

PEKING REVIEW

24

June 13, 1975

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報

**Chairman Mao Meets President
And Madame Marcos**

**Far-Reaching Significance of
May 7 Cadre Schools**

**"Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty":
A Scrap of Paper**

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Chairman Mao Meets President and Madame Marcos

CHAIRMAN Mao Tsetung on the afternoon of June 7 met with President Ferdinand E. Marcos of the Republic of the Philippines, his wife Madame Imelda Romualdez Marcos, and their daughters Imee Marcos and Irene Marcos.

Chairman Mao extended a welcome to President Marcos on his official visit to China and to Madame Marcos and their daughters on their visit to China, and

had a friendly conversation with them. President Marcos said he was honoured and happy to have this opportunity to visit China and meet Chairman Mao.

Present on the occasion were Vice-Premier Teng Hsiao-ping, Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs Wang Hai-jung, and Deputy Department Directors of the Foreign Ministry Tang Wen-sheng and Chang Han-chih.





Chinese leaders Chu Teh, Teng Hsiao-ping, Chiang Ching, Hua Kuo-feng, Wu Teh and Ku Mu meet President and Madame Marcos and other distinguished Philippine guests. (From left to right in the foreground): Madame Marcos, President Marcos, Chu Teh and Chiang Ching.

President and Madame Marcos in China

FERDINAND E. Marcos, President of the Republic of the Philippines, successfully concluded his visit to Peking and left for Shanghai on June 10 by special plane before going back to his country.

Premier Chou En-lai and President Marcos signed a joint communique on June 9 in Peking on the formal

establishment of diplomatic relations between China and the Philippines. (See p. 7.)

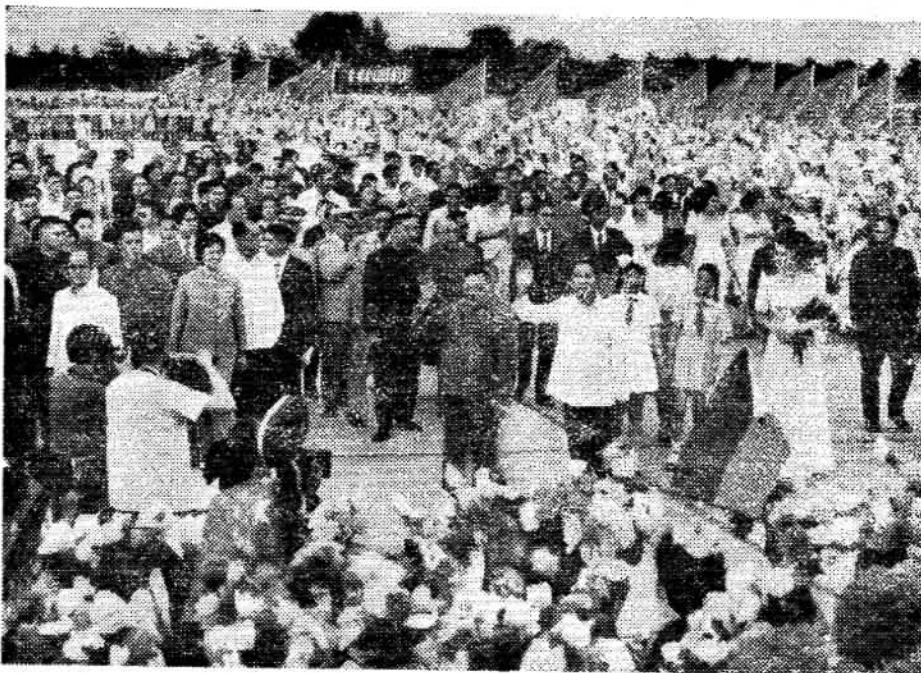
President Marcos made an official visit to China at the invitation of Chairman Chu Teh of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress and Premier Chou En-lai of the State Council.

Madame Imelda Romualdez Marcos accompanied the President on the visit.

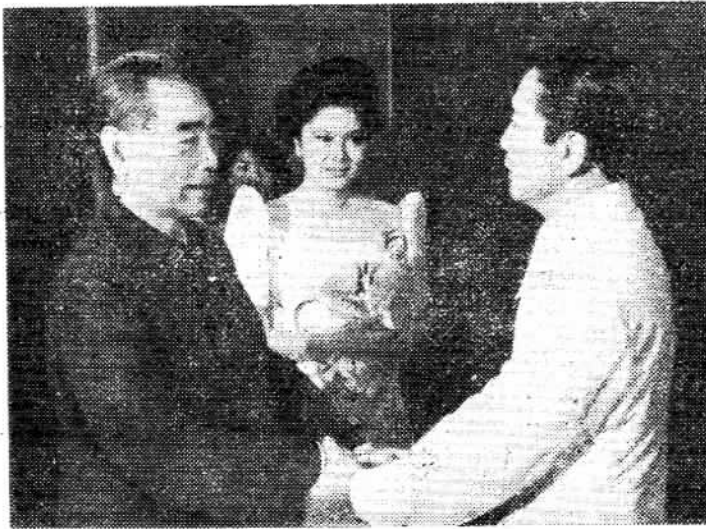
Included in the President's party were his two daughters, Secretary of Foreign Affairs Carlos P. Romulo, other cabinet members, a governor and other high ranking officials.

President and Madame Marcos received a warm welcome on their arrival at Peking Airport on June 7 from Chinese leaders Teng Hsiao-ping, Hua Kuo-feng, Wu Teh and Ku Mu, Minister of Foreign Affairs Chiao Kuan-hua and several thousand people of the capital. Later, at the Guest House, the distinguished guests were cordially greeted by Madame Kang Ke-ching and Madame Teng Ying-chao.

The main streets of the capital were decorated with the national flags of China and the Philippines and multi-coloured banners. Huge streamers trailing from tall buildings read: "Warmly welcome President and Madame Marcos!" "Warmly welcome the distinguished Philippine guests!" "Firmly support the people of the Philippines in their struggle to safeguard national independence and state sovereignty!" "Long live the friendship between the peoples of China and the Philippines!" and "Long live the great unity of the people of the world!"



President and Madame Marcos receive a warm welcome at Peking Airport from Chinese leaders Teng Hsiao-ping, Hua Kuo-feng, Wu Teh and Ku Mu as well as several thousand people.



Premier Chou En-lai meets President and Madame Marcos.

There was a grand welcome ceremony at the airport when President and Madame Marcos arrived in Peking at 2:30 p.m. that day. Accompanied by Vice-Premier Teng Hsiao-ping, President Marcos reviewed a guard of honour made up of men of the ground, naval and air forces of the Chinese People's Liberation Army. The well-wishers waved bouquets and multi-coloured ribbons and shouted slogans in welcome.

Chinese leaders Chu Teh, Teng Hsiao-ping, Chiang Ching, Hua Kuo-feng, Wu Teh and Ku Mu met in the evening with President and Madame Marcos and the other distinguished Philippine guests. They were photographed together.

Premier Chou En-lai also met in a hospital the same evening with President and Madame Marcos, their daughters and the other distinguished Philippine guests.

Vice-Premier Teng Hsiao-ping hosted a grand welcome banquet in the name of Premier Chou En-lai in the Great Hall of the People in the same evening.

Vice-Premier Teng and President Marcos spoke at the banquet. (For excerpts of their speeches see pp. 9 and 10.)

During the President's stay in Peking Vice-Premier Teng and President Marcos held talks on international questions of common concern and further development of relations between the two countries. President Marcos and the other distinguished guests visited the Hunghsing People's Commune, the Central Institute for Nationalities, the May 7 cadre school

of Peking's eastern district, an armoured unit of the Peking Units of the People's Liberation Army and a unit under the Peking Garrison. They toured the Great Wall, the Ming Tombs and the Palace Museum. President and Madame Marcos also attended an acrobatic performance.

A trade agreement between the Governments of China and the Philippines was signed on June 9 by Minister of Foreign Trade Li Chiang and Philippine Secretary of Industry Vicente T. Paterno.

Return Banquet

President and Madame Marcos gave a grand return banquet on June 9. Hosts and guests warmly hailed the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and the Philippines and the beginning of a new stage in the traditional friendship

between the two peoples and the relations between both countries. President Marcos and Vice-Premier Teng spoke at the banquet.

President Marcos said: "From hereon, it shall be my enthusiastic endeavour to seek and promote the close co-operation between our two countries and to strengthen our relations with the passage of time."

He added: "China is an ancient civilization and culture but it has a fresh and vigorous spirit.

"I am struck by the passionate dedication and devotion to country by all classes of people, from the leadership down to all the citizens.

"There is a vibrant note of optimism and resolve in the words and actions of everyone, whether young or old."

"Indeed," he said, "China has an important role to play in the world and in the history of man. But certain circumstances and inflexibility in the attitudes and behaviour of some nations in the past have tried to delay the effective performance of this role in the past. Today, however, a fresh new wind of change blows upon the face of Asia and the world, and China can now undertake her mission for humanity."

"To me," he went on, "this simply means that modern Chinese thought may inject a measure of optimism to the prevailing forecast about the immediate future of mankind."

He said: "Let us remember two fundamental facts. First, the threat to our endangered planet derives from the destructiveness of industrial civilization and the arms race among



Vice-Premier Teng Hsiao-ping and President Marcos hold talks.

the big powers. Second, the terrible wars that have inflicted so much suffering on mankind have been brought about, not by the poor countries but by the rich ones.

"Now, let me add a third point. The People's Republic of China has developed and continues to develop without being a predatory nation, without taking anything from anyone. She has grown without impoverishing other nations and peoples."

"Above all, China challenges all of us to be true to ourselves -- to build our new societies not on alien forms borrowed indiscriminately, but on our own unique historical experiences and cultural identities. This doctrine of self-reliance, which I take to be at the heart of Mao Tsetung Thought, we have made the basic principle for the establishment of the new society in the Philippines.

"If there are any lessons to be learned in Asia today, many of them will be learned specially from China," he continued.

"It is very much for this reason, why we have come to learn from China, the fact of national unity, among others."

The President said in conclusion: "We shall leave this great country happy in the thought that we have reinstated a friendship that was initiated by our forbears many centuries back, before the advent of the Western colonizer; and that we leave behind us a sympathetic understanding of our own efforts to unify our own nation,

seeking our destiny according to our own perceptions, our own values, and our own culture."

Vice-Premier Teng expressed his thanks to the warm and friendly speech of President Marcos. He said that it is a great pleasure to see that the traditional friendship between the Chinese and Philippine peoples and the relations between the two countries have entered a new stage. He went on to say: "The normalization of relations between China and the Philippines is in accord with the fundamental interests of our two peoples and is an important contribution to the advancement of the Asian people's cause of unity against imperialism. On behalf of the Chinese Government and people, I would like to acclaim it warmly.

"China and the Philippines are both developing countries belonging to the third world. We are both opposed to big-power hegemonism and have the common desire of developing the relations between our two countries. We firmly believe that, although our two countries have different social systems, the friendly relations between our countries will, through our joint efforts, grow stronger and progress continuously on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. Our two countries are close neighbours; our peoples will live together in friendship from generation to generation.

"During their visit in China, the President, Madame Marcos and the other distinguished Philippine guests

have had friendly contacts with the Chinese people, which enhance our mutual understanding. China is not yet a developed country. To attain the magnificent goal of building China into a powerful modern socialist country, we have to make prolonged and arduous efforts and need the sympathy and support of friendly countries."

In conclusion, Vice-Premier Teng requested the Philippine guests to convey to the Philippine people the cordial greetings and good wishes of the Chinese people.

Australian Foreign Minister Visits China

Australian Foreign Minister Donald Robert Willesee and Mrs. Willesee and their party arrived in Peking on June 6 for a visit to China.

Premier Chou En-lai met with Foreign Minister and Mrs. Willesee in a hospital that evening.

Speaking of the current international situation at the banquet welcoming the Australian guests, Foreign Minister Chiao Kuan-hua said: "As further proved by the great victories of the Indochinese peoples, the trend that countries want independence, nations want liberation, and the people want revolution is pressing forward irresistibly. The people of each country are determined to take the destiny of their country into their own hands. This is characteristic of our era. Gone are the days when the superpowers could sway the destiny of the people of other countries at will. But the superpowers will not step down from the stage of history of their own accord. They are intensifying their rivalry for domination of the world. Their contention is bound to lead to war some day. This is the reason why the world is still very intranquil today."

He went on to say: "The Asia-Pacific region where we live is no exception. In particular, one superpower, taking advantage of the weakening and the strategic passivity of the other superpower, has sent its naval forces to the Pacific and Indian Oceans to make a show

(Continued on p. 16.)



Premier Chou En-lai meets Foreign Minister Willesee.

JOINT COMMUNIQUE

Of the Government of the People's Republic Of China and the Government of the Republic of the Philippines



Premier Chou En-lai and President Marcos sign the joint communique.

I

The Government of the People's Republic of China and the Government of the Republic of the Philippines, desiring to promote the traditional friendship between the Chinese and the Filipino peoples, have decided upon mutual recognition and the establishment of diplomatic relations at ambassadorial level effective from the date of signature of this communique.

II

The two Governments hold that the economic, political and social system of a country should be chosen only by the people of that country, without out-

side interference. They maintain that the difference between the economic, political and social systems of the People's Republic of China and the Republic of the Philippines should not constitute an obstacle to peaceful coexistence and the establishment and development of peaceful and friendly relations between the two countries and peoples in accordance with the principles of mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit.

The two Governments agree to settle all disputes by peaceful means on the basis of the above-mentioned principles without resorting to the use or threat of force.

The two Governments agree that all foreign aggression and subversion and all attempts by any country to control any other country or to interfere in its internal affairs are to be condemned. They are opposed to any attempt by any country or group of countries to establish hegemony or create spheres of influence in any part of the world.

The two Governments agree to co-operate with each other to achieve the foregoing objectives.

III

The Philippine Government recognizes the Government of the People's Republic of China as the sole legal government of China, fully understands and respects the position of the Chinese Government that there is but one China and that Taiwan is an integral part of Chinese territory, and decides to remove all its official representations from Taiwan within one month from the date of signature of this communique.

The Government of the People's Republic of China recognizes the Government of the Republic of the Philippines and agrees to respect the independence and sovereignty of the Republic of the Philippines.

The two Governments recognize and agree to respect each other's territorial integrity.

IV

The Government of the People's Republic of China and the Government of the Republic of the Philippines consider any citizen of either country who acquires

citizenship in the other country as automatically forfeiting his original citizenship.

V

The two Governments agree to adopt active measures for the development of trade and economic relations between them. They have agreed to negotiate and conclude a trade agreement based on their respective needs and on the principles of equality and mutual benefit.

VI

The two Governments noted the importance of cultural exchanges in developing mutual understanding and friendship between their two peoples.

VII

The Government of the People's Republic of China and the Government of the Republic of the Philippines have agreed to exchange mutually accredited Ambassadors as soon as practicable and to provide each other with all the necessary assistance for the establishment and performance of the functions of diplomatic missions in their respective capitals in accordance with international practice and on a reciprocal basis.

(Signed)

(Signed)

CHOU EN-LAI FERDINAND E. MARCOS

Premier of the State
Council of the People's Re-
public of China

President of the Republic
of the Philippines

Peking, June 9, 1975

Philippine Government Issues Announcement

THE Philippine Government issued an announcement on June 9.

Upon the release of the Joint Communique of the Government of the Republic of the Philippines and the Government of the People's Republic of China, the announcement said, "the Philippine Government ter-

minates all existing official relations between the Philippines and Taiwan. The Philippine Government abrogates the treaty of amity and friendship and all other official agreements concluded with Taiwan. All official representations of Taiwan in the Philippines have been asked to withdraw within one month from the date of signature of the Joint Communique."

Vice-Premier Teng Hsiao-ping's Speech

(Excerpts)

WE are very glad that His Excellency Ferdinand Marcos, President of the Republic of the Philippines, and Madame Marcos have, in response to our invitation, come to China on an official visit. Madame Marcos, who visited China last autumn as the special envoy of the President, is a friend we know well. And now His Excellency the President himself has come here, bringing to the Chinese people the friendship of the Filipino people. Just now Chairman Mao Tsetung met the President and Madame Marcos, and they had a friendly conversation. I am entrusted by Premier Chou En-lai to host this evening's banquet. Please allow me, on behalf of the Chinese Government and people, to express our warm welcome to His Excellency the President, Madame Marcos and the other distinguished guests from the Philippines and extend, through you, our cordial greetings and high respects to the Filipino people.

The Philippines is a beautiful and richly-endowed country in Southeast Asia. The Filipino people are an industrious and valiant people. For centuries, they waged unyielding and heroic struggles against imperialism and colonialism to win national independence. In recent years, they have made unremitting efforts to safeguard national independence and defend state sovereignty. In international affairs, the Philippines has actively developed relations with other third world countries, supported the struggle of developing countries to safeguard their national economic rights and interests and opposed hegemonism and power politics. We sincerely wish the Filipino people new and greater successes on their road of advance.

Friends and comrades,

At present, the international situation has undergone a tremendous change in favour of the people of all countries. The many countries and peoples of the third world are steadily strengthening their unity and playing an ever greater role in international affairs. In Asia, the Indochinese peoples have won a great historic victory and dealt imperialism and hegemonism a heavy blow. The current situation is most favourable for the Asian peoples to carry forward their struggle against imperialism and hegemonism and for the Asian countries to pursue an independent foreign policy. The historical trend of Asian peoples determining their own destinies is pressing forward irresistibly. We are glad to note the significant progress of the struggle of the people of Southeast Asian countries to safeguard independence and sovereignty. The Southeast Asian countries have won extensive international support for their positive position for establishing a zone of peace and neutrality in Southeast Asia and barring superpower

interference and contention. We sincerely hope that these countries will unite more closely with other third world countries and play a greater role in international affairs. As always, we will firmly support the Southeast Asian peoples in their just struggle against imperialism and hegemonism.

Historical experience shows that the people's road of progress is never level and smooth. At present the world is far from being tranquil. Everywhere the superpowers are contending for hegemony. What should especially put people on the alert is that where the one superpower has to withdraw after suffering defeat, the other superpower, with unbridled ambition, is trying to seize the chance to carry out expansion by overt or covert means of contest. But the people of all countries who hold their destiny in their own hands will never allow any superpower to lord it over them. The people of Asian countries, who have rich experience in combating imperialism, will certainly see through superpower wiles and schemes, guard against "letting the tiger in through the back door while repelling the wolf through the front gate," and thus frustrate the superpower policy of aggression and expansion.

China is a developing socialist country belonging to the third world. China will never be a superpower, and will never commit aggression against or bully other countries. We always maintain that all countries, big or small, should be equal. We support all the oppressed nations and oppressed peoples in their just struggles. At the same time we hold that the social system of a country should be chosen and decided only by its own people. It is possible for countries with different social systems to develop state relations on the basis of the five principles of mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit and peaceful co-existence. Our policy and stand are consistent and firm.

Friends and comrades,

China and the Philippines are neighbours separated only by a strip of water. The traditional friendship between our two peoples dates back to ancient days. More than a thousand years ago, people of our two countries already began sailing across the seas to visit each other and carry on friendly economic and cultural exchanges. We have always sympathized with and supported each other in the protracted struggle against imperialism and colonialism. In recent years, the traditional friendship between the peoples of China and the Philippines resumed and has developed. Friendly

contacts, cultural exchanges and economic and trade relations between our two peoples have been increasing continuously. The visit of Madame Marcos to China last year prompted a new development in the relations between China and the Philippines. The current visit of President Marcos to China is a major event in Sino-

Philippine relations. We believe that His Excellency the President's visit will surely make an important contribution to the further advancement of the friendly relations between China and the Philippines and the strengthening of the traditional friendship between our two peoples.

President Marcos' Speech

(Excerpts)

THANKS to your sincere greetings and to the fraternal friendly sentiments of your people for the Government and people of the Republic of the Philippines!

On behalf of the people and Government of the Philippines, we extend, through you, our regards and admiration to Chairman Mao Tsetung and the people of your great country.

The wise men say that a long, long time ago land bridges connected my country to the mainland that is China.

Today as I flew over the ocean I could see beneath us the bridges to China once again abuilding.

But in a sense we do not need to build the bridges all over again.

The bridges have always been there.

The land bridges may have been flooded by the rising waters of the ice age and washed away by the tides of colonialism.

But the bridges of culture, of the spirit and of the heart have always been — and shall always be there.

They were there when the Western world discovered my country, the Philippines, through Ferdinand Magellan, the Portuguese explorer under Spanish patronage — in 1521.

But if we speak of discovery we must remember that China knew the Philippines a long, long time before that. China knew the Philippines as early as 977 A.D. The records of the Sung Dynasty (960-1279) and the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644) referred to the flourishing trade between our two countries. The Sultan of Sulu, Peduca Pahala, visited Peking in 1417, died in Shanghai and was entombed in the Ming Tombs outside Peking. The Chinese writers Chao Ju-kua and Wang Ta-yuan referred to the Chinese-Philippine trade in the year 1225 and 1349.

So the bridges between our two countries were there during the four centuries of Spanish domination, the British conquest, the half century of American occupation and the four years of Japanese domination.

To a very modest extent we are like China. We have known the humiliation of colonization and enslavement.

We fought our conquerors to establish our own Republic in 1898. We drove the Spanish forces from

the countryside to a small corner of Manila — intramuros, the walled city. Just the same, we fell as a prize to a new conqueror in the Spanish-American war.

I have journeyed to China on a mission for the 42 million Filipinos of our Republic to assure ourselves that the bridges from the Philippines to China will not again be washed away.

The warmth of your invitation to come as your guest — and now, the graciousness of your welcome for me — has been preceded by the hospitality and generosity you lavished on my wife, Mrs. Imelda Romualdez Marcos, last September.

This has evoked in me, and my people, a deep gratitude which joins with our abiding respect for the monumental achievements of the great Chinese people, under their recognized leader and father of the country, Chairman Mao Tsetung.

Some years back, it was said of the Philippines that we were apprehensive of Japan, fearful of China, watchful of Indonesia, and aggravated by India — so that Philippine policies were oriented towards lesser Asian countries and stronger non-Asian nations. Perhaps these were the genuine perceptions at the time. They were, in any case, a realistic basis for the premises of diplomatic dependence.

It may be pointed out that as a people we are good and dependable friends and fearlessly loyal allies. Our national character is reflected in the policies of our Government sometimes, as we have learnt, to our great disadvantage. It is only when our friendship is repeatedly depreciated or taken for granted that we make an effort to do what is distasteful to us, to act as if selfishly, with a singular devotion to our strict national interests.

So historical experience and realism both bid us to be more objective and less emotional, or if we are to engage our emotions it should be based on our authentic identity as Asians. It is on this basis that we re-examine the world, our region and ourselves. The old modes of thought can no longer sustain us or any other nation in Asia. We must review our alliances, reappraise our destiny, and, in a word, go out into the world.

We are Asians. We live in Asia. Our future is in Asia. And we should remodel our thoughts and our policies in accordance with that indubitable fact.

From this I can only conclude that it is to the interest of the whole world, including China, that the countries of Southeast Asia be truly and genuinely strong and independent, capable of being friendly with all nations.

I believe that a new age dawns upon Asia and the whole world.

It is an age where the most subtle forms of foreign domination or intervention must disappear.

Every nation of the third world is aware that a new world is being built and every nation passionately desires a share in this undertaking.

I believe that economic development and modernization constitute the strongest foundation for true freedom and independence, that economic progress and military security are two sides of the same coin.

We know of the deficiencies of our countries of the developing world, but we believe that spiritual strength, which is the most potent weapon in the Asian arsenal, will make up for such deficiencies.

I believe that China, with the depth of the moral outrage she has shown for the iniquities of the past and the present, is the natural leader of the third world.

It is a tribute to China and her leaders under Chairman Mao Tsetung that they enshrine as a basic

guiding principle of international relations not only coexistence but also equality of all nations, irrespective of wealth, size and most important of all—of differences in social systems. Every nation, under Mao Tsetung Thought, must be allowed to develop into what it considers best according to its judgment. We, in the Philippines, intend to follow strictly this policy of friendship with every country and equality among nations.

I came ready to be impressed. I am confident I will leave impressed and encouraged in our own modest endeavour to create a new society in the Philippines.

For the transformation of China that the Chinese people, under the great leadership of Chairman Mao Tsetung, have achieved in the short period of 26 years is undeniably the most noble monument to the invincibility of an idea supported by the force of the human spirit. It is the world's outstanding example of self-reliance—in the most massive scale.

As an oriental, I cannot but be proud of your historic achievement.

As a mark of that pride in you and your country and as an earnest of our friendship and co-operation, I have come to formally represent our people in extending greetings to the great Chinese people under their leader, Chairman Mao Tsetung.

A Heroic People, a Glorious Festival

THE glorious day of the sixth anniversary of the founding of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam has arrived amidst the jubilation of the entire Vietnamese people on the complete liberation of south Viet Nam. With boundless joy, the Chinese people extend their warm congratulations and lofty respects to the fraternal Vietnamese people.

Six years ago, the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam was born gloriously amidst the flames of the war against U.S. aggression and for national salvation. It represents the iron-will and fundamental interests of the south Vietnamese people, and is warmly supported and deeply loved by them. Internationally, it enjoys broad sympathy and support and high prestige. Under the glorious banner of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam and with the all-out support of their kith and kin in the north, the south Vietnamese people, in the past six years, advanced dauntlessly and wave upon wave, and persisted in a protracted people's war, winning one brilliant victory after another and frustrating the aggressive schemes of the U.S. aggressors and their lackeys. Especially since last March, the south Vietnamese people

firmly counter-attacked in self-defence the puppet Nguyen Van Thieu clique which, with the support of the U.S. Government, committed the criminal acts of stubbornly sabotaging the Paris agreement, refusing to realize national concord and savagely massacring the people. Finally on April 30, they hoisted the flag of victory in Saigon and liberated the whole of south Viet Nam, winning a great victory of world significance. This victory immensely encouraged the people of various countries in the world in their anti-imperialist struggle and set a brilliant example for the liberation struggle of all oppressed nations and people. The Chinese people heartily rejoice at the victory of the Vietnamese people.

The Vietnamese people's revolutionary struggle has now entered a new historical period. They are determined to persevere in struggle, redouble their efforts and continue their advance so as to achieve the great objective set forth by President Ho Chi Minh in his testament: "Build a peaceful, reunified, independent, democratic and prosperous Viet Nam." The Vietnamese people are a heroic people, the Vietnamese nation is a great nation. We are deeply convinced that so long as they continue to carry forward their revolutionary heroism, the Vietnamese people will certainly win new and still greater victories in the struggle ahead.

China and Viet Nam are neighbours linked by rivers and mountains and as closely related as the lips and the teeth. The people of the two countries are comrades-in-arms and brothers in weal and woe. In protracted revolutionary struggles, the people of our two countries have sympathized with and supported each other and have forged a profound revolutionary friendship. The Chinese people have always regarded

the struggle and victories of the Vietnamese people as their own. They will, as always, resolutely support the Vietnamese people's just cause of consolidating their victories and reunifying and building their country. They will unite and advance side by side with the Vietnamese people.

(“Renmin Ribao” editorial, June 6)

Far-Reaching Significance of May 7 Cadre Schools

by Hsia Fang-hao

CHAIRMAN Mao issued his May 7 Directive nine years ago.

Linking the practical struggle in connection with the May 7 cadre schools and restudying the May 7 Directive in the high tide of studying Chairman Mao's important instruction on the question of theory, we have come to a deeper understanding that running the May 7 cadre schools well is a requirement for restricting bourgeois right and strengthening the all-round dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie. It is also a great undertaking in educating and training proletarian cadres in Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought.

Chairman Mao always attaches great importance to the question of restricting bourgeois right under the dictatorship of the proletariat. In his May 7 Directive, Chairman Mao called on all trades and professions in the country to “study politics” and “criticize and repudiate the bourgeoisie.” The People's Liberation Army is urged to engage concurrently in study, agriculture, industry and mass work. Workers and peasants are also urged to study military affairs and politics and raise their educational level while mainly engaging in industry and agriculture. Where conditions permit, workers should also engage in agriculture and side-occupations and peasants should run some small factories collectively. Students should, for their part, learn industrial and agricultural production and military affairs. Where conditions permit, those working in commerce, the service trades and Party and government organizations should do the same. All these are aimed at restricting bourgeois right, narrowing the three major differences (between workers and peasants, between town and countryside and between mental and manual labour) and expanding communist factors. The May 7 Directive touches on the questions of doing a good job in carrying out the revolution in the superstructure and

of strengthening the socialist economic base. It is a splendid programme for building up the army and the country and for transforming society under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

New-Type Cadre School

“Lenin said that ‘small production engenders capitalism and the bourgeoisie continuously, daily, hourly, spontaneously, and on a mass scale.’ They are also engendered among a part of the working class and of the Party membership. Both within the ranks of the proletariat and among the personnel of state and other organs there are people who take to the bourgeois style of life.” Chairman Mao points to the serious question of engendering new bourgeois elements from the above-mentioned “part.” The theory and practice of proletarian dictatorship tells us that in socialist society, there still are classes, class contradictions and class struggle; there are the three major differences, there is bourgeois right and there are concepts reflecting this right. At the same time, socialist society cannot dispense at once with all administration and all subordination. So there exists the possibility that some people may use their positions and power as a basis for privilege and the capitalist principle of commodity exchange may erode the political life of the state and inner-Party life. These are important factors engendering new bourgeois elements among the personnel of state and other organs. Therefore, restricting bourgeois right and resisting the influence and corrosion of the ideology of bourgeois right and bourgeois style of life have become a question of major significance for the personnel of state and other organs in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Practice has shown that conscientiously implementing the May 7 Directive, running the May 7 cadre schools well and re-educating the cadres are effective

measures for solving this major question. The well-run May 7 cadre schools are playing an ever important role in this respect.

Everybody in these schools is a May 7 fighter irrespective of position and seniority. Following the principle that **"officers teach soldiers, soldiers teach officers and the soldiers teach each other,"** workers, peasants and intellectuals as well as leading cadres and ordinary working personnel help and learn from each other and anyone who is good at any kind of work is a teacher to the others. In close connection with the current struggle, the May 7 fighters assiduously study works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and Chairman Mao's works, conscientiously sum up experience, criticize revisionism and the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius and break with outdated traditional concepts. They are at once fellow-students in studying Marxism, comrades-in-arms in criticizing revisionism and comrades in working hard for socialism. For a common revolutionary goal, they pool their efforts, sweat over the same task and achieve unity in thinking. Their militant collective life strongly pounds away at the bourgeois right that still prevails to a serious extent in relations between people, gradually breaks with the traditional concept that regards social division of labour as an expression of hierarchy, and continually eliminates such exploiting-class filth as bureaucracy and ideas of privilege.

The cadres in these schools engage voluntarily in productive labour to their best ability, without regard to length of time or the conditions. They vie to take on the heaviest or hardest jobs, remould their ideology for the revolution and create wealth for socialism. This conscious participation in productive labour helps foster the communist attitude towards labour and to **"maintain the same vigour, the same revolutionary enthusiasm and the same daring death-defying spirit we displayed in the years of revolutionary war, and carry on our revolutionary work to the end."**

Everyone in the schools takes pride in working hard and living plainly and considers extravagance and waste shameful. All live in dormitories, eat in dining halls and share similar food. Resembling the equal treatment of officers and men in the years of revolutionary war, this way of living brings closer relations between the leaders and the led, between the new and the old cadres and among all comrades. It is a criticism of the concept of bourgeois right and a restriction on those who use bourgeois right to seek privileges.

Cadre schools are located in the countryside and students there are organized to take part in the whole process of farm production and spend a certain period



Students of a May 7 cadre school in Honan Province returning after work.

in the production teams of rural people's communes where they eat, live, work, study and criticize the bourgeoisie together with the peasants. They are also organized to conduct social investigations and learn from the workers and peasants. As far as some cadres are concerned, these activities are of positive significance in overcoming their ignorance about industry and farming and helping them oppose, in deeds and not in words, the old traditional concepts of despising farm production and looking down on the working people. They are also of great significance in strengthening the building of cadre contingents and gradually narrowing the differences between town and countryside and between mental and physical labour.

In short, the May 7 cadre school is a new type of cadre school in the period of socialism. With many communist features, it helps restrict bourgeois right to a certain extent and carries forward the glorious tradition of equality between comrades and hard struggle in the years of revolutionary war. Armed with Marxism and ready to work at a higher or lower post and become an "official" or an ordinary citizen, a contingent of proletarian cadres is maturing under the guidance of the May 7 Directive.

The Lin Piao anti-Party clique, which was especially opposed to restricting bourgeois right, viciously attacked new socialist things and tried by every means to strangle the May 7 cadre schools. The clique slandered cadres going to May 7 cadre schools as "unemployment in a disguised form," and tried to incite a section of office workers—who wanted to enlarge bourgeois right and become officials and lords and were seriously tainted by the bourgeois style of life—to oppose the Party's line and the socialist system. The great movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius went one step further in criticizing the Lin Piao anti-Party clique's counter-revolutionary crimes. The May 7 cadre schools

have gone ahead in big strides during the struggle against the counter-revolutionary revisionist line pushed by Lin Piao.

Combining State Administration With Physical Labour

In their epoch-making *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, Marx and Engels pointed out that after the seizure of political power by the proletariat, "combination of education with industrial production" is one of the indispensable means for entirely revolutionizing the mode of production. Lenin emphatically pointed out: State organs of the proletariat must combine "administration" with physical labour. Chairman Mao has inherited and developed these Marxist ideas, and as early as the period of the democratic revolution laid down for the Anti-Japanese Military and Political College the principle: "While studying engage in production." This principle has become in practice a fine tradition in the Party's education of cadres. In the period of socialist revolution Chairman Mao has issued the May 7 Directive and a series of instructions concerning cadre participation in collective productive labour. These call on the vast numbers of cadres to study once again while going down to do manual labour, and explain that cadres' taking part in collective productive labour is a major measure of fundamental importance for a socialist system. At the same time, Chairman Mao has laid special emphasis on the point that outstanding persons among industrial and agricultural producers should be continuously placed in leading posts at all levels and should take a direct part in state administration. During the Ninth Party Congress in 1969, Chairman Mao repeatedly called on the newly elected Members of the Party Central Committee from the grass-roots level that they "do not divorce themselves from the masses or from productive labour while performing their duties."

Chairman Mao's teachings have pointed out the road for combining education of cadres with productive labour and combining state administration with physical labour from the high level of combating and preventing revisionism and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat.

It has been proved by facts that, under the guidance of the correct line, the combination of educating cadres with production activity — "the most fundamental practical activity" of mankind — helps personnel in state organs attain a deep understanding of the current class struggle and two-line struggle and get a good grasp of Marxism from the plane of integrating theory with practice. This combination also helps them foster the viewpoints of class struggle and dialectical materialism, always keep the masses in mind and uphold the principle of integrating mental labour with physical labour, as well as deepen their understanding of the theory of proletarian dictatorship and raise their consciousness of continuing the revolution under this dictatorship. "Having close ties with the masses is most fundamental in reforming state organs." The important contents in reforming state organs are organizing their personnel to engage in productive labour and assimilating workers and peasants into state administration. These measures help maintain close ties between cadres and the masses, reduce differences between the administrators and producers step by step, prevent the "transformation of the state and the organs of the state from servants of society into masters of society," and correctly fulfil the functions of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

According to the Marxist theory of the state, its administrative personnel at first were detached from the producers, and as society develops the differences between administrators and producers will finally be eliminated. Therefore, the combination of state administration with physical labour not only meets the needs of the current struggle but conforms to the demands of the great goal of communism.

Removing the Soil Which Engenders Revisionism

Taking over the fine tradition of "while studying engage in production" from the Anti-Japanese Military and Political College, the May 7 cadre schools are a new type of cadre school characterized by combining education of cadres with productive labour and state administration with physical labour. They are both educational and production units and engage in both socialist revolution and socialist construction. Their basic



An old poor peasant telling the history of his village to students of a May 7 cadre school in Shensi Province.

tasks are to educate cadres and do a good job in production, and the two tasks complement each other. Only by adhering to educating the cadres in Marxism and continuously remoulding their subjective world can the struggle to transform the objective world be better carried out. And only under the guidance of revolutionary theories and through the practice of transforming the objective world can the remoulding of the cadres' subjective world be effectively promoted. As practice has proved, the correct principle of running the May 7 cadre schools well is to take the Party's basic line as the key link, follow Chairman Mao's May 7 Directive and his instruction on "vast numbers of cadres" "going down to do manual labour," adhere to the principle of "while studying engage in production," train and educate cadres and create wealth for the state.

To pit the education of cadres against productive labour, to stress only study and ignore the importance of productive labour, or to pay attention only to doing productive labour well and attach no importance to the study of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought — all these are erroneous and run counter to the spirit of the May 7 Directive. Poisoned by Liu Shao-chi's counter-revolutionary revisionist line before the Great

Proletarian Cultural Revolution, some cadre schools led the cadres astray and on to the road of "self-cultivation behind closed doors," made them officials and overlords, and pushed them down the wrong path to the brink of revisionism. This historical lesson must be remembered.

Group by group, working personnel in the Party and government organs have gone to the May 7 cadre schools to be tempered, and they have read and studied conscientiously and made big efforts to remould their world outlook while going down to do manual labour. This has effectively helped revolutionize these organs and their working personnel ideologically. Many cadre schools have become self-sufficient in grain, edible oil, meat and vegetables and some even have surpluses. If a large number of government organs can achieve such self-sufficiency step by step, it will lighten the people's burden enormously and to a certain extent turn the working personnel in state organs into administrators as well as producers, doing both mental and physical labour. This will be of extreme significance in strengthening the all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie in the superstructure and gradually removing the soil engendering capitalism and revisionism.

Cadres Studying Theory

Important Measure to Restrict Bourgeois Right

by Wang Yung-tai

IN my recent study of Chairman Mao's important instruction on the question of theory, I got a deeper understanding of the importance of cadres adhering to the May 7 road. On the basis of my personal experience of being tempered in a May 7 cadre school, I realize that it is an important base for training and educating cadres. Running the May 7 cadre schools well is indeed an important measure for combating and preventing revisionism and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat. Vast numbers of cadres going down to do manual labour and study again is conducive to restricting bourgeois right, criticizing the ideology of bourgeois right, resisting corrosion by bourgeois ideas and preventing Party members and personnel of state and other organs from taking to the bourgeois style of life.

For a long time I did not make enough conscious efforts to remould my world outlook and had an indifferent attitude towards the May 7 cadre schools. Since

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I had done farm work in my childhood and was a mason for many years, I used to consider myself a cadre of worker-peasant origin and blindly believed there was no need for me to go in for ideological remoulding. However, I changed my attitude after I had tempered myself for a period in a cadre school.

Immediately after I entered the cadre school, the leadership made me leader of a pig-raising squad. Relying on my past experience I thought there would be no difficulty for me to lead the squad well. But problems arose after a few days. Many of our squad members were young comrades, active and full of energy, and I was not accustomed to living together with them. I also felt it was not easy to lead them. I thought: "In my own unit I was a leading member, but I'm an ordinary student in the cadre school. In dealing with problems it might be useless if I said something vaguely. If I expressed my opinion strongly, they might not listen. What should I do? If they were to quarrel with me, how could a leading cadre like myself keep my face?" In such difficult circum-

stances I thought it was harder for me to be a squad leader than a vice-chairman of the revolutionary committee in my office. This brought out a problem in the hidden recesses of my mind, namely, I had always considered myself a leader giving orders, and I regarded myself as being above the masses and not one of them. Wasn't this exactly a reflection of the ideology of bourgeois right in my mind?

As a result of studying works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and Chairman Mao's works while taking part in physical labour, I have gained a new understanding of such bourgeois ideas as seeking fame and position long implanted in my mind. I began paying attention to overcoming them and remoulding my world outlook. I kept questioning myself and looking for where I lagged behind ideologically. For instance, why wasn't I accustomed to living together with young comrades? All the other comrades did things like transporting coal, fetching water and cleaning and sweeping, but why couldn't I take an active part too? Linking these with changes in my thinking and feeling, I traced the reasons to my world outlook. When I was a mason, I lived in a dormitory with other comrades. We worked together during the day and fetched water, swept the floor and did all sorts of things in the evening. We talked and laughed and I never felt ill at ease with that kind of life. Now conditions in the cadre school were much better than in those days. Why should I feel unaccustomed and out of place? I tried to find the reason and finally realized that it was because I had put on bureaucratic airs after becoming

a leading cadre and had become detached from the masses in thinking and feeling and style of life. I realized that this could lead me to a dangerous point unless I made conscious efforts to remould my world outlook.

Chairman Mao has taught us: "We Communists seek not official posts, but revolution. Everyone of us must be a thoroughgoing revolutionary in spirit and we must never for a moment divorce ourselves from the masses." I made up my mind to do away with my airs, integrate with the masses, do a good job together with the young comrades in raising pigs and remould my world outlook through practical work. I took the initiative to be in close touch with the young comrades and learn from their good points. When there were grubby and heavy jobs, I always took an active part. And when we were together, we talked about work and what was on our minds, and our relations became increasingly close. Instead of feeling uneasy in the presence of the young comrades, I have established a deep friendship with them. Educated in this process, I have thrown my bureaucratic airs overboard, added to my vigour and improved my style of work.

I have gained much through study and tempering in the May 7 cadre school. One of the major ones is that I have begun paying attention to criticizing the hierarchy concept arising from bourgeois right, resisting corruption by bourgeois ideas and making conscious efforts to remould my world outlook.

(Continued from p. 6.)

of force and intimidate others, while at the same time flaunting the banner of the so-called 'Asian collective security system.' Resorting to all sorts of tactics, it tries hard to squeeze into this region for the sole purpose of dominating the people here and carrying out expansion in its contention with the other superpower for world hegemony."

He pointed out: "It is only natural that China and Australia, being both situated in the Asia-Pacific region, should be closely interested in the development of the situation in this region. In the Sino-Australian joint press communique of November 1973, both sides expressed their opposition to the seeking of hegemony in the Asia-Pacific region by any country or group of countries. This gave expression to both the desire of the Chinese and Australian peoples and the common will of the people in this region." He declared that the Chinese Government and people will

make unswerving efforts together with Australia and other friendly countries in this respect.

In his speech, Foreign Minister Donald Willesee said that the discussions between the foreign ministers of China and Australia will not be confined to bilateral relations. He said: "We shall have much to discuss in the wider context of international and especially regional affairs. For some momentous developments have marked the last couple of years, in particular the ending of the conflicts in Indochina. The Australian Government is optimistic about the prospects for peace, prosperity and progress in the region between us."

"I have great confidence," he pointed out, "that we will, during our discussions here, lay the basis for a further growth in relations."

With satisfaction, Foreign Minister Willesee reviewed the constant development of the friendly relations between the two countries, the rapid

growth of trade and exchange of visits by ministers of the two countries and by sporting, cultural, educational and other professional groups since Prime Minister Whitlam visited China in 1973. He said: "These demonstrate the well-founded interest and concern for greater knowledge and better understanding which already exist between our two peoples. They give us high hopes for the future."

Vice-Premier Teng Meets U.S. Media Men

Vice-Premier Teng Hsiao-ping met and had a frank, friendly conversation on June 2 with the Delegation of the American Society of Newspaper Editors led by Eugene C. Patterson, editor of the *St. Petersburg Times*, and with chairman of the Associated Press Paul Miller.

The delegation arrived in Peking on May 29.

Revolution in Designing Work

by Kuo Chien

OVER a dozen years ago some foreign experts surveying the terrain over which the newly built Chengtu-Kunming Railway now passes over declared in no uncertain terms that geologically these areas are "forbidden zones" for putting a railway through. But Chinese workers and designers armed with Mao Tsetung Thought held that no matter how complicated the geological structure, it was knowable and could be mastered. Today, a big communications artery flows across this southwestern part of China. This was an accomplishment by workers and designers who conquered numerous and tremendous difficulties and dangers in exploring precipitous mountains, surveying turbulent rivers and gathering data on the special features of the terrain, and finally designed and built this railway line.

China's second largest river, the Yellow River, was known before liberation as "China's sorrow." After liberation water conservancy workers launched their campaign to vanquish this unruly river, building the Liuchia Gorge project then the Chingtung Gorge project and other large, multi-purpose water conservancy projects to produce electricity and provide irrigation and other benefits. They also designed and built numerous medium-sized and small water conservancy projects on the Yellow River itself and its tributaries to transform this havoc-wreaking river into a provider of many benefits, one of which was to bring twice as much land along its banks under irrigation than before.

Since the founding of the People's Republic of China, designing work on all fronts of socialist construction has developed very rapidly through maintaining independence and keeping the initiative in our own hands and relying on our own efforts.

This has been particularly so since 1964 when Chairman Mao called for a mass movement to revolutionize designing. China has independently designed and built tens of thousands of industrial projects and farm water conservancy projects, some technically up to advanced world standards. One after the other, large-scale integrated metallurgical complexes and petrochemical works designed and built by this country have gone into operation, greatly enhancing the productive capacity in these fields. Hydro-power stations and thermal power plants designed and built in a comparatively short period of time have boosted the country's electricity output to a couple or so times that of a decade ago. The large, medium and small-sized water conservancy works designed and built on the Yellow, Huai and Haiho Rivers are providing agriculture with

favourable conditions for bringing in successive rich harvests. Much housing and other civilian facilities have been built in the urban and rural areas. Several hundred million square metres of comfortable and low-cost housing have gone up in urban, industrial and mining areas alone.

Besides technically advanced large and medium-sized projects, staff members and workers on the designing front also have ingeniously designed many small enterprises which require little capital outlay but give quick results and can be easily built and operated by the masses. The small, domestically designed chemical fertilizer plants and cement factories can be found in 29 provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions. These already turn out more than one-half the annual national output of fertilizer and cement.

Self-Reliance

There has been acute class struggle and two-line struggle in the sphere of designing since liberation. A salient question in the struggle has always been that of going for size, foreign things and being as "complete" as possible, leading to extravagance and waste, or blazing our own industrial development path by getting things done self-reliantly.

China is a developing socialist country. In order to carry out high-speed economic construction, a number of large, modern industrial enterprises must be built step by step in a planned way although they require much equipment, huge investments and take a longer period to build and then only as priority projects at appropriate times. At the same time, to speed up the pace and bring about widespread industrial development many medium-sized and small enterprises have to be built. There were designers who would opt for size and foreign things and look down on these small enterprises and regardless of the circumstances blindly go after size with the result that much investment would be tied up and the construction of the projects would take a long time to complete and put into operation.

One illustration of this is the Tientsin Sulphuric Acid Plant. A start was made in 1956 to design a plant producing 40,000 tons of acid annually. Some time after designing got under way someone thought it was too small and asked for a plant with a capacity of 80,000 tons. Designing began anew. Then this was also considered not large enough and a new design for

a 160,000-ton plant was called for. In the end a design for a 320,000-ton a year plant was determined. Paperwork alone took ten years without a start being made at building the plant. When the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution began, workers, cadres and designers criticized this idea of going all-out for size and, resolutely starting out from actual conditions, put up in only 12 months a plant manufacturing 40,000 tons of acid a year. While producing acid for the country, over the past few years the enterprise also has accumulated funds for plant expansion. It did this gradually so that by 1974 the plant was turning out 80,000 tons of acid yearly, accompanied by a change in the technological process and improved production techniques.

Another manifestation of going after size and foreign things can be seen in some designers' blind faith in foreign techniques, rigidly copying foreign experience and ignoring the wisdom and strength of the Chinese people. This ideological trend is a big obstacle to implementing Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and taking our own road to developing industry.

The designing of the Taching Oilfield is a typical example of **"maintaining independence and keeping the initiative in our own hands and relying on our own efforts"** and opposing the "slavish comprador philosophy" and the "doctrine of trailing behind at a snail's pace." In 1960 a number of young designers went with tens of thousands of petroleum workers to the wild grassland of Taching. What methods were they to use to get the high-paraffin, high-viscosity and easily solidified crude oil from the wells in that low-temperature area to the storage tanks and then on to refineries in various parts of the country? This was the crucial question they came up against when the construction of the oilfield was being started. The foreign experience of using steam to heat and move the crude oil was out of the question because at that point China did not have enough large-size boiler equipment and steel piping. The 13 technicians given the task of designing the process went to the site to test things out. They spent ten arduous months observing and measuring in blazing heat and freezing cold just to get a thorough understanding of the law of temperature changes inside the pipes. They compiled some 50,000 items of data. Finally, they worked out a flow technology of sending a mixture of crude oil and natural gas through the pipes. Their method saved large quantities of steel pipe and delivered the oil as scheduled. In 1973 when working on a new area of the oilfield those designers boldly designed a new flow technology which made use of local materials and was structurally simple and easy to operate. With deep understanding,



Technicians of a ship-designing institute in Shanghai together with shipbuilders design a new type of vessel.

they said: "Copying and imitating mean backwardness and moving at a snail's crawl, whereas daring to think and act lead to swift progress."

From Practice

Where does correct designing come from? Idealist apriorism has blind faith in book learning and scorns practice; the materialist concept of knowledge holds that correct designing can come only from social practice. Designing of a high quality can come only by going to the work-sites and making investigations and studies and personally taking part in practice, assimilating the practical experience of workers and peasants. Of course, theory from books and the experience of others must also be used but these after all are the results of summing up experience at another place and time. If conditions here and now are not taken into account the material is not viable, and no experience is useful. No good designing can come from behind the closed doors of designing institutes.

There is the case of the irrigation project to use the Weiho River at Paochi Gorge in Shensi Province. The area was full of slips and extremely complicated geologically. Bourgeois experts had pronounced no major water conservancy work could be done there. During the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, designers from a hydraulic surveying and designing institute in Shensi together with local workers and peasants studied and investigated the site and, after coming to know clearly the concrete conditions there, they worked out effective measures that eventually led to the building of a large water conservancy project which brought more than 60,000 hectares under irrigation. The project has withstood the test of three years of floods and its quality has been excellent. Another example is that of surveying a railway line in

northern China by members of a railway designing institute. After seven years of designing by a small group of specialists, the proposed line turned out not to be up to requirement. Learning from this lesson and summing up experience, designers went and lived with the people along the proposed route and together they decided on the site of the line. Because more people mean more ways and means, and the local people knew every hill and stream along the projected route, it took only a little over a year to determine a route which avoided arable land and complicated topography and took less funds.

Mass Movement

Another clear manifestation of the two-line struggle in designing work is the question of who to rely on to do designing. On a few specialists, or on the broad masses?

Chairman Mao teaches us: **"The mass movement is necessary in all work. Things won't go without the mass movement."** Good designing can come only by having full confidence in the masses, fully relying on the masses, carrying out mass movements and gathering in the practical experience and wisdom of the masses.

The experience of forming "three-in-one" combinations of workers, cadres and designers to do on-the-spot designing created by the masses in recent years is a concrete expression of the Party's mass line in designing work. It furthers the important role exercised by the working class in this sphere of the superstructure, such as designing work. With their high political consciousness and their rich practical experience, the working class' participation in designing is a powerful guarantee for maintaining the correct line in this work.

Between 1966 and 1968, for example, in the work of designing the new Capital Gymnasium in Peking, reliance was put on the working class and designing was done by a "three-in-one" combination. Altogether 28 drafts were made before a final design taking the best of each plan was decided on. The roof of the main building of this large 40,000-square-metre gymnasium was the first large-span two-way steel lattice diagrid successfully designed and made in China. The floor of the building can be mechanically removed to make way for an artificial ice rink, also a first in this country. Such a building resulted from designing of a mass character. In designing this new type of steel strut-work rectangular roof a lot of time was lost in calculations because the designers had no experience. Workers taking part in designing this drew on their rich practical experience and worked with scale models as they designed and after repeated trials finally solved this complicated problem.

Peasants also play a fine role in designing. For example, local peasants had a hand in designing the famous Red Flag Canal of Honan Province. Among many aqueducts, the largest is the 550-metre Shukuang Aqueduct, of which the first blueprint was drawn up by Kuo Hsing-pao and Wang Shu-lung, two old poor

peasants who had many years of experience in building canals and who summed up the wisdom of the masses.

Building Up the Ranks of Designers

Designing work has a very pronounced political-ideological character. Whether the designers are politically and ideologically correct or not has a direct bearing on the designing, and consequently, one extremely important task in the revolution in designing is making a good job of building up the ranks of those doing this work.

Since liberation, designers have continuously heightened their consciousness in class struggle and two-line struggle through studying the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and Chairman Mao's works and through taking part in mass revolutionary criticism. For example, some influenced by the Confucian fallacy that "he who excels in learning can be an official" had looked upon knowledge as private property and saw designing work as their ladder to personal fame. Thus, in their work they often did not put the interests of the people and the cause of socialist construction first, but went to inordinate lengths to obtain fame and gain. Participation in the revolutionary practice of class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment and integrating themselves with the workers and peasants have promoted the ideological revolutionization of the designers and enabled them to gradually acquire the idea of wholeheartedly serving the people. As a result of placing politics in command over techniques their technical levels have made rapid headway.

The case of Liu Ting-huang, a technician of the Coal-Mine Designing Institute of Liaoning Province, is a good example. In 1966 he arrived at the Peipiao Coal Mine to take part in designing and building a vertical shaft of nearly a thousand metres. The geological conditions were very complicated, with a thick overlay of alluvium and below it a layer with high-pressure seepage. These were just two of the difficulties which Liu and the workers tackled together when they drew up a design. Liu also took part in the work of actually building the shaft. When they had driven down into the alluvium veteran workers suggested freeze sinking. The temperature plunged down to 20 degrees below zero but Liu managed to stay on the job, though as time went by he began to waver. However, he saw the workers were keen and full of spirits and working with a will. Taking them as his example he persevered. Another time when called upon to move a 600-metre-long section of pipe in the shaft, the workers drew from their rich practical experience and helped Liu work out a method for bodily shifting the pipe which was both safe and practical. Such things made Liu deeply understand how brilliant and correct Chairman Mao's teaching was: **"In a sense, the fighters with the most practical experience are the wisest and the most capable."**

Later, as the pipe advanced deeper the derrick they were using could no longer do the job. Drawing on his own practical experience and researching data, Liu came

up with a design for a permanent tower to replace the temporary derrick. In designing this Liu was aided by the workers who joined him in making repeated scientific experiments. Seven years of working life and repeated tests have proved this tower to be of good quality besides saving steel and money and being able to withstand water, fire and snow and shortening the work process.

Profound changes have taken place in the ideology and feelings of many designers through years of working and taking part in collective productive labour alongside the workers and peasants. In the project to harness the Haiho River, the Tzuya, a tributary, was planned to enter the sea through a new course in a straight line south to the present course. It was short and involved less earth and rock work and could be done rather easily. However, this entailed using more than 2,000 hectares of arable land, the destruction of 860 hectares of forests and the evacuation of more than 80 villages. Having the interests of the state and the peasants in mind, the designers saw the drawbacks to this proposed course so they went among the poor and lower-middle peasants, made detailed investigations and studies and finally worked out a northern route to the sea through the alkaline swamps. This cut away most of the disadvantages of the original plan and also im-

proved the alkali land on either side of the new channel to the sea, thereby aiding agricultural production.

China's contingent of designers is constantly growing. We now have one of professional designers whose class composition and political qualities are constantly improving, particularly in recent years owing to the influx of workers into the designing units. The Taching Oilfield has trained a contingent of designers and technicians who conscientiously study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, who are able to withstand the roughest and toughest conditions and who can successfully take on the most difficult assignments. A large number of designers and technicians too have been sent from Taching to the country's various oilfields. At present, this group of designers can independently design complete sets of blueprints for large-scale oilfields and also overall ground construction plans and some construction drawings for other Chinese oilfields. In this way, Taching is providing experience in surface construction on oilfields for developing China's petroleum industry.

Integrating the body of professional designers with the non-professional worker and peasant designers has created a huge, new-type designing contingent which is playing an ever greater role in the cause of China's socialist construction.

"Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty": A Scrap of Paper

by Fan Hsiu-chu

THE Geneva conference to review the implementation of the so-called "nuclear non-proliferation treaty" in the past five years ended recently. The Soviet revisionists made a big fanfare at the time of the conference about this treaty which was concocted by the two nuclear superpowers with a view to fortifying their nuclear monopoly and nuclear blackmail. They alleged that the treaty "plays a special role" in the promotion of "peace and detente" and serves to "strengthen the security of all nations, in particular the non-nuclear nations," and so on and so forth.

Facts over the years have proved time and again that the Soviet revisionist renegade clique is a pack of double-dealers paying lip-service to disarmament while actually carrying out arms expansion. Since the treaty was signed, have the two superpowers stopped their nuclear buildup or intensified it on a large scale? Have they reduced their nuclear arsenal or greatly enlarged it instead?

The treaty was signed by the Soviet Union and the United States in 1968. It became "effective" after rectification in 1970. But since 1968, the Soviet Union, which

made every effort to eulogize the treaty as "stopping up all loopholes in the spread of nuclear weaponry," has been going ahead with its nuclear arms drive at an unprecedented speed. It only had seven nuclear submarines capable of launching long-range ballistic guided missiles in 1968. The number increased to 50 in 1974, a more than sevenfold rise in six years. It had some 800 intercontinental ballistic missiles with nuclear warheads in 1968; by 1974 the number had risen almost twofold to over 1,500. To catch up with and surpass its opponent in sophisticated nuclear weaponry and delivery vehicles, it conducted more than 100 test firings of intercontinental ballistic missiles and over ten underground nuclear tests in 1973 alone. Its nuclear tests were far more frequent last year.

Confronted with such harsh reality, U.S. imperialism, not to be outdone, has openly declared it will not tolerate but will respond to all this. Hence the sharp rise in its military spending in fiscal 1975 to more than 90,000 million dollars, a record high in U.S. history. As the *Journal de Geneve* recently pointed out, "this treaty keeps alive a false sense of security and no step whatever has been taken towards nuclear disarmament." In

Forceful Exposure

MANY representatives at the Geneva conference to review the implementation of the so-called "nuclear non-proliferation treaty" of May 5-30 exposed the stepped-up nuclear arms expansion by the Soviet Union and the United States and expressed indignation at the two superpowers' treachery in refusing to implement the nuclear disarmament commitment they had undertaken when cajoling other countries into signing the treaty.

Speaking at the meeting, the Romanian representative pointed out that the nuclear arms race between the Soviet Union and the United States has been accelerated in the past five years. Since the signing of the treaty, he said, not a single nuclear weapon has been destroyed. Instead, new generations of nuclear arms have been produced without restraint.

The Australian representative said: "The period since the N.P.T. (non-proliferation treaty) came into force has seen dramatic increases in the number of nuclear warheads deployed by the major nuclear powers."

The representatives of Iran and Egypt noted that the Soviet Union and the United States have not only increased the number of their nuclear weapons but also entered the race for better quality.

The Ghanaian representative noted that the obligations imposed by the treaty fall on the non-nuclear countries, but it contains no restrictions on the production, stockpiling and sophistication of nuclear arms by the existing nuclear powers.

The Nigerian representative said the treaty had been criticized for institutionalizing the privileged position of a group of states with the power to exercise nuclear pressure on the non-nuclear countries.

Criticizing the nuclear superpowers, the Yugoslav representative said they "did not accept specific obligations and responsibility to carry out nuclear disarmament measures." Consequently, what the nuclear superpowers demanded was, in fact, "to disarm the non-armed." In a statement, he said his country would "re-examine its attitude towards the treaty and draw corresponding conclusions."

The Swiss representative pointed out that the N.P.T. had put the cart before the horse in disarming those who were not nuclear armed and allowing those fully armed with nuclear weapons to keep them.

The representative of the Netherlands said that adherence to the treaty would only prejudice national security. The representative of Thailand noted that many countries have reasons to remain outside the treaty and that they still find its provisions too discriminatory to be acceptable.

fact, since the treaty was signed, the Soviet Union and the United States, instead of making any move towards nuclear disarmament, have been going full speed ahead in their nuclear arms race. This poses a serious threat to the security of the peoples of the world.

It is noteworthy that the Soviet Union has made it a practice to use the various nuclear disarmament "treaties" and "agreements" as a cover for its nuclear buildup. The Soviet Union and the United States are the only two countries in the world going all out in a nuclear arms race and yet they are crying the loudest for nuclear disarmament and nuclear non-proliferation. This is particularly true of the Soviet Union. It shows that the louder the two superpowers talk about disarmament, the greater their efforts for their covered-up arms expansion. It is clear that all the treaties and agreements concocted by the two hegemonic powers in the name of nuclear non-proliferation and nuclear disarmament are nothing but a figleaf for their escalated nuclear arms race.

When Lenin, on the eve of World War I, exposed those European imperialist powers who "**engaged in a mad armaments hurdle-race**" while chanting the worn-out "peace" theme in thousands of ways, in thousands of newspapers and from thousands of pulpits, he sounded the warning: "**Put no faith in phrase-mongering, it**

is better to see who stands to gain!" Today, no one should put any faith in the empty phrases about "disarmament" and "detente" uttered by the two superpowers, particularly by the Soviet revisionists. In reality, behind all such empty words is their fierce rivalry for world hegemony, and nuclear weapons are important tools in this rivalry. The Soviet revisionists regard nuclear weapons as their life blood, because, in their view, the bigger their nuclear arsenal, the stronger their position to browbeat others and to contend for world domination. It can thus be seen that only the two superpowers stand to gain from the so-called nuclear disarmament accords concluded by them to cover up their nuclear arms expansion and numb the people; these accords can only serve to strengthen the Soviet-U.S. nuclear monopoly.

An increasing number of countries are seeing through the superpower fraud of sham disarmament but real arms expansion. The two superpowers were the targets of public censure at the recently concluded conference in Geneva. They were condemned by the majority of the participating countries for their crime of stepping up their nuclear arms expansion and trying to hold on to their nuclear monopoly. A scrap of paper obviously can never deceive the world's people. It only serves to unveil the hypocrisy and ignominy of the two superpowers.

West African States Economic Community Founded

MAY 28 was a red-letter day in Western Africa with the official establishment of the Economic Community of the West African States (ECOWAS), the largest regional economic co-operation organization on the African continent, in Lagos.

The Community has a membership of 15 countries, namely, Dahomey, the Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, the Ivory Coast, Liberia, Mali, Mauritania, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Togo and Upper Volta. It calls for "effective economic co-operation largely through a determined and concerted policy of self-reliance" and undertakes to "promote co-operation and development in all fields of economic activity, particularly in the fields of industry, transport, telecommunications, energy, agriculture, natural resources, commerce, monetary and financial questions and in social and cultural matters for the purpose of raising the standard of living of its peoples, of increasing and main-

taining economic stability, of fostering closer relations among its members and of contributing to the progress and development of the African continent."

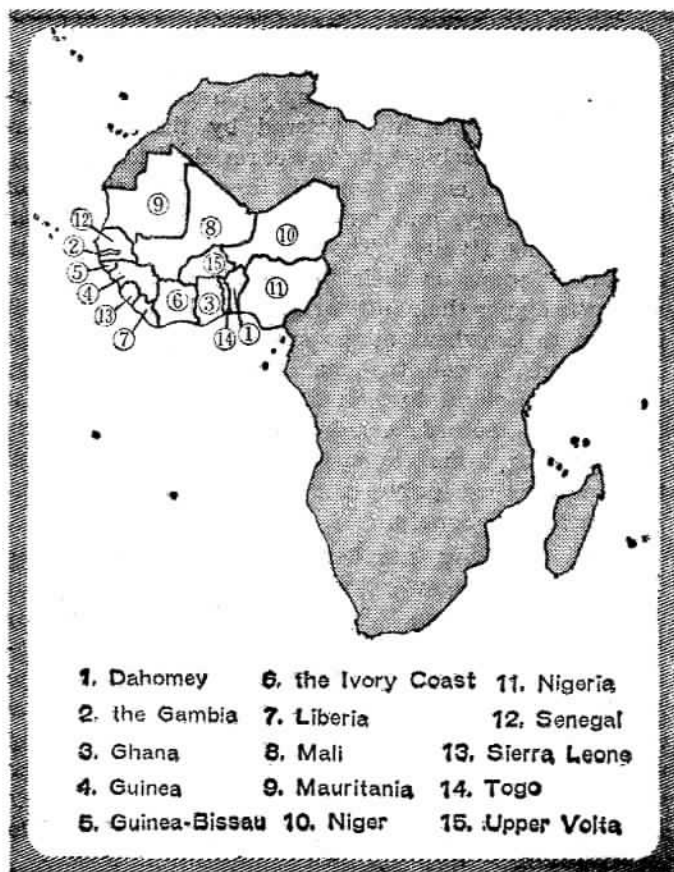
Step by step, the Community will establish liberalization of trade and a customs union among the member states which will harmonize their policies in industry, agriculture, finance and other matters.

The institutions of the Community shall include the authority of heads of state and government, the council of ministers, the executive secretariat, the tribunal and a number of technical and specialized commissions.

The West African countries cover an area of over 6.1 million square kilometres, or about one-fifth of Africa's total land area. Their aggregate population is 112 million, approximately one-third of the continent's total. All the countries there are rich in industrial crops like cocoa, coffee, groundnuts and palm kernels; some also exploit minerals like oil, gold, alumina and diamonds in large quantities. Thanks to the region's vast land area, huge population and rich resources, there is a tremendous potential for the development of its national economies.

However, countries in Western Africa are economically backward as a result of long years of colonial rule. While they have made certain progress in developing their national economies since independence, many countries' vital economic lifelines are still in the hands of foreign monopoly capital. Imperialism continues to regard Western Africa as a source of cheap raw materials it can prey on and a market for dumping its own industrial goods; its exploitation and plunder of the West African people have been very harsh. Moreover, in the current economic crisis in the capitalist world which is deepening with each passing day, the imperialist countries have caused the West African countries to suffer great economic losses by shifting the burden of economic crisis on to Africa. Under the circumstances, countries in Western Africa have a strong desire to get united and form regional economic organizations to oppose control, plunder and exploitation by old and new colonialism, imperialism, especially by the superpowers, and to safeguard their own economic rights and interests and develop their national economies.

At the Lagos conference to inaugurate ECOWAS, Nigerian Head of State Yakubu Gowon pointed out: "The signing of this [ECOWAS] treaty should be seen



Fruits of Co-operation

- Poor communications resulting from long years of colonial rule have almost cut off West African countries from one another. Air service and telecommunications between neighbouring countries once had to go through far-away London, Paris or Lisbon. To change this absurd situation, direct air and land links as well as direct telecommunication systems have been established between a number of West African countries since their independence.

Aviation agreements were first signed between Guinea and Liberia, Ghana and Nigeria, and then between Guinea and Guinea-Bissau last March.

An inter-state highway linking Nigeria and Niger, and one leading from the border city of Idiroko in Nigeria to Dahomey's Porto-Novo have been opened to traffic. Since they help strengthen good neighbourly relations, they are called "roads of unity."

- In the fight in recent years against the severe drought seldom seen in the history of Western Africa, countries in this region have strengthened their unity. Nigeria granted 2.5 million naira in emergency aid to its neighbours, although its four northern states themselves were also in the stricken areas. Togo gave Mauritania 100 million francs CFA; the Ivory Coast donated 5 million francs CFA to Senegal; Dakar, capital of Senegal, contributed 1 million francs CFA to Bamako, capital of Mali.

- The West African countries have steadily increased bilateral help and co-operation in exploiting resources and developing the economy. Sierra Leone and Liberia in October 1973 established a union for joint exploitation of the Mano River. To further co-operation in the economic,

technological and other fields, agreements on the establishment of bilateral co-operation joint committees have been concluded between Mali and Senegal, Ghana and Togo, and Niger and Nigeria; agreement has been reached between the Ivory Coast and Ghana on linking both countries' electric power systems while Nigeria and Dahomey have decided to pool their funds for running joint enterprises.

Many West African countries have developed their trade ties on the basis of mutual benefit. Nigeria, for instance, supplies Togo with oil at a preferential price in exchange for its phosphates.

- Much progress has also been made in regional co-operation.

Thirteen West African countries have set up the Rice Development Association in Senegal to strive for self-sufficiency in the crop.

A fishery conference of the Sahel area was held in Mali last November with the participation of the riparian countries of the Senegal River, the Niger River and Chad Lake to find more effective means to protect fishery resources in this area and develop fisheries.

In March 1972, Mali, Mauritania and Senegal formed the Organization for the Joint Development of the Senegal River.

Eleven West African countries set up the Federation of West African Chambers of Commerce in Freetown in November 1972 to strengthen their commercial ties and promote the development of trade and industry in the area.

With a view to shaking off imperialist monetary control, the heads of state of six member states of the West African Monetary Union decided in a Lome meeting last October to move the Central Bank of the West African countries from Paris to Dakar with Africans taking up the leading posts.

as an important milestone in the process of economic decolonization of the African continent, without which our political independence will remain circumscribed and incomplete." Liberian President William Richard Tolbert stressed at the conference that "the problem of spiralling prices, the international monetary crisis, the inequitable terms of trade, the energy crisis, and the challenges to create a new economic order are critical and urgent, and demand our immediate concerted action."

Earlier, President of the Niger Supreme Military Council Seyne Kountche had proposed that "we should first of all organize our economy on a rational, united

and integrated basis" "at a time when the third world is struggling against 'iniquity' in economic relations."

Because of the importance the West African countries have attached to closer bilateral or multilateral economic co-operation, to the joint exploitation of natural resources, to trade development and to mutual support in recent years, economic progress in the region has gained momentum.

Indefatigable efforts have been made by these countries to establish regional organizations for economic co-operation. As early as over a decade ago, the West African countries had already held a number of meet-

ings to examine the problems of economic co-operation in the area. In April 1972, Nigeria and Togo proposed establishment of an economic community comprising 15 West African countries and the idea was endorsed by many of them. Over the last three years, leaders of West African countries have conducted extensive negotiations on this question; three meetings of the ministers of the West African countries and another one of legal experts were held to study and draft a treaty for the community. In the spirit of unity, co-operation, equality and mutual benefit, these countries, hurdling the language, monetary and other barriers left over by colonialism and removing resistances of all sorts, eventually formed the ECOWAS.

The founding of ECOWAS will be a powerful impetus to increased unity and economic co-operation among the countries concerned and produce positive effects on the cause of unity for the African continent as a whole. There is little doubt that the African people's struggle will continue to be long and tortuous because colonialism, both old and new, imperialism, and especially the superpowers who are clinging to the old international order, are sure to try to sabotage this new-born economic community and make trouble. But since the African people are determined to take their destiny into their own hands, no force of any kind will ever succeed in staying the steps in their victorious advance.

Latin America

Andean Pact Organization Plays An Active Role

THE Andean Pact Organization, a regional economic organization in Latin America founded on May 26, 1969 and having since travelled the road of economic integration, has entered its seventh year. It has played an active role in the struggle to promote the development in this region of national economy, economic co-operation and trade exchange and get rid of imperialist control.

The Andean Pact member states have effectively carried out the programme to abolish gradually tariff barriers and trade restrictions among themselves. The existing custom duties among Venezuela, Peru, Colombia and Chile were again cut by 10 per cent last December 31, bringing the total duty reduction rate to 40 per cent since the Andean annual tariff reduction programme was put into execution on December 31, 1971. Tariff cuts will be continued according to schedule until totally abolished. Showing consideration for Bolivia and Ecuador, the other four member states have given tariff-free treatment to commodities exported by these two countries since May 1, 1974.

Increasing Trade

Tariff cuts and the lifting of trade restrictions have brought about an increase in the region's internal and external trade every year. In 1969, the year when the pact was signed, the total trade value among the then five member states was 107 million U.S. dollars. After Venezuela's participation in the organization, the regional trade value amounted to 817 million U.S. dollars in 1974. The region's foreign trade value in 1973 stood

at 20,567 million U.S. dollars, or one-third the total trade value of Latin America that year. According to figures released early last April, the region's foreign trade further increased to 33,000 million U.S. dollars.

The Andean countries' foreign market is also expanding. Apart from strengthening their economic relations with Mexico, Argentina, Brazil and other Latin American countries, they have also expanded trade with Japan, Canada, Australia, Spain and the West European Common Market countries, thus reducing their dependence on the U.S. market.

Though the bulk of these countries' exports remains farm and mineral products, like copper, petroleum, coffee, bananas, lead, tin, iron, sulphur and cotton, their industrial exports are showing a steady growth.

Restricting Foreign Capital

To defend the economic interests of member states and to develop the national industry of the region, the Andean group has taken active measures to protect the region's natural resources and to restrict foreign capital. The member states have supervised or nationalized the petroleum, mining and other important industries operated by trans-national corporations in this region. In other cases, they have requisitioned shares of such industries. With other Latin American countries or third world countries, they have at the same time formed organizations of countries producing and exporting such raw materials as copper, iron, tungsten, tin, petroleum, bananas and coffee in order to break the

monopoly of raw material prices by the superpowers. As huge investments are still being made by foreign capital in this region, the member states have adhered firmly to the Common Regime on Treatment of Foreign Capital which stipulates the prohibition of foreign investments in public utilities, commercial banks, insurance, internal transport, the mass media and publishing, and enterprises trading in domestic products; the regime also provides that foreign enterprises must sell at least 51 per cent of their shares to investors of the host country within a period of 15 to 20 years so as to turn the enterprises into joint or state-owned enterprises, and that profits remitted abroad by foreign investors annually cannot exceed 14 per cent of their investments. The regime came into effect in July 1971. Last year, investigations on implementation of the regime were made and a statement was issued criticizing Chile's Decree No. 600 on foreign investment which was incompatible with the Andean Common Regime. The Chilean Government later promulgated a new decree declaring its adherence to the regime.

Developing National Industry

The Andean countries are now making use of the favourable conditions provided by the progress of inte-

gration to actively plan the development of the region's national industry. Priorities are given to metal-working machine tools, auto manufacturing, steel, petrochemical, electronic telecommunications, papermaking and other industries.

Worked out in August 1972, the subregional plan for developing the metal-working machine tools industry comprises 47 projects which, with a total investment of 284 million U.S. dollars, will be put into operation in four years. Planned investment in the petrochemical industry will be 1,650 million U.S. dollars. The industry is designed mainly to meet the needs of the regional market. Planned investment in the auto industry is 1,000 million U.S. dollars. To promote agricultural production, the fertilizer industry is also regarded as one of the major industries for development.

To further accumulate funds, expand deposits and give priority to developing an integrated economy, the organization set up the Andean Development Corporation in June 1970. Besides, the Andean Pact Organization countries have broadly co-ordinated their efforts in agriculture and livestock-breeding, financial activities, culture and education, sports, public health, transport, telecommunications and the exploitation of natural resources in the tropical region, and have made much progress.

Multi-National Caribbean Shipping Company

A MULTI-NATIONAL Caribbean Shipping Company was formed at the meeting of 15 Caribbean and Central American countries in San Jose, capital of Costa Rica, in the latter part of May. Eight countries — Jamaica, Costa Rica, Mexico, Nicaragua, Cuba, Panama, Colombia and Venezuela — signed an agreement on the formation of the company while representatives from Trinidad and Tobago, Guyana, Guatemala, the Dominican Republic and El Salvador declared that their governments will join the company after studying its statutes and the economic strength of their own countries.

The meeting decided that the company's provisional site will be in Costa Rica and that it will have a capital of 100 million U.S. dollars. The initial capital of 30 million U.S. dollars will be equally contributed by the member countries. The meeting also decided that a commission will be

formed by representatives of the member states to study the routes, number of ships and other company matters.

The birth of this company came amid the excellent situation in Latin America as the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism vigorously surges ahead. In the past, 88 per cent of the sea transport of the countries of this region was in the hands of trans-national shipping companies to which they had to pay as much as 2,000 million U.S. dollars in freight each year. In recent years, however, these countries, while endeavouring to develop their national economies, have taken concrete measures to promote their own shipping business. Some have made progress in setting up or expanding their shipbuilding industries or merchant fleets. At the San Jose meeting, representatives of many countries stressed the major significance of the new company in smashing the imperialist monopoly of sea transportation, achieving economic independence in the various countries, promoting trade between them and realizing Latin American integration.

Capitalistic Soviet Commerce

AFTER party and state power got into the hands of the renegade clique of Brezhnev, Soviet state-run commerce has degenerated further into capitalist commerce from which the bureaucrat-monopoly capitalist class reaps maximum profits.

Profits — Supreme Objective

Analysing the characteristics of capitalism, Marx pointed out: "Production of surplus-value is the absolute law of this mode of production." Capitalists run industries or commerce with the aim of grabbing profits. This is true of Soviet commerce today. After usurping power, Khrushchev feverishly advocated "increasing the role of profits and the rate of profit-making." He regarded the amount of profit accrued as the "major target" of the economic sectors and specified for the commercial departments the capitalist principle that profit-seeking is the objective. Since coming to power in 1964, Brezhnev has pushed the capitalist principle of Khrushchev's still further and raised the slogan of "fighting for greater profits." To get maximum profits, the Brezhnev clique enforced a capitalist "new system" in commercial departments.

In March 1965, the Soviet Council of Ministers passed a resolution on pushing the "new system" in commerce in two stages, the first being the enforcement of a "new system of planning." According to the "new system," the "volume of commodity circulation and profits" are the "major targets" of all enterprises and the "results of economic activities by commercial enterprises and organs" are reflected by "profit quotas." To give the bourgeois elements in commercial departments a free hand to grab profits, the "new system," which was already enforced in early 1967 in all Soviet commercial departments, also delegates greater power to leading members of commercial organs and enterprises.

The second stage of the "system" began with the introduction of "new methods of economic incentive," whose "characteristic" is that "profit and wage funds become a source of material incentive for the workers and staff." Since the material incentive funds in commercial departments "depend directly" on the "amount of profits accrued," commercial departments are driven to "actively explore the possibility of increasing profits" and to strive to "tap all latent resources to boost the rate of profit-making." Therefore, the second stage of the "new system" has "greatly increased the role of profits." The journal *Soviet Finance* reported last November that by the beginning of 1974, the "new methods of economic incentive" had been introduced in 31 per cent of all state-run retail and catering enterprises, their volume of retail commodity circulation

amounting to 47 per cent and their profits being 67 per cent of the total.

Under the policy of making the obtainment of maximum profits the supreme objective in running commerce, profits reaped through commercial activities by the Brezhnev clique have soared steadily and the income of the new bourgeois elements in the enterprises has increased enormously. The Soviet book *The Economic Method of Commercial Management* discloses that the growth rate of profit has greatly surpassed that of the volume of commodity circulation since the enforcement of the "new system." According to the results of the "new system" tried out in about 10,000 state-run commercial enterprises, goods turnover from 1967 to 1970 increased only 27.4 per cent whereas profits were up 57 per cent, most of them in the hands of the Soviet revisionist ruling clique. As for the "incentive funds" in the enterprises that were established from part of the profits, a considerable portion went into the pockets of the bourgeois elements in the enterprises. The journal *Soviet Commerce*, No. 2, 1974, reported that the method of paying bonuses was fixed by the enterprises themselves. The 1973 bonuses for the manager and deputy-manager of the No. 2 food store in the Tushinski District, Moscow, accounted for 37 per cent of their average wages. The reward regulations of the "Moscow" Department Store stipulate that leading members, engineers, technicians and experts are entitled to bonuses equivalent to 30 per cent of their wages if they fulfil both the commodity circulation plan and the profit plan and to 4 per cent more bonuses if they overfulfil the plans by 1 per cent. This means that the higher the position and wages, the greater the bonus.

Apart from grabbing rubles through "bonuses" and other "legitimate" means, some shop managers use their position and power to make money through "unlawful" activities such as speculation, embezzlement and theft. The Soviet paper *Trud* reported last January that the manager of the "Tajikistan" store in Moscow "bluntly" told his chief cashier that they must "make some money from purchases, or by deceitfully lowering the quality grade of goods listed on the invoices, or by buying over the quality inspectors." By reselling silks at high price and profiteering with foreign exchange and imported goods on the black market, this manager pocketed two million rubles, 40 kilogrammes of gold and other commodities of value.

This Soviet revisionist policy has intensified the struggle between Soviet commerce and industry for the division of surplus-value. To make staggering profits, industrial enterprises often disregard orders from commercial departments, turning out low-profit products in small quantities or none at all, while concen-

trating on high-profit goods. On their part, commercial departments complain about the outmoded style and poor quality of industrial products which are unsuited to market needs and which they even refuse to buy. In March 1974, the Soviet paper *Economic Gazette* reported that because of the poor quality of its products, the Tashkent No. 2 Shoe Factory "had to refurbish 36,000 pairs rejected by commercial departments over the previous year, and lower the grade of 28,000 pairs." To derive more profits, without regard to commercial orders, the "Women Bolsheviks" Garment Factory in Moscow overfulfilled by 21 per cent orders for high-profit clothing while making 11 per cent less low-profit clothing than was required by the original plan for commercial orders. At the 1972 wholesale trade fair, the Soviet Minister of Trade revealed that commodities worth about 3,000 million rubles were rejected by commercial departments because of poor quality and high prices. Among them, light industrial products accounted for 2,300 million rubles and cultural and household goods, 700 million rubles. The fight for the division of profits between wholesale and retail departments is also steadily intensifying.

Ever Harsher Exploitation of Workers and Staff

Since capitalism was restored in the Soviet Union, the country has been turned from a state of the dictatorship of the proletariat into a state of the dictatorship of the bureaucrat-monopoly capitalist class and the nature of the ownership of Soviet commerce has been fundamentally changed. State-operated commerce in the Soviet Union today, under socialist ownership by the whole people in name only, is under ownership of the bureaucrat-monopoly capitalist class in reality. The broad masses of workers and staff in commerce are again reduced to the status of oppressed and exploited wage labourers.

K.M. Skovoroda, Member of the Collegium of the Soviet Ministry of Trade, admitted in an article that, according to the stipulations of the Soviet revisionist authorities, the leading member of a commercial enterprise has the right to sell "surplus" or "laid-aside" equipment and implements and other means of production and materials. He has the right to fix the targets for circulation expenses, the composition of goods turnover, commodity stockpiles and financial planning. He also has the right to fix the number of workers and staff of various categories, recruit and fire them, "decide on the adoption of any one of the existing wage systems," work out the methods of reward for the workers and staff and the sum of bonuses to be paid. He can also "withhold or reduce the bonuses." This means that under the direct control of the bureaucrat-monopoly capitalist class, the power of management of commercial departments, employment and dismissal of commercial workers and staff and fixing of the wage system, bonuses and the system of working hours are all in the hands of leading members of commercial enterprises.

The Soviet revisionists advertise that the so-called "new system" will bring more "bonuses" to the commercial workers and staff but in fact it is a means the Soviet bureaucrat-monopoly capitalist class uses to step up the exploitation of the commercial workers and staff by utilizing the power it has usurped. With the "bonuses" as bait, the Soviet revisionists force the commercial workers and staff to "accept and fulfil the extended plan for goods turnover." In order to fulfil such a plan, the workers and staff in commercial departments have to work more strenuously, thereby increasing the labour intensity. The Soviet revisionists also apply such methods as "cutting down the total number of workers" in commercial departments and "holding concurrent posts" so that they can get hold of more surplus labour done by the commercial workers and staff in the course of realizing surplus-value. The bonuses paid by the Soviet revisionists to the workers and staff are far from sufficient to pay the extra surplus labour put in by the workers and staff. Referring to the exploitation of commercial workers and staff in capitalist society, Marx said: "His wage, therefore, is not necessarily proportionate to the mass of profit which he helps the capitalist to realize. What he costs the capitalist and what he brings in for him, are two different things." Speaking of the "great value" of "material incentive," Brezhnev could not but admit that the fund used in "material incentive" "will be repaid one hundred times."

Capitalist Commercial Management

Marx pointed out that swindling is one of the characteristics of capitalist commerce. To make super-profits, commercial capitalists, apart from participating in division of surplus-value, use such deceptive methods as forcing up prices, cheating on the amount of goods delivered and passing off inferior goods as good-quality ones to further exploit the working people. In Soviet commerce today these methods are also used to "actively explore the possibility of increasing profits."

The Soviet press disclosed that not a few Soviet commercial enterprises "have artificially forced up the prices of goods" to obtain additional profits. By jacking up prices at will and by other means, 36 furniture enterprises under the Ministry of the Timber and Woodworking Industry gathered in "additional profits of about 5 million rubles" in a year. In some stores, no price tags are put on commodities because they are considered an "obstacle" to forcing up prices at will.

The people's needs are completely ignored in pursuing profits. The Soviet revisionist press reported that in some areas customers often fail to get in the market such goods as salt, matches, soap and kerosene which produce little profit. *Pravda* admitted that it had "received quite a few letters complaining about the unavailability of utensils, knives and forks, towels, hardware and other goods in great demand."

To ensure "the fulfilment of turnover targets" and to obtain more "bonuses," commercial enterprises

(Continued on p. 31.)

ROUND THE WORLD

TWO SUPERPOWERS

False Detente but Real Contention

The Soviet revisionists have again been striking up the "detente" tune. To manufacture an atmosphere of "detente," Brezhnev even has gone so far as to link it with the great victories won by the Cambodian and the Vietnamese peoples. He talked nonsense, saying that "the elimination of the hotbed of war in Indochina creates the conditions for a further improvement of the international atmosphere" and blustering that "this will benefit the cause of international detente, including the detente in the relations between our country and the United States of America." Washington too, sometimes echoes with a few remarks, but always a bit out of tune and in discord.

What really is the relationship between the Soviet Union and the United States? The general trend of world public opinion is that, on the one hand, capitalizing on the U.S. awkward predicament after its setbacks in Indochina and the Middle East region, the Soviet revisionists will wildly stretch their hands into the U.S. sphere of influence. On the other hand, after its Indochina pull-out, the United States will adjust its global strategy, shorten its lines to some extent and concentrate efforts on the essential areas — Europe and the Middle East — in contending with the Soviet revisionists.

This is exactly how the affairs are developing. Ostensibly, the Soviet revisionists have been carrying out diplomacy of constraint regarding the United States and doing all they can to assume a "temperate" air, while actually intensifying their infiltration in Southern Europe, stirring up trouble in the Iberian Peninsula and the Balkan Peninsula, exploiting the opportunity to expand their influence and cut the ground from under NATO and undermine the U.S. foundation in the Middle East.

To secure its position, the United States has shifted its attention to those important areas of contention with Soviet revisionism. The Pentagon has announced its plan for reinforcing troops stationed in Central Europe. Ford, Kissinger and Schlesinger have taken the field themselves and made "blitz visits" to Western Europe and Turkey and separately participated in NATO and CENTO conferences. Their main purpose is to strengthen relations with allies in Western Europe, the Middle East and the Near East, formulate a new military strategy in the rivalry with the Soviet revisionists and, in particular, mend the rift on the southern flank of the NATO group. Furthermore, without letting up in its seesaw battle with Soviet revisionism for the Middle East, the United States is doing all in its power to thwart the Soviet revisionist scheme to control the region. In Schlesinger's view, the U.S. must stand up to the Soviet Union in the Middle East. Both, meanwhile, have accelerated arms expansion and war preparations. By flaunting the tattered flag of "detente," each wants to tie the hands of the other and conceal its own motive.

The Soviet revisionist allegation that detente will be steadily consolidated with the passing of time is a fraud. The real situation is that the rivalry between the Soviet Union and the United States becomes ever more sharp with the passing of time.

BRITAIN

Continued Membership in E.E.C.

The final results of the British referendum on June 5 showed that the great majority of the British people are in favour of Britain's continued E.E.C. membership and its union with other West European countries at a time when the two superpowers are intensifying their rivalry in Europe. Former British Prime Minister Edward Heath said: "Now the community can get on with its creative work after this past year and a half which began with the so-

called renegotiations of the treaty, then the period of the referendum which prevented it from getting on with its true work. The community can now look forward again."

Conservative Party leader Margaret Thatcher commented: "I think it will give a tremendous boost to the morale of the whole community." Prime Minister Harold Wilson also said that the results of the voting mean that "all those who have had reservations about Britain's commitments" should now "work wholeheartedly with our partnership in Europe and our friends everywhere."

The referendum results were also hailed by other E.E.C. members. French Foreign Minister Jean Sauvagnargues said: "France can only rejoice at this" and "it has ended a period of uncertainty which was bad for everybody." Chancellor Helmut Schmidt of the Federal Republic of Germany said: "It is good for the British people, it is good for the British economy, it is good for our economy that this uncertainty is done away with."

The decision on holding the referendum was officially announced by the Labour government last February. Among the three main political parties, the Conservative Party and the Liberal Party firmly supported Britain staying in the community, while the ruling Labour Party was seriously divided over the issue. When Prime Minister Harold Wilson announced on March 18 the government's decision to recommend that the British people "should vote in favour of staying in the community," the majority of Labour Members of Parliament and seven of the 23 ministers in the Labour government were against it. Six of the seven ministers have now issued a joint statement declaring that they "accept the verdict of the people."

EGYPT

Suez Canal Reopened to Navigation

The Suez Canal which had been closed for eight years was reopened to navigation on June 5.

In a war of aggression launched on June 5, 1967 against the Arab states,

Israel, aided and abetted by the superpowers, occupied a large area of Egyptian territory, did great damage to the canal and set up the so-called Bar-Lev line on the east bank. In the 1973 October War during which the Arab states won great victories, the Egyptian armed forces destroyed the Bar-Lev line and recovered part of their lost territory on the east bank. The Egyptian Government and people since the ceasefire have done much work to reopen the canal. Youth volunteers and college students streamed into the canal zone to take part in reconstruction. In the three cities of Port Said, Ismailia and Suez on the canal, traffic, water and electricity supplies are now back to normal. Seventy per cent of the houses, schools and hospitals have been repaired. Construction of new residential quarters designed in accordance with preparations against war is under way. Fifteen plants, including two big oil refineries in Suez, have been entirely or partially returned to operation.

At the ceremony in Port Said to mark the occasion, President Sadat declared: "Egypt reiterates its determination to perform the sacred duty of liberating its land and all the Arab lands still under occupation in the Golan Heights, in Sinai and in Palestine and of recovering usurped Arab rights." Deputy Premier and Minister of War Mohammed Abdel Ghany Gammasy said that the Egyptian armed forces would protect the cities and towns on the canal and navigation through it against any aggression.

HEIKAL'S NEW BOOK

Soviet Attempt to Control Egypt Exposed

The Egyptian paper *Al-Ahram* recently carried the first chapter of *Road to the Ramadan War*, a new book written by well-known Egyptian journalist Mohamed Hasanein Heikal. The book lists numerous facts exposing the Soviet revisionist social-imperialists' betrayal of the Arab countries in the June 5 war and their attempt after the war to make Egypt their appendage by taking advantage of difficulties there.

The war had hardly ceased when N.V. Podgorny, President of the Pre-

sidium of the Supreme Soviet, arrived in Cairo, the author says. In his talks with President Nasser, he demanded establishment of a Soviet navy-guarded command centre of the Soviet Mediterranean fleet and shipyard in Alexandria. He also demanded that the place be put at the disposal of the Soviets and that the Soviet flag be flown there. President Nasser suspended the talks at once and indignantly said: "It's all but imperialism. It means that we provide you with a base."

The author says that in 1971 the Soviets pledged to supply Egypt with "II" missile-carrying bombers on condition the planes could not be used without their orders. President Sadat told the Soviets he could not accept the condition. "Imagine when Israel again attacks our interior, should I wait for Moscow's order before striking back at the enemy? This would put me in an incredible position. I am the president of an independent country. In taking action, I cannot make any concession in my independence," he said.

The author says that when President Sadat visited Moscow in 1972 the Soviets agreed to supply Egypt with Mig-23s after such planes were in production. But they later suggested supplying her with improved Mig-21s instead and demanded payment in foreign exchange.

The author notes that during the June 5 war Egyptian officers complained that Soviet tanks can be used only in the arctic but not in deserts in hot summer. On July 30, 1970, five Soviet-piloted Mig-21s were shot down in a few seconds in an air fight with Israeli planes. Sixty-eight Soviet planes piloted by Soviets or Egyptians crashed or disappeared in training flights in 1971 and 1972.

The writer also points out that Soviet experts, when leaving Egypt for good or for their holidays, took home a large amount of gold. Some refused to be examined at the Egyptian customs. On one occasion, a plane was delayed for 11 hours before it could take off.

The writer says that President Sadat told the Soviet Ambassador to Egypt on July 8, 1972: "Brezhnev

deceived me in March 1971. Podgorny deceived me in May 1971. Brezhnev again deceived me in October 1971. Do you think that I do not know your tricks? You have already reached agreement with the Americans that no war will break out there. Allow me to tell you that you are not our guardians." He added: "I say all this not to you but to the Soviet leaders!"

The writer says that on July 17, 1972 President Sadat announced the termination of the Soviet experts' mission in Egypt. On July 7, President Sadat had told the then Egyptian Minister of War Lieutenant General Sadek: "I have decided to ask the Russians to get out."

The author also points out that Brezhnev said in a letter to President Sadat in early August: "We cannot remain indifferent to where the Arab Republic of Egypt is going, for this affects the common interests of the Soviet Union and the people of the Arab countries." "Where is Egypt going? Where will Egypt be led by the forces inside and outside the country? What will our relations be based on in the future? These are questions which make your friends uneasy and inspire your enemies. We expect answers to these questions, and we hope you will make a frank reply to them," he added.

President Sadat thought, the author notes, that these words implied an insult and naked interference in the internal affairs of Egypt. "The letter is only fit for mopping the floor," the Egyptian President told the author later.

The book also quotes President Sadat who told of his bitter experiences with Soviet leaders. Referring to his first meeting with one in February 1971, President Sadat said: "At that time I felt they were cunning and sly, and wanted to gain time." "The Russians put me in a dilemma," he added. He also said: "In the past four years — first it was President Nasser, then it was I — we have tolerated enough of all they have done to us. I think these two superpowers have obviously reached an agreement in Moscow that no war would break out in the Middle East and that we are allowed no other way out except surrender."

ON THE HOME FRONT

Shanghai's Shipbuilding Industry

TWELVE 10,000-ton ocean-going freighters and passenger steamers were made by Shanghai shipbuilders in 1974. This raised their total to 32 for ships of this class completed between 1966 when the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution began and the end of last year.

Conscientious study of Chairman Mao's instruction on the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat this year has inspired the workers with increasing enthusiasm for production. The total value of production in the first two months showed a 64 per cent increase over the corresponding period of last year. At the Hutung Shipyard, a 25,000-ton freighter was launched at the end of last year. The workers installed the equipment in less than three months and trial-cruised the ship by March this year, ahead of schedule.

The excellent situation prevailing in Shanghai's shipbuilding industry

is a result of the workers' and cadres' efforts in deepening the socialist revolution in the realm of the superstructure and persistently struggling against the revisionist line. In 1958, workers built China's first 5,000-ton freighter at the century-old well-known Kiangnan Shipyard through self-reliance. And then in 1960 they began to build China's first home-designed 10,000-ton freighter. It was only completed in 1965, instead of much earlier, because of the interference of Liu Shao-chi's revisionist line which maintained that "it's better to buy a ship than build one, and better to charter one than buy one." This line was repudiated during the Great Cultural Revolution. The movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius which was launched last year has further exposed and criticized the criminal sabotage of the shipbuilding industry by Lin Piao and his gang. This has spurred on the workers' initiative in building socialism. In the past it used to take the yard five years to build one 10,000-ton ship, but in 1974 alone it built five.

Like other industries, the development of our country's shipbuilding industry has been guided by the policy of maintaining independence and keeping the initiative in our own hands and relying on our own efforts. Persisting in this policy, workers and cadres of the shipyard have constantly criticized the idea of worshipping everything foreign. We are willing to have foreign assistance but do not depend on it; we advocate learning from the advanced experience of other countries, but we are opposed to regarding foreign equipment and technique with blind faith and not submitting them to scientific analysis.

In 1960 the Hutung Shipyard produced China's first powerful diesel engine designed for use on a vessel. In spite of the fact that the crankshaft was up to standard quality, some bourgeois "authorities" indiscriminately asserted that it could not be used; instead, they placed blind faith in foreign products. During the Great Cultural Revolution the workers repudiated this kind of erroneous thinking which did not believe in the strength and wisdom of China's workers. They finally installed the crankshaft on a 10,000-ton tanker which has been working without a hitch for more than six years. This by no means ended the struggle. A few years ago, the Shanghai Shipyard spent a considerable sum of money to import over 100 pieces of equipment. But some of them were already being produced here; it was possible, however, to produce others domestically. This incident precipitated debates on the question of whether the base of the shipbuilding industry should be domestic or foreign. As the workers criticized the idea of worshipping everything foreign, their enthusiasm for socialism kept rising. As a result the shipyard fulfilled the production tasks set for 1974 ahead of time. In addition, several hundred technical innovations were made, some of which are highly significant for advancing China's shipbuilding industry.

Relics From the Long March

WHILE excavating and preserving ancient relics, China attaches importance to collecting revolutionary relics of recent and modern times. Some achievements in this field were reported in a special issue of *Wen Wu* (Cultural Relics) earlier this year carrying articles and pictures on findings during the Long March.

This year is the 40th anniversary of the famous 25,000-li (12,500 kilometres) Long March. In the early 1930s after the "Left" opportunists with Wang Ming as their chieftain elbowed aside Chairman Mao's correct leadership and usurped the power of the Party Central Committee, the result was that the Red Army failed to shatter the fifth



At the Kiangnan Shipyard in Shanghai.

campaign of "encirclement and suppression" launched by Chiang Kai-shek's reactionary troops against the central base area. (The first four campaigns were smashed by the Red Army thanks to Chairman Mao's correct leadership.) To foil the campaign and march north to fight the Japanese aggressors, the Red Army began a major strategic movement in October 1934 and reached northern Shensi (where Yen-an, which later became the site of the Party Central Committee, is located) the following year. The victory of the Long March marked the beginning of a new stage in the Chinese revolution.

Wen Wu has reproduced Chairman Mao's manuscripts of the poem *Loushan Pass* written during the Long March. In January 1935, the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party held a meeting in Tsunyi County where Loushan Pass is located, putting an end to the domination of the "Left" opportunist line and establishing Chairman Mao's leadership in the whole Party. The magazine gives an account of this historic meeting together with pictures of the meeting place (the meeting room and its outer view) and a photostat of the resolution adopted at the meeting.

Some of the weapons, hidden by the Red Army men on the Long March, have been unearthed and kept in good condition. Kept to this day, the seals and printing machines they used, the slogans and notices they put up and the passes, certifications and paper money they issued are all valuable cultural relics.

Many other findings speak volumes for the heroic deeds of bygone days. There is a grave of a Red Army man, a medical orderly, in Tsunyi. He

often treated the local people when there was no fighting. Once, he dropped behind while looking after an armyman who was down with typhoid. While trying to catch up his unit, he was shot dead in an enemy ambush. The people buried him by the roadside and built a grave for him. When the reactionaries gave the order to have it levelled, they refused to do so. Later when attempts were made to dig it up, the masses rose in struggle. Though the reactionary troops finally had the tomb removed, a higher and bigger mound appeared in its place as soon as the diggers left.

At the time of the Long March, a poor peasant risked his life during the white terror to hide a Red Army man in a mountain cave. The latter had been seriously wounded in the leg. Proof of the people's profound feelings for the Red Army, the basket and the bowls he brought food in for the armyman are now on display in the Kweichow Provincial Museum.

A City's Mass Health Stations

MASS health stations have been set up in the residential quarters of Changchiakou, a north China city. Run by housewives, these stations do preventive and curative work among residents, promote family planning and mother and child care, and help organize mass sanitation campaigns.

Every station maintains regular contacts with a nearby hospital which assigns one or two doctors for full-time work there. Barefoot doctors are trained from among housewives and young workers in the neighbourhood factories, while retired medical workers also join the work. After a year's study and actual ex-

perience, the barefoot doctors are able to diagnose and treat a number of common and infectious diseases.

A barefoot doctor in the health station on Shukuang Street, Yuan Kuei-lan is a worker's wife. She disseminates health knowledge among residents and makes house calls. She treats and attends the sick, giving injections, preparing medical decoctions, changing dressings, or cooking meals for them, leaving their family members with ease of mind. She made 2,300 such calls in 1974.

Yuan Kuei-lan was once a beggar in the old society. Her mother died of illness when the daughter was six years old because the family could not afford to see a doctor. She said: "The Party and Chairman Mao have given me today's happy life. Now that I'm entrusted with the work of a barefoot doctor, I must serve the people wholeheartedly." She works hard, doing her best to raise the level of medical work.

The stations regularly inoculate children under 12 and treat patients with chronic diseases in a planned way. En Chen-chi, 65, has heart disease and asthma from toiling as a rickshaw-puller in the old days. Helped by the street health station, he has been cured of asthma and his heart trouble has been alleviated.

The principle of "putting prevention first" has been better implemented and infectious diseases better handled since the health stations were established. Once infectious cases are reported, barefoot doctors from these stations treat the sick at home or send them to hospitals, wipe out centres of infection and give medicine to those who have been in contact with the sick. Stations also distribute drugs to prevent epidemics from developing.

(Continued from p. 27.)

swindle customers into paying money in advance. The Soviet paper *Trud* reported that "the management of the Kostroma Department Store notified citizens who had ordered refrigerators to come for their ordered goods." The customers hurried to the store and paid 200 rubles for each refrigerator. When they wanted to take the refrigerators back home, the shop-assistants said: "You have to wait, maybe a day or a week. Keep coming in and see for yourself." Advance payment is required mainly for the "fulfilment of the plan." The

paper admitted that "the customers had been deceived. The purpose is to obtain bonuses by pretending to have the plan fulfilled."

Such cases are numerous in Soviet commercial enterprises today. Even *Pravda* had to admit that in some areas it has become the usual practice that "the prices of goods are fixed too high, the customers are given less small change than due them, the amount of goods delivered is illegally reduced and meals served are of poor quality."

(A commentary by Hsinhua Correspondent)

New Booklet

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(In English)

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