

PEKING REVIEW

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May 21, 1976

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The Great Cultural Revolution Will Shine For Ever

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— In commemoration of the 10th anniversary of the May
16, 1966 "Circular" of the Central Committee of the
Communist Party of China

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Speech by Head of Chinese Delegation At 4th UNCTAD Session

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An Important Way to Train Proletarian Cadres

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Commemorating the Tenth Anniversary of C.P.C. Central Committee's May 16 "Circular"

IN the last few days, people of all nationalities across China, full of the joy of victory, solemnly commemorated the 10th anniversary of the May 16, 1966 *Circular* of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China drawn up under the personal guidance of our great leader Chairman Mao. They hailed the tremendous victories of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

At the grand rallies and other commemorative gatherings held all over the country, armymen and civilians in their hundreds of millions reviewed the glorious fighting course of the Great Cultural Revolution over the past decade, and spoke of the great changes that had taken place in our great socialist motherland and the excellent situation at present. They pledged to conscientiously study the series of important instructions from Chairman Mao, reread the *Circular*, and study the commemorative article "The Great Cultural Revolution Will Shine For Ever" by the editorial departments of *Renmin Ribao*, *Hongqi* and *Jiefangjun Bao*. They were determined to unite still more closely, advance in triumph under the leadership of the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao, and bring about a new upsurge in the struggle to criticize Teng Hsiao-ping and repulse the Right deviationist wind to reverse correct verdicts.

People of all nationalities in the various provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions and P.L.A. units held rallies and celebration meetings at the grass-roots level. Filled with elation. Party members, cadres, workers, peasants and soldiers said that the ten years of the Great Cultural Revolution was a decade in which hundreds of millions of Chi-

nese people, led by the great leader Chairman Mao, waged repeated struggles against the capitalist-roaders in the Party and won great victories. During this decade, armymen and civilians throughout China smashed resolutely and in good time the schemes of Liu Shao-chi, Lin Biao and Teng Hsiao-ping to restore capitalism, scathingly criticized their counter-revolutionary revisionist line, and seized back that portion of Party and state leadership they had usurped, thus ensuring that our country will continue to advance victoriously along Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. Through this great revolution, Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought has been popularized on a scale unknown before, and the people's awareness of the need to combat and prevent revisionism and to continue the revolution has been greatly heightened. They pointed out: They should carry forward the basic experience of the Great Cultural Revolution, persist in arming themselves with Marxism and in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, and deepen their criticism of Teng Hsiao-ping's revisionist line.

In the capital, the Peking Municipal Party Committee, the Peking Municipal Revolutionary Committee, and many factories, enterprises, government departments, schools and neighbourhood committees held discussion meetings and get-togethers to celebrate the anniversary. The worker-peasant-soldier students, teachers and staff members of Tsinghua and Peking Universities, who are marching in the van of the struggle to criticize Teng Hsiao-ping and beat back the Right deviationist attempt, conscientiously studied Chairman Mao's important instructions — "Without struggle, there is no progress" and

"Can 800 million people manage without struggle?!" — carried in the article by the editorial departments of *Renmin Ribao*, *Hongqi* and *Jiefangjun Bao*. They said: The Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese people have gone through ten eventful years of soul-stirring class struggles during which they defeated Liu Shao-chi, Lin Biao and then Teng Hsiao-ping. The struggles have educated the people, brought victories to them and promoted the vigorous development of the socialist revolution and socialist construction. Every victory is a great victory for Chairman Mao's revolutionary line.

Both the new and veteran cadres and activists in theoretical study in the Peking February 7 Locomotive and Rolling Stock Plant conscientiously studied the article by the editorial departments of *Renmin Ribao*, *Hongqi* and *Jiefangjun Bao* and reviewed the achievements gained in the past decade by the plant. All of them agreed that, having tempered themselves in the Great Cultural Revolution, Party organizations at all levels have become more vigorous, more than 500 new members have been admitted into the Party, over 140 young workers have been selected to be cadres and the studying of the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and Chairman Mao's works has become common practice in the plant. Revolution has promoted the rapid growth of production. They pledged to deepen the criticism of Teng Hsiao-ping, resolutely carry on the struggle and defend and expand the achievements of the Great Cultural Revolution.

Workers and the revolutionary masses in Shanghai, filled with militancy, held celebrations in the

last few days to commemorate the anniversary. On May 16, the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee and the Shanghai Municipal Revolutionary Committee held plenary meetings to study Chairman Mao's important instructions and the article "The Great Cultural Revolution Will Shine For Ever" and make penetrating criticisms of Teng Hsiao-ping's reactionary crimes and his counter-revolutionary revisionist line. While reviewing in the study sessions the course of struggle against the capitalist-roaders during the Great Cultural Revolution, cadres from the Shanghai Trade Union Council and workers and cadres from Shanghai's No. 17 Cotton Textile Mill and other factories said with deep feeling: Practice in the struggles has time and again proved that the bourgeoisie is indeed inside the Communist Party and the main danger of capitalist restoration lies in those Party persons in power taking the capitalist road. They pledged to carry out a protracted struggle against the capitalist-roaders.

In Tientsin, the Tientsin Municipal Party Committee held a celebration meeting, and the Tientsin Trade Union Council, the municipal Women's Federation, the Tientsin Railway Station, the No. 4 Cotton Textile Mill and the Takang Oilfield held discussion meetings that very evening, reviewing the militant course over the last ten years and warmly hailing the resounding victory of the Great Cultural Revolution. The million industrial workers in the city, who fought tenaciously against Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and Teng Hsiao-ping during the Great Cultural Revolution, have played the role of the working class as the main force. The workers' theoretical contingent, now 300,000 strong, has become a mighty force in criticizing revisionism. The 50,000 new cadres who have come to the fore during the Great Cultural Revolution have added vigour and vitality to the leading bodies at all levels. Tens of thousands of workers have mounted the platform as part-time teachers in the spheres of the superstructure. Revolution has propelled production forward. The

city's gross industrial output value has increased 2.7 times in the last ten years. The workers said with pride and enthusiasm: The ten years of the Great Cultural Revolution was a decade of struggle and victory. But the struggle has not ended. We must carry the struggle to criticize Teng Hsiao-ping and beat back the Right deviationist wind to reverse correct verdicts through to the end.

Cadres and commune members of the Hsiao-chin-chuang Production Brigade also held discussions and poetry recitals that evening. They reviewed and summed up their experience in fighting the capitalist-roaders and enthusiastically eulogized the great victory of the Great Cultural Revolution. Secretary Wang Tso-shan of the brigade's Party branch said: Around summer last year, Teng Hsiao-ping whipped up the Right deviationist wind to reverse correct verdicts and attacked the poor and lower-middle peasants of our brigade by name. Taking class struggle as the key link, persevering in progress and opposing retrogression, we have withstood the evil wind. Practice in the struggle tells us that the capitalist-roaders are only paper tigers. So long as we apply Mao Tsetung Thought in our analysis and criticism, we can surely defeat them.

In acclaiming the victories already won, people of all nationalities throughout the country denounced Teng Hsiao-ping's crimes in spreading the fallacy that "the present is not as good as the past" and in negating the Great Cultural Revolution, and enthusiastically hailed the splendid achievements of the Great Cultural Revolution. This revolution, they said, has further strengthened our Party, and consolidated the dictatorship of the proletariat, while socialist new things have emerged one after another and socialist construction in various fields is flourishing.

Amidst cheers of "Long live Chairman Mao!" the cadres and masses of Shaoshan in Hunan Province, holding high red banners and beating gongs and drums, gathered together to celebrate the anniversary. Mem-

bers of the Shaoshan district Party committee and the district revolutionary committee said: Profound changes have taken place in all fields in Shaoshan since the Great Cultural Revolution started. The biggest change is that Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought has taken deep root in the hearts of the people. We have studied Marxism in the course of struggle, and studied Chairman Mao's great revolutionary practice, and Mao Tsetung Thought has illuminated our course to victory.

Armymen and civilians in the old revolutionary base on the Ching-kang Mountains held a rally at Tzeping. Chou Wen-kai, leader of an insurrectionary detachment of the township of Big Well and participant in the battle to defend Huangyangchieh during the Second Revolutionary Civil War, said with emotion: Chairman Mao's instruction has put in words what we revolutionary people feel in our hearts. The revolutionary base area of the Ching-kang Mountains was created out of the struggle led by Chairman Mao against the Kuomintang reactionaries and the opportunists inside the Party. Since liberation the Ching-kangshan people, persisting in the continued revolution and waging ceaseless struggles against the bourgeoisie and the capitalist-roaders in the Party, have won new victories in socialist revolution and construction. We are determined to inherit and carry forward the glorious revolutionary tradition of those days, deepen our criticism of Teng Hsiao-ping, repulse the Right deviationist wind to reverse correct verdicts and further strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat.

While celebrating the anniversary, people across the country restudied Chairman Mao's important instructions: "Those representatives of the bourgeoisie who have sneaked into the Party, the government, the army and various spheres of culture are a bunch of counter-revolutionary revisionists. Once conditions are ripe, they will seize political power and turn the dictatorship of the proletariat into a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie." "You are making the socialist revolution, and yet don't know

where the bourgeoisie is. It is right in the Communist Party — those in power taking the capitalist road. The capitalist-roads are still on the capitalist road." Communist Party members, workers, peasants and soldiers and revolutionary cadres and intellectuals all pointed out that, in these important instructions, Chairman Mao has defended and developed Marxism-Leninism, made a profound analysis of the changes in class relations and the characteristics of class struggle in the period of socialism, and clarified for us the orientation in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. We must make a further study of these important instructions.

In the Taching Oilfield, the workers, cadres and their family members said: Under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, we have persisted in criticizing revisionism and the bourgeoisie and in attacking the ideologies of all exploiting classes. We have made earnest efforts to build Taching into a great school of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, further strengthened the all-round dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie, and scaled one new height after another in grasping revolution and promoting production. Today, the Taching Oilfield is producing six times as much crude oil as it did before the Great Cultural Revolution. All these are solid fruits of the victory of Marxism over revisionism and of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie.

After listening in to the broadcast of the article by the editorial departments of *Renmin Ribao*, *Hongqi* and *Jiefangjun Bao*, the cadres and poor and lower-middle peasants of the Tachai Production Brigade held a discussion meeting. They said: The ten years of the Great Cultural Revolution was a decade of fierce struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, a decade of continual triumph of Marxism over revisionism and a decade in which the greatest changes have taken place in Tachai. Had it not been for Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, the revolutionary red banner of Tachai could not have

been kept aloft, and without the Great Cultural Revolution the Tachai spirit would not be able to spread beyond our village. "Without struggle, there is no progress" — this teaching of Chairman Mao's penetratingly expounds the objective law guiding the development of things. It says what we have in our minds. We Tachai people absolutely will not tolerate Teng Hsiao-ping negating the Great Cultural Revolution and settling accounts with it and restoring capitalism in China.

Teachers, students and faculty members of the Chaoyang Agricultural College in Liaoning Province said at a discussion meeting: Without the Cultural Revolution, it would have been impossible for our college to become what it is today. We must persist in studying Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, always act in contravention of the revisionist line and build our college into an instrument of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Commanders and fighters of the Chinese People's Liberation Army and militiamen reviewed the militant course they have traversed in the past ten years and warmly praised the great victory of the Cultural Revolution. With great indignation they denounced Teng Hsiao-ping's crime of scheming to restore capitalism and they resolved to play in a still better way their role as the pillar of the dictatorship of the proletariat and defend and develop the fruits of the Great Cultural Revolution with concrete actions.

Early on the morning of May 16, propaganda teams composed of commanders and fighters of the army, air force and navy stationed in Heilungkiang, Sinkiang, Inner Mongolia and Tibet as well as on the Fukien front and the Hsisha Islands went to the stockbreeding farms and fishing villages. Together with the militiamen and people of various nationalities, they studied Chairman Mao's important instructions and the article "The Great Cultural Revolution Will Shine For Ever." They expressed the determination to earnestly read and study, criticize Teng Hsiao-ping in a deep-going

way, grasp revolution, promote production and other work and preparedness against war. They pledged to heighten their vigilance and be ready at all times to smash sabotage activities by class enemies at home and abroad and to defend the great socialist motherland and the gains of the Great Cultural Revolution.

Socialist Transformation of Handicrafts and Private Commerce in Tibet

Since the start of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, Party organizations at all levels in the Tibet Autonomous Region under the guidance of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and taking class struggle as the key link have carried out the socialist transformation of the handicrafts and private commerce in the cities and towns in the light of the actual conditions in the region's socialist revolution. Today, all commerce in Tibet is state-owned and more than 90 per cent of the handicraft units have set up co-operatives. They are all now advancing along the broad socialist road.

The rapid socialist transformation represents yet another great social change since the establishment of rural people's communes in Tibet. This deep-going socialist transformation movement is of tremendous importance for strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat, further consolidating the defences on the southwestern frontiers of the motherland and speeding up socialist revolution and construction in Tibet.

Before the democratic reform in Tibet, handicrafts were on the verge of extinction and private commerce had dwindled sharply under the reactionary feudal serf-owning system. In 1959, the million serfs of Tibet, under the wise leadership of Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee, shattered the armed rebellion staged by the Dalai traitorous clique, carried out the democratic reform and smashed the feudal serf-owning system. This historic change has emancipated the serfs

(Continued on p. 28.)

The Great Cultural Revolution Will Shine For Ever

—In commemoration of the 10th anniversary of the
May 16, 1966 "Circular" of the Central Committee
of the Communist Party of China

by the Editorial Departments of "Renmin Ribao,"
"Hongqi" and "Jiefangjun Bao"

TEN years ago, the May 16 *Circular* of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China was drawn up under the personal guidance of our great leader Chairman Mao. This brilliant Marxist document sounded the clarion call for the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and illuminated the course of its triumphant advance. Today, having won great victories in the struggle to criticize Teng Hsiao-ping and repulse the Right deviationist wind to reverse correct verdicts, we warmly celebrate the 10th anniversary of the Great Cultural Revolution and restudy the *Circular*, which gives us a deeper understanding of the necessity and far-reaching significance of the revolution and greater confidence to persevere in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The *Circular* was drawn up in the fierce struggle between the proletarian headquarters headed by Chairman Mao and the bourgeois headquarters with Liu Shao-chi as its chieftain. It incisively criticized Liu Shao-chi's counter-revolutionary revisionist line, exposed the reactionary essence of the "February Outline Report,"* refuted the fallacies against the Great Cultural Revolution spread by those Party persons in power taking the capitalist road, armed the whole Party with the Marxist-Leninist theory of class struggle and proletarian dictatorship, and called on us to expose and criticize the bourgeois representatives in the Party and seize that portion of leadership they had usurped. The formulation of the *Circular* proclaimed the bankruptcy of the "February Outline Report." Since then the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution has been forging ahead vigorously.

Chairman Mao has pointed out: "We couldn't do without the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution." This great revolution, which had been brewing for a long time, was the inevitable outcome of the acute struggle between the two classes, the two roads and the two lines. For years the renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-chi and company had made frenzied efforts to push the counter-revolutionary revisionist line and stubbornly stuck to the capitalist road. They did their utmost to oppose Chairman Mao's revolutionary line on all fronts: clamouring about capitalists "having merits in carrying out exploitation" and about "consolidating the new-democratic order"; drastically slashing the number of co-operatives and practising *san zi yi bao***; lauding to the skies the reactionary films *Inside Story of the Ching Court* and *The Life of Wu*

* The "February Outline Report" refers to the "Outline Report on the Current Academic Discussion Made by the Group of Five in Charge of the Cultural Revolution" which was approved for distribution on February 12, 1966 to the whole Party by the counter-revolutionary revisionist Peng Chen who employed the most dishonest methods, acted arbitrarily, abused his powers and usurped the name of the Party Central Committee. This outline report opposed carrying the socialist revolution through to the end, opposed the line formulated by the Central Committee of the Party headed by Comrade Mao Tsetung for carrying out the Cultural Revolution, attacked the proletarian Left and shielded the bourgeois Rightists, and its aim was to prepare public opinion for the restoration of capitalism. It was a reflection of bourgeois ideology in the Party and was out-and-out revisionism. — Tr.

** This refers to the extension of plots for private use and of free markets, the increase of small enterprises with sole responsibility for their own profits or losses, and the fixing of farm output quotas for individual households with each on its own. — Tr.

Hsun; and resisting the criticism of the play *Hai Jui Dismissed From Office*. For a period of time Liu Shao-chi's bourgeois headquarters was in control of Party power and the power in the cultural and propaganda fields and in many localities. Capitalism and revisionism were rampant in the ideological and cultural departments under its control. Hordes of ghosts and monsters came out into the open and filled our press, radio, books and works of literature and art. A grave situation in which the bourgeoisie exercised dictatorship over the proletariat developed in certain spheres in the superstructure. Material incentives and "bonuses in command" were widely practised to lure people to the capitalist road. In a fairly large majority of factories and enterprises, leadership was not in the hands of real Marxists and the masses of workers. Our socialist economic base was not solid. If the Great Cultural Revolution had not taken place, it would not have taken long before a counter-revolutionary restoration on a national scale would inevitably occur, our Party would turn into a revisionist party, and the whole of China would change its political colour.

With great Marxist-Leninist insight, Chairman Mao perceived in good time the grave danger that the capitalist-roaders in the Party were subverting the dictatorship of the proletariat. Chairman Mao pointed out in the *Circular*: **"Those representatives of the bourgeoisie who have sneaked into the Party, the government, the army and various spheres of culture are a bunch of counter-revolutionary revisionists. Once conditions are ripe, they will seize political power and turn the dictatorship of the proletariat into a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie."** In the course of the present struggle to beat back the Right deviationist attempt to reverse correct verdicts, Chairman Mao has again pointed out: **"You are making the socialist revolution, and yet don't know where the bourgeoisie is. It is right in the Communist Party — those in power taking the capitalist road. The capitalist-roaders are still on the capitalist road."** In these important instructions, Chairman Mao has profoundly analysed the changes in the class relations and the characteristics of class struggle during the period of socialism, advanced the scientific thesis that the bourgeoisie is in the Communist Party, developed Marxism-Leninism and further clarified for us the orientation for continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In the past decade we have waged struggles against Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and Teng Hsiao-ping. All these struggles have proved that the bourgeoisie is indeed inside the Communist Party. The capitalist-roaders in the Party are the bourgeoisie's main force in its trial of strength with the proletariat and in its efforts to restore capitalism. The crux of the matter here lies

in the fact that these capitalist-roaders are persons in power who have sneaked into the very structure of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Chieftains of the revisionist line, like Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and Teng Hsiao-ping, hold a very large proportion of the Party and state power. They are thus in a position to turn instruments of the dictatorship of the proletariat into instruments for exercising dictatorship over the proletariat, and they are therefore even more ruthless in their efforts to restore capitalism than the bourgeoisie outside the Party. They could use the power in their hands to recruit deserters and renegades, form cliques to pursue their own selfish interests, rig up a bourgeois headquarters, work out a revisionist line and push it from top to bottom. They could consolidate and extend bourgeois right, protect their own interests, namely, the interests of the "high officials" who practise revisionism, embezzle and squander huge amounts of social wealth, energetically engage in capitalist activities, undermine and disrupt the socialist relations of production. Donning the cloak of Marxism-Leninism and flaunting all sorts of ensigns, they are able to mislead for a time a number of people who lack an understanding of the real situation and do not have a high level of consciousness, deceiving them into following their revisionist line. In short, they are political representatives of the bourgeoisie and, in their trial of strength with the proletariat, they are commanders of all social forces and cliques that resist the socialist revolution and oppose and undermine socialist construction.

Teng Hsiao-ping, the arch unrepentant capitalist-roader in the Party, played the commander's role in vehemently stirring up the Right deviationist wind which culminated in the counter-revolutionary political incident at Tien An Men Square. Before the Great Cultural Revolution he was the No.2 chieftain of Liu Shao-chi's bourgeois headquarters. The two bourgeois headquarters of Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao were smashed during the Great Cultural Revolution and, when Teng Hsiao-ping was criticized by the masses, his words flowed in a spate of vows, such as "I'll mend my ways" and "I'll never reverse the verdict." But, once he resumed work and was in power, he threw off his disguise and, with hatred grown tenfold and frenzy increased a hundredfold, brought all his experience in counter-revolutionary political struggle into play, cooking up a programme, preparing public opinion and mounting an organized and planned attack on the Party, with the spearhead directed at our great leader Chairman Mao.

"Take the three directives as the key link" — this was Teng Hsiao-ping's political programme for reversing correct verdicts and restoring capitalism. Preaching the theory of the dying out of class struggle and the theory

of productive forces, this revisionist programme opposes taking class struggle as the key link and denies the Party's basic line and the necessity for the Great Cultural Revolution. Teng Hsiao-ping attempted to make it the "general programme for all work" for a long time to come and to impose it on the whole Party and the people throughout the country in order to pave the way for an all-round restoration of capitalism.

"Seize ideological positions" — this was a move Teng Hsiao-ping took to prepare public opinion for his scheme to reverse correct verdicts and restore capitalism. After he came to power, especially during last July, August and September and afterwards, political rumours were afloat and strange tales passed around here, there and everywhere in society. All these rumours and strange tales originated with Teng Hsiao-ping and were fabricated by Teng's rumour-mongering company. Teng Hsiao-ping and his followers feverishly created counter-revolutionary public opinions by various base means to hoodwink the people and create splits. In doing this, they spearheaded their attack at the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao and raised a hue and cry to clear the way for Teng Hsiao-ping to usurp the Party leadership and seize state power.

"The first and foremost thing is to grasp leading bodies" — this was the organizational measure Teng Hsiao-ping adopted in his attempt to reverse correct verdicts and restore capitalism. He opposed the setting up of "three-in-one" revolutionary leading bodies, attacked and pushed aside the old, middle-aged and young cadres who upheld Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, mustered unrepentant capitalist-roaders and put them in important positions, and knocked together "restorationist legions" in his attempt to reverse correct verdicts and restore capitalism. He did his utmost to keep in the Party renegades and special agents, who had been identified as such during the Great Cultural Revolution, so that they could stage a comeback sometime in the future.

"Carry out all-round rectification" — this was the plan of action Teng Hsiao-ping mapped out for his scheme to reverse correct verdicts and restore capitalism. The moment he issued the order for "rectification," the sinister wind to reverse correct verdicts sprang up. Through "rectification" he aimed at making a clean sweep of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and policies, the achievements of the Great Cultural Revolution and the superiority of the socialist system. The so-called rectification was in essence an attack on the proletariat by the bourgeoisie and an attempt at capitalist restoration.

All these acts by Teng Hsiao-ping were a continuation and development of the reactionary "February Outline Report," which Chairman Mao had already criticized in the *Circular*. Teng Hsiao-ping's "taking the three directives as the key link" is a carbon copy of the revisionist line which the *Circular* describes as "completely

denying that the several thousand years of human history are a history of class struggle," "completely denying the class struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, the proletarian revolution against the bourgeoisie and the dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie." The *Circular* exposes Peng Chen for deliberately spreading rumours to divert people from the target of the struggle and scathingly denounces his "rectification campaign" as one aimed at attacking the proletarian Left and shielding the bourgeois Rightists. Teng Hsiao-ping went still further. His line is a continuation of the counter-revolutionary revisionist line pushed by Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao. If this line were followed, not only would the achievements of the Great Cultural Revolution be nullified but those of the Chinese revolution as a whole would also go by the board. The capitalist road taken by Teng Hsiao-ping would lead back to the semi-colonial and semi-feudal old China and reduce China to an appendage of imperialism and social-imperialism. As Chairman Mao pointed out in the *Circular* when he criticized the representatives of the bourgeoisie: "They are faithful lackeys of the bourgeoisie and the imperialists. Together with the bourgeoisie and the imperialists, they cling to the bourgeois ideology of oppression and exploitation of the proletariat and to the capitalist system, and they oppose Marxist-Leninist ideology and the socialist system"; "their struggle against us is one of life and death, and there is no question of equality. Therefore, our struggle against them, too, can be nothing but a life-and-death struggle."

The tremendous historic merits of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution personally initiated and led by Chairman Mao lie in the fact that the scheme of the bourgeoisie inside the Party to restore capitalism was smashed resolutely and in good time, its counter-revolutionary revisionist line was criticized and that portion of the Party and state leadership it had usurped was seized back, thereby ensuring that our country continues to advance along Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. The Great Cultural Revolution's merits also lie in solving, in both theory and practice, the cardinal question in the contemporary international communist movement, namely, how to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and prevent the restoration of capitalism. Hundreds of millions of workers, peasants and soldiers, revolutionary cadres and revolutionary intellectuals have come to realize ever more deeply that the Great Cultural Revolution "is absolutely necessary and most timely." They warmly hail: "The Great Cultural Revolution is excellent!" Only unrepentant capitalist-roaders like Teng Hsiao-ping harbour bitter hatred for it. Bent on settling old scores and reversing the correct appraisal of the Great Cultural Revolution, he offended the great majority of people. They do not agree with him nor will they allow him to carry on. "Reversing correct verdicts goes against the will of the people." The will of the people, the Party and the Party members

is for continuing the revolution and against restoration and retrogression. It is precisely for this reason that the great struggle personally initiated and led by Chairman Mao to repulse the Right deviationist attempt to reverse correct verdicts has won the wholehearted support of the entire Party, the whole army and the people throughout the country. The struggle has the full approval of the people and is to their great satisfaction. Those who attempted to reverse correct verdicts and settle old scores were extremely isolated and were soon brought to defeat.

We have won great victories, but the struggle has not come to an end. The struggle to criticize Teng Hsiao-ping's counter-revolutionary revisionist line must be carried on in depth. We must never slacken our fighting will. The handful of class enemies will not be reconciled to their defeat. Drawing lessons from their failure, they are studying tactics and methods of how to deal with us. The revolutionary people must be soberly aware of this.

Chairman Mao has pointed out: **"Lenin spoke of building a bourgeois state without capitalists to safeguard bourgeois right. We ourselves have built just such a state, not much different from the old society: there are ranks and grades, eight grades of wages, distribution according to work, and exchange of equal values."** As long as these conditions still exist, as long as classes, class contradictions and class struggle exist and as long as the influences of the bourgeoisie and international imperialism and revisionism exist, the historical phenomenon that **"the capitalist-roaders are still on the capitalist road"** will remain for a long time to come. On the first anniversary of the *Circular*, Chairman Mao gave us this admonition: **"The present Great Cultural Revolution is only the first; there will inevitably be many more in the future."** During the current struggle to repulse the Right deviationist attempt to reverse correct verdicts, Chairman Mao has again pointed out: **"After the democratic revolution the workers and the poor and lower-middle peasants did not stand still, they want revolution. On the other hand, a number of Party members do not want to go forward; some have moved backward and opposed the revolution. Why? Because they have become high officials and want to protect the interests of the high officials."** **"Will there be need for revolution a hundred years from now? Will there still be need for revolution a thousand years from now? There is always need for revolution. There are always sections of the people who feel themselves oppressed; junior officials, students, workers, peasants and soldiers don't like bigshots oppressing them. That's why they want revolution. Will contradictions no longer be seen ten thousand years from now? Why not? They will still be seen."** Therefore, we must prepare ourselves ideologically for a protracted struggle against the capitalist-roaders and for continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Chairman Mao said at the beginning of this year: **"Without struggle, there is no progress."** **"Can 800**

million people manage without struggle?!" The ten years of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution was a decade in which we advanced through struggle and brought tremendous changes to our country. Studying Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought in the course of struggle, hundreds of millions of people have greatly raised their consciousness in combating and preventing revisionism and continuing the revolution. Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line has found its way even deeper into the hearts of the people. By getting rid of the stale and taking in the fresh, our Party has grown in strength and become more vigorous than ever. Our army has grown stronger, after going through new tests and making fresh contributions to the people in "supporting industry, supporting agriculture, supporting the broad masses of the Left, exercising military control, and giving political and military training." The militia has contributed to the consolidation of proletarian dictatorship through participation in the struggle to defend the motherland and in class struggle in society. The "three-in-one" combination of the old, middle-aged and young has been adopted in the leading bodies at all levels, and millions upon millions of successors to the proletarian revolutionary cause are steeling themselves and maturing in the course of struggle in accordance with the five requirements put forward by Chairman Mao. The socialist revolution in education, literature and art, medical and health work, science and technology has advanced in giant strides in the course of the acute struggle between the two lines. Vast numbers of educated youth have gone eagerly to settle in the countryside, and cadres at all levels have persevered in taking the May 7 road. The mass movements to learn from Tachai in agriculture and to learn from Taching in industry have surged ahead. Agriculture, industry and the entire national economy are thriving. Our great motherland is a flourishing scene of prosperity. The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution has further released the energies of the people in their hundreds of millions. The tremendous impact of this revolution, which is just beginning to show itself, will make itself felt with greater force with the deepening of the revolution.

We must continue our triumphant advance and carry forward the excellent situation. The broad masses of Party members, cadres and other people must conscientiously study Chairman Mao's important instructions concerning the Great Cultural Revolution and the struggle to repulse the Right deviationist attempt, study the theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, get a clear understanding of the questions of where the bourgeoisie is to be found and enforcing all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie; and persist in combating and preventing revisionism and continuing the revolution. We must acquire a profound understanding of the brilliant victories and tremendous significance of the Great Cultural Revolution, wholeheartedly support the socialist new things, and consolidate and develop the achievements of the Great Cul-

tural Revolution. We must deepen the criticism of Teng Hsiao-ping, beat back the Right deviationist attempt to reverse correct verdicts and deal resolute blows at all counter-revolutionary disruptive activities. We must unite over 95 per cent of the cadres and of the masses under the general objective of criticizing Teng Hsiao-ping, and continue to do a good job in the revolution in the superstructure and the economic base. We must "grasp revolution, promote production and other work and preparedness against war" and continuously advance socialist construction in all fields.

The proletariat is full of revolutionary optimism. We have faith in dialectics. We firmly believe that "the supersession of the old by the new is a general, eternal and inviolable law of the universe." (Mao Tsetung: *On Contradiction*.) However many twists and turns there are on the road of revolution and however many ups and downs it encounters, the truth of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought is irresistible and the masses of the people who account for over 95 per cent of the population invariably want revolution. Revolution will inevitably triumph over reaction and the new-born over the decadent — this is a law of history. It is just over a century since the founding of Marxism, and

the old world has been shattered to pieces. Today, capitalism and revisionism are declining like "a setting sun in the west wind." The clowns who go against the tide of history may have their own way for a time but will eventually be swept on to the garbage heap of history by the people. As Marx and Engels stated, "Its [the bourgeoisie's] fall and the victory of the proletariat are equally inevitable." (*Manifesto of the Communist Party*.) While commemorating the 10th anniversary of the *Circular*, we are full of revolutionary pride as we look back on the course of struggle of the Great Cultural Revolution, view the excellent situation in which "orioles sing, swallows dart," and look forward to the bright future when "the world is being turned upside down." Under the leadership of the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao, we are determined to persevere in taking class struggle as the key link and carry the continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat through to the end.

Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line is invincible, and our advance cannot be stopped!

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution will shine for ever!

(May 16, 1976)

Excellent Opportunity for Restudy

— A visit to the Liaoning Provincial May 7 Cadre School

by Our Correspondents Cheng Chih and Chou Chin

Guided by Chairman Mao's May 7 Directive (see our last issue), large numbers of May 7 cadre schools have been set up all over China. They are a socialist new thing that has emerged during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

What is a May 7 cadre school? What is its significance? And what do the students gain in these schools? These and other questions are explained in articles published in this issue and the next citing instances from the Liaoning Provincial Cadre School.

* * *

IT was in early spring when we visited the Liaoning Provincial May 7 Cadre School in northeast China.

This is a new-type school set up in 1968 during the Great Cultural Revolution for training and educating by rotation cadres from organs of the provincial Party committee and the provincial revolutionary com-

mittee (i.e., the people's government) as well as leading cadres at the city, prefectural and county levels. Based on the principle of voluntariness, the cadres have to send in their applications before they are approved by the leadership for enrolment in the school. The period of training is one year.

Set up in a village 150 kilometres away from Shenyang, the provincial capital, the school has over 60 hectares of paddyfields, non-irrigated land and kitchen gardens, a piggery with more than 300 pigs, a poultry farm, a fish pond, a small workshop for repairing machines and a winery, thereby providing plenty of room for the students to do manual labour. It has tractors, including the easy-to-handle walking-tractors, and an impressive array of farm machines and tools. In addition, there are dormitories, a mess hall, a library and a recreation centre, all built by the students over the years.

While at school, the students get their wages from their respective units as usual, and they return to work there after the period of training. Many of the 760 students enrolled in early October last year are cadres holding important leading posts. They are divided into eight groups which are again divided into several subgroups with a dozen or so people each.

There are altogether 97 May 7 cadre schools in Liaoning Province. Apart from this school run by the provincial authorities, there are others run by the various cities and counties or by large industrial and mining enterprises for training their own cadres by rotation. For instance, the task of a city-run cadre school is to train in rotation cadres from government organizations at the city level and cadres from industrial and transport, financial and trade, cultural and educational departments under the city administration. Students of the county-run cadre schools are cadres from county organizations and rural people's communes. In the last eight years, 390,000 cadres have received training ranging from six months to one year in the cadre schools throughout Liaoning Province.

Origin

Chairman Mao has always attached great importance to training and educating cadres. In the early stage of the War of Resistance Against Japan (1937-45), he personally founded the Anti-Japanese Military and Political College in Yanan. In his inscription for the college, Chairman Mao issued the call: **"While studying engage in production."** That is to say, the college was to be run in accordance with the principle of integrating education with material production. During those difficult years of war, the teachers and students lived together in cave-dwellings, used pine-splints for lighting, slept on straw and ate millet. At the same time as they studied revolutionary theories, they launched a "great production campaign" in which they reclaimed wasteland for farming and engaged in spinning and weaving to achieve ample food and clothing through self-reliance. The college trained large numbers of revolutionary cadres who have played an important role in the revolutionary wars and the revolutionary cause as a whole.

Since China entered the period of socialist revolution in 1949, Chairman Mao has repeatedly put forward the question of educating the cadres. In 1966 he issued the famous May 7 Directive in which he called upon the people in all trades and professions to learn other things while engaging mainly in activities in their own fields, that is, to learn industrial and agricultural pro-



Taking part in physical labour.

duction and military affairs and criticize the bourgeoisie. Chairman Mao instructed: **"Where conditions permit, those working in . . . Party and government organizations should do the same."**

Guided by Chairman Mao's directive, the Heilongjiang Provincial Revolutionary Committee in northeast China organized a group of cadres to go down to do manual labour in May 1968 and set up a May 7 cadre school in Liuho. Chairman Mao gave it warm support in a written comment in October that year when he said: **"Going down to do manual labour gives vast numbers of cadres an excellent opportunity to study once again; this should be done by all cadres except those who are old, weak, ill or disabled."**

Since then, May 7 cadre schools have sprung up all over the country like bamboo shoots after a rain in spring. Cadre schools set up by organizations directly under the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and various departments under the State Council totalled more than a hundred. The Liaoning Provincial Cadre School was also established at that time.

Labour

During our visit, a leading comrade of the school told us: The school has set up offices in charge of organizing labour and studies for the students and of administration and management, all of which function under the unified leadership of the school Party committee. The fundamental aim of the school is to train a contingent of cadres armed with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. These cadres should be capable of working at both higher and lower levels, serving as "officials" while remaining one of the common people, maintaining close ties with the masses and giving whole-hearted service to the people. In all its work, therefore, the school aims at transforming the students' ideology.

The school leadership stresses that labour is a major subject and that students should transform their thinking and remould their world outlook through participation in collective productive labour. Because of the difference in the physical strength of the students, the youngest being 20 and the oldest about 60, every student is expected to work to the best of his ability and consciously temper himself through labour.

A joyful atmosphere of harmony and unity prevailed among the students who, whatever their rank, took an active part in manual labour. At dawn every morning, we saw some old students, with baskets on their backs, set out to collect animal dung for fertilizer, while the younger ones went to dig ditches in preparation for spring irrigation. After breakfast, they went to work in the fields with shovels and carts, chatting and laughing on the way. A few went by truck to a distant place to transport sand for transforming the alkaline land. In the kitchen, we saw the secretary of a prefectural Party committee chopping vegetables and the secretary of a county Party committee washing bowls; both were working as cooks. In the piggery, a leading cadre from the provincial bureau in charge of allocation of materials was feeding the pigs. A 60-year-old deputy secretary of a city Party committee took the initiative in cleaning the corridors and the water closets every day during his year-long stay at the school.

After the new students enter the school each year, the school authorities allot to each group a large tract of land as a base for productive labour, averaging about one *mu* (or one-fifteenth of a hectare) per person, so that the students can acquaint themselves with the whole process of agricultural production during their one year in school. Take the cultivation of paddyrice for instance. The students have to take part in nursing and transplanting seedlings, weeding and loosening the soil to facilitate growth, applying fertilizer as well as harvesting and threshing. They also take turns to grow vegetables, feed pigs and work in the kitchen for a period of time.

Since participation in manual labour is aimed at changing the students' ideology, "ideological mobilization" is carried out whenever some rush work requiring a concentration of manpower has to be done, such as transplanting rice seedlings or harvesting. In the course of labour, the students comment on each other's work and attitude, followed by a discussion on what they have gained ideologically through manual labour.

Members of the various groups also analyse some of the happenings with a view to raising their ideological level. For example, to harrow a plot of land, once a tractor had to pass through two plots of paddyfields which had been levelled by another group, leaving behind deep furrows. Some of the students in this group were displeased with this. A discussion was organized centring round the question of whether one should place the interests of others before one's own and take into consideration the situation as a whole or, like the narrow-minded small producers, think only about oneself. The result was those comrades who were in their tantrums changed their attitude and looked at the incident in the right perspective.

Thanks to the hard work of the students year after year, tremendous changes have taken place in the school. In the room devoted to an exhibition of the school's history, we saw a photo showing a vast stretch of alkaline land overgrown with reeds when the first group of students came here eight years ago. Working together with the local poor and lower-middle peasants for three winter months, the students built a trunk canal which they called "Shenglitang" (meaning Victory Pond) to divert water from the Liacho River to irrigate the farmland. Conditions were difficult at that time. Since there were no houses, they had to live temporarily with the peasants in the vicinity, and for drinking water they had to melt pieces of ice in winter. As we walked round the school, our guide pointed to the rows of houses built of red bricks and tiles by the students in the early years. The stones used for the foundation were quarried in the mountains and the bricks were also made by themselves.

Conditions today have improved enormously. Material achievements are of course considerable, but



Putting up wall newspapers criticizing Teng Hsiao-ping and repulsing the Right deviationist wind.

more important are what the students have gained ideologically. Some students have put it well: The militant life as a collective in the school and the collective labour have done away with the distinction between mental and manual labour and the ranks between the leading comrades and the rank and file.

Study

We visited the students' dormitories where we saw big-character posters criticizing the arch unrepentant capitalist-roader in the Party Teng Hsiao-ping and repulsing the Right deviationist wind all along the corridors. Criticism meetings were being held by many groups.

We were informed by one of the school's leading comrades that half of the time during the students' one-year training is devoted to studying revolutionary theories, with the accent on the theory on class struggle and the dictatorship of the proletariat expounded by the revolutionary teachers. We were also told that the school sees to it that study is carried out in accordance with Chairman Mao's teaching: **"As for education for cadres whether at work or in schools for cadres, a policy should be established of focusing such education on the study of the practical problems of the Chinese revolution and using the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism as the guide."** (*Reform Our Study.*) For this reason, study is always closely connected with present-day class struggle and two-line struggle.

Only when study is conducted in this way is it possible for the students to effectively expedite the remoulding of their world outlook. As soon as they enter the school, they write down the most important ideological questions they wish to solve during their period of training in school. For example, some leading cadres who were criticized by the masses during the Great Cultural Revolution for having carried out Liu Shao-chi's revisionist line are eager to find out the reasons why they failed to distinguish between Marxism-Leninism and revisionism. So they hope to gain, through study, a deeper understanding of the harm done by the revisionist line and of the tremendous significance of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, so that they can take a correct attitude towards the Great Cultural Revolution, the masses and themselves. Uppermost in the minds of some young cadres newly promoted to leading posts is the question of retaining the fine qualities of a rank-and-file labourer. With definite aims in mind, they study Marxism-Leninism and criticize revisionism, hold discussion meetings or engage in heart-to-heart talks. In this way, they solve step by step their own problems and at the same time help others tackle theirs.

Students in the cadre school also take society as their classroom and learn from the workers and peasants. Apart from inviting outstanding workers, peasants and soldiers to give talks to the students, the school makes arrangements for them to go to the factories

and villages for two months every year to live and labour alongside the workers and peasants. At the same time they make social surveys in some advanced communes and production brigades. By summarizing the experience gained by the locality in energetically grasping class struggle and criticizing capitalist tendencies to bring about a rapid development in production, the students go a step further to foster in their minds the concept that class struggle must be taken as the key link in order to do a good job in every field of work. In January last year when an earthquake had taken place in the southern part of Liaoning Province, the school immediately organized the students to go to the epicentral area. There they studied revolutionary theories together with the local poor and lower-middle peasants to enhance their confidence in offsetting the damages done. They also took part in restoring production and rebuilding the peasants' houses. In the meantime, they saw and heard about many heroic deeds performed by the masses of the people in overcoming the difficulties, which was a profound education to them.

Animated Life

Life in the cadre school is gay and full of colour. Besides physical labour and study, the students go in for recreational activities of various kinds. Every day when the reveille is sounded at six in the morning, the school becomes astir with the students jogging round the campus, doing setting-up exercises or practising the traditional Chinese *taichi* boxing. During the noon breaks, keenly contested ball matches are often played, while in the evening many learn to sing new revolutionary songs. Weekends often find the students giving theatrical performances, such as songs, Peking operas, quick-patter rhymes accompanied by castanets, many of which are composed by themselves. During our visit we saw the performance by a chorus made up of over 20 old cadres—veterans who saw action in the anti-Japanese war. Though in their fifties or sixties, they were still full of revolutionary youthfulness. In the chorus was a veteran Red Army man who had joined the revolution in the early 1930s. He said to us: "When we sing revolutionary songs, we feel much younger and we seem to relive those days in Yen-an during the revolutionary war. Life in the cadre school spurs us to redouble our efforts and makes us all the more determined to carry the revolution through to the end."

As we left the school, the sound of singing still rang in our ears:

*In the glow of the morning sun
Rising above the eastern horizon,
We march forward along the road
Charted by the May 7 Directive.
We conscientiously study Marxism-Leninism,
And pledge to always continue the revolution.
We come to the countryside to learn from the
workers and peasants,
And temper ourselves in the crucible of labour.*

An Important Way to Train Proletarian Cadres

by Miao Pao-tai, Principal of the Liaoning Provincial May 7 Cadre School

THE May 7 cadre school is a new-type school and a good form to educate and train proletarian cadres under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line.

A Strategic Measure to Combat and Prevent Revisionism

Chairman Mao has pointed out: "Cadres are a decisive factor, once the political line is determined." (*The Role of the Chinese Communist Party in the National War*.) Proletarian cadres are of great importance to fulfilling the historical mission of the proletariat. This is true both before and after the proletariat has seized political power. After the proletariat has overthrown the bourgeoisie and seized political power, the leadership of the Party and the state must remain in the hands of proletarian revolutionaries, if socialism is to triumph over capitalism and the final goal of communism is to be realized. Otherwise, the revolution will go by the board halfway and political power will again be usurped by the bourgeoisie.

Chairman Mao has time and again admonished us that the principal contradiction in the entire historical period of socialism is the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, the target of the revolution is the bourgeoisie, the main danger is revisionism and the main target of the revolution is those Party persons in power taking the capitalist road. Chairman Mao has pointed out recently: "You are making the socialist revolution, and yet don't know where the bourgeoisie is. It is right in the Communist Party — those in power taking the capitalist road. The capitalist-roaders are still on the capitalist road."

The fact that the Soviet Union has degenerated into a social-imperialist country is a bitter historical lesson. In that country, group after group of new bourgeois elements have emerged in Party and government organizations, state-owned enterprises and collective farms. And the Khrushchov-Brezhnev renegade clique is their political representative. These new bourgeois elements engendered in the old soil of capitalism have usurped Party and state power, restored capitalism and turned a socialist country into a social-imperialist one.

Both the Marxist-Leninist theory and historical experience tell us that it is necessary to be always on guard against the danger of capitalist restoration. An important measure is to see to it that personnel of state organizations of the dictatorship of the proletariat do not "transform themselves from the servants of society into the masters of society." (Introduction by Frederick

Engels to Karl Marx's *The Civil War in France*.) This is because after the proletariat has seized political power, the Communist Party becomes the ruling Party, and the question of whether our cadres, especially leading cadres who are Party members, are able to correctly look upon the positions, power and benefits the Party and the people have given them is a question of principle concerning whether they will continue the revolution and work for the interests of the vast majority of people. If they regard joining the revolution as an investment and think they are entitled to privileges because of the leading position they hold, or if they try to seek personal gains by hook and by crook, then the higher their positions and the greater their power, the greedier they will become. Such persons will sooner or later become capitalist-roaders.

To ensure that our cadres always retain the fine qualities of ordinary labourers, it is necessary to continuously educate them in Marxism-Leninism and help them remould their world outlook and rid themselves of the influence of old traditions. Chairman Mao has always attached great importance to the education of cadres. He has time and again raised the question of re-educating cadres since the founding of New China. If this question is handled well, our revolutionary cause will have a bright future. But what is the most effective method? Bourgeois "scholastic education" which was criticized by Engels, of course, cannot serve the purpose. A different form must be found. Hence the coming into being of May 7 cadre schools which meet the needs of re-educating cadres in the period of socialism. When China's first May 7 cadre school was set up in Liuho in 1968, Chairman Mao highly appraised it and gave it warm support. Practical experience over the past eight years has proved that cadres going to the countryside to receive re-education is indeed conducive to raising their consciousness of continuing the revolution, to restricting bourgeois right and to eliminating the soil and conditions for engendering new bourgeois elements among cadres. This is a strategic measure for combating and preventing revisionism.

School for Studying Marxism-Leninism

For many years I have been in charge of the work of educating cadres, serving at one time as the principal of the provincial Party school and holding other posts too. However, prior to the Great Cultural Revolution, I was not very clear about the two-line struggle in this work and did not know how to help the students really grasp Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought

and not merely learn some Marxist-Leninist phrases by rote. The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution posed a sharp question before us: Why is it that some people who have studied Marxist-Leninist works in the Party-led cadre schools turn out to be fervent adherents of the revisionist line and embark on the capitalist road?

During the years of protracted revolutionary struggle in China, Chairman Mao consistently taught us that the study of the universal truth of Marxism should be integrated with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution, that in the course of studying Marxism and society we should shift our stand and gradually move our feet over to the side of the proletariat, and that we should combine education with productive labour. But, as a result



Miao Pao-tai (first from right) and students of the cadre school working in the fields.

of the interference and sabotage by Liu Shao-chi's revisionist line after the founding of New China, many of our cadre schools threw to the winds the fine tradition fostered by Chairman Mao and copied everything from the Soviet revisionists. Students at the cadre schools were led astray; they separated themselves from the masses, from practice and from manual labour, studied behind closed doors and shut themselves within four walls for self-cultivation. The result was disgusting in the case of some students: The more books they read, the stronger their desire for fame and position became. So, instead of receiving training at the cadre schools in order to serve the people better, they became bourgeois overlords.

Liu Shao-chi's revisionist line in educating cadres was repudiated in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, and Chairman Mao's line has since been implemented in a better way. Our May 7 cadre school now adheres to the principle that education must serve proletarian politics, and in educational work we take class struggle as the key link and put the emphasis on transforming the students' ideology. That is to say, the primary task of the school is to educate the students in the ideological and political line. To this end, we have organized them to study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought in the light of class struggle and the two-line struggle in China and in our province today. The students are required to integrate their study of theories with the criticism of revisionism, with the summing up of historical experience and with the remoulding of their own world outlook, so that they can really learn and master Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought by combining theory with practice. The criterion for judging the standard of a student is not their ability to memorize and quote phrases from books but their ability to distinguish the Marxist line from the revisionist line in actual struggle and to use Marxist stand, viewpoint and method to solve practical problems.

At present we are criticizing the counter-revolutionary revisionist line of the arch unrepentant capitalist-

roader in the Party Teng Hsiao-ping and repudiating his crimes of trying to subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat and restore capitalism. During these criticisms, the students are guided to conscientiously study the Marxist-Leninist theory on proletarian dictatorship and sum up their own experience, both positive and negative, in the two-line struggle. In this way, they have deepened their understanding of the nature, target, tasks and prospects of socialist revolution and enhanced their consciousness of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Combining Education With Material Production

A salient feature and merit of our May 7 cadre school is that the cadres receive re-education through manual labour in accordance with the teaching of Marx and Engels on the combination of education with material production.

The attitude towards manual labour and the labouring people is an important criterion for distinguishing proletarian cadres from bourgeois bureaucrats. The exploiting classes in Chinese history invariably considered that the Confucian and Mencian concept that "those who work with their minds govern, those who work with their hands are governed" was a "universal principle." They regarded "working with the mind" as the "work of great men" who were born to be nobles and they slandered "working with the hands" as the "work of inferior men" who were born to be lowly. They tried to prove that "it is right to exploit" and "it is right to oppress," and that exploiters were great men who should rule.

Revolutionary cadres of the proletariat, whatever their rank, are servants of the people and ordinary labourers. Proletarian cadres, however, may degenerate into bureaucrats of the exploiting classes if they should lose the fine qualities of the labouring people, divorce themselves from the masses or ride roughshod over them. It is a matter of cardinal importance that meas-

ures are taken to prevent this from happening. In the early years following the establishment of Soviet political power, Lenin praised the communist subbotniks participated by the Communist Party members as something which "has thrown a remarkably strong light on the class character of the state apparatus under the dictatorship of the proletariat." (*A Great Beginning*.) Chairman Mao has on many occasions stressed the importance of cadres participating in collective productive labour, pointing out that this is a major measure of fundamental importance for a socialist system.

Through participation in productive labour, students of our May 7 cadre school maintain close ties with the people; this helps to gradually reduce the difference between managerial personnel and producers. No matter what post he held before, a cadre becomes an ordinary labourer once he enters the school. Apart from working in the school, the students go for a period of time to the factories or countryside where they eat, live and work together with the workers or poor and lower-middle peasants, and at the same time make social investigations and receive re-education from the labouring people.

After taking part in manual labour and coming into contact with the workers and peasants, many students have come to the deep understanding that only in this way can they become close friends of the labouring masses. More often than not, some cadres who have more book knowledge think they are wiser than the workers and peasants simply because they have knowledge. This is of course wrong. After tempering themselves in manual labour, their hands have calluses and their feet blisters, and only then do they really understand the great truth that "the masses are the real heroes." Although some cadres came from the families of labouring people, they are more or less influenced by bourgeois ideas because of long separation from manual labour. Doing manual labour again, they have come to appreciate Marx's famous remark that manual labour is an effective antiseptic against any social infection.

Restricting Bourgeois Right

Educating cadres in May 7 cadre schools is an effective measure for restricting bourgeois right under the conditions of proletarian dictatorship. It not only meets the needs of the socialist revolution in China at its present stage of development, but conforms to the requirements for realizing the lofty ideal of communism. In his important instruction on the question of the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, Chairman Mao has pointed out: "Our country at present practises a commodity system, the wage system is unequal, too, as in the eight-grade wage scale, and so forth. Under the dictatorship of the proletariat such things can only be restricted." In socialist China today, bourgeois right has not been completely eliminated with respect to the system of ownership; it still exists to a serious extent in the relations between people and holds the dominant position in distribution. This is the important economic base giving rise to new bourgeois elements. In the distribution of products and in the relations between peo-

ple, bourgeois right still keeps the people, to varying degrees, within the bourgeois limits of nominal equality but actual inequality. Marxists must take a critical attitude towards bourgeois right which unavoidably exists in the entire historical period of socialism. Only through protracted struggle to restrict bourgeois right in every respect and completely eliminate it can we finally create conditions in which it will be impossible for the bourgeoisie to exist or for a new bourgeoisie to arise and realize communism.

Chairman Mao has always paid great attention to restricting bourgeois right and expanding communist factors. Since the start of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, many outstanding workers and peasants have been promoted to leading positions at various levels; they take a direct part in managing state affairs without divorcing themselves from production. By persistently taking part in collective productive labour, the cadres, though holding leading posts, remain one of the common people. All these are conducive to restricting bourgeois right in the relations between cadres and the masses, to gradually reducing the difference between managerial personnel and producers and to gradually realizing the combination of management with physical labour, as Lenin said.

The reason why May 7 cadre schools are new-type schools for educating and training cadres is that they have, by comparison, more communist factors which restrict bourgeois right in certain respects. A series of changes take place the moment cadres come to a cadre school: Instead of the comparatively easy city life, they live a simple rural life; leading cadres are now ordinary students just like the others; and instead of doing mainly mental work, they now spend part of their time in study and part of their time in physical labour. In these schools, all live in dormitories and eat in mess halls, regardless of their posts or seniority, and they lead a life of "equality between officers and men" as was the case during the years of revolutionary wars. Everyone voluntarily does his level best in productive labour. All this constitutes a telling blow to traditional concepts such as "officials are superior and commoners are inferior" and ideas of "ranks, grades, fame and gain." Having tempered themselves in the cadre schools, the students say that they have learnt to work in the communist style, have fewer bourgeois ideas and have enhanced their consciousness in restricting bourgeois right.

It is now eight years since the May 7 cadre schools were set up. Like other socialist new things, they are to be improved and consolidated. Practice has proved that they are full of vitality. The fact that they have been attacked from the day of their birth by the Soviet revisionist renegade clique, Lin Piao and other revisionists like him precisely shows that they are most revolutionary and progressive and they are an important way to train proletarian cadres. We are confident that under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, these schools will mature steadily and play an ever bigger role in the great struggle to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and prevent capitalist restoration.

Speech by Chou Hua-min, Head of Chinese Delegation

The Fourth Session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) officially opened in the capital of Kenya, Nairobi, on May 5. Taking part in the meeting were more than 2,000 representatives of 153 UNCTAD member states.

The session, scheduled to close on May 28, will discuss various issues on the implementation of the Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order and the Programme of Action adopted at the Sixth Special Session of the United Nations General Assembly, including the stabilization of prices of commodities, the alleviation and cancellation of debts of the developing countries and the transfer of technology.

Addressing the session on May 6, President Marcos of the Philippines appealed to UNCTAD to adopt the Manila Declaration and the Programme of Action which were signed last February by the Group of 77 with a membership of 110 states.

Following are excerpts of the speech by Chou Hua-min, Head of the Chinese Delegation and Vice-Minister of Foreign Trade, at the May 11 session. Sub-heads are ours. — Ed.

SINCE the Third Session of UNCTAD, the international situation has undergone encouraging changes. The situation is excellent and will get still better with each passing day. A marked manifestation of this is the rapid emergence of the third world in its growing role as the main force in the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism.

Third World's Struggle Against Hegemony In Economic Fields

In the past four years, the struggle against imperialism and hegemonism waged by the third world countries in economic fields has also witnessed great development. It has advanced to a new stage of shattering the old international economic relations and establishing a new international economic order. The Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order and the Programme of Action adopted at the Sixth Special Session of the U.N. General Assembly are a great victory for the third world countries in their united struggle. Since then, great efforts have been made by the developing countries for the implementation of the correct principles of the Declaration and those of the Programme of Action.

Their united struggle is becoming larger in scale, their unity more consolidated, their target more concentrated. The just struggle of the third world countries to safeguard state sovereignty, protect national economic rights and interests, develop national economy, establish a new international economic order is unfolding unswervingly. It is winning victories and making headway in the spheres of resources, trade, industrialization, finance, shipping, etc. Today, an increasing number of developing countries are taking resolute measures to defend their sovereignty over their natural resources, and to ensure that their national economic lifelines be safe in their own hands. Various organizations of raw material producing and exporting countries of the third world are coming into being and growing rapidly and more and more becoming a major force in their united struggle against international monopoly, exploitation and shifting of economic crisis. Variform economic co-operation among developing countries is getting under way and continuously being stepped up.

In the past four years, the struggle of the second world countries to rid themselves of the control, intervention, subversion and bullying by the superpowers has evidently intensified. Many of them now favour "dialogue" and economic co-operation with third world countries. This is something to be welcomed.

Meanwhile, it is also clearly seen that the two superpowers are beset with difficulties both at home and abroad and are getting more and more isolated. Their fierce contention extends to every corner, in every field the world over, continuously enhancing the danger of eruption of a new war. Numerous facts go on proving that the danger of war stems mainly from that very superpower which most zealously preaches about peace. Its wild ambitions and unbridled aggression and expansion have fully laid bare its ferocious features of social-imperialism.

The question of trade and development is a momentous question of common concern to the third world countries and people. It is the eager desire of the developing countries to abolish the old international economic relations and ensure equality and mutual benefit in trade and develop the national economy independently in their efforts to achieve economic independence and consolidate political independence. Viewed from international economic relations, the essence of the

question of trade and development is a question for the third world countries to safeguard state sovereignty, develop the national economy, oppose the control, plunder and exploitation by imperialism, particularly the superpowers. This is an important part of the revolutionary struggle of the third world countries and their people.

Old and new colonialism, imperialism and hegemonism have, for long years, controlled the major part of the world's industry and the production and trade of many primary commodities, monopolized international money and finance, shipping, insurance, science and technology. They extort superprofit and subject many of the developing countries to the status of source of raw materials, markets for manufactures and places for capital investment, thus reducing these countries to sheer slavery. As a result, the rich countries get richer, the poor ones poorer. Therefore, it is entirely justified and reasonable for the developing countries to demand the abolition of the old order of monopoly, plunder, control and exploitation and the establishment of a new international economic order based on equality and mutual benefit.

Obstructions Come From Two Superpowers

Obstructions to the establishment of a new international economic order come mainly from the two superpowers. They are the obstinate upholder of the old order, and opponent and saboteur of a new order. One superpower desperately clings to the old order, opposes the establishment of a new international economic order, in order to preserve its vested interests. It painstakingly preaches about "interdependence" as "the core of maintaining international order," alleging that "global prosperity" rests on its leadership. To put it bluntly, it means nothing but to maintain the control, plunder and exploitation of the developing countries. The other superpower, which is "socialism" in name but social-imperialism in essence, though pretending to be in favour of a new international economic order, actually commits dirty acts of undermining the just struggle of the third world. On the one hand, it uses such political swindles as "relaxation of tension" and "disarmament" to reverse the course of the third world struggle against imperialism and hegemonism in economic fields. On the other hand, it peddles the series of old wares such as "international division of labour," "integration," etc., in a vain attempt to establish a social-imperialist system of exploitation with itself as the sole overlord. Such shopworn stuff is in direct conflict with and runs counter to the new international economic order which the third world countries are striving to bring about.

This superpower, in a vain attempt to evade its criminal responsibility as one of the biggest international exploiters of the present world, asserts that it bears no responsibility for the state of poverty of the developing countries, and stresses that the reasonable propositions put forward by the Group of 77 have "no prospect of reaching agreement," and even asks the Group of 77 "not to insist on such demands." What a

truculent act! It is well known that this superpower is even more greedy and more cruel than the old-line imperialism in its plunder and exploitation of the people of the third world. Following the footprint of transnational corporations of the West, it sets up joint ventures abroad for capital export, seizure of markets and grabbing natural resources. Under the pretext of "developing trade," it asks the developing countries to adopt an "open door" policy and let it share "equal opportunity" with other imperialist countries. It extorts fabulous profit by practising trade exchange of unequal values and reselling at high prices. It uses "aid" as a means of controlling other countries and practising usury. It takes advantage of other countries' difficulties to encroach upon their sovereignty, demand military bases and interfere in their internal affairs wantonly. It ferociously presses recipient countries for repayment of debts and servicing of interests. And this very superpower which has done so many evils at the expense of the developing countries now wants to clear itself of all responsibilities. But this is impossible.

The integrated programme for commodities is a major proposition which the developing countries have all along upheld since the Sixth Special Session of the U.N. General Assembly. However, this proposal is opposed by the superpowers. One of the superpowers makes an uproar for replacing the integrated programme for commodities with individual commodity agreements, the common fund with an "international resources bank" with the aim of retaining the old order in opposition to the Manila Declaration and the Programme of Action. The other superpower vilifies the integrated programme for commodities as unrealistic and trumpets that the only way out is to sign medium- and long-term contracts with it and land oneself in the trade trap and exploitative system of this superpower. This fully bears out that the superpowers are still trying by hook or by crook to hold on and preserve the old international economic order.

The truculent acts of the superpowers, however, have been repeatedly denounced and condemned in the strongest term by the developing countries at a series of international conferences. A growing number of small and poor countries are taking vigorous measures in various spheres to safeguard their state sovereignty and economic rights and interests, waging resolute struggle against superpower aggression, intervention, exploitation and plunder. Of late, the Egyptian Government and people took a brave action in defending their independent sovereignty and national dignity by stripping that superpower — which styles itself the "natural ally" of the developing countries — of its disguise of "aid" and "co-operation" for intervention and control. This indeed is a brilliant example for the people of the third world countries in their struggle against hegemonism. We are convinced that so long as the third world countries and peoples strengthen their unity, defy pressure and intimidation, reject deception, persevere in a protracted and unremitting struggle, all obstruction and sabotage are doomed to utter failure,

the struggle for the establishment of a new international economic order will definitely triumph.

China's Position

It is the strong demand and eager desire of the third world countries and peoples to safeguard national independence and develop the national economy. We developing countries have deeply realized from our own experience that independence and self-reliance is the fundamental policy in developing the national economy. We have learnt from our own experience that in developing the national economy, we must first of all rely on our own people, make full use of our state sovereignty, take hold and make use of our national resources, gradually get rid of the control and plunder by imperialism, particularly the superpowers, and eradicate old and new colonialist forces and their influence. Only in this way can we clear the way for national economic development. We are happy to see that quite a number of developing countries, taking the path of independence and self-reliance and through prolonged strenuous efforts while taking into consideration their specific features and conditions, have now achieved promising success in developing agriculture, striving for self-sufficiency in food grains, developing national industry, training local technical personnel and cadres of management. It proves that the policy of independence and self-reliance is correct and that it is possible to carry it out if due consideration is given to the specific features and conditions of each country. It should also be pointed out that in the present circumstances when the two superpowers are locked in fierce contention for world hegemony and the danger of war is continuously increasing, the implementation of such a policy by the developing countries is of great significance in strengthening their national defence and protecting themselves from foreign aggression.

In the struggle to develop the national economy and oppose international exploitation and monopoly, it is quite necessary to strengthen economic co-operation and mutual support among developing countries. Such co-operation will help to promote economic and trade development, strengthen the economy of the developing countries, break through the economic monopoly by imperialism, particularly the superpowers.

The Chinese Delegation maintains that the Declaration and Programme of Action adopted recently at the Manila meeting of the Group of 77 embody the spirit of the Sixth and Seventh Special Sessions of the U.N. General Assembly, reflect the reasonable demands of the developing countries and should be taken as the basis for consideration at the current session of the conference. We resolutely support all the just propositions put forward by the developing countries in these documents.

We hold that international economic relations should be based on the five principles of mutual respect for state sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal

affairs, equality and mutual benefit and peaceful co-existence. International economic and trade affairs should be handled jointly by all countries of the world, instead of being controlled and monopolized by either of the superpowers or both. The developing countries enjoy permanent sovereignty over their own natural resources and have every right to exercise it and bring all foreign capital, particularly transnational corporations, under their control, supervision, administration or nationalization.

We hold that international trade should be based on equality and mutual benefit and exchange of needed goods to make up each other's wants. We support the righteous action of the developing countries in setting up and expanding raw material producing organizations and waging united struggle in order to safeguard state sovereignty and economic rights and interests; we support their reasonable proposition on an integrated programme for commodities and price indexations, and hope that the current session of the conference will reach positive decisions on the integrated programme for commodities. We are opposed to attempts to replace the integrated programme for commodities with individual commodity agreements or medium- and long-term contracts. We support the just demand of the Manila Programme of Action that an agreement should be reached at the Fourth Session of UNCTAD on a comprehensive strategy for manufactures and semi-manufactures to expand and diversify the export trade of the developing countries, reduce and eliminate tariff and non-tariff barriers and restrictive business practices, enable the developing countries to expand market and secure remunerative prices, stabilize and increase export earnings. We firmly oppose imperialism, particularly the superpowers, in using international trade as a means of control and plunder.

We maintain that, when giving economic aid to the developing countries, the aid-giving countries should strictly respect the sovereignty of the recipient countries, attach no conditions, political or military, and ask for no privileges. Any aid rendered should be of genuine help to the recipient countries in their efforts to develop their national economies on the basis of independence and self-reliance. The loans provided to the developing countries should be of low interest or interest-free, and in order to alleviate the debt servicing burden, repayment of loans and servicing of interests should be made deferrable when necessary. We support the just demand of the developing countries for convening a conference of major developed creditor and interested debtor countries to work out measures to solve the debt problems.

We maintain that transfer of technology to the developing countries must be practical, effective, cheap and convenient for use. All the unfair restrictions and obstacles to the transfer of technology from developed countries to developing countries must be eliminated. We support revision of the international patent system, the drafting of a legally binding code of conduct for the transfer of technology and the efforts to strengthen the technological capabilities of the developing countries

We hold that the issue of reforming the international financial and monetary system should be tackled through consultations on equal footing among all countries. Monopoly by a few big powers in the international financial and monetary fields must end. We stand for full and effective participation by the developing countries in the decision-making in international financial and monetary issues and in the reform of international financial institutions and their irrational rules and regulations. We support the reasonable demand of the developing countries for taking measures to adjust in a fair manner the international balance of payments deficit and to stabilize exchange rates.

We would like to express our deep sympathy with the least developed countries, landlocked and island developing countries for their difficult position. We are in favour of taking effective action in the fields of trade, aid, transport and communication, transfer of technology, etc., to implement special measures in favour

Facts on File

The Integrated Programme For Commodities

PRIMARY products (agricultural produce, minerals, fuels and foodstuffs) occupy a very important position in the third world countries' foreign trade. Primary products make up more than three-quarters of the exports of the developing countries. For years, imperialist powers, particularly the superpowers, have monopolized the markets and prices of primary products and ruthlessly exploited and plundered the developing countries which thus suffered serious losses. These developing countries urgently demand changing such an unjust situation. The integrated programme for commodities is a comprehensive solution proposed by the developing countries to check imperialist control, exploitation and plunder. It is also intended as a solution to the question of trade of their primary products. The ultimate aim is to smash the imperialists' monopoly of markets and prices, improve trade conditions and reduce exploitation suffered by the developing countries.

The chief measures as envisaged in the programme are:

1. Establishment of international stockpiles of various commodities. Stockpiling specified amounts of the commodities which greatly affects the exports of developing countries and intervening in the markets according to previously concluded agreements. That is to buy in the commodities to arrest the fall in prices when they drop to the lowest level indicated in the agreements; and to sell the commodities to stop further rises in prices when they surpass the highest level indicated in the agreements. This method is aimed at stabilizing the prices of these commodities and guaranteeing normal production and supplies.

2. Setting up a common fund for international stockpiles.

of these countries, give special consideration to helping them expedite development.

It is our hope that the current session will advance along the major orientation of the Sixth Special Session of the U.N. General Assembly and make useful contribution to the abolition of the old international economic relations, the establishment of a new international economic order and the safeguarding of independence, sovereignty and economic rights and interests of the developing countries. It should be seen that the establishment of a new international economic order is a protracted, sharp and complicated struggle. Though we are still facing various obstructions and difficulties, we believe nothing is hard in the world, if you dare to scale the heights. So long as the third world countries and people keep on closing their ranks, ally with all the forces that can be allied, uphold principles, persevere in struggle, they are sure to achieve their objectives.

The programme furthermore proposes the following measures: the governments of interested countries are to consult and agree on the amounts of the various commodities they intend to import or export over a certain period; provide subsidiary loans to developing countries which find themselves in an unfavourable position as far as exports are concerned; require the developed countries to reduce or remove tariff and non-tariff barriers and restrictive business practices on primary products, manufactured and semi-manufactured goods exported by developing countries in order that the latter may expand the scope of processing primary products and achieve a greater variety of export commodities.

The initiative of establishing this integrated programme for commodities came from the developing countries, and it was first formally written into the Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New Economic Order adopted at the Sixth Special Session of the U.N. General Assembly in 1974. In accordance with a provision of the Programme of Action, the UNCTAD Secretariat drew up a draft integrated programme for commodities, on which no agreement has to date been reached after repeated debates because of superpower opposition. The Soviet revisionists pretended to support the draft but were actually against it. They said "stockpiles cannot solve the question of market stability," that the integrated programme "still has no prospect of reaching agreement," etc. The United States called for the conclusion of individual commodity agreements and for setting up an "international resources bank," etc., in opposition to the integrated programme for commodities. The third world countries strongly demanded giving effect to the related provisions of the Sixth Special Session of the U.N. General Assembly. They opposed the obstructions and sabotage by the superpowers and proposed to reach an agreement in principle on the integrated programme at the current Fourth UNCTAD Session.

Developing Countries Combat Maritime Hegemony

THE Third U.N. Law of the Sea Conference held its fourth session in New York from March 15 to May 7. A follow-up of the Geneva session last year, it was attended by 5,000 representatives from 150 countries and regions as well as many international organizations.

During the session, many small and medium-sized countries demanded that a new law of the sea to protect the sovereignty and national economic interests of all countries be formulated, and they launched struggles against the two superpowers when the Informal Single Negotiation Text was discussed clause by clause. The superpower flaunting the signboard of "socialism," bent on defending its vested interest in maritime domination, dropped its mask as a "natural ally" of the developing countries. More truculent and greedy than the other superpower, the Soviet Union once more revealed its true social-imperialist nature before the world's people, playing the role of a teacher by negative example.

Clinging to the old law of the sea, the two superpowers in recent years have obstructed by hook or by crook the birth of a new one. During the session, the United States still insisted that the exclusive economic zone be part of the high seas. The Soviet Union on its part opposed more flagrantly the nucleus of the new law of the sea, namely, the exclusive nature of the 200-nautical-mile exclusive economic zone. Chiming in with the United States, it insolently demanded that the word "exclusive" be deleted from all the clauses in the negotiating text which stipulates that coastal countries have exclusive jurisdiction over their exclusive economic zones. In other words, the Soviet Union wanted to continue to do what it likes in the exclusive economic zones of coastal countries, thus depriving them of the substance of their jurisdiction over these zones.

When the clause on the system of innocent passage through territorial waters came up for discussion, the Soviet Union, singing the same tune as the other superpower, asked for "free navigation" in the territorial waters of other countries. The purpose was to have its warships plying freely their territorial seas without having to inform them or get their approval beforehand.

Ignoring the inviolable sovereignty of strait countries, the Soviet Union truculently demanded "the right of free transit passage" for all vessels in order that its warships can go prowling in all the big oceans to intimidate other countries in its rivalry for hegemony with the other superpower.

The Soviet delegation was adamant on its unreasonable demand that in fixing the catch allowance within the exclusive economic zones, the coastal states should heed the "suggestions" of the International Fishing Organization and those foreign countries that used to fish in these zones. It also insisted that foreign fishing vessels should be allowed to catch the "rest of the stock" left over by the coastal states.

The same social-imperialist power vainly attempted to repudiate the principle laid down by the U.N. General Assembly at its 1970 session that international seabed resources are the common legacy of mankind, and asserted that international seabed belongs to "contracting countries," denying the right of the peoples still fighting for national independence and liberation to share the legacy.

In collusion with the other superpower, the Soviet Union doggedly objected to the effective control of international seabed by an international administering body. Its representative went so far as to tell the meeting that in Russian vocabulary there is hardly an exact equivalent of the word "control."

Voicing the same opinion as the other superpower, the Soviet Union vigorously advocated the "freedom of scientific research in the oceans," insisting that approval by the coastal country is not needed if the research is alleged to be unrelated to maritime resources. The aim is to arrogate to itself the freedom to carry out illegitimate activities in the coastal waters within the jurisdiction of some developing countries.

On the question of preventing maritime pollution, it joined the other superpower in trying to limit the right of the coastal countries, and one-sidedly emphasized the administering right of a flag country. What these two superpowers wanted is to be left free to pollute marine environment.

(Continued on p. 23.)

Messages of Greetings to Premier Hua Kuo-feng

Message From Guinean President Toure

Hua Kuo-feng,

First Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China

On the occasion of your appointment as First Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China, I have the pleasure to extend to you my warmest congratulations on behalf of the Guinean people, their party and state and on my own behalf. While reiterating to you that we will do our best to strengthen the relations existing so happily between our two countries, I beg you to accept my wishes for your health and a long life so that you may be able to perform successfully the important duties entrusted to you by the friendly Chinese people.

High consideration,

(Signed) Ahmed Sekou Toure

General Secretary of the Guinea Democratic Party and President of the Republic of Guinea

Message From Venezuelan President Perez

His Excellency Mr. Hua Kuo-feng,
Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China,

Peking

Please allow me to extend, on behalf of the National Government and in my own name, cordial congratulations to Your Excellency on the occasion of your appointment as Premier of the People's Republic of China. On this occasion I wish the Chinese people peace and progress.

Carlos Andres Perez

President of the Republic of Venezuela

Caracas, April 21, 1976

Message From Guyanan Prime Minister Burnham

His Excellency Hua Kuo-feng,
Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China

It gives me great pleasure to send to you this message of congratulation on the occasion of your accession to the posts of Premier and First Vice-Chairman of the Communist Party of the People's Republic of China. Please accept on behalf of the party, the people and the Government of Guyana our sincerest wishes for the continued progress and prosperity of your people and our hopes for the strengthening of the bonds of friendship and co-operation between Guyana and China.

Linden Forbes Burnham

Prime Minister of the Co-operative Republic of Guyana

April 21, 1976

Message From Austrian Chancellor Kreisky

His Excellency Mr. Hua Kuo-feng,
Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China,

Peking

On the occasion of your appointment as Premier of the People's Republic of China, on behalf of the Federal Government of Austria and in my own name, I extend to Your Excellency the best wishes for your success in your post of important responsibilities.

Bruno Kreisky

Chancellor of the Republic of Austria

Vienna, April 23, 1976

Message From Iraqi Vice-Chairman Hussein

Saddam Hussein, Vice-Chairman of the Revolutionary Command Council of the Republic of Iraq, has sent a message to Premier Hua Kuo-feng, most sincerely

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congratulating him on his appointment as Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China.

The message said: "On the occasion of your appointment as Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China, I have the pleasure to extend to you my most sincere greetings. Wish you success in your new mission, and the relations between the Republic of Iraq and the People's Republic of China incessant reinforcement and development."

Message From Chadian President Malloum

His Excellency Hua Kuo-feng,

First Vice-Chairman of the Central
Committee of the Communist Party
of China,

Peking

We learnt with great satisfaction of your appointment to important offices of First Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China. On this occasion, I have the honour to extend to you, in the name of the Chadian people, the Supreme Military Council, the Provisional Government and in my own name, our warm and sincere congratulations. Knowing well about the sufferings of foreign occupation, the Chadian people are following with interest the valiant Chinese people's struggle

against underdevelopment, a struggle in which they will soon win complete victory.

Highest consideration,

General Felix Malloum
Ngakoutou Beyndi

President of the Supreme Military
Council and Head of State

N'Djamena, April 28, 1976

Message From Malaysian Prime Minister Onn

His Excellency Mr. Hua Kuo-feng,
Premier of the State Council of
the People's Republic of China,

Peking

On behalf of the Government of Malaysia and my own, I would like to extend to Your Excellency our warmest congratulations and best wishes on the occasion of Your Excellency's appointment as Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China. I am confident that under your able premiership the Government of the People's Republic of China will continue to achieve success and that the relations between our two countries will continue to progress.

Datuk Hussein Onn
Prime Minister

Kuala Lumpur, May 4, 1976

(Continued from p. 21.)

In the debate on the peaceful use of maritime space, the Soviet representative repeated the shopworn theme on "peace" and "disarmament" to cover up the feverish Soviet naval buildup in fierce contention with the other superpower.

The position of the Soviet representative at the meeting was strongly opposed by representatives of many small and medium-sized countries.

To thwart the machination of the superpowers to emasculate the substantial content of the exclusive economic zone, the representative of Peru proposed that the new law of the sea lay down that foreign vessels passing through exclusive economic zones must not resort to use or threat of force against the sovereignty, security and political independence of coastal countries. The representative of Romania proposed that an explicit stipulation prohibiting military activities be added to the clause on the peaceful use of seabed. Many strait countries maintained that foreign warships before passing through the straits within their territorial waters must notify them or obtain their permission in advance.

The representative of Yugoslavia stated that the so-called "freedom of scientific research" in the high

seas as proposed by the Soviet representative was unacceptable; it was merely a new term coined by himself. The representative of Ghana also sternly denounced the Soviet maritime hegemony.

Refuted down to the last point, the Soviet representative could say nothing in his own support. He complained that he had scarcely seen such an international conference which indulged in political debate instead of discussing legal stipulations. Representatives of the developing nations said well when they pointed out that making of the law of the sea was no technical matter but a political struggle in the first place. Fundamentally speaking, they noted, the problem of the law of the sea is one of safeguarding the sovereignty, security and national resources of the numerous small and medium-sized countries, a problem of combating the marine hegemonism of the superpowers. This is a serious political struggle. In trying to prevent the conference from discussing political matters, this superpower, they declared, was out to prevent the small and medium-sized countries from exposing its hegemonic deeds — aggression, plunder, intimidation and bullying. This scheme will never succeed. Propelled by the united efforts of the many small and medium-sized countries against hegemonism, a new law of the sea will certainly come into being in the course of struggle.

The Brezhnev Renegade Clique Damages Soviet Agriculture

In the vast countryside of the Soviet Union, land resources have been seriously damaged, crops have declined and the peasants' living standards are going from bad to worse. These are the inevitable evil results of the all-round restoration of capitalism in the country by the Soviet revisionist renegade clique, which has stopped at nothing to grab maximum profits in the rural areas.

The following three articles expose how the clique has brought this about.

Land Resources Seriously Spoiled

AFTER usurping political power, the Khrushchov-Brezhnev clique has thrown Soviet agricultural production into an increasingly grave crisis. To extricate itself from the predicament in grain production, this clique has resorted to land reclamation. Vast areas of wasteland were opened up in Kazakhstan, Siberia, the Ural, areas along the Volga River and some regions in north Caucasus. Brezhnev has on many occasions bragged about the "results" of land reclamation in Kazakhstan, alleging that it has "rejuvenated" Kazakhstan and brought about "radical changes in economy, culture and the complexion of this vast region."

But facts are the very reverse. The living cover in the steppe of the newly reclaimed areas has been gravely damaged as a result of the Soviet revisionists' policy of land reclamation, which is aimed at grabbing grain for the year without paying attention to capital construction on the farms. This is a capitalist method of management, namely, draining a pond to catch all the fish.

Dust Storms

The Soviet journal *Agricultural Economy* admitted that dust storms have been caused "mainly by the shortage of ordinary and field-protecting forests and by the unsatisfactory conditions and distribution of existing shelter belts." Another Soviet journal *Our Contemporary* disclosed in its 12th issue last year that dust storms occur "more frequently indeed" in the country and have almost become "ordinary phenomena." "Beginning from 1969, nearly every spring there has been wind erosion," it added.

The Soviet press reported that two dust storms in the spring of 1960 swept the vast southern part of the great Russian plain and more than 4 million hectares of spring crops in reclaimed areas were affected. In 1963 dust storms affected a larger area than in 1960. The af-

fects cultivated land in the reclaimed areas in Kazakhstan came to 20 million hectares. A dust storm in 1969 destroyed in a few days all the wheat on 820,000 hectares in Krasnodar, Stavropol and Rostov. The Soviet publication *Moscow* admitted: "Dust storms sweep over all reclaimed land in Kazakhstan every year."

The Brezhnev clique's militarization of the national economy has resulted in a shortage of funds for capital construction of farmland. Its management policy of "profit comes first" has led the leading members of collective and state farms to confine their attention to immediate interests at the expense of farmland protection.

Water Erosion

Construction of new water conservancy projects has become sluggish in recent years while existing establishments have been rapidly out of commission owing to lack of maintenance. According to obviously doctored data released by official Soviet quarters, every year, the newly increased irrigated acreage accounted for only 0.4 per cent of the total arable land of the country, while the rejected irrigated land was equal to one-sixth of the increase. Woods have been felled at random in many places. As a result, soil erosion has become more serious year after year. The journal *Agricultural Economy* in its 8th issue last year reported that in Azerbaijan alone, "48 million tons of fertile soil are washed away every year . . . 3.3 million hectares of land are eroded. It is not difficult to conceive what great losses erosion has brought to the national economy in Azerbaijan."

Take the Don River basin in the Russian Federative Republic. "In Rostov, water erosion brings longer and more serious damage than wind erosion," according to a report by *Our Contemporary* in its 12th issue last year. "The arable land decreases by 8,000 hectares every year in the Don River basin as a result of the washing away of soil" and "the losses caused by water loss and soil erosion in the Don River basin amount to 40 million rubles every year," it noted.

The journal *Moscow* also revealed that "more and more ravines have appeared" owing to water erosion, and that "in the Ukraine about one million hectares of land are criss-crossed with many ravines. In the Russian central black-soil belt, the average length of ravines per square kilometre is 580 metres and, in Kursk and Orel Regions, 700 metres."

Land Turning Alkaline

Since the Soviet revisionist renegade clique usurped political power, vast tracts of fertile Soviet land have

become barren. *Agricultural Economy* in its 8th issue of 1975 disclosed that "owing to bad management fertile land in some areas is undergoing a process of erosion, becoming alkaline or turning into swamp land. Eventually the land becomes too poor to be used as arable land again." The journal also reported that in the Republics of Georgia, Azerbaijan and Armenia there were 9.6 million hectares of swamp, alkaline, wasted and erosive land and shrubbery in 1973, constituting 52 per cent of the total land area. It is reported that in Volgograd of the Russian Federative Republic erosive and alkaline land accounts for over 80 per cent of the arable land.

According to the fifth issue of *Agricultural Economy* last year, in Vietebsk Region of Byelorussia 361,000 hectares of arable land were overgrown with shrubs, constituting 20 per cent of the total arable land. In a state farm of this region, "all the arable land has become wild, swampy and full of shrubs and rocks." The *Moscow* revealed that one-third of the farmland in the Ukraine has turned poor as a result of water erosion. Thirty-one thousand hectares of fertile land in Rostov turned barren in the decade of 1961-70.

Arable Land Shrinking

The acreage of Soviet arable and grazing land decreases year after year as more and more farmland lies waste. The Soviet press has to admit that "owing to various causes, arable land in some areas has kept shrinking." Because of "neglect and violating elementary rules of utilization, large stretches of natural grazing land and grassland are covered with shrubs, dunes and swamps." *Agricultural Economy* disclosed in its 8th issue last year that "arable land in Georgia, Azerbaijan and Armenia decreased by 961,900 hectares, or 9.8 per cent in 1973 as compared with 1950; and cultivated land by 676,400 hectares, or 22 per cent. In this respect, the problem in Georgia is more serious. In the same period, its cultivated land contracted by 486,400 hectares, or 41.1 per cent."

The damage done to land resources affects grain production. It is precisely in Kazakhstan where Brezhnev once took charge of land reclamation, that harvests have fallen for three years running since 1972 and grain output in 1975 was down 60 per cent compared with 1972.

Ruthless Oppression and Exploitation of Peasants

THE Soviet revisionist renegade clique, cashing in on the position and power it has usurped, plunders at will the fruits of labour of collective farm members and state farm workers and staff.

Policy of High Procurement Rate

In the last 20 years or so, the Soviet revisionists have all along enforced the policy of procuring large

quantities of grain produced by collective and state farms. Figures published by Soviet authorities in recent years show that in the period of Khrushchov's rule, grain procurement usually stood at 30 to 40 per cent of the yearly output. After usurping state power, Brezhnev denounced Khrushchov's policy as "sabotaging the economy of collective and state farms." However, the procurement rate under his own "system of procurement on fixed scale" and above-plan purchase is really much higher than it was under Khrushchov and is steadily increasing. Between 1965 and 1974, the average annual rate of procurement was 24 per cent higher than in the previous ten years.

During the period of 1971-74, the Brezhnev clique, by means of its procurement system, grabbed 47.1 per cent of the grain, 66 per cent of the meat and 56 per cent of the milk produced by the broad masses of labouring people through hard work. Its plunder of non-Russian areas is even more ruthless. For instance, nearly 58 per cent of the average annual output of grain of Kazakhstan was "procured" from 1971 to 1975.

Yawning Gap

The Brezhnev clique has since 1965 enforced "the new economic system" centring on profit. Seeking the maximum profits, the bureaucrat-monopoly bourgeoisie has kept raising the prices of industrial products, thus accelerating the scissors movement of prices between industrial and agricultural products and stepping up its exploitation of peasants. Soviet journals reported that in recent years the prices of machinery, fuel, fertilizer and other industrial products used in agricultural production have all gone up considerably. For example, from 1965 to 1973, the prices of gasoline and diesel oil in some areas rose by 30 to 124 per cent. The price of chemical fertilizer shot up 25 per cent; fodder, 60 per cent; and tractor trailers, 80 per cent. The price of tractor spare parts went up by as much as 550 per cent. The collective farms in the Russian Federative Republic alone spent an additional sum of 800 million rubles in production costs per year owing to the spiralling prices of industrial products. Expenditures for the repair and maintenance of agricultural machinery also increased considerably. A Soviet journal admitted that the repair fees for a tractor during its life-span greatly surpass the price of a new one. The production costs of Soviet agricultural produce, as a result, grow higher and higher. The Soviet journal *Agricultural Economy* revealed in its fourth issue last year that from 1965 to 1973, the increment rate of production cost for the collective and state farms in the Soviet Union outstripped that of their output value by 44 per cent.

Turnover Tax

Turnover tax is another instrument which the Soviet bureaucrat-monopoly bourgeoisie uses to plunder the peasantry. Under Khrushchov's rule, an annual turnover tax of 20,000 million rubles was levied on the

peasants. The tax rose to over 36,000 million rubles in 1974, an increase of 80 per cent in a decade.

These are only some of the methods used by the Brezhnev clique to plunder the Soviet peasantry. There are still other exorbitant taxes, miscellaneous levies and various kinds of exploitation which it imposes.

Mercilessly fleeced by the Brezhnev clique, many collective and state farms are up to their necks in debt. The Soviet press disclosed that in the last few years about 40 per cent of the state farms have been running at a loss, 33 per cent of the collective farms are "economically weak" with 90 per cent of them in debt. According to *The Yearbook of National Economy of the Soviet Union for 1974*, the total amount of debt incurred by collective farms up to that year reached 17,100 million rubles, or 6.3 times that of 1960. In terms of the population of all collective farms in the country, every member owed a debt of 1,091 rubles in 1974, which cannot be repaid even with a member's annual income. Collective farm members and staff and workers of state farms are heavily in debt, receive a meagre income and lead a miserable life. The Soviet press admits that about 30 million people in the countryside find it difficult to maintain the lowest living standards.

The Brezhnev clique's ruthless exploitation inevitably has aroused strong resentment and resistance among the Soviet peasantry. The exodus of the labouring people from the countryside, particularly the young people, is a manifestation of this resistance. The resultant serious shortage of farm labourers is one of the important reasons for the decline of Soviet agriculture and repeated crop failures.

Output Down at Home, Rush For Goods Abroad

ABOUT half the collective and state farms in the Soviet Union failed to fulfil their plans for selling potatoes and vegetables to the state in the past five years as a result of the bankruptcy of the ninth five-year plan, according to the Soviet magazine *Procurement of Farm Products* in this year's third issue.

Potato, Vegetable Selling Plans Collapse

One of the magazine articles says that the average annual output of potatoes, known as "the second bread" of the Soviet Union, in the 1971-75 period dropped 5 per cent, or more than 4.7 million tons, below the previous five-year plan period (1966-70). As potatoes produced by "collective farms, state farms and other state-run units" "failed to meet the demand," the "state has had to purchase large quantities of potatoes from residents at a high price."

Even this has been of no avail, as disclosed by an article in the magazine's first issue. In the Estonian Republic, the article said, though a policy of purchasing good potatoes at a high price has been carried out since 1968, the output still has not increased.

The Soviet magazine admits in its third issue that "the low production in a number of republics, territories, regions and districts . . . has led to the failure of a fairly large number of collective and state farms to fulfil their plans of selling potatoes and vegetables to the state." About 50 per cent of collective and state farms in the Soviet Union failed to fulfil their plans for selling potatoes to the state in the past five years. In the Russian Federative Republic — the biggest of the republics — such collective and state farms constitute about 70 per cent of the total. Fifty-three of the 67 regions, territories and autonomous republics in the republic have failed to fulfil their potato purchasing plans.

What about vegetable purchasing in the Soviet Union? According to *Procurement of Farm Products* on the average, the collective and state farms that have failed to fulfil their annual plans for vegetable delivery to the state in the same period accounted for more than 50 per cent of the total vegetable-growing farms. About 67 per cent of such collective and state farms in the Russian Federative Republic and more than 77 per cent of those in the Kazakh republic are in this situation.

Sugar Beet Output Drops, Sugar Imports Increase

According to Soviet official figures, in the ninth five-year plan period (1971-75), sugar beet output in the Soviet Union dropped far below the planned quota, with shortfalls occurring in three of the five years. Compared with the previous year, the drop was 8 per cent in 1971, and 10 per cent in 1974 and 15 per cent in 1975. The 1975 output, 30 per cent below the quota laid down in the ninth five-year plan, was the lowest in the country since 1963, or 18 per cent less than in 1964, the year when Brezhnev came to power.

The purchase plan for sugar beet has not been fulfilled in recent years owing to crop failures. The Soviet journal *Agricultural Economy* had to admit last year that "the required purchase figure (for sugar beet) has not been met for several years in a row." In the four years ending 1974, the actual amount of sugar beet purchased was 15 per cent less than that set in the original plan. The purchase work last year was a mess.

It is against this background that the Soviet Union has to go to international markets for sugar. Moscow has begun to import sugar from other countries than Cuba whose sugar exports to the Soviet Union, though in large quantities, are not enough to fill the gap resulting from the reduced output of recent years.

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COMMENTARIES

Will to Independence Not to Be Stifled

POLAND'S modern history which has a tragic record of invasion and seizure of territory by foreign powers, is also replete with glorious deeds in unyielding, heroic popular resistance. The televising of a historical play *The May 3 Constitution* on May 3 this year was an occasion for the Polish people to refresh their memory of a chapter in their country's history. One hundred and eighty-five years ago, the Polish nation rose to fight the aggrandizement of tsarist Russia. It was a resolute act to safeguard their independence and sovereignty without the slightest intention of succumbing to outside intervention.

The Constitution of May 3 was a patriotic constitution adopted by the Polish Sejm (parliament) on that day in 1791 when Poland, following its first partition by Russia, Prussia and Austria, was in danger of a second partition, this time engineered by tsarist Russia. Prompted by popular demand, the Sejm decided to build a national army and establish a state power to preserve the country's independence while adopting this constitution of independence to replace the old "basic law" imposed on Poland by tsarina Yekaterina (Catherine II). One year after the birth of the constitution, tsarist Russia sent an army of 100,000 to invade Poland. The Polish people fought back valiantly, writing a glorious page in the annals of modern Poland. Today, more than a century after, when Poland is being pushed around by the new tsars, the performance of this historical play was an indication, though in a roundabout way, that the will of the Polish people — their ardent love for the homeland, their longing for independence and their determination to oppose alien enslavement — would brook no stifling.

It may be recalled that *Forefather's Eve*, a famous lyrical play by the patriot and poet Adam Mickiewicz was put on the stage in Poland in 1968. As in *The May 3 Constitution*, the tsars stand indicted for their brutal rule and ruthless persecution of the Poles during the partition of Poland in the 18th century. The play gives expression to the Polish people's desire to resist foreign invasion and fight for national independence. *Forefather's Eve* was soon banned as a result of unwarranted Soviet interference, but its performance was revived in 1973 by popular demand, putting Moscow's new tsars in a most awkward position.

Last February, the people in Poland waged another fierce struggle against Soviet hegemonism around the question of the amending of the constitution by the Sejm. They were dead against having a clause saying that "Poland will be for ever loyal to its alliance with the Soviet Union" included in the new constitu-

tion. They wanted the Polish authorities not to forget the "tragic experience" of the partition of Poland on three historical occasions. Firm will and strong pressure of the Polish people finally led to adoption of the new Polish Constitution without the clause stipulating an official alliance with Soviet revisionism. There was only a general statement on so-called "friendship and co-operation" with Moscow. All this makes clear that the Soviet revisionists, despite their massive military presence on Polish soil and their long years of intervention and control in many ways, have nevertheless failed to suppress the Polish strong resolve to defend their independence. The staging of the historical play *The May 3 Constitution* which has struck a common chord among the vast Polish audience furnishes another illuminating proof.

Tricksters' Dilemma

IRREVERSIBILITY of detente," "general and complete disarmament" and such like invariably preached and written into its resolutions by the Soviet Union in the past have all of a sudden made themselves scarce in its May Day slogans this year. This cannot but make people sit up and take notice.

As is well known, the Soviet social-imperialists have lauded "detente" to the skies, alleging that detente is "all-embracing" and "the only alternative" and that "all nations will benefit from detente." They actually present "detente" as a panacea. But in the slogans this year, they have seen fit to alter it into a mouthful: "endeavours to embody detente in the concrete form of mutual co-operation among nations with different social systems." Whereas in the past the language was strong and unambiguous and "irreversibility" was the term they used, the wording today such as "endeavours" is at best equivocal. Obviously, Moscow's stepped-up expansion and infiltration and the dispatch of mercenaries to fight in Africa under the pretext of "detente" have made its job of selling the so-called "irreversibility of detente" increasingly difficult. Therefore, the only alternative is to change the wording so as to continue pushing the social-imperialist expansionist policy.

Similarly, from Khrushchov to Brezhnev, so-called "general and complete disarmament" is a psalm they sing every day. To Khrushchov, "general and complete disarmament" was "the task of all tasks" aimed at "establishing on the globe a world without troops and arms"; to Brezhnev and his like, it is "the problem of all problems" and the "key to the settlement of all other international issues." They have been chanting this deceptive disarmament litany for more than 20 years. However, in real life, there is not even a shadow of disarmament and what people see is only general and complete arms expansion by the Soviet Union and a steady increase of Soviet overseas military bases in a bid for hegemony and expansion everywhere. The chanting of deceitful "general and complete disarmament" has few listeners, still less believers.

Today, Brezhnev and his like changed the slogan "general and complete disarmament" which has always been included in the May Day slogans every year into "moving towards reduction of stockpile of arms, towards disarmament." This change shows that in the face of increasingly sharper exposure of the frantic Soviet arms expansion and war preparations, the handful of

tricksters who peddle sham disarmament and go in for genuine arms expansion are in a dilemma since they want to reinforce their war machine and at the same time to continue to fool the people.

"Unless you cheat you won't sell — that is their motto." (Lenin: "The Results of the Arbitration of the 'Trustees.'") This is also the Soviet revisionists' motto.

(Continued from p. 5.)

and slaves and shattered the centuries-old shackles that had fettered the development of handicrafts and commerce in this region. After the democratic reform, handicraft workers, in warm response to Chairman Mao's call "**Get organized,**" formed mutual-aid teams and production increased rapidly. During the Great Cultural Revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, they criticized in a deep-going way the counter-revolutionary revisionist line of Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao and the crimes committed by the Dalai traitorous clique against the people, the motherland and socialism. With their consciousness of class struggle and the two-line struggle heightened and with soaring socialist enthusiasm, the handicraft workers were eager to form producers' co-operatives and take the road of common prosperity. Generous financial, material and technological help were rendered by the state. By the end of 1975, the whole autonomous region had basically achieved co-operation and formed some 400 handicraft co-ops in 28 trades including woollen textiles, leather, tanning, tailoring and the making of iron and wooden ware, pottery and cooking utensils. At the same time, the socialist transformation of private commerce was carried out, and the pedlars were all organized to take the road of serving socialism.

The swift realization of co-operation in handicrafts and private commerce reflects the strong desire of the masses to take the socialist road

under the leadership of the Party. In high morale, the craftsmen are advancing in big strides along the road of collectivization. Many factories and co-operatives have formed three-in-one technical innovation groups made up of workers, cadres and technicians and are boldly and ingeniously remodelling tools and equipment and improving working processes and techniques. They are advancing towards semi-mechanization and full mechanization. The liberation of the productive forces and improvement in techniques have rapidly increased the production of articles of all kinds and improved their quality. The variety of handicraft products in the autonomous region last year was 2.5 times as many as before the setting up of co-operatives in 1965 while the total output value increased 2.28-fold. A great number of former slaves and impoverished serfs has become cadres and technical backbone forces at the grass-roots level and many of them have been admitted into the Communist Party. All handicraft co-operatives have set up Party organizations and revolutionary committees (or revolutionary leading groups) as well as trade unions, Communist Youth League organizations and militia, security and women's organizations. This has further strengthened the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Spring Export Fair Ends

China's 1976 Spring Export Commodities Fair closed in Kwangchow

on May 15. The fair was the 39th since its inception in 1957. It was held on the eve of the tenth anniversary of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and in an excellent situation in which the struggle against the Right deviationist attempt to reverse the correct verdict has won great victory.

The month-long fair received a total of 24,000 visitors — friends from more than 100 countries and regions, overseas Chinese, Taiwan compatriots residing abroad and compatriots from Hongkong and Macao. The number of businessmen who came to negotiate trade contracts was greater than in any previous fair. The volume of transaction surpassed that of the last spring fair. At the latest fair China undertook to import material and equipment needed for the country's socialist construction. The fair's complete success has forcefully repudiated the slanders and distortion by enemies at home and abroad in regard to China's foreign trade policy and excellent situation.

Visitors to the fair viewed the varied and colourful exhibits including models and photos showing the achievements of a number of advanced units in industry and agriculture as well as in the realm of the superstructure. They also took time out to visit a number of factories and rural people's communes. What they saw eloquently shows that the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is a powerful impetus to the development of China's social productive forces.

ROUND THE WORLD

CAPITALIST COUNTRIES

Serious Unemployment

In the capitalist countries, where unemployment is serious and the people are impoverished, the working people are struggling in various ways against the shift of the burden of economic crisis on to them by the monopoly capitalists.

The United States. Official unemployment figure in the last 12 months hovered around 7.5 million, with a jobless rate reaching an all time high since 1941. In the first quarter of this year, the average unemployment rate was over 7.5 per cent, which was far greater than that of 4.7 per cent at the beginning of the crisis in November 1973. The number of the unemployed would come to about 15 million inclusive of the semi-employed, plus those who have been out of jobs for so long that they have stopped looking for work altogether.

The problem is especially serious among the young people under 20, whose jobless rate, as was disclosed by *Arizona Republic* on April 13, remains to this day above 19 per cent. "Economists," the journal reported, "see no sign that it will drop below that for the next five years." For young blacks the rate is 34 per cent, or one out of every three is jobless; in some cities it has even topped the 50 per cent mark.

Western Europe. Unemployment in some countries has been on the rise. An E.E.C. report issued at the end of March stated that in four of its nine member countries, the number of the unemployed was well over one million. In Britain, it was 1.2 million in the first quarter of this year, the highest postwar figure. A British government official admitted that unemployment, as a "deepseated" problem, "is extremely high and likely to rise even higher over the next few months."

Women make up a fairly large proportion in the number of the unemployed: over 530,000 in West

Germany, or about 39 per cent of the total (1.34 million); upwards of 510,000 in France, or 50 per cent of the total (1.01 million); more than 430,000 in Italy, or 37 per cent of the total (1.16 million).

Japan. Unemployment went up from 540,000 in December 1973 to 1.24 million last February, the highest monthly figure since the beginning of the crisis. A survey made by the Labour Ministry indicated a 30 per cent increase in the number of "furloughed" old workers above the age of 55.

Daily Impoverishment of the Labouring People. Alongside mounting unemployment, there have been continued price hikes resulting in a further decline of the workers' real income. In the United States, the number of people living below the official "poverty line" registered a 5.6 per cent increase in 1975 over the previous year, reaching 24.3 million, or 12 per cent of the whole population. Of the huge contingent of the unemployed in the country, only upwards of five million were entitled to meagre unemployment compensation payments. By the end of 1975, however, there were more than one million people who, still out of jobs, found their unemployment benefits having run out. Meanwhile, one-quarter of the aged people live below the poverty line and lead a very miserable life in their later years. Conditions in Western Europe and Japan and some other major capitalist countries are more or less the same. Britain has about one million old people living in poverty. In Tokyo after dark, groups of unemployed workers roam about the streets or subway stations seeking a night's shelter.

The Workers Fight Back. Workers and other labouring people in many capitalist countries, who can no longer stand the exploitation and oppression, have, since the beginning of the year, continuously staged strikes, held demonstrations and meetings indignantly protesting against the shift of the burden of

economic crisis on to them by the monopoly capitalists and voicing their opposition to unemployment and soaring prices. In face of the serious economic and social problems, the ruling class in these countries are filled with apprehension.

PORTUGUESE COMMUNIST PARTY (M-L)

Fifth Plenary Session Of Central Committee

The 6th Central Committee of the Communist Party of Portugal (M-L) held its 5th Plenary Session on March 31, according to *Unidade Popular*, organ of the Party.

After a discussion at the session of the political situation in the country, the Party's Central Committee held that "the current situation is very favourable to the development of democratic forces and destruction of social-imperialist and social-fascist forces in our country. The Central Committee called upon Party members to make still greater efforts to unite all forces that can be united with and combat the new tsars in the Kremlin, the arch enemy of mankind today, and their running dogs."

The Party's Central Committee called on the Party members to work with might and main for the establishment of a broad national and democratic front.

The Central Committee has decided on the convocation of the Party's 7th Congress this year. "The Central Committee has decided to issue a call for unity to individual communists and those who have formed themselves into communist groups, and to discuss and establish with them as soon as possible the political basis for the realization of unity and make the 7th Congress part of the general effort to unify Portuguese Marxist-Leninists."

The Central Committee of the Portuguese Communist Party (M-L) held that only when unity is strengthened among Portuguese Marxist-Leninists and when they have formed themselves into a united force, can the struggle to combat revisionism, defend Marxism-Leninism and win national independence, democracy and socialism be pushed forward.

Moscow's New Tricks

The Soviet Union's tactics to profit itself at the expense of India in trade with the latter have proved to be increasingly impracticable. This was revealed most clearly in the course of negotiating the 1976-80 long-term trade agreement signed recently between the two countries.

Despite India's painstaking efforts over the past year, the new five-year trade accord, signed on April 15, has added few commodity items to be exchanged between the two countries. India's demand for increased imports of such urgently needed items as kerosene, chemical fertilizers, non-ferrous metals and newsprint was turned down by the Soviet Union which prefers to sell them in the world market for convertible currencies. Likewise, the Soviet Union's urge to dump its

civil planes and cotton in India also met with disapproval.

For a long time, the Soviet Union has dumped a large amount of high-priced, poor-quality machinery and equipment in India in exchange for cheap primary goods, chiefly agricultural products. With opposition of the Indian public, the Soviet authorities, aware of the growing handicaps in continuing such a pattern of exploitation and plunder, have devised a so-called "production co-operation" to boost Indo-Soviet trade. In the eyes of the Soviets, this kind of "co-operation" means continued selling of Soviet machinery and equipment to India, opening factories there to take advantage of India's cheap labour and raw materials and sending the products back to the Soviet Union as repayment for its investment.

Referring to these new Soviet tactics, Indian papers have warned

against further Soviet encroachment on Indian interests. The *Hindustan Times* pointed out editorially on April 14: "This means a dovetailing of certain sectors of the two economies for meeting the Soviet Union's demand." The *Hindu* remarked in an editorial on April 17: "The Soviet willingness to set up projects in India, where labour is cheap, will be the application on the ground of the theory of 'division of labour' in relation to developing countries." "The imperial powers practised their own form of 'division of labour' in their colonies to the great detriment of regions which have now become the vast disarray of less developed countries. Much adroit handling is necessary," the paper said, "to ensure that the weaker partner does not once again become subject to economic exploitation."

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The Philippine paper *Times Journal* reported on March 13 that the Soviet Union in one go imported 400,000 tons of sugar from the Philippines recently. *The New York Times* reported on the same day that "the Soviet Union has made a long-expected purchase of sugar on the world market" and that it had booked 12 vessels to ship sugar home as quickly as possible.

Snapping Up Grain Sales

The Soviet Union bought more than 4.9 million metric tons of grain from the United States during the past week, according to a May 4 announcement of the U.S. Department of Agriculture.

Since April 28, the Soviet Union purchased 4.3 million metric tons of grain from three U.S. monopoly firms. On May 4, it contracted another 625,000 tons from a U.S. company, including 500,000 tons of corn and 125,000 tons of wheat. Thus Soviet purchases on the U.S. market added up to a total of 16.5 million metric tons of grain since last July. In addition, it has placed an order for about 2 million metric tons of U.S. grain to be delivered after October this year.

From Australia, the Soviet Union has arranged to buy one million tons of wheat worth about 130 million Australian dollars. This was announced on April 28 by Australian Wheat Board Chairman J.P. Cass. The Soviet Union, he said, bought one million tons from Australia in each of the past two seasons.

The Canadian Wheat Board announced on April 27 the sale of two million long tons of wheat to the

Soviet Union. The value of the sale was estimated at about 330 million Canadian dollars.

Rush for Beef and Mutton

Quoting information provided by personages of Japanese trade circles, *Nihon Keizai Shimbun* said on March 10 that one week ago the Soviet Union purchased through barter 40,000 tons of mutton worth some 33 million U.S. dollars from New Zealand. The Soviet Union is also rushing for beef from Australian markets. Owing to Soviet buying spree, prices on the meat export markets in both countries were sky-rocketing. Personages of Japanese trade circles said that Japan was purchasing mutton from New Zealand now at prices 10 per cent higher than two weeks ago and that the prices were expected to keep on soaring.

The journal pointed out, "people had expected a Soviet rush for meat on world markets following its large-scale purchase of grain last year. The U.S. Department of Agriculture calculated that the Soviet Union would import 300,000 tons of beef and mutton this year." Its substantial purchase of mutton from New Zealand now is but the "first step" in its planned rush on world markets for meat.

The journal stated: Japan planned to import 120,000 tons of mutton this year, half from New Zealand and half from Australia. Now that the Soviet Union has purchased 40,000 tons of mutton at one go, New Zealand with an export capacity of 65,000 tons this year has only 25,000 tons left for export to Japan and other countries. Even if Japan takes an inventory and cuts its imports, it still needs to import at least over 45,000 tons from New Zealand. Therefore, Japan will without doubt face a serious shortage of meat.

ON THE HOME FRONT

2,200-Year-Old Bamboo Slips With Inscriptions Unearthed

IN Yunmeng County, central China's Hupeh Province, some 1,000 bamboo slips dating back to the Chin Dynasty (221-207 B.C.) were found in a Chin tomb recently excavated by members of a people's commune while digging a ditch.

Preliminary studies show that the bamboo slips include a document drawn up by a governor of Nanchun Prefecture named Teng in 227 B.C., or the 20th year of the reign of Chin Shih Huang, founder of the Chin Dynasty who unified China for the first time; laws, acts and judicial cases of the Chin Dynasty; a book about "the way for officials"; a chronicle of major events and books on divination.

These bamboo slips of approximately 2,200 years ago are well-preserved and legible. Important new finds among the ancient historical relics of our country, they provide very important materials for studying the historical experience of the Chin Dynasty in following the Legalist line and exercising the dictatorship of the landlord class over the slave-owning class.

More than half of the bamboo slips bear inscriptions of a judicial nature. There are three laws of the Chin Dynasty which are the earliest ones known in China up to now. They

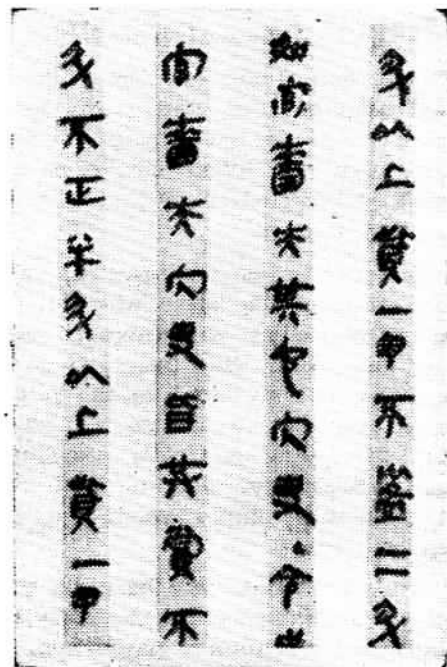
include questions and answers on laws and specific cases showing how court trials were conducted.

Law records on the bamboo slips are rich in content. For instance, the acts concerning the standardization of weights and measures list strict stipulations on punishments to be meted out to offenders. The "Law of the Former Chins" ("former Chins" refer to slave-owners who fled from the state of Chin to other states) provides that as rival states are taken over, the "former Chins" there must be severely punished as criminals, deprived of civil rights and forced to labour at building city walls. All this reflects the specific content of the Legalist line followed by Chin Shih Huang. The judicial cases contain detailed descriptions of court trials, investigations and forensic medicine, showing an already well-developed judicial system.

The most important finds are 14 bamboo slips bearing a document by governor Teng of Nanchun Prefecture, which shows the fierce struggle between restoration and counter-restoration in that region and Chin Shih Huang's determination in pushing the Legalist line and suppressing the restorationist forces of the slave-owning class. This is of practical significance for us to study the historical experience of the rising landlord class in exercising dictatorship over the slave-owning class after

winning political power, the history of the struggle between the Confucian and Legalist schools and the history of class struggle as a whole, and to continue to criticize Confucius.

A chronicle of major events inscribed on the bamboo slips records year by year all the wars waged by the State of Chin from the first year of the reign of King Chao

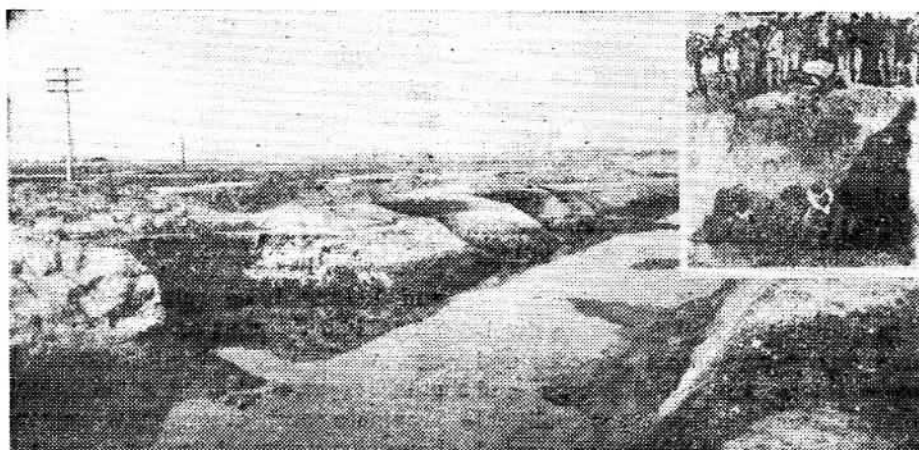


Part of the bamboo slips.

of the Chin Dynasty in 306 B.C. to the time of China's unification. Included is the biography of a man named Hsi born in 262 B.C. who held several posts in the judiciary and took part in the wars to unify the whole of China. The chronicle ends in the 30th year of the reign of Chin Shih Huang (217 B.C.), when Hsi was 46 years old. A skeleton found in the tomb is identified as a male of some 40 to 50 years of age. In all probability, it is the remains of Hsi who died in 217 B.C., for among the burial accessories found in the coffin are large numbers of bamboo slips dealing with judicial affairs.

Exquisite bronzes, pottery and painted lacquer ware as well as a writing brush with sheath were found in this tomb, in addition to the bamboo slips.

In previous archaeological excavations, very few tombs of the Chin Dynasty were precisely dated. This



The excavation site. Insert shows archaeologists at work.

is the first time that Chin Dynasty bamboo slips were discovered in China. The recent excavation furnishes important evidence for dating Chin tombs.

Now, further study is being made of these important bamboo slips which are preserved by scientific methods.

Housing Construction in The Countryside

NEW houses and new villages have been built in many rural people's communes and brigades. This has improved living conditions as well as the environment in China's countryside.

Most of the new villages are laid out in much the same way as the towns and cities, with compact residential areas. This facilitates production, is convenient to the peasants' everyday life, fits in well with the developing collective economy, and renders tree planting and environmental improvement much easier.

The new houses are built by the peasants themselves on the basis of expanded agricultural production.

A case in point is the Tachai Brigade in Hsiyang County, Shansi Province. The brigade's 90-odd households with a population of more than 400 cultivate 53 hectares of land. Before liberation it was an impoverished mountain hamlet where the peasants lived in loess caves or dilapidated cottages. Living and housing conditions improved after liberation, but a big flood in 1963 destroyed most of the farmland, cave-dwellings and houses. The brigade's Party branch led the commune members in rebuilding their village and fields and within a year the fields were restored and a rich harvest was brought in. The following three years saw the people of Tachai build a completely new village with 220 cave-dwellings of hewn stone and new brick-and-tile houses with 530 rooms. All the commune members now live in new dwellings.

Farm production in Hsiyang County where the Tachai Brigade is located has developed rapidly as a result

of learning from the Tachai Brigade. Grain output has gone up by big margins and living standards have risen. On this basis the county began building new villages. Of the more than 410 production brigades in the county, 30 have changed beyond recognition, 200 have undergone initial transformation and 100 production brigades now have piped water, while over 90 per cent of the production brigades have electric lighting.

To transform the farmland and facilitate ploughing by tractors, some production brigades and teams have merged formerly scattered natural villages into larger new villages. The Houtun Production Brigade of the Tatun Commune in Hopei Province's Shenhsien County on the north China plain carried out large-scale farmland capital construction, digging ditches, levelling the land, building roads, planting trees and transforming 200 hectares of farmland into 40 square plots that give stable yields despite drought or excessive rain. Its per-hectare grain yield rose from 750 kilogrammes in 1958 to 6,500 kilogrammes in 1975. After eight years' efforts, the brigade had by the end of 1975 built new houses with more than 760 rooms for 62 per cent of its households.

In the Houtun Brigade today, there are neat and orderly rows of residential quarters, office and farm buildings—all concentrated in separate areas with the service trades buildings and the brigade headquarters in the centre. The various teams' threshing grounds, pigsties and animal sheds are to the north of the village close to the fields, making transport easy and economizing on manpower. The brigade's power-operated pumping stations and tractor station are on either side of the main road, all easy of access. The living quarters, all facing the sun, are in the southern part of the village where it is quieter.

In addition to building more dwellings, many production brigades and teams have put up libraries and reading rooms as well as political evening schools. All this has created favourable conditions for promoting

cultural and educational development in the countryside and consolidating the collective economy.

Transistor Radio Production

TRANSISTOR radio production in China has developed by leaps and bounds in recent years. The 1975 output was over 11 times as high as in 1965, the year before the start of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, and the variety of models went up from some 40 to 370. Increase in the production of those for popular use was accompanied by the development of a number of high-standard radios.

A recent comparison and test of transistor radios produced in different parts of the country shows a marked rise in quality, with overall improvement in structure and appearance, and many brands have reached high quality standards. Nanking's "Panda," Shanghai's "Spring Thunder" and "Red Lantern" and Peking's "Peony," which are warmly acclaimed in both domestic and foreign markets, have further bettered their quality. Noticeably better quality of components and parts has helped raise the quality of transistor radios and lower production costs. On the basis of cost reduction, commercial departments have on several occasions cut down retail prices. Consequently the number of sets owned in both cities and countryside has doubled since 1970.

China began making transistor sets in 1953 and had achieved remarkable progress by 1958. Great headway has been made during the Great Cultural Revolution and there are now 150-odd transistor radio factories in 29 provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions. By contrast, China had only 22 enterprises of this kind in 13 provinces and municipalities before the Great Cultural Revolution began. Old transistor radio factories in Shanghai, Kiangsu Province, Tientsin and Peking have raised output by 7.2 to 14.6 times as against ten years ago, while newly built factories in other areas, including some remote provinces and autonomous regions, have also achieved great successes in recent years.