing, after all, is the capital; civilized and courteous conduct on the bus seems far better than that in other places. But sometimes certain unpleasant

things do--occur for example, you might squeeze my leg, I might trample on your foot, water from your umbrella might drip on me, the mud from my vegetables might rub off on your trousers. All of this ordinarily can be a trivial matter, but somehow it often causes a "scolding match." The degree of foulness of the language in such "scolding matches" often escalates; some male youths often grimace while they scold, with an elated expression on their faces, and some female youths let loose a torrent of abuse in return, showing off their prowess for counterattacking. Some individual male youths, in particular, seem to find it hard to go on if they don't have a chance to match their loquaciousness with each other once every couple of days, and some individual female youths, too, tend purposely to look for trouble and play the coquette, as if the modern clothing they wear would go unnoticed if they didn't quarrel a little.

Every time I encounter such a senseless quarrel, I always have a feeling of pity. I think of their parents, and I also think of their teachers in their schooldays. China has so many good books which they have no chance to read, and China has so many stories about unspoiled customs which they have no chance to hear. It occurs to me that if they only knew a bit more, their spiritual outlook would not be so shallow. Chinese peasants have a saying: "Never discuss trivialities." "Trivialities" are naturally things not worth quarreling about; "never discuss" means that people must have some broadmindedness so as not to bother with them. It occurs to me that if everyone could achieve this, then it would not only be beneficial to our drive for civilized manners but would probably also have some effect on reducing our urban noise.

9255

CSO: 4005/738

PARTY AND STATE

SPIRIT OF FOOLISH OLD MAN WHO MOVED THE MOUNTAIN PRAISED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 30 Mar 82 p 8

[Article by Xin Ren [2946 0088]: "Spiritual Civilization and the Foolish Old Man Who Removed the Mountain"]

[Text] Not long ago, RENMIN RIBAO published in succession several dispatches and articles concerning the foolish old man who removed the mountain, plus some miscellaneous essays and short discourses explicating the spirit of the foolish old man in removing the mountain; they all provided us with some encouragement and enlightenment. But at the same time, we also encountered some sharply different criticisms which were rather harsh. These criticisms prompted us to reflect repeatedly as to what really is the spirit of the "foolish old man who removed the mountain?" Should giving scope to this spirit also become a component part of our effort to build a socialist spiritual civilization?

This fable about the "foolish old man who removed the mountain" has been passed on for one or two thousand years. Since Comrade Mao Zedong expounded it at the party's Seventh Congress, the spirit of the foolish old man who removed the mountain became synonymous with the revolutionary spirit of hard struggle possessed by the CCP and the Chinese people. The party and the people have always taken "transforming China like the foolish old man who removed the mountain" as their own mission, and they have also actually dug up the "big mountains" once pressing down on their heads. In the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of Our State," it was reiterated, on the basis of a summing up of our historical experiences, once again that this famous work of the "foolish old man who removed the mountain" "is still of great significance to us even today," and a call was also issued to the whole party, the whole army, and all nationalities of the country to "continue to give scope to the spirit of the foolish old man who removed the mountain" and to struggle hard for the building of a socialist modern power. Obviously, whether it is our past revolutionary practice or the experiences in our contemporary economic construction, whether it is Comrade Mao Zedong's discourses or the decisions of our Party Central Committee today, they all consistently explain that during this pivotal historical era we must continue to give scope to the spirit of the foolish old man who removed the mountain.

Yet, why should different opinions still appear?

First of all, because of the deviation in our party's guiding ideology and its mishandling of practical work in economic development, there has been a misunderstanding by some people regarding the spirit of the foolish old man who removed the mountain, as they think that promoting the spirit of the foolish old man who removed the mountain is equivalent to acting recklessly without paying attention to objective facts, and that we are ready once again to resort to the kind of tiring but fruitless blind commands as "dig up mountains and pave the fields" and "transfer water from the west to the east." Consequently, they begin to take the wise old man who refrains from doing anything in the face of difficulties and who resigns himself to his fate as the one who seeks truth from facts. Bitten by a snake one day, one is liable to be afraid even of a rope for 10 years. This misunderstanding that arises from doubt is one of the reasons why so many different opinions have appeared.

But we should also see that in the case of some people, it is erroneous ideas that are playing tricks. Afraid of hard struggle, they fail to understand that in order to improve our living and our welfare, we must diligently seek to change our world. Instead, under the pretext of correcting mistakes and summing up experiences, they attempt to fundamentally negate the spirit of the foolish old man who removed the mountain. They allege that the story of the foolish old man who removed the mountain is preposterous and unscientific; the foolish old man is a petit-bourgeois fanatic, whereas the wise old man is a representative of the intellectuals and should be respected. Therefore they advocate "detours" and "moving," etc.

The essence of this dispute is how to treat the difficulties that lie across the road ahead of us, and what attitude to adopt with regard to undertakings that are related to our own interests and that at the same time are of benefit to future generations. Are we going to be like the foolish old man who "broke up rocks and cultivated the soil, doing all he could to level down the precipitous terrain?" Or are we going to be like the wise old man who shrinks in the face of difficulties, takes a detour, and moves away? These are evidently two entirely different spiritual states and two different attitudes.

Here we may make a brief comparison between two pieces of reportage published in RENMIN RIBAO on 5 February and 13 January this year and the fable of the "foolish old man who removed the mountain." The tree-planting "foolish old man" Li Wanshou [2621 5502 1108] is 77 years old this year. After 6 years of tree-planting efforts, he has turned a once-forlorn muddy hilltop into a "little gold treasury." When the old man began to reclaim the hill area during the first year, some people advised him to stop: "Trees planted by individuals are liable sooner or later to be turned over to the collective; why should you waste your effort for nothing?" The old man replied: "When these trees grow up, whether they are turned over to the collective or not, there is bound to be some benefit. Even if I myself am simply going to get a bunch of wood for fuel, that will be good enough for me." Other people also advised him to stop: "You are already so old and still planting trees; will you have time to enjoy them?" The old man smiled a bit, saying: "Even if I myself will not have time to enjoy them, the fact that they will be of benefit to posterity will please me enough." When the wise old man of the [fable] laughed at how stupid the foolish old man "already nearing 90" was, wasn't his reason for asking him not to dig up the hill as follows: With your [few] remaining years and leftover strength, how can you even budge the hill one iota?" How similar are the tones and dispositions in the fable and in this true story! Are they not worthy of our deep

reflection? In Xinjiang, the place called "Qiongshesi," where the Maimaiti [6314 6314 2251] family resides, is troubled by wind and sand throughout the seasons, with the ground everywhere full of alkaline patterns. Unlike several of his neighbors, however, who simply moved away, he is like a red willow that takes deep root in the "great marsh." In 8 consecutive years, he planted more than 10,000 trees and thereby turned a forlorn land into one of thriving profusion. What is so bad about this "stupidity" that can change the world by hard struggle? And what can be so good about that "wisdom" that prompts people to avoid difficulties and change their minds the moment they see something new?

Therefore, the spirit of the foolish old man who removed the mountain, which we praise and advocate, represents this kind of workstyle: when one considers problems in social practice, one not only keeps in mind the interests of one family or one household but attempts still further to establish what is beneficial and remove what is harmful for all residents; one considers not only one's personal, immediate interests but thinks still further of benefiting posterity; one not only pays attention to the difficulties on the road ahead and keeps an eye on the limitations of the individual but also sees the inevitable human triumph over nature in the future of our social development and the people's great strength generation after generation. Marxism holds that environment remains to be changed precisely by human effort. We must change the world in a dynamic manner, and this is called revolutionary practice.

Between the foolish old man and the wise old man, whose spirit is noble and whose is base? Whose sight is profound and far-reaching, and whose is shallow and short? Whose workstyle is practical, and whose is superficial? Who represents the quintessence of our nation, and who the dross? This obviously is too easy to see.

The difficulties we face today are formidable. In leading the people of our various nationalities, the CCP has been used to struggling against formidable difficulties; at the same time, we are also unlikely to feel frightened by such formidable difficulties and hardships in a long march. Lenin taught all socialist revolutionaries: "We are determined to carry out this task with all our energies. We must be patient, persistent, determined, decisive, good at making repeated experiments and making repeated improvements, and never stop until our goals are attained." This kind of Leninist workstyle and Yan'an spirit of "making up our minds, being afraid of no sacrifice, and removing all difficulties in order to win victory" is nothing more than the spirit of the "foolish old man" of today: One brings into full play the fine traditions of the Chinese nation, and, in one's own home or at one's own post, one assiduously seeks to struggle for the transformation of China. Why is this kind of spirit of the foolish old man not worthy of development and expansion?

Misunderstandings must be removed; confusion must be clarified. The spirit of the foolish old man who removed the mountain is also an important ingredient of our effort to build an advanced socialist spiritual civilization. To impart this spirit to the masses is rightly one of our tasks in building this spiritual civilization.

We wish to sing for the rest of our lives our praise of the spirit of the foolish old man who removed the mountain!

PARTY AND STATE

VICE MINISTERS WHO RETIRED VOLUNTARILY ARE INTERVIEWED

Beijing LIAOWANG [OBSERVATION POST] in Chinese No 2, 1982 pp 6-7

[Article by Li Anding [2621 1344 1353] and Huang Fengchu [7806 1144 1353]: "Those No Longer in Office Advise the Government--An Interview with Several Vice Ministers Who Resigned of Their Own Accord"]

[Text] In January there were two news items--each a mere several hundred words long--that attracted concern and attention both inside and outside the country.

These two news items announced that 13 old comrades of the 3rd Ministry of Machine Building and the Ministry of Coal Industry had of their own accord resigned their positions as vice ministers, retreating behind the scenes to act as consultants or to retire.

These 13 old comrades are Vice Ministers Zhao Jianmin [6392 0256 3046], Duan Zijun [3008 1311 0193], Wang Zhengan [3769 2182 0051], Zhu Dixin [2612 3321 2450], Xiao Youming [5135 0645 2494], Zhang Liangcheng [1728 5328 6134], and Xu Changyu [1776 2490 5940], of the 3rd Ministry of Machine Building; and Zhong Ziyun [6945 1311 0061], Wang Xinsan [3769 2490 0005], He Bingzhang [6320 4426 4545], Yang Yifu [2799 0001 1133], Zhao Zishang [6392 1311 1424], and Jia Linfang [6328 2651 2397] of the Ministry of Coal Industry.

Why were people so interested in these two items of news? Because they saw in this the vigorous, speedy and daring style of the Party Central Committee and State Council, and in particular they saw in this "glorious first group" the high party character and revolutionary vision of the 13 old comrades. In a word, they saw in this the hope of our party and state.

Chinese Communist Party members should be able to take power and to relinquish power, to "be an official" and to be one of the people. This is easy to say, but it is really not a simple matter to carry out. What considerations led this group of 13 old comrades to take this glorious first step? On the eve of the Spring Festival, with feelings of deep respect, we went to interview several of them.

The Young Surge Forward

Seventy-two-year-old Comrade Zhu Dixin, thin but hearty, sat straight upright as usual on the sofa, the heroic air of the old Red Army still present. Having been informed of the purpose of the visit, he pondered for a moment and then offered this line by way of an opening remark: "This certainly is a new topic!" He spoke of the strategic significance of cultivating successors, and, recalling the newborn innocence of the former days of revolution, could not help feeling a surge of emotion: "Fifty years ago, I joined the Red Guards [armed units of the masses in revolutionary base areas from 1927 to 1937] and entered the party. In those war-ridden years, comrades might one day eat from the same pot and then never see each other again. Revolution was a task for life, to be worked at for a lifetime. We never thought of working for a while and then giving it up. I am talking about the basic revolutionary attitude. But in our specific work, we obeyed the orders of the organization, attacking where we were directed to attack without saying a word. After the smashing of the 'gang of four,' we old cadres who resumed work naturally thought we would work conscientiously for some years. But the law of the old being superseded by the new is merciless. There were more and more of us with white hair at each meeting, and even those who joined the work in the early period of liberation are closing in on 60 years of age. The problem now is that cadres are old and there are a lot of people holding positions who are not really concerned with matters, and this keeps young people from moving up. If this situation is not changed, it could be disastrous. The temple is only so large, and it is crowded full of saints, but extra dragons cannot control flooding. New conditions require that some old comrades step down a group at a time and support the rise of those who are younger and stronger. This is similar to the situation during the fighting on many fronts during the war when those who had to withdraw withdrew, while those who had to attack attacked. In those years we did not speak of the cost of the revolution. But does such noble consciousness exist today? I see this as the greatest test of whether or not we can maintain this in our later years." He paused for a moment and said: "Our 'job' is to make revolution until we die, not to be a minister until we die." At this, his eyes moistened.

In a highrise apartment on the outskirts of the city we met with Comrade Wang Xinsan, who has already retired. This old warrior of the army of volunteers in the war of resistance against Japan shook our hands and said, "I heard you were coming, and the experiences of my 50 years flashed through my mind as if I were watching a movie. Not very many of those who were with me in the revolution are still living. I have led a charmed life, for I was not born to be an official...." At this point, Old Wang's eyes welled with tears and his voice choked with sobs. He paused for a moment and then said, "What is the key to old comrades persevering into their later years? I think it is a matter of thinking more of revolution and less of themselves. Allowing the younger generation to come forward and the revolution to develop and prosper is truly the best of the twilight years."

What I Thought When I Entered the Party "Underground"

Among these 13 old comrades are those who traversed snowy mountains and those who walked across plains; those who carried on the underground struggle during the long period of the white terror; those who were pioneers in new China's aviation industry,

and commanders on her coal front. In terms of qualifications and service or of contributions made, they are all meritorious workers and models, and they would all be able to continue as vice ministers for a number of years to come. But all of these comrades tendered their resignations to the Party Central Committee of their own accord around the time of the 6th Plenum of the 11th Party Central Committee last year.

We have in hand the written resignation of Comrade Zhao Jianmin. Many people are familiar with Comrade Zhao. In the spring of 1933 the Ahandong party underground was severely damaged by the disclosures of a turncoat. At that time, Comrade Zhao Jianmin, who was the secretary of the Shifan party branch of Shengli village in Jinan, used his vacation time to walk through the county towns around Jinan, placing his life in danger, in order to restore and develop party organizations--right up until the connections were formed with the Northern Bureau of the Central Committee in 1936. This old revolutionary has been a PLA political commissar, a commander of a military area, a vice minister, a governor of a province, and a provincial CCP committee secretary. During the Great Cultural Revolution he was framed by Kang Sheng and languished in prison for 8 years. In prison he withstood the torture of the evildoers. Sometimes he used a "brush" made of a stick wrapped with cloth and "ink" made of blood collected by piercing his palms and nostrils to write essays and poems of struggle against the "gang of four" and expressing to the end his firm faith in the revolution. After the "gang of four" was overthrown, Comrade Zhao Jianmin became vice minister of the Third Ministry of Machine Building. When Comrade Lu Dong [0712 2639], minister of the Third Ministry of Machine Building, became vice director of the State Machine Building Commission, Comrade Zhao directed the overall work of the ministry. Many comrades were thinking: In terms of qualifications, service and physical condition, it looks as if Old Zhao will easily get the position of minister. But as it turned out, this was just when Comrade Zhao submitted his resignation.

Comrade Zhao Jianmin was to be a representative at the 12th People's Congress, and his comrades urged him to take part in the 12th Congress before resigning, but Old Zhao just waved his hand, saying: "I cannot wait; now is the time to step down."

What time is this? This is the time to take the lead! If you do not take the lead for the revolution, then what sort of old comrade are you?! This is such a lofty ideological realm!

But Comrade Zhao Jianmin speaks of this as if it were common: "When I joined the party underground, to tell the truth I never thought I would see the victory of the revolution. I thought only to be an elementary school teacher and to carry out revolution all my life. I had no other desires, to say nothing of being a 'minister'!"

The day was very cold. The heat generated in the office raised the temperature to no more than 15 or 16 degrees, but Old Zhao nonetheless left the front of his jacket open, exposing his old gray underclothes. We noted that he seemed to be quite fit. He squinted his eyes and laughed: "In physical terms, I could still work for 5 years, but it will take some doing just to finish in 5 years the memoirs I hope to write. Middle-aged comrades can all do what we can do. Writing memoirs is our special right, you know?"

"Stepping Down Is of Greater Benefit to the Party"

The first time we went to find Comrade Wang Zhengan, he was being an old "reporter," having gone out to interview a venerable former student of the old Dongbei University in order to gather material for the institutional history of Dongbei University that he was editing. His own history has a bit of the color of a legend: He engaged in student movements at the old Dongbei University started by Mr Zhang Xueliang [1728 1331 5328]; he worked in the "soldiers' movement" in the Northeast Army and participated in the war of resistance against Japan; during the war of liberation he organized the "Northeast Forward Column," and he once reformed insurrectionary troops of the Kuomintang. Very early on, these experiences made the writing of his memoirs a hobby and a duty over and above his regular work. He would often take his lunch and sit in the Beijing Library all day. And even when he was sent to other areas on official business, he would find time to gather material.

The afternoon that we met with Comrade Wang Zhengan, the radio had just broadcast the news of his resignation. He happily told us: "Once they finished broadcasting it, I received quite a few phone calls, all 'congratulatory calls' from old war buddies." Old Wang wore a Chinese-style jacket, but he also sported a pair of rimless eyeglasses and had the voice and smiling countenance of a scholar. If one did not notice the faded old army blanket spread on his bed, it would be difficult to guess that he was once a general in command of a powerful army.

Old Wang's speech was truly lively: "If you issue too much currency, it depreciates in value; if there are too many cadres, their function also is devalued. During the 1960's, each of us vice ministers was in charge of several areas, but now most vice ministers are in charge of a single area. At times, several vice ministers will issue orders to one area at the same time, confusing those below who do not know to whom they should listen. At any rate, everyone must draw boundaries. More than 2,000 documents come out of just one level of a department every year.... How can this be considered the good workstyle of past years! In my view, stepping down--immediately--was of greater benefit to the party. We don't want to wait until we are flat on our backs in bed before requesting to be made consultants. I would like to change this practice."

Old Wang said all this practically in one breath--he was quite excited. He saw his retreat behind the scenes as a "new battle task" given him by the party, just as in the 1960's when he firmly accepted the party's orders and took the lead in setting aside his army uniform and taking his place at the Third Ministry of Machine Building. He said: "When I was a student, I read the line 'Work on the world's worries today; enjoy the world's pleasures tomorrow'; I still admire that spirit. When a man becomes a member of the CCP, can he still be obsessed with holding office? People must speak of spirit. You must have this bit of revolutionary spirit to keep from being vulgar."

We asked Old Wang of his plans for the future, and he generalized them in a 4-part, 16-word line: Consult for the government; calm the old cadres; study history, literature, philosophy; and write some memoirs. He said: "First, those no longer in office give advice to the government. Those who step down cannot become a shadow cabinet, but must advise party organizations. I am a longtime senior member of the

Third Ministry of Machine Building, and I can speak of some matters more easily from my present position. The second point is one of not simply looking out for yourself alone. We must help the party and attend to the lives and work of old comrades. For this purpose, we are discussing the establishment of an association of old cadres. Thirdly, I come from a scholarly family and I studied liberal arts, but I feel that I lack theoretical understanding. I have collected some books and hope to delve into them." At this point, Old Wang took us to see his newly arranged study. The room had no fine furniture--only one table and one chair--but a wooden bookcase was piled high with Chinese and foreign books.

Old Wang's plans for writing memoirs were to step up his writing of the institutional history of Dongbei University. He said that he had heard there were persons on Taiwan who were also writing one, and that all the writing would make a contribution to Chinese history. In addition, he is collecting material on the Northeast Army and the situations of the Hunan and Yunnan armies. He said: Those who understand what went on are all old, and if this part of history is not "hurriedly" put down on paper, then it will "decay." In doing this, my contribution to the party is that much greater.

When we met Comrade He Bingzhang in the office at the Ministry of Coal Industry, he had his head buried in a report he was writing for his superiors suggesting that greater importance be placed on coal research. This is an insight gained from summarizing his more than 20 years of experience in directing coal research work. He said: "Research has consistently been squeezed out. I want to exert the greatest effort toward opening up channels above and below in order to see to it that this item of work has a healthier development. For example, coal liquefaction has tremendous potential. There is no telling how much crude oil this could replace!"

We also interviewed Comrade Duan Zijun. He was our nation's first chief engineer of the aviation industry and one of the organizers behind the production of China's first jet aircraft. He spoke in detail of our nation's aviation industry from its very beginning, of the road from copying others to designing and manufacturing on our own, and of the excellent prospects for the modernization of our aviation industry. Afterward, he emotionally spoke of his own desires: he was busy for decades, but now he has time to devote to writing the history of China's aviation industry.

These unusual interviews on the eve of the Spring Festival made us feel more deeply the vitality of the "unstoppable fullness of spring." These old comrades, retreating but not resting, are still giving off heat and light. In the course of our interviews, we thought of two lines of a poem: "Why is the sea so blue? It holds Heaven in its bosom." Is it not true that it also is just this "Heaven"--the great interest of the party and the people and the great plans for the resurgence of the motherland--that is held in the bosom of these old comrades?!

9705

CSO: 4005/768

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

GUANGDONG CCP HOLDS PUBLIC SECURITY MEETING

HK030939 Guangzhou Guangdong Provincial Service in Mandarin 2350 GMT 1 May 82

[Text] The political and legal committee of the Guangdong provincial CCP committee recently held a conference in Guangzhou on political and legal work to analyze the present situation of public security in the province, make arrangement for severely punishing in accordance with the law those criminals who seriously sabotaged the economy, further rectify social order and security, resolutely deal blows at criminal offenders, and strive for decisive improvement in the province's public security this year.

The conference resolved that the political and legal organs under the leadership of the local CCP committees throughout the province must conscientiously grasp the following tasks:

1. Resolutely carry out the CCP Central Committee's decision to deal blows at serious criminal activities in the economic field; strengthen investigation, preliminary trial, prosecution and trial of serious economic criminal cases; and vigorously and speedily handle these cases according to the decision of the national people's congress standing committee.
2. Further strengthen the investigation into espionage, counterrevolutionary and criminal cases. Organizations in various places must organize several unified operations to crack down on these criminal activities.
3. Deal blows in good time at various kinds of criminals. In particular, those criminals who severely jeopardize public security must be seriously and promptly punished.
4. Facilitate a favorable change in cities, towns, communes, brigades, vital communication lines and public places where social order is bad.
5. Strengthen investigation and study, sum up the experience gained in comprehensive administration and grassroot-level work, further improve order inside units, strengthen security administration and take precautions to minimize criminal cases and other offenses.

CSO: 4005/840

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

NANJING PLA COMMENDS COLLECTIVES, INDIVIDUALS

OW040529 Nanjing Jiangsu Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 3 May 82

[Text] A meeting was held in Nanjing on 3 May by the Nanjing PLA units to commend collectives and individuals who have distinguished themselves in developing the socialist spiritual civilization. A total of 28 such advanced collectives and 53 advanced individuals were commended at the meeting including the Harbone Sixth Company, the Good Eighth Company on Nanjing Road and the Model Company for army-civilian joint defense and other typical model units that have made fresh contributions in recent years. They also included a group of new, advanced collectives and individuals who are imbued with lofty ideas, high moral standards and vigorous discipline, and who have worked hard in developing spiritual civilization.

Attending the meeting were leading comrades of the Nanjing PLA units Nie Fengzhi, Guo Linxiang, Du Puing and other comrades. Wang Chingmin, deputy political commissar of the Nanjing PLA units, read the names of the 28 advanced collectives and 53 advanced individuals of the Nanjing PLA units who distinguished themselves in developing spiritual civilization. Leading comrades Nie Fengzhi, Guo Linxiang and Du Ping presented citations and medals to the supply and logistics departments of the Nanjing PLA units, heroic fighters (Dai Xiaotian) and (Gu Zhengfang) and the advanced collectives and individuals.

First Political Commissar Guo Linxiang delivered a speech at the meeting. After viewing the activities launched by the Nanjing PLA units in promoting spiritual civilization, he emphatically pointed out: It is necessary to develop spiritual civilization in breadth and depth. Efforts must be made to lead cadres and fighters to foster the lofty ideals of communism, cultivate communist ethics and moral standards, consciously observe discipline and follow orders at all times. A comrade of the central authorities recently pointed out that one must be imbued with lofty ideas, high moral standards and rigorous discipline. These three requirements represent the three essential points in opening the spiritual world and developing the spiritual civilization. We must score achievements with these three essential requirements in mind. He emphatically pointed out: Just like developing material civilization, to develop spiritual civilization is like engineering a major project in the entire socialist historical period. It is a tremendous strategic task. The leadership at all levels must become engineers in developing spiritual civilization, carry out their work of design, education and management in a meticulous way, and turn cadres and fighters into new communist men with lofty ideals, high moral standards and rigorous discipline.

CSO: 4005/840

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

WU KEHUA, TWO ADVISERS VISIT PLA COMPANY

HK301346 Guangzhou Guangdong Provincial Service in Mandarin 1000 GMT 29 Apr 82

[Newsletter by unnamed correspondent: "Veteran Members of the Red Army Visit the 2d Company at the Foot of the Lotus Mountain Peak"]

[Excerpts] Lotus flowers are in full bloom on the rocky mountain peak in the vicinity of Haimen, Chaoyang County. This rocky mountain peak is called Lotus Peak and is known far and wide. During the struggle against degeneration in recent years, another advanced collective which is as pure and noble as a lotus flower has grown up at the foot of the Lotus Mountain Peak. This advanced collective is the 2d company of the artillery battalion of a certain unit under the Guangzhou PLA units. During their visit to a certain unit in Shantou Prefecture on 4 April this year to check up on the unit's work, Wu Kehua, commander of the Guangzhou PLA units, and Lai Chunfeng and (Chen De), advisers to the Guangzhou PLA units, specially called on cadres and fighters of the 2d company who have made contributions to the struggle.

It was windy and raining hard on the early morning of 4 April. In view of the heavy rain and the slippery road, work personnel suggested that their inspection tour be made on another day. Commander Wu said heartily: We three veteran members of the Red Army braved the storm of revolutionary war. A small storm like this is nothing to us. The two comrade advisers readily agreed with him. Braving wind and rain, their cars bumped along the road and drove into Haimen Town. When Comrade Wu Kehua and other comrades arrived at the company, they immediately held a forum. First of all, (Lin Huochun), political instructor of the 2d company, reported on his company's experience in waging the struggle against degeneration. There have been serious phenomena of smuggling and of trafficking in smuggled goods in Haimen Town in recent years. The streets and lanes have been flooded with smuggled commodities. The party branch of the 2d company has kept a clear head, organized cadres and fighters to study Comrade Mao Zedong's relevant expositions, carried out education in patriotism and in the socialist legal system, and formulated six regulations which forbid buying smuggled goods, forbid seeing pornographic videotapes listening to pornographic tape recordings, viewing pornographic pictures, reading pornographic books and periodicals and forbid singing songs that have an unhealthy emotional appeal. Over the past few years, not a single member of the 2d company has either bought smuggled goods or trafficked in smuggled goods. A group of strong fighters in resisting the decadent ideological influence of capitalism has emerged in the company. Those who rendered

meritorious service and received awards in the company totalled more than 500. In October last year, the company was cited for meritorious collective service, second class.

While listening to the political instructor's report, the veteran members of the Red Army frequently nodded in approval.

Comrade Wu Kehua gladly said: Our army is an army of the Proletariat. We must be strong-willed and must be able to stand any tests. I hope that you can preserve and develop honor and glory and that you can sum up and spread your experience of being spotless and observing discipline and law so as to bring along other companies.

Adviser Lai Chunfeng visited this place in 1980. He said: At that time, the streets were flooded with smuggled goods and many people engaged in the trafficking of smuggled goods. Such conditions caused people to worry. It is gratifying that you have stood up against this evil trend. I hope that from now on you will be able to withstand even more severe training and tests in the struggle against degeneration.

After warmly encouraging the comrades of the 2d company to do still better, adviser (Chen De) showed concern for and inquired about their plans in the new year.

After the forum, Comrade Wu Kehua, other leading comrades and fighters of the company were photographed together. After the photograph was taken, Comrade Wu Kehua shook hands with every comrade of the whole company and encouraged them to achieve new successes in the struggle.

It was drizzlingly when the three veteran members of the Red Army reluctantly left the place where the 2d company was stationed. They firmly believe that with the promotion of the activities of building socialist spiritual civilization in a thoroughgoing way, more companies modeled on the 2d company will be in full bloom just like Lotus flowers in border areas, on islands and in cities and towns.

CSO: 4005/840

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

TIANJIN 'RIBAO' REVIEWS BOOK ON MILITARY SUBJECT

HK281357 Tianjin RIBAO in Chinese 12 Apr 82 p 3

[Article by Zhi Wu [1807 2976] and Jun You [0193 2589]: "New Achievement in Literature on Military Subjects--Reading Yuan Jing's New Work 'Ambushing the Tiger'"]

[Text] When I turned over the title page of "Ambushing the Tiger," an inscription "for the martyrs who laid down their lives and the heroes who survived the great war to resist U.S. aggression and aid Korea" met the eye with the fragrant smell of the printing ink. After reading the 400,000-character novel and reviewing scene after scene of soul-stirring battles, I profoundly realized that, as a colorful picture scroll of revolutionary history and a paean dedicated to the sons and daughters of the Chinese nation, "Ambushing the Tiger" has been characterized by distinctive features in the fields of literature and art where novel creation is thriving.

Comrade Yuan Jing is a writer whom vast numbers of readers are familiar with and fond of. For many years in the past she has been hard at literary work and has dedicated quite a few works to the literary circles. In August 1977, in her determination to glorify the "heroes and martyrs imbued with patriotism and internationalism," she plunged into the thick of life. Centering on the arduous and militant career of the two principal characters, Guo Gengquan and Xie Wencai, and the pure and sincere love affair between them, "Ambushing the Tiger" reproduces the heroic and tenacious style of the Chinese people's volunteers and delineates in vivid and moving details numerous heroic figures with strong individual characters. It eulogizes the great sentiment of patriotism and internationalism of the sons and daughters of the Chinese nation and the kindred feelings between the Chinese and Korean peoples. It is gratifying that the author has made a true and detailed description of the antiwar elements among the American POW's on the basis of the full and accurate data available to her, thus evoking the strong interest of the readers. From the heroic characters described by the author we can perceive the spirit of revolutionary optimism of the Chinese people characterized by unyielding heroism and looking death calmly in the face. These heroic characters also displayed the indomitable and heroic spirit of the people's army who had the capability, confidence and determination to vanquish an enemy more powerful than themselves. This will exert an imperceptible influence on our efforts to inspire and help the youths to foster a correct world outlook and outlook on life.

Generally speaking, the criteria for weighing up the merits and demerits of a novel lie chiefly in whether or not it has intensely reflected the spirit of the times. This method of reflection should at least tally roughly with what Engels advocated: "Being the representatives of a given class or tendency, the principal characters are therefore also the representatives of a given ideology of their times. Their motives are derived from the historical trends they are in and not from their trivial and individual desires." ("Letter to Ferdinand Lassalle") What merit our attention is that, in their artistic practice, some comrades have often unconsciously turned the principal characters into mouthpieces of a certain abstract concept. Naturally, partiality is permissible in art, but the practice of emphasizing a certain art at the expense of another is at least the result of ignorance and faults on the part of the critics. History has proved that the secret of vitality of an immortal art surviving opposition and time lies in the profound understanding and practice of the principles of realism. The author of "Ambushing the Tiger" should be commended because she has refined the characters, the life and even a portion of the spiritual world from her personal experience. "Ambushing the Tiger" is permeated with the powerful spirit of the times because it is derived from the life which the author is familiar with and by which she is deeply touched. Since it is true and believable and shows strength, it can therefore reflect the essence of the times to a sufficient extent.

Guo Gengquan is a typical image of an oriental giant who the author has taken pains to describe elaborately. "A dauntless, unyielding man who grew up amidst suffering and battles," he and his family had struggled for existence on the verge of death ever since he could remember. He joined the eighth route army when he was 18 and reached maturity in the great revolutionary family. However, the flames of war burned to the doorstep of his home just as he was about to rebuild his homeland. He again had to cross the Yalu River "valiantly and spiritedly." The growth of Guo Gengquan reflected in broad outline the style and features of the times during the 1950's. At the same time it concentratedly gave expression to the spirit of revolutionary heroism of the revolutionaries of that generation who "had participated in both the liberation war and the war to resist U.S. aggression and aid Korea" and who had devoted themselves to the communist ideal. Through a series of vivid and dramatic descriptions of events, from crossing the river to engagement in bloody battles and from running out of food and being wounded to finally being firmly entrenched on the 38th parallel, the author concentratedly and colorfully reflects through the typical image of Guo Gengquan the revolutionary quality of the oriental giant. The process of Guo Gengquan's ideological development and the formation of his character are permeated with the flavor of the times, manifesting proletarian ideas and feelings and reflecting the great sentiment of the Chinese nation. The elements that reflect the special features of the times, such as selfishness and fearlessness, the courage of making sacrifices, lofty ideals, pure sentiments, persistence in seeking the light and yearning for the fine future, reveal themselves spontaneously from the writings of the author without a trace of artificiality. Are there any difficulties that cannot be overcome in the face of such heroes? It is precisely for this reason that, although our weaponry was poor and the people in the rear were engaged in rebuilding their homeland on the site of the debris, our fearless fighters, lying prone on snowy ground and taking fried wheat meal, were able to deal a

deadly blow at the enemy. The foundation of victory lies in the fact that our times had cultivated a large number of dauntless fighters who were eager to give their lives for the people, the motherland and communism. This spirit of dedication should still be a powerful spiritual force in developing the Chinese nation and the four modernizations program. The success of "Ambushing the Tiger" is precisely due to the distinct party spirit of proletarian literature displayed by the author.

Furthermore, in her description of the love affair between Guo Gengquan and Xie Wencai, the author does not follow the set pattern of "substituting love scenes for insufficient plot." On the contrary, in her artistic description, she enriches and intensifies the personalities of the heroic figures and gives expression to the excellent quality of the heroic sons and daughters who have blended together their loyalty to the motherland and love. The author has implicitly and quietly merged the expectation of, and desire for, love into life's journey. This conforms not only to historical reality and life but also to the methods of expressing traditional oriental morality. This authenticity deriving from life may not be in keeping with the habits of appreciation of the readers, but it reveals to a certain extent the author's rigorous adherence to the principle of realistic creation.

Furthermore, it should be mentioned that the author has elaborately portrayed a typical character in the person of Wu Yougong, a scum in the Chinese people's volunteers. As soon as the liberation war was over, deputy company Commander Wu Yougong was busy looking for a girl friend. In seeking ease and comfort, he grumbled and made cynical remarks. Thinking that he had joined the revolution at an early date and had made some contributions, he stretched out his hand in an attempt to bargain with the party and people. After the war to resist U.S. aggression and aid Korea broke out, he spread war-weariness everywhere and deserted from the army with an excuse. He roped in and corrupted cadres by "going through the back door" and finally took the illegal and criminal path of associating with the capitalists. Through this artistic image which is vividly described, the author clearly tells us that, with respect to the germs that infiltrated into the party and exercised a corrosive influence on the healthy organism of our revolutionary ranks, it is necessary to always wage relentless struggles against them in order to maintain the purity of the revolutionary ranks.

A few critics hold that Comrade Yuan Jing is skilled in a simple, straightforward style of writing. This traditional Chinese style of writing has been manifested conspicuously in "Ambushing the Tiger." It has been employed vividly and dramatically either in throwing the scenery into sharp relief or in portraying the characters in spite of the variety of its presentation. Comrade Yuan Jing has always respected the habit of appreciation of the readers and persisted in seeking a national style and atmosphere. This has not only been reflected in her employment of a traditional Chinese novel with each chapter headed by a couplet giving the gist of the content but, what is more important, in her attention to detail with the whole plot hanging together and the links correlating with one another. Particularly in the description of scenes, the author often elaborately describes local customs and habits to enable the readers to feel as if they are personally on the scene.

CSO: 4005/840

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

BRIEFS

MAPPING OF XIZANG PLATEAUS--A certain mapping unit of the Chengdu PLA units has successfully completed the survey and drawing of the Xizang Plateaus, which were the last part of the mainland of our country to be surveyed and drawn. This mapping unit began survey and drawing work in 1961 and after 20 years' hard work, successfully completed this arduous task. [Lhasa Xizang Regional Service in Mandarin 1130 GMT 7 Apr 82 HK]

ARMED FORCES COMMITTEE HOLDS MEETING--According to GUIZHOU RIBAO, the provincial armed forces committee held its fifth meeting on 19 April, attended by principal leading comrades of the provincial CCP committee, government, military district, and armed forces committee. Leaders of the provincial military district reported to the armed forces committee on the situation in militia work and gave their views and work in the second half of the year. Comrades Chi Biqing and Li Tinggui spoke at the meeting. "They demanded that the people's armed forces departments at all levels seriously implement the relevant central instructions on militia work. While organizing the militia to preserve social order, they must also organize them to seriously study the relevant policies and decrees." The militia themselves must set a good example and take the lead in curbing activities such as building houses on farmland, cutting down mountain forests and so on. [Summary] [HK240252 Guiyang Guizhou Provincial Service in Mandarin 2315 GMT 23 Apr 82]

CSO: 4005/840

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

POEMS SMEARING MAO, SOCIALISM CRITICIZED, AUTHOR DENOUNCED

Beijing SHIDAI DE BAOGAO [CURRENT REPORTS] in Chinese No 2, 1982 Feb 82 p 82

[Article by Xue Sheng [5641 3532]: "Poet, You Must Wash Yourself"]

[Text] I am a college student interested in poems. To tell the truth, in the past I had a special admiration for a poet whose name I will not mention here. I regarded him as one of the talented poets who have risen to prominence in the last few years. But later, he disappointed me after I found him going astray and moving farther and farther away from the people.

This feeling came from a lecture I attended. At the lecture, after discussing the problem of "why so far no one in China has been named the winner of the Nobel Prize for Literature," that poet said: "Up to now, three Soviet writers have been named the winners of the Nobel Prize for Literature, notably, Pasternak in 1958, Sholokhov in 1965, and Solzhenitsyn in 1970. Both Pasternak and Solzhenitsyn were prominent political dissenters in the Soviet Union and produced literary works criticizing the government and its policies. The reason that no Chinese writer has ever been named the winner of the Nobel Prize for Literature may stem from the fact that none have ever displayed a daring spirit to criticize their government. Now Chinese literature must take its place in the ranks of world literature. There is no other reason that Chinese writers cannot be named winners of the Nobel Prize for Literature. What I wrote in the past was only eulogies. From now on, I will have to write some political poems as a starting point toward capturing the Nobel Prize for Literature."

I was really upset by this highly thought-provoking speech.

First, I must declare that I do not object to having a poet like him named winner of the Nobel Prize for Literature. But in doing so, we must consider a basic fact already confirmed by Westerners that the Nobel Prize for Literature and the Nobel Prize for Peace are two prizes that are highly politically oriented. This approach has deprived many world-renowned, great writers such as Tolstoy and Gorki in Russia and Lu Xun in China of a place on the "list of winners" of the Nobel Prize for Literature. In other words, the Nobel Prize for Literature characterized by this remarkable political orientation will not be awarded in the same fair way as the Nobel Prizes for science. This proves that this award cannot be regarded as the

only criterion for evaluating and judging world literature or literary works and writers in any given country. I feel that that talented Chinese poet should not give up the writing of poems praising the people and the "four modernizations" for the sake of a "struggle" to capture the Nobel Prize for Literature.

Second, I feel that the problem of whether a certain government needs to be criticized calls for analysis. Certainly, a writer should consider it necessary to expose and criticize any politically reactionary government, but not the politically progressive government in China which sides with the broad masses of people at home and abroad. Particularly noteworthy is the fact that since the smashing of the "gang of four," efforts have been made by the party and government to eradicate the effect of disasters caused by the 10 years of civil strife and to guarantee democratic rights for the people. It is completely unreasonable for a writer striving to be named the winner of the Nobel Prize for Literature to criticize his home government without conducting an analysis of its justification.

A chill went through my nervous system after I heard him finish his speech. I assumed he was just joking and would disavow that extremely erroneous approach to capturing the Nobel Prize for Literature. But I was shocked when I pored over two poems on "generals" written by him; they prove his determination to work for the Nobel Prize for Literature against the wishes of the people.

A remarkable characteristic of his poems is a tendency to confuse friend with foe and right with wrong. For example, in his poems on "generals," the line between the new and feudal society is totally blurred. He also compares our army generals to the generals of the feudal era "who wore feather hats," including Robespierre, head of the French Jacobin dictatorship of the 18th century who was later guillotined. Meanwhile, he implies that the generals can exercise their influence over the party as a whole, saying that "Qinshihuang has stretched his tail into the conference room of the party"! In another lengthy narrative poem, he dramatizes the Chinese people's leaders Comrade Mao Zedong as an ugly man! In a dialogue between "me" and mother, contained in that poem, he says: "Mother, don't ask him for any help. An influential slave is more overbearing than his master. He is a descendant of Qinshuhuang whose 'revolution' would shock Hitler...."

I feel that analogies of this kind would irritate the feeling not only of the Chinese people but also of the people in other parts of the world. Now let me cite just one example here. In late May of this year, when I was assigned to play host to the West German student delegation, I casually mentioned that poem's analogy "between Chairman Mao and Hitler" to some of these visiting German youths. Upon hearing that the respected Comrade Mao Zedong has been described by some one in China as a Hitler-type person, or a fascist leaders, they widened their blue eyes and remarked: "How could anyone compare a great man of the world to a demon of the world?" "That man probably does not know much about China's Mao Zedong. Nor does he know anything about Germany's Hitler." This was not a "diplomatic parlance"

sounded by a group of West German students with strong German accents during their visit to China but a political view and protest that came from the bottom of their hearts.

As a youth who once loved poems written by that poet, I have to make my position clear with regard to this matter. The truth is that he has been out of touch with life and the people. This occurred after he allowed his mind and soul to be contaminated by the bourgeois ideology. I hope that he will study Marxism-Leninism and keep in touch with life so that he can make conscientious efforts to wash that dirt away from his soul. Only after he has done that can he join the people in producing healthy and splendid poems dedicated to the socialist cause again.

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CSO: 4005/754

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

TWO ARTICLES STRESS VALIDITY TODAY OF 'YANAN TALKS'

Beijing SHIDAI DE BAOGAO [CURRENT REPORTS] in Chinese No 2, Feb 82 pp 80-82

[Text] Editorial explanation: It has already been 40 years since Comrade Mao Zedong held his "Talks at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art" in 1942. These "Talks" followed Comrade Lenin's "On Party Organization and Party Literature" and constitute an important programmatic document of Marxist theory on literature and art and on the science of literature and art. During these 40 years they have guided our literature and art in carrying on and cultivating the revolutionary tradition of Lu Xun and furthermore have had an immense impact on the integration of workers, peasants, and soldiers and on the advances that have been made with the masses as the moving force of history. Practice again proves that the "Talks" are still a beacon for our socialist literature and art.

However, in the 16 years since the "Cultural Revolution," the "Talks" have also suffered distortion and falsification by the "left" and the right. The counterrevolutionary Lin Biao, Jiang Qing and company used ultraleftist methods to turn the people's literature and art, which were to serve the workers, peasants, and soldiers, into a conspirational literature and art for the usurpation of party and state power by the counterrevolutionary Lin Biao and Jiang Qing cliques. After the smashing of the "gang of four," there were some who regarded the "Talks" as part of past conventions that had to be thrown out, and as a result this attitude landed them unavoidably in the quagmire of bourgeois liberalization. Even if certain particular formulations in the "Talks" lend themselves today to various argumentations, the events of the past 16 years make it quite clear, in direct evidence and in counter-evidence, that the basic principles of the "Talks" are absolutely correct. Of course, the "Talks" would have to be expanded to cover the new conditions of today, but the expansions would have to be carried out on the basis

of the fundamental principles of the "Talks," and there definitely could be no denial or departure from the basic principles of the "Talks."

In view of these facts, we believe that it is very necessary for us to review the "Talks" in renewed studies, in the course of implementing the "Resolution" passed at the Sixth Plenary Session [of the 11th CCP Central Committee]. For this reason, this periodical will start a new column, beginning with the present issue, under the title "Renewed Studies of the 'Talks at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art'," and will publish articles that make a study of the "Talks." We hope these renewed studies will explore certain questions and set right some misunderstandings, so that our literature and art may develop in a healthy way along the correct road pointed out by the "Talks."

[Article by Zhang Xiaosheng [1728 2556 3932]: "The Great Significance of the 'Talks' on Liberating the Mind"]

In May 1942, Comrade Mao Zedong published the famous "Talks at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art." This is an important document which radiates the brilliance of Marxism-Leninism page by page. Although it is already 40 years old, its basic spirit and basic principles are still like a lighthouse shedding its rays in all directions and thus showing the way along which socialist literature and art should advance.

However, in the past few years there have indeed been people who believed that in order to liberate our thinking, we must breach the last defense line, namely the "Talks." These people undoubtedly have regarded the "Talks" as a set of conventions which were fettering the mind. It is not by chance that some comrades came to hold this opinion, because during the 10 years of turmoil, the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques used ultraleftist methods to turn the "Talks" into a cudgel by which many a comrade was badly hit. For instance, Jiang Qing and company once declared a whole group of literary and art workers to be a sinister gang and branded their works as antiparty, antisocialist big poisonous weeds, etc. We must of course reject such slander and libel, but we must also be careful in our analysis; it is especially necessary to draw a clear line of demarcation between Mao Zedong Thought and the ideology of Lin Biao and Jiang Qing. We must under no circumstances throw the baby out with the bathwater. This alone, we believe, is the true attitude of a Marxist.

From the day they were created, the "Talks" have in fact been a bright light pointing out the road to emancipation of the mind.

It is well known that the Yanan Literary and Art Forum was a part of the great Yanan rectification movement of that year, which had as its purpose the overcoming of certain fundamental weaknesses in the new literary and art movement--weaknesses that could not be solved for a long period of time

and which had manifested themselves particularly in the special situation of the time. These fundamental weaknesses were the unproletarian ideas which in those days were fairly widespread among the Yanan literary and art circles, and the dogmatic trend which failed to properly integrate the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution. Expressed in today's language, it actually means that they displayed signs of liberalization and "leftist" trends. These were writers who had been deeply influenced by Wang Ming's stuff and nonsense and had been blind imitators of the Soviet RAPP [Russian Association of Proletarian Writers] faction of writers. Their brains had become ossified, and they were able to give only a mechanical representation of life, utilizing some of the principles of Marxism-Leninism. They had absolutely no understanding of the realities of the Chinese revolution, so that no matter how admirably "leftist" their works were, they were insipid and sterile and of no assistance to the cause of the revolution. The writers and artists that had come to Yan'an from Shanghai and other places had not changed their world view one bit, and there was a contradiction between their bourgeois and petit-bourgeois stand and sentiments, on the one hand, and the new environment and new audience in the base areas on the other hand--the audience that their works were supposed to serve. Especially in 1941 and 1942, when the Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia border area was experiencing extreme difficulties, some writers and artists developed unhealthy and improper ideas and sentiments which were reflected in their works. They strongly propounded the priority of art, advocated the bourgeois theory of human nature, opposed the study of Marxism-Leninism, thought that the study of Marxism-Leninism would impair their creativity, etc. Though these two kinds of people showed different appearances and sounded off in different tunes, they were in substance contrary to the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

It is beyond doubt that this unproletarian ideology and these dogmatic tendencies were admittedly a kind of shackles, and it is precisely due to these shackles that their works could not adequately serve the workers, peasants, and soldiers. In order to solve this problem, it was therefore necessary to smash these shackles, which meant to liberate the mind. In more scientific terms, it was necessary to have one's own ideology conform to the developmental laws of the objective world and attain a certain kind of freedom in this manner. How can one attain this kind of freedom? By going deep into the masses, by going deep into life, by studying society, by studying Marxism-Leninism and furthermore by shifting one's standpoint to the side of the workers, peasants and soldiers.

However, Marxism-Leninism did not at all grow up by itself, and the shift in standpoint will not come about naturally and by itself. It is for this reason that the "Talks" point out that the question of remolding one's thinking is a question of remolding oneself by the process of going deep into life, studying society, and studying Marxism-Leninism. This question is in essence the question of emancipation of the mind.

Practice has proved that the road to the liberation of the mind pointed out by the "Talks" is the only correct one. In that year, brightened by the glorious ideology of the "Talks," there was an upsurge among literary and

art workers of going deep into life and studying Marxism-Leninism, and there emerged a large number of writers and artists who were welcomed by the masses, resulting in an unprecedented development of literature and art in the liberated areas, be it music, the fine arts, drama, poetry and song, or novels. We may particularly point out that, following the publication of the "Talks," a better integration was achieved between the literature and art of the liberated areas and the workers, peasants, and soldiers, resulting in an unprecedentedly strong impact on the masses and helping them to propel history forward.

In modern Chinese history, the emancipation of the mind that began in 1942 with the Yanan rectification movement was a movement--the same as the 4 May movement--for a one-time, penetrating study of Marxism-Leninism, and also a movement for the integration of Marxism-Leninism with the realities of the Chinese revolution. If one considers the 4 May movement as laying the groundwork for the ideology and organization of the Chinese revolution, then the Yanan rectification movement laid the groundwork for the final victory in the Chinese revolution. It is therefore said that in a certain sense the Yanan rectification movement is also the continuation and further development of the 4 May movement.

In the modern history of the emancipation of the mind, the "Talks" constitute a brilliant historical document that serves as a link between past and future, carries on our cause, and forges ahead. In the 40 years since the "Talks" were written, they have continuously guided the broad masses of revolutionary writers and artists in their victorious advance.

However, it must also be pointed out here that the "Talks" were treated with contempt and trampled underfoot during the "Cultural Revolution" by such people as Lin Biao and Jiang Qing. For instance, all of the conspiratorial literature and art produced with the purpose of assisting the usurpation of party and state power abandoned the principles of the "Talks" altogether, moved away from life, engaged in the so-called "first setting the main theme before everything else," etc. After the "gang of four" was smashed, there were some who could not fully rid themselves of the poison spread by the "gang of four" and went from one extreme to the other, advocating a "break with revolutionary tradition." Their liberation of the mind was a liberation in name only, while in actual fact they considered the "Talks" a restrictive convention that fettered thought and must be broken out of. The truth is that they broke with what they called the restrictive conventions of the "Talks," but then saw themselves slide into the quagmire of bourgeois liberalization.

We can't go on here without mentioning Comrade Ye Wenfu [0673 2429 4395]. Comrade Ye Wenfu started out as a writer of good poetry that was serving the people, but later Ye Wenfu abandoned the road pointed out in the "Talks," moved away from life to write such things as "The General Used Foreign Exchange To Build His House," "Buying and Installing a 10,000 Yuan Bathtub," and other such stuff. He thus broke away from the principles of the "Talks," and in doing so he fell into the trap of bourgeois liberalization.

Many phenomena in literature and art testify to the fact that abandoning the road of the "Talks" cannot truly liberate the mind, but the corrupting influence of an unproletarian ideology will merely lead into an abyss from which no one can pull himself out by his own strength.

[Article by Yan Ming [3601 6900]: "Subject Petit-Bourgeois Ideology to More Intensive Guidance--An Understanding Gained From the Study of the 'Talks at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art'"]

Not only is it necessary for us to renew the study of the many theoretical and policy questions which the "Talks" set forth and resolve, and for us to use the fundamental principles of Comrade Mao Zedong's ideology on literature and art in a comprehensive and correct way in order to answer the many questions that the creation of literature and art poses under the new historical conditions, but it is even more important [to recognize] that workers in literature and art, carrying on their work in the wake of the new developments in all fields, are still faced with the major problem of remolding their world outlook and of shifting their standpoint.

In his opening speech at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art, Comrade Mao Zedong on 2 May 1942 vividly and cordially told of his own change in his thoughts and sentiments when he went among the workers, peasants, and soldiers. Comrade Zhu De also spoke with gravity of his own transformation at the same forum, saying: "It was not just a change; I would rather call it a surrender. Originally I was not a member of the proletariat, but as the proletariat represented the truth, I surrendered to the proletariat." These two leaders of the party and of the armed forces presented their experiences regarding the change in their personal feelings, standpoints, and world views, recounting how they had integrated themselves with the workers, peasants, and soldiers through the study of Marxism, how they had studied the practice of society and art, remolded their petit-bourgeois ideology and workstyle, and finally realized their transformation from one class to another. The response was most striking. The rectification movement launched following the forum was very effective in breaking down the fetters of subjectivism, sectarianism, and stereotyped party writing, so that all writers and artists could achieve a great liberation of their thinking and change the entire appearance of all literature and art in the liberated areas.

We must realize that the present situation is completely different from the situation during the Yanan era. Workers in literature and art have by now become a part of the working class. However, we must also recognize that the task of ideological remolding has not at all been fully accomplished--in particular, the influences of the 10 years of turmoil, the influences of bourgeois liberalization, and petit-bourgeois ideas of all forms and shades can still be frequently observed among our own ranks. For instance, we see some comrades who once, some time ago, had become deeply involved in the fiery struggle of the workers, peasants, and soldiers and had written many good works, acclaimed by the broad masses, but then had suffered serious setbacks in the socialist cause and began to waver when the party experienced its tremendous difficulties. Some felt remorse about the past but then did

not stop themselves from throwing the baby out with the bathwater and did not shrink from trampling underfoot whatever contributions they themselves had made to the revolutionary cause. Some prostrated themselves at the feet of the fake science and false freedom of the bourgeoisie and sang the high praises of capitalist society, and also did not refrain from insulting as "apologists" and "hack writers" those comrades who criticized their trend toward bourgeois liberalization. Others expressed skepticism as to the need for literature and art to serve the people and to serve socialism, and they instigated young people to write what are now "banned books." When Marx once criticized a personality typical of the petit-bourgeois bent of mind, he pointed out that that man was merely "a manifestation of the contradictions in society," that he was "infatuated with the luxuries of the big bourgeoisie, but on the other hand he also sympathized with the hardships of the people; he was at the same time a bourgeois and one of the people." We cannot simply draw an analogy for our own comrades from the typical man with a petit-bourgeois bent of mind, but the forceful sketch that our revolutionary mentor painted of the twofaced, vacillating nature of the petit-bourgeois mentality may serve as effective medicine for comrades who want to abandon the standpoint of the party and the standpoint of the masses.

For a period of time, many readers and viewers have stated that there are few works in our literature and art that have as their themes industry, farm villages, and the military. Although many works deal with workers, peasants, and soldiers, their sentiments are far removed from the workers, peasants, and soldiers. In works depicting intellectuals, the authors stand not on a proletarian standpoint but on a petit-bourgeois standpoint, emphasizing bourgeois "self-expression" or even embellishing their shortcomings. Some comrades even express the view that the slogan of entering deep into life--especially into the fiery struggle of the workers, peasants, and soldiers--seems wrong. Some comrades eagerly engaged in frivolous talk in writers' and artists' "salons" and take pleasure in unprincipled flattery of each other. All these facts make one thing clear: it is still an arduous task to have the standpoint of those who work in the field of literature and art shift to the side of the workers, peasants, and soldiers--that is, to shift to the side of the proletariat--a task that still awaits continuous efforts to accomplish.

At present, continued liberation of the mind on the front of literature and art means to eliminate erroneous leftist influences and also to engage in emphatic criticism of the bourgeois trend of liberalization that is divorcing oneself from the guidance of the party and moving one away from the socialist path. At the same time, it is highly necessary to give our attention to guiding and turning the petit-bourgeois mentality toward the correct path. Fanaticism, a vacillating nature, and onesidedness in leaning toward extreme metaphysics are the important ideological sources of the "leftist" and rightist mistaken trends. To gain a correct knowledge of society's trend of thought, there is no other way but the method of class analysis, for them it will not be possible to overlook the petit-bourgeois ideological trend that actually still exists in today's social life and in the fields of literature and art.

We must of course only use methods of guidance and reasoning with the petit-bourgeois ideology within the ranks of our writers and artists. Any excessive combativeness and impatience for quick results can only have unwanted opposite results. At the same time as we act in this manner, it is also of primary importance, as far as workers in literature and art are concerned, that the fundamental question of shifting their standpoint to the side of the proletariat must by all means not be overlooked.

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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

REVIEW OF 1981 PRIZE-WINNING SHORT STORIES

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 31 Mar 82 p 5

[Article by Guo Zhigang [6753 1807 0474]: "Exposure of Contradictions and Realism--Brief Comments on Prize-Winning Short Stories of 1981"]

[Text] A country with a population of 1 billion is in the process of passing through a rapid transformation. In the final analysis, to what extent have our literary and artistic creations reflected a view oriented to the transformation of the motherland? What sort of perspective are they utilizing to probe the past, present and future of the motherland? Let us now, by means of 20 literary works selected for prizes in 1981, see how the authors observe and depict the new contradictions and the new problems which touch the daily agenda of our lives.

Since the Third Plenary session of the party, extensive changes and new accomplishments have occurred in our country's villages, but also new situations have arisen and new contradictions have developed. These new social contradictions have received, in varying degrees, depictions in short stories. "Domestic Manager," "The Swindle" and "The Black Girl's Photo," etc., reflect these changes by means of the course of the spirit of several characters. Using intricate and diverse social phenomena, "Domestic Manager" captures this contradiction: After adopting an open policy toward the outside world and flexible domestic policies, how ought one to recognize and manage a relationship between persons belonging to two formerly opposing camps (especially with such a person as was received by the main character of the story, who has the special status of overseas Chinese)? The different responses to this question not only influences the actualization of the party's rural policies and influences the dignity of the people and country, but even influences the present and future development of the villages. "Domestic Manager," correctly proceeding from the different responses to this issue, describes intense contradiction and conflict.

The contradiction exposed by "Mountain Moon Knows Not Matters of the Heart," differing from that of "Domestic Manager," appears to be of an even more universal nature. Following implementation of the production responsibility system, the peasants began to get wealthier. Rong'er, the young group branch secretary, feels somewhat "lonely" because, since "each family and household tends their own crops," even their little scientific study group has broken up. New transformations in life can often be accompanied by the appearance of

new problems. For example, emphasize individual development and problems arise in the relationships between individuals and the collective body; emphasize economic principles and problems arise in the relationships between economics and politics, etc. Due to this, Rong'er's vexation has a social character. That is to say, the author, through the secrets discovered in the heart of a young rural girl, is reflecting a social contradiction.

The younger generation is the hope of our revolutionary cause; their healthy maturation is an attention getting issue of the whole society. "Fluttering, Fading, Flowery Scarf," "This Is the Last Train Station" and "Flying Across the Blue Sky," etc., all present from differing angles, the seeking, pondering and struggles of the younger generation. Through the different lifestyles of the male and female main characters revealed in "Fluttering, Fading, Flowery Scarf," people can see, in the lives of the current younger generation, elation and despair, hope and disillusionment, winding paths and pursuit; these contradictions turn out to be interwoven together. These are a portion of the people who are dynamic and lively and require more concern from society. The author has contributed an artistic idea which greatly moves people to profound introspection. "This Is the Last Train Station: implies just from the title a life philosophy that gives one food for thought. The main character, Chen Xin, rides the train from Xinjiang on his way back to the Shanghai he has yearned for day and night. But upon his return what does he encounter? In the "narrow box" [of a residence] which wasn't more than 20 square meters, what he encountered was the befuddled life of his younger brother, quarreling between the brothers and the in-laws over the partition rights of the buildings, and the mother is worry over the lives of her sons and their wives. Is this life's "last station"? He finally doubted it. For 10 years, he had been gone from Shanghai working in a production team in Xinjiang. And then from Xinjing he returned to his hometown. And now, finally, he thinks fondly of the oasis-like land of Xinjinag. [Like the poet], he awakes from "10 years; 1 sleep, Yang Zhou dream." In 10 years, he made 1 big circle, but this is a result of the contradiction in his life based on a spiral-shaped development of his path, and not on the thoughts of the main character to return to his original land. "Flying Across the Blue Sky" depicts a theme generally similar to this: in its development one sees yet another inventiveness worked out with great pain. The story basically describes two "people." One of them is just a pigeon with the name of a person--Jing Jing. The true main character is the young intellectual named "Ma Qiao" ["sparrow"] who went off to work in a production team. In order to return to the city, "Ma Qiao" gave Jing Jing to a master who solicits work. After his hopes have failed, he becomes a cynic who takes everything lightly and he ends up joining a group of hooligans. Meanwhile, Jing Jing escapes from the cage of the extortionist and from the north country flies across the blue skies over vast distances, experiencing extreme hardships and dangers in pursuit of his goal of setting out again to fly back to his beloved hometown. But then the bird with the quest dies at the hand of the master who has lost his ideals; "Ma Qiao" accidentally kills it with a hunting rifle. Yet the death of Jing Jing inspired his master; finally, in sunken thought, he returned to the place of his own books and curved sword. Man ought to have beautiful quests and ought to have lofty beliefs. The story utilizes allegory and through fresh and distinct comparisons between the bird and the man, the lofty and the base, muddled thinking and clear thinking, clearly explains this philosophy in great depth.

In this public selection of prize-winning short stories, there are hardly any works reflecting the industrial battleline--there is only the single piece, "Road Bank" which depicts construction life in the city, enabling the readers to get a whiff of the fiery odor of our construction enterprises as they vigorously advance in the face of numerous obstacles. The rundown and cramped private residence of Jin Jia Gou and the orderly and peaceful building of the municipal party committee dormitory; the feasible and workable plan to remodel Jin Jia Gou and the sluggish work style...these contrasting elements make up the plot of the story, and in its forward progression it is especially rich in intense emotions. At the same time, they constitute a distinctive background in which a generation of reformists give full play to their ambitions and audacity. "Jin Lu'er" is a reflection of the lives of staff workers of the commercial sector. Through the observation and description of the image of a new type of model salesman from the old viewpoint of a branch league secretary, the fine image of Jin Lu'er was made to be misunderstood and damaged. But the development of the incident also is so richly comical: The branch league secretary with the self-appointed mission of "supervision" does not "remold" Jin Lu'er. On the contrary, it is Jin Lu'er's meritorious deeds which triumph over her usual personal power, altering her outmoded thinking habits. Other than this, [stories] such as "The Female Culinary Prefect," "The Bust," and "Young Women," etc., also reflect various aspects of social life from different angles, bringing inspiration to the readers.

Things always reveal their significance when placed in opposition to one another. Realistic literature can only burst forth in glistening beauty through penetrating exposure of contradictions and conflicts. In "Domestic Manager" it is men within the Communist Party such as Director Sun, raising challenges toward the ordinary peasants and masses. The "meteorological college graduate" type of cadre, used to doing whatever they please under the pretext of implementing new party policies, act as if they represent the new historical trend; this brings heavy pressure to the lives and psyches of the people to the extent that it even causes primary level fold such as Old Man Suo Cheng to worry about "changing heaven." The realistic power of the story is: It does not avoid describing the "prevalent" trend of letting county and village cadres take the lead in launching attacks and raids against the common people, but standing in opposition to this trend, portrays a "China's backbone" type of character. When Li Quilan of "Domestic Manager" gives the order to fire to the master stonemason down in the well, we hear the gloomy and heavy explosion "coming from beneath the earth" and we feel this is the voice of the people, the voice of history. When the gunpowder smoke and dense fog created by Director Sun have all dissipated, we see the new hope developing in rural life. The contradictions contained in the story "Mountain Moon Knows Not Matters of the Heart" possess a significance which warns and alerts people: After the original sequence of production in the village is replaced by a new sequence of production, the contradiction between the public and private [interests] was not covered by the new management methods, but is made to stand out even more. Be it Rong Er's dissatisfaction with the simplistic "each family and each household tilling his own plot" or Ming Quan's taking the initiative to contract for "the hilly land which no one wants to contract," each reveals his fair and selfless heart and his enthusiastic pursuit of an ever higher idealistic goal. Because this kind of pursuit emerges after the

implementation of the responsibility systems, their noble spirits look even more self-conscious and persistent. It is natural for such youth group cadre as Rong Er and Qiao Qiao to be concerned about certain phenomena which followed the implementation of the production contracts. When their concerns are pointed out by Ming Quan: "Your concerns are also the problems currently existing in our work. Higher level [authorities] have taken notice." The reader will immediately feel that: The shackled youthful vigor will further attain liberation; the bird will extend its wings and fly up to the sky. Although the main female character in "The Fluttering Fading Flowery Scarf," Chen Ping, has sadly sunk into depravity, she still aroused profound thoughts in Chin Jiang. No, readers will contemplate along with Chin Jiang: The life represented by one such as Chin Jiang ought to come to an end now. We can see that it is precisely in this process of contradictions and conflicts that people of our country, whether they are of the older or younger generation or this or that occupation, they all realize new improvements and awakenings with daily increasing frequency. And it is precisely this series of actual living experiences of the people and masses that continually enriches and deepens the writer's artistic thinking process. Every literary work reaches maturity in a process of penetrating exposure and recognition of contradictions and conflicts.

"Without entering the tiger's den, how can the tiger be taken?" Only by persistent probing of the masses and probing of life and by facing up to reality and exposing contradictions can authors ceaselessly discover new angles of expression and form profound knowledge and penetrating insight into their own creations. At the same time, the examples above also make clear: It is precisely those literary works which thoroughly expose the contradictions and conflicts in real life that can conscientiously provide new outlets and new hopes and thereby quite naturally sparkle with new radiance. The incident described in "The Green Vine Covered Log Cabin" is comparatively unique, yet the contradiction exposed has a definite universal significance. Stupidity, unreasonableness and narrow-mindedness such as that of Wang Mutong are incompatible with our social development. Apparently, the author intends, through the contradictions and conflicts between the characters, to send forth a call to the building of an intellectual culture. Sometimes, people often consider revelation of contradictions and exposure of reactionary elements as synonymous or similar in meaning. This is a misunderstanding. Almost every one of the above illustrated works proves that the so-called exposure of dark elements and praise of brightness do not have between them and cannot have between them an impassable gulf. There is yet another typical view which holds that unmasking contradictions will make people depressed. A number of "bruised" or "expose" literary works seem to intensify this view of people. In fact, true as it may be, it is because these works are too superficial.

In art, exposure of contradictions is an important requirement of realism; the so-called intensification of reality, speaking from a certain level of meaning, is but an intensification of the unmasking of contradictions. The reason that all the masterpieces of realism have been able to open the hearts of the readers and have been constantly read and reread over the years is that they thoroughly expose the social contradictions of their own era. Of course, throughout history many authors have been unaware of this point; the majority

of them came to realize the principles of realism through long periods of living experience and honest artistic practice. That our writers consciously realize and embody this point is referred to as revolutionary realism. To sum up, in the process of unceasingly unmasking contradictions and conflicts, we cultivate the success of art and the victory of realism, and boundless "freshness" or "beauty." And as for the readers, only things that are "fresh" or "beautiful" are able to move them, to educate them and so realize the objective of art. One might say that his principle is an artistic law. When our authors, readers and comrades working in leadership positions are all able consciously to recognize this law and accelerate its realization, our literary enterprise will develop even more vigorously.

From looking at the situations enumerated above, this set of prize-winning short stories are generally still weak in the aspect of reflecting the contradictions of our time, especially the important social contradictions, and fall behind the practical development of real life. We still lack comparatively powerful literary works in numerous life concerns. Secondly, from the point of view of the works we have discussed above, although they have attained laudatory results, they still contain certain inadequacies. "Domestic Manager" is a good story. However, why does Director Sun possess such tremendous power to stir up the winds and make waves? It appears that the story insufficiently unmasks the social factors which form Director Sun's character. So in the scene of "Domestic Manager" where he gives the order to blast and retreats awkwardly, there is conveyed an even stronger flavor of a ridiculous clown on stage, unlike a real person in life. I fear the Director Sun of real life would be more "difficult to handle." In "Mountain Moon Knows Not Matters of the Heart," if the author could more concretely and accurately compose the distinctive background which gives rise to Rong'er's worries and, for example, could make a more complete analysis of the general social psychology following the implementation of the production responsibility system, I think the main ideological theme of the story would be more profound and the characters more substantial. Also, the "Fluttering Fading Flowery Scarf" lacks a reason for us to believe in the cause of Chen Ping's fall into depravity. Is it the result of her vanity? If so, what are the causes which change her from a promising young person with her head buried in work for 10 years into this sort? The story does not adequately account for the environment creating her tragic character, and so when it comes to a conclusion, although the readers cannot help but feel sorry for the misfortune she faces, they are not sufficiently clear as to the mischief played upon her by "the god of fate." Of course the educational value of the work is thereby weakened.

These 20 pieces of literary effort, in the domain of short stories of the past year, represent, on the whole, the depth of authors in delving into life. In the face of the rushing, advancing tide of life, literature will never feel satisfied. The new things which await opening up are endlessly emerging. "A couple of plum branches blossom outside the bamboos. Ducks first know of the warm water of the spring stream." Those courageous enough to wade into the stream and with the earliest obtained message of spring and newest discovery bring about a breakthrough in literature, will be the outstanding ones who dare to wrestle with the winds and waves and to heroically swim toward the depths of the ocean of life.