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FRIENDSHIP NOTES
CHAIRMAN Mao Tsetung on the morning of October 8 met with Dzemal Bijedic, President of the Federal Executive Council of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, his wife Razija Bijedic and other distinguished Yugoslav guests accompanying him on his visit to China.

Present at the meeting were members of President Dzemal Bijedic's party: Mara Radic, Member of the Federal Executive Council and President of the Committee of War Veterans and the Invalids of War; Emil Ludviger, Member of the Federal Executive Council and Federal Secretary for Foreign Trade; Lazar Mojsov, Deputy-Federal Secretary for Foreign Affairs; Milojko Drulovic, Yugoslav Ambassador to China; Lt. General Nikola Pejnovic, Assistant Chief of General Staff of the Yugoslav People's Army; and Nikola Cicanovic, Foreign Affairs Adviser to the President of the Federal Executive Council.

Chairman Mao shook hands with President Dzemal Bijedic, his wife and the other distinguished Yugoslav guests at the meeting and extended a warm welcome to them for their visit to China. Chairman Mao then had a friendly conversation with President Dzemal Bijedic in a cordial atmosphere.

Present were Vice-Premier Teng Hsiao-ping, Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs Wang Hai-jung and Deputy Department Director of the Foreign Ministry Tang Wensheng.
President Bijedic Visits China

Dzemal Bijedic, President of the Federal Executive Council of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, arrived in Peking on October 6 for an official friendly visit to China at the invitation of Premier Chou En-lai.

On behalf of Premier Chou, Vice-Premier Teng Hsiao-ping was at the airport to welcome President and Madame Bijedic and the other distinguished Yugoslav guests. Also present were Vice-Chairmen of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress Wu Teh and Tan Chen-lin, Vice-Premier Wang Chen and several thousand people in the capital. A grand welcome ceremony took place at the airport. Singing and dancing to the accompaniment of drums and gongs, the well-wishers shouted: “Warm welcome to President and Madame Bijedic!” “Firmly support the Yugoslav people in their struggle to safeguard state sovereignty and national independence!” “Long live the friendship between the peoples of China and Yugoslavia!” and other slogans.

Chinese leaders Chu Teh, Teng Hsiao-ping, Wu Teh, Tan Chen-lin and Wang Chen met President and Madame Bijedic, and the other distinguished guests the evening of their arrival.

After the meeting, Vice-Premier Teng gave a grand welcome banquet in the name of Premier Chou En-lai in the Great Hall of the People. The Vice-Premier and President Bijedic spoke at the banquet. (For excerpts of their speeches, see pp. 6 and 7.)

Renmin Ribao carried a welcome editorial the same day. It said: A profound friendship exists between the peoples of China and Yugoslavia. Our two peoples sympathized with and supported each other during the anti-fascist war and are doing likewise in their common struggle against imperialism and hegemonism at present. The current visit of President Dzemal Bijedic will help strengthen the friendship and unity between China and Yugoslavia and between the two peoples. Friendly relations and co-operation between both countries will be further developed.

“The Yugoslav people have a glorious revolutionary tradition,” the editorial noted. “They have an ardent love for independence and freedom and a bitter hatred for aggression and intervention.” During World War II, it added, the Yugoslav people, by their struggle, made a world-famous, indelible contribution to the victory of the people of the world in the war against fascism.

“Since liberation, the Yugoslav people have made very significant achievements in building up their economy and national defence,” the editorial went on to say. “Industry and agriculture have developed steadily and the country has in the main become self-sufficient in grain. In foreign relations, the Yugoslav
China and Bangladesh Establish Diplomatic Relations

A joint communiqué on the establishment of diplomatic relations between the People's Republic of China and the People's Republic of Bangladesh was signed in New York on October 4 by Chinese Foreign Minister Chiao Kuan-hua and Bangladesh Foreign Minister Justice Abu Sayeed Chowdhury.

The communiqué said: "The Government of the People's Republic of China and the Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh have decided to establish diplomatic relations as from 4th October, 1975 and to exchange ambassadors."

A congratulatory editorial in Renmin Ribao on October 8 said: "The people of Bangladesh have waged an arduous struggle to defend state sovereignty and national independence and to oppose aggression, penetration, exploitation and plunder by expansionism and big-power hegemonism. Changes took place in the Bangladesh political situation on August 15, 1975. The new Government of Bangladesh proclaimed a policy of non-alignment, maintenance of friendly relations with Islamic countries and non-aligned nations, support for the Arab countries' struggle against Zionism, respect for the territorial integrity and sovereignty of other countries, and opposition to outside interference in the internal affairs of Bangladesh. Recently the Governments of Bangladesh and Pakistan have, after friendly negotiations, decided on the establishment of diplomatic relations at the ambassadorial level between the two countries. We welcome the decision. We are convinced that the existence of a Bangladesh which firmly defends state sovereignty and national independence and pursues a genuinely non-aligned policy will surely be conducive to safeguarding peace and security in the South Asian subcontinent and in Asia."

"The Chinese people," the editorial added, "firmly support the policy of neutrality and non-alignment pursued by the Bangladesh Government, firmly support the Bangladesh people's struggle to defend national independence and state sovereignty, and firmly support the peoples of South Asia in their struggle against hegemonism and expansionism. We hope that the countries of South Asia will be able to further shake off outside interference, and live together in peace and friendship on the basis of equality and mutual respect for sovereignty."

In conclusion, the editorial expressed the belief that friendly relations between China and Bangladesh founded on the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence will surely develop further.

Delegation of Scientific and Technical Association of China Visits United States

The Delegation of the Scientific and Technical Association of China led by Chou Pei-yuan, arrived in Washington on September 25 at the invitation of the Committee on Scholarly Communication of the United States with the People's Republic of China.

President Gerald R. Ford met with the delegation on September 27. Welcoming the members on their visit to the United States, he asked them to convey his best regards to Chairman Mao and Premier Chou En-lai.

On the day following the delegation's arrival in Washington, the President of the United States National Academy of Sciences Philip Handler gave a dinner in its honour.

Released Agents' Return to Taiwan Permitted

Sixty-five of the 144 U.S.-Chiang armed agents and crew members of agent-carrying vessels, recently released by Chinese judicial organs as an expression of leniency, have applied to return to Taiwan for reunion (Continued on p. 31.)
Vice-Premier Teng Hsiao-ping’s Speech

(Excerpts)

I

AM entrusted by Premier Chou En-lai to host this evening’s banquet. Please allow me, on behalf of the Chinese Government and people, to express our warm welcome to the friendly envoys of the Yugoslav people President and Madame Bijedic and the other distinguished guests from Yugoslavia and to extend through you our cordial greetings and high respects to the people of all nationalities of Yugoslavia.

The Yugoslav people, who ardently love independence and freedom, waged protracted struggles against aggression and have a glorious revolutionary tradition. Thirty years ago, the Yugoslav people, having fought valiantly for four years under the leadership of Marshal Josip Broz Tito, defeated the German and Italian fascist aggressors, liberated their motherland and made an indelible contribution to the victory of the people of the world in their war against fascism. The Yugoslav people’s spirit of defying brute force and daring to struggle has always been admired by the Chinese people. We are convinced that today, in the face of the Yugoslav people who have stood the test of the antifascist war, any imperialism, if it dares to invade Yugoslavia, is bound to suffer a defeat even more ignominious than that suffered by old-line fascism.

In recent years, Yugoslavia has won continuous successes in her struggle to develop her national economy, strengthen national unity, practise defence by the whole people, safeguard national independence and sovereignty and combat foreign subversion. In international affairs, Yugoslavia has adhered to a policy of non-alignment, strengthened her solidarity and cooperation with the third world countries, opposed imperialism and hegemonism and supported the struggles of other peoples against aggression and plunder, thus winning the appreciation and support of the people of all countries. We Chinese people rejoice greatly at the successes of the Yugoslav people. We firmly support your just struggle and sincerely wish you continuous new successes on your road of advance.

At present, the international situation is developing in a direction more and more favourable to the people of all countries and unfavourable to the superpowers. The struggle of all peoples against imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism is broadening and deepening in both the political and economic spheres and winning continuous new victories. As the main force in the fight against imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism, the dynamic third world is making onslaughts against the old world. Countries want independence, nations want liberation, and the people want revolution — this has become the irresistible historical trend of our age. The superpowers are beset with difficulties both at home and abroad. The days when they could do as they liked are gone for ever.

It is quite natural that the people of the European countries who have gone through two world wars should be concerned about peace and security. But stern realities of today tell us that the danger of a new world war has increased rather than decreased. The superpowers are madly carrying out arms expansion and war preparations, perpetrating aggression and expansion everywhere and stepping up their contention for world hegemony. Europe is the focus of their contention. They are contending with even greater intensity throughout Southern Europe, from the Iberian to the Balkan Peninsula, as well as in other areas. The fierce contention between the superpowers is bound to lead to war. And today the most dangerous source of war is the superpower that is most zealous in preaching peace. We must heighten our vigilance and get prepared. Historical experience tells us that preparedness averts peril while unpreparedness spells grief. We are convinced that it is not the one or two superpowers, but the people of all countries that determine the course of development of world history. So long as the people of all countries strengthen their unity and persevere in struggle, the future of the world will be bright.

China and Yugoslavia are separated by mountains and rivers, but there is a traditiona friendship between our two peoples. We have sympathized with and supported each other both in the past struggle against fascist aggression and in the present struggle against imperialism and hegemonism. Thanks to the efforts of our two sides, the relations between China and Yugoslavia have witnessed a good development in the last few years. The relations between our two countries are based on the five principles of mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual non-aggression, non-interference in each other’s internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence, and there are broad prospects for their development. To develop the friendly relations and
co-operation between China and Yugoslavia is not only the common desire of our two peoples but also in the fundamental interest of the people of all countries. President Bijedic's current visit to China is a major event in Sino-Yugoslav relations. We believe that this visit will make a new contribution to enhancing the friendship between the Chinese and Yugoslav peoples and the friendly relations and co-operation between our two countries. We wish complete success to your visit.

President Bijedic's Speech

(Excerpts)

THOUSANDS of miles that separated the peoples of our two countries were without doubt the reason why our mutual contacts were so rare in the past and why we learnt of each other but in an indirect way. However, the common struggle against foreign invaders, the revolutionary road that our peoples have traversed, the great events that have changed the world, causing the collapse of the old and creation of new societies, have brought new knowledge and opened up new roads which lead to a better mutual acquaintance and rapprochement. Thus, the peoples of our two countries began to know each other better and to get closer to each other, in spite of the geographical distance, all the more so since we have in common the ideals of freedom and independence and the building of a new socialist society, in conformity with our own conditions.

This is the first visit of a Yugoslav Prime Minister to China and I am very happy indeed to have that honour. We regard this invitation of the Government of the People's Republic of China and our visit to your country not only as an expression of mutual feelings of friendship and respect cherished by the peoples of our two countries, but also as an expression of the aspirations and desires to make the existing friendly co-operation even more fruitful and comprehensive.

Our encounters, the present one as well as those in the future that we expect also from your side, our talks and exchange of views, will constitute, I am confident, a new and significant contribution to better understanding of the conditions in which we live and work and to the further consolidation of friendly co-operation between our two countries.

I am confident that the present talks will help us to get a better insight into the possibilities for expanding these forms of co-operation.

The Yugoslav peoples have admired the great Chinese revolution and efforts full of self-sacrifice, exerted by the Chinese working men in the building of their country and their better and happier future. The successes achieved by the Chinese people so far are the best guarantee that the present great tasks of transformation of your country into a powerful and highly developed economy will be realized.

The Government and peoples of Yugoslavia rejoice at the great successes achieved by the People's Republic of China in the foreign-policy sphere. As you are aware, Yugoslavia has pledged itself consistently, from the very beginning, for the right place of the People's Republic of China in the international community, and has welcomed the admission of your country to the United Nations and other international organizations.

The world is burdened today with numerous crisis spots and unsettled problems. We are witnessing the emergence of new dangers, various forms of pressures and aggression by the imperialist forces. However, in spite of that, we can look to the future with optimism, since the forces of peace and progress have grown powerfully. I should like to emphasize that the non-aligned and all progressive and peace-loving forces in the world have made a great contribution to the present positive processes. It is becoming increasingly evident that these forces cannot be bypassed in dealing with the problems that confront the international community today.

From these positions, Yugoslavia, as a non-aligned and socialist country, endeavours to contribute as much as it can to the settlement of the existing international problems. The aim of its active engagement in that direction is the stabilization of peace, strengthening of equality, independence and sovereignty of peoples and countries, and resistance to all forms of pressures, aggression and interference in the internal affairs of others. At the recently held Ministerial Conference of the Non-Aligned Countries in Lima, we pointed out that the struggle for freedom, independence and equality as well as the struggle for the establishment of a new...
Steady Growth of China’s Economy

In sharp contrast with the capitalist world’s deepening economic crisis, China’s socialist economy has been steadily growing and at a comparatively high speed. This is the result of adhering to the policy of independence and self-reliance.

In the 26 years since the founding of the People’s Republic of China, agriculture has developed very quickly, with rich harvests 13 years in a row. Total grain output in 1974 was 2.4 times that in 1949. Industry has also grown rapidly, with 195 per cent increase in total output value in the ten years between 1964 and 1974. There were big rises in output of major products during that period: steel 120 per cent, petroleum 660 per cent, coal 92 per cent, electric power 200 per cent, chemical fertilizer 350 per cent, tractors 540 per cent and cotton yarn 85.8 per cent.

The high speed development of the national economy has greatly accelerated the pace of socialist construction. China has already successfully fulfilled three Five-Year Plans for the development of the national economy and will triumphantly fulfill its Fourth Five-Year Plan by the end of this year.

Financially and economically, China was controlled by the imperialist powers 26 years ago. Today, socialist New China has no external debt or foreign investment, and foreign enterprises are things of the past. While the purchasing power of money has declined in the capitalist world, China has maintained the stability of its currency, the Renminbi. The people lead a better life than before and all able-bodied adults have regular work. Bank deposits have increased yearly...
轻工业，通讯和交通业，以及重工业。

农业的发展奠定了促进工业和国民经济发展的坚实基础。它使它们能够以更快的速度发展。

**Wide and stable domestic market.** A reason why China has been able to achieve steady and rapid economic growth is that it has a wide and stable domestic market. The socialist domestic market has great potentiality and absorbs more and more heavy and light industrial products. Therefore it has provided great possibilities for the high speed development of the national economy. The country has developed its economy in a planned way according to the needs of construction and the people's livelihood; it arranges the market according to plan on the basis of rising production and purchasing power. In the last quarter of a century, the supply of commodities has kept up with the people's purchasing power while production and consumption have remained balanced. There is neither overproduction nor slump in China.

With an eye to promoting production and improving the people's standards of living, the state arranges the market in a unified way and enforces rigid price control to keep prices stable. To speed farm production, consolidate and develop the socialist collective economy and strengthen the worker-peasant alliance, the state has on many occasions raised the purchasing price of agricultural and sideline products and reduced the selling price of the means of agricultural production as well as prices of industrial products like medicines and stationery. This has greatly narrowed the irrational "scissors" difference left over from the old society between prices for industrial and farm products. The present purchasing price of agricultural and sideline products is double that of 1950, while the selling price of the means of agricultural production, such as chemical fertilizers, pesticides and diesel oil, is one-third to two-thirds less than that of 1950. Simultaneous with the raising of the grain purchasing price, the selling price has been kept stable. The "scissors" difference between the prices of industrial and farm products has been narrowed 45 per cent as compared with 1950. Peasants now get a great deal more industrial products for the same amount of farm products.

To ensure that domestic market prices are not influenced by price fluctuations on the international market, China has persisted in differentiating prices in domestic and foreign trade. She has cut the links between prices on the domestic and foreign markets by fixing different prices for each. Her independent and rational price adjustment has played a positive role in promoting industrial and farm production, improving the people's livelihood, narrowing the differences between workers and peasants and between town and
countryside, consolidating the worker-peasant alliance, and strengthening unity among the different nationalities.

**Planned and proportionate development.** In developing the national economy, China aims to meet the growing needs of economic construction and the people's livelihood. From the central down to the basic level and from town to countryside, every production unit works according to a unified state plan calling for what products to be produced and the amount of production. Meanwhile, labour power and the means of production are distributed among the various branches of the national economy in a planned way and the distribution of the means of livelihood is controlled by the state. Planned and proportionate development of the economy in socialist New China has replaced capitalist free competition and anarchy. This has freed the country from economic crisis, an incurable disease of the capitalist system, and enabled it to use its manpower, materials and funds rationally.

**Simultaneous development of big, medium-sized and small enterprises.** China has adhered to the principle of building big, medium-sized and small enterprises simultaneously in the course of industrial development. This enables full use of local labour forces, funds and scattered resources, and leads to a rational distribution of the productive forces. Therefore, many factories are located close to where their raw materials are produced and their products consumed, which is beneficial to the integration of industry and agriculture. With the distribution of large, medium-sized and small industries all over the country, a solid socialist industrial base has been built. Today, every province, municipality and autonomous region has its own heavy industry and light industry, and most counties and a number of people's communes and production brigades have built their own small-scale industry. Many big and medium-sized cities have set up a great number of neighbourhood factories and workshops. This has evened out the distribution of industry, raised the rate of self-sufficiency in the supply of industrial products in various parts of the country and increased the speed of industrial development, thereby playing an important part in helping agriculture.

**Fully exploiting domestic resources.** An important factor in China's steady economic growth is the full use of domestic resources to expand production of raw materials. China is a socialist country. Therefore, it can never plunder the resources of other countries as is done by the imperialist and social-imperialist powers, nor can it depend on importing raw materials for the development of its economy; it can only use its own resources and expand production of raw materials by relying on its own efforts. Since the founding of the People's Republic, geological surveying has been carried out on a large scale and deposits of more than 100 kinds of minerals have been found. This provides a solid material basis for the production of raw materials.

China has explored its deposits and developed the petroleum industry at a high speed. With the opening of the Taching, Shengli and Takang Oilfields, an aver-
Age yearly increase of over 20 per cent has been registered by the industry since 1960. To accelerate the building of the metallurgical industry, great efforts have been made to open up mines and set up many big and medium-sized non-ferrous metal and iron-ore bases. Today, the basic minerals needed by the metallurgical industry are all self-supplied. The masses have been mobilized to locate deposits and open up mines in nine provinces south of the Yangtze River. As a result, a large number of new mines have been set up. The growth of agriculture and the metallurgical, coal and petrochemical industries has also provided a vaster source of raw materials for the light industry.

China has built a solid foundation for its economic development by expanding raw materials self-reliantly, opening up new raw material sources, and building raw material producing bases according to plan. While the capitalist world grapples with fuel and raw material crises and declining production, China’s national economy continues to advance in an all-round way and at a comparatively high speed.

**Speeding Up Industrial Development**

News of the speeding up of industrial development keeps pouring in from all corners of China as the nation celebrated the 26th anniversary of the founding of the People’s Republic of China. Following are three examples.

**Building a New Project at High Speed**

Located on the beach of Shanghai’s Chinsan County, a big, modern petrochemical complex producing various synthetic fibres from petroleum is being speedily built.

Construction of the Shanghai General Petrochemical Works started early last year. In a year and a half, eight of its ten plants (six main ones and four auxiliary ones) were in the main completed. Also finished were some off-site projects as a coastal oil terminal, railway sub-lines, effluent pipelines, a bridge over the Whangpo River plus blocks of flats, a hospital, shops, schools and other such facilities. The first of the chemical works’ 18 sets of equipment will soon be put into commission.

**Masses Have Strength**

How to build this big, modern project with greater, faster, better and more economical results? The Shanghai Municipal Committee of the Chinese Communist Party has put the stress on the mass movement, fully utilizing the city’s original industrial base and mobilizing all trades and professions into a big socialist co-operation.

Because the project was to be on the sea coast, land had to be wrested from sea in winter before the spring tides. Carrying their tools, tens of thousands of peasants braved piercing wintry winds to complete 1.2 million cubic metres of earthwork in building an 8.5-kilometre-long dyke in only 32 days. After the building of different plants and auxiliary works started, 50,000 people from different trades and professions converged on the work-site to complete the workshop one after another at a speedy tempo. According to the conventional way of doing things, it should have taken a year to complete the oxygen-producing workshop. But they spent only 134 days to finish it and put it into operation. In the past, at least half a year was needed to erect a spinning workshop for an acrylic fibre plant covering a total floorspace of 34,000 square metres. Now they completed it in one and a half months only.

A great number of factories in Shanghai and other parts of the country have given enthusiastic support to the building of this petrochemical works. In Shanghai alone, more than 500 factories have made equipment and supplied materials for the Chinsan project, among them are big ones with ten thousand workers, small neighbourhood-run ones as well as those run by rural communes and production brigades.

The builders pay great attention to quality. Take the welding of steel tanks for instance. All 33 big and small tanks are used to store various liquefied gases. The highest is as tall as a five- or six-storey building, with 66 arch-shaped high-intensity steel plates welded together. Demands set for the welding seam were very  

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strict. The Shanghai No. 2 Welding Factory which has a little more than 200 workers was responsible for this biggest tank. Thirty-six workers were selected to do the job, among them were six veterans and 30 young workers under 30, and half of the latter were women. To weld every seam well, they worked hard to master the technique. None grumbled, although holes were burnt in their clothes and their hands were blistered. Sometimes they had to work overhead for a stretch. They brought their rations with them and left their posts only after they had finished their work. After six months of hard work, they finished the job which was up to the required standard.

**Masses Have Wisdom**

To build this modern enterprise, it is necessary to mobilize the masses as well as bring into full play the role of the engineers and technicians. The experience in building this chemical works shows that so long as the engineers and technicians integrate themselves with the workers and peasants and modestly listen to the latter's opinions, they can link theory with practice better in solving problems.

More than 300 pieces of equipment for the Chinhau project fell into the category of big ones. The heaviest weighed over 200 tons, the longest measured 60 metres and the thickest had a diameter exceeding six metres. To transport these huge pieces to the work-site required rebuilding highway bridges, special docks and heightening seven bridges on the inland rivers. How was this to be done? The leading department convened dozens of forums, asking transport workers to turn their resourcefulness to good account. Raftsmen suggested transporting by timber rafts, which gained the support of the leadership. More than 150 workers sketched 50 types of rafts within several days and finally designed several new types after analysis and comparison. These rafts carried the huge pieces to the work-site on time and in good condition.

The project needed a coastal oil terminal able to handle 10,000-ton vessels. At the beginning, there were those who thought no dock could be built there because of the strong wind and waves and the big differences in the ebb and flow of the tide. Carrying out an on-the-spot investigation for three months, the technicians responsible for surveying and designing visited local peasants and fishermen for suggestions. Then, together with the fishermen and dock workers, they investigated from aboard a boat for 12 days round the clock during the typhoon season to gain first-hand knowledge of the natural conditions of the sea area around and the law governing the changes in local hydrology and meteorology. They finally concluded that a deep-water dock could be built there. It was completed in a little more than a year, and a year ahead of schedule at that.

Some of the equipment for the general petrochemical works was imported. The workers said: “We can import some advanced technical equipment from abroad, but we must rely on our own efforts to build socialism.” For instance, the seven-storey-high frame for the ethylene cracker is made up of over 800 steel beams that had to be screwed together with more than 20,000 joints, and allowed for a maximum error in perpendicularity of no more than one centimetre from top to bottom. Foreign technical manuals stipulate that the work should be done on scaffolding by assembling the steel beams upwards one by one, and the job takes six months. Drawing on their own rich experience, the Chinese builders adopted a method of screwing the steel beams on the ground into pieces and integral lifting, thus saving much time and ensuring safe operation. The entire job was completed in two months. Examination has shown the error to be scarcely half of the prescribed maximum.

**Strong Leadership**

The larger the scale of the mass movement is, the stronger the leadership should be.

The project embraced 46 items and over 100 units took part in planning, designing and actual work. People came from all over the country to work under the
unified command of the engineering headquarters, which organized them to study works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and Chairman Mao’s works and helped them raise their enthusiasm so as to accelerate the tempo of socialist construction. At the same time, it encouraged all participants to display the communist spirit of considering the interests of the whole and to overcome selfish departmentalism. Thus the collective strength and wisdom of tens of thousands of builders have been brought into full play and the petrochemical works is being built at high speed and with quality guaranteed.

**Tapping the Potential of Existing Enterprises**

For an old industrial city to develop, should it rely mainly on building new plants or transforming the existing enterprises? The experience of Tientsin, a major industrial city in north China, proves that while it is necessary to build a number of key enterprises, an important method of developing industrial production with greater, faster, better and more economical results is to rely on the strength of the masses, vigorously go in for technical innovations, transform equipment and tap the production potential.

Thanks to the transformation of old enterprises and construction of new ones in the 26 years since liberation, Tientsin’s gross industrial output is now 26 times that of 1949.

**Fundamental Changes in Old Enterprises**

In semi-feudal and semi-colonial old China, industrial output value of imperialist and bureaucrat-capitalist enterprises in Tientsin accounted for over 60 per cent of its total. Important industrial branches such as electric power, water supply and iron and steel were completely controlled by foreign monopoly capital. Tientsin had no machine-building industry and more than 90 per cent of the factories produced consumer goods. Many factories processed and assembled parts and semi-finished goods imported from abroad. Consequently, the city’s industry depended heavily on foreign raw materials, equipment and technology.

Tientsin began transforming its semi-colonial industrial enterprises after liberation in 1949. It confiscated the imperialist and bureaucrat-capitalist enterprises and turned them into state enterprises, and carried out the socialist transformation of private enterprises and gradually made them state enterprises.

The transformation of semi-colonial enterprises went ahead along with the deepening of the socialist revolution. If the old, simple production equipment left from the old society in an existing enterprise could still be used, partial renovation was made to raise its efficiency. Lot by lot, outdated equipment which could not be renovated was gradually replaced every year. Such transformation in the last two decades or so has brought about fundamental changes in the old enterprises. The phenomenon of dilapidated industry before liberation has gone for ever in Tientsin.

Before liberation the city’s iron and steel industry produced only one kind of steel and a dozen varieties of rolled steel. Since liberation Tientsin has built new steel plants, renovated old ones, added new open-hearth furnaces and converters and transformed old equipment as well as installed new equipment. Annual steel production now is more than 300 times the highest pre-liberation figure. The city makes over 300 kinds of steel and more than 800 varieties of rolled steel in 14,000 specifications.

Though Tientsin’s textile industry has a history of more than a century, its machinery and equipment generally were imported from abroad before liberation. As a result of the technical transformation since liberation, the 5,400 old looms from the 1930s have all been replaced or refitted, with the model of the new equipment largely
standardized. As a result of the adoption of automatic shuttle changing, the number of machines tended by one worker has risen fourfold. All spindles have been changed to high-speed ones and output per 1,000 spindle-hours has more than doubled.

In the 25 years between liberation and 1973, the total output value of factories under the Tientsin No. 1 Light Industry Bureau increased 17-fold. Ninety per cent of this increase was attributed to the renovated old enterprises which took up 75 per cent of the bureau's total investment in this period. The rest of the increase in output value came from newly built or expanded factories which together accounted for 25 per cent of the total investment. This clearly shows that the old enterprises have an enormous production potential and their technical transformation is a very economical way of boosting production.

**Large-Scale Technical Transformation**

Spurred on by the movements to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius and to study the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the scope of technical innovations and transformation in Tientsin has been enlarged and their level raised. Industrial and transport enterprises in the city have since 1972 adopted 32,000 technical innovation and transformation items, produced or renovated some 23,000 pieces of special-purpose equipment and successfully introduced over 600 automatic, semi-automatic or continuous production lines. Output in many old plants has doubled and a number of new factories also have exceeded designed production capacities.

The Tientsin Cable Plant was built 36 years ago. Because its equipment was outdated and the technical process backward, the workers and technicians boldly renovated their equipment and improved their technical process. By the end of last June, they had produced or refitted 110 pieces or sets of equipment to replace the 260 old ones made in the 1930s. By 1974 the plant had raised its output value by 65 per cent compared with 1970, added over 70 varieties and specifications to its products, and was able to put 1,700 square metres of factory building to other use and released 120 workers to do other jobs.

Tremendous potential remains to be tapped in new plants that have new equipment and technical processes. The Tientsin No. 1 Petrochemical Plant was completed and went into production in 1970. In the mass activities to adopt technical innovations, technical transformation was applied to its new equipment and technological processes. From 1971 to the end of last June, oil-refining capacity jumped from the originally designed 300,000 tons to 750,000 tons and the number of products from 5 to 11. The plant has in the last few years accumulated funds for the state sufficient to build 4 refining plants of its size.

A technical backbone force has been trained in the course of the mass movement for technical innovations and transformation. Over the past year Tientsin's industrial units have set up more than 70 spare-time workers' colleges enrolling 15,000. The students brought to the colleges problems for study that they had met in production and making innovations, and applied what they learnt there to technical transformation. The old engineering and technical personnel also have played an important role.

As the number of major items in technical innovations steadily rose, the city organized socialist cooperation to tackle them on a wide scale. One item may be entrusted to the joint efforts of a dozen or tens of plants, or even 100 plants and scientific research institutes. Tientsin's ability to produce T.V. sets used to be poor and two-thirds of the elements had to be supplied from other places. After more than 70 plants in the city organized a six-month "big campaign" to tackle the problem, it is now turning out sets with elements made chiefly in the city.

**Medium-Sized and Small Hydropower Stations Play Big Role**

In developing hydropower stations, China has followed the principle of simultaneously building big stations and medium-sized and small ones, with emphasis on the latter two. By relying on the masses and making full use of water resources, many places have rapidly built a large number of medium-sized and small stations.

According to Ministry of Water Conservancy and Power statistics, the nation's electric energy generated by medium-sized and small hydropower stations by the end of 1974 accounted for one-third of the total produced by all stations. Annual output of small stations alone exceeded that of the entire nation's power industry, including both thermal power plants and hydropower stations, on the eve of liberation. Rural areas now have over 60,000 such medium-sized and small stations, or ten times as many as before the Great Cultural Revolution.

Kwangtung Province in south China is a good example. Since liberation it has built 11,740 medium-sized and small hydroelectric stations, each with an installed capacity of less than 50,000 kw. This has been a tre-
mendous impetus to the development of agriculture and local industry.

Mountainous and hilly regions make up two-thirds of the area of Kwangtung which has many rivers, plentiful rainfall and rich water resources. But these resources were not put to good use before liberation and the whole province had only one small 18-kw. hydropower station in Juyuan County. Of Kwangtung’s 107 counties and cities, 76 now have medium-sized and small stations, each with a capacity of at least 1,000 kw. Besides, many places have built sub-stations and set up transmission lines to get scattered power into big power grids or form small local power networks.

But the building of medium-sized and small stations has not been smooth sailing in Kwangtung. Under the influence of the revisionist line, some people who felt that small stations could not solve big problems said: “It’s better to get a line from the big power network than building a lot of small stations.” They wanted to depend on the big networks built by the state to solve local power needs. They stressed the lack of funds, equipment and technique and failed to see that these problems could be solved by giving play to the initiative of the masses.

After the start of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the leadership at all levels in Kwangtung conscientiously summed up from the high plane of the two-line struggle the experience and lessons of the province’s slow progress in the power industry. They found that one of the reasons was that the leadership had not seriously carried out the series of Chairman Mao’s directives on “walking on two legs,” including the simultaneous building of big stations and medium-sized and small ones. Another was it lacked the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance, and did not fully rely on the masses. Therefore, the leadership at all levels led the masses to criticize the mistaken views of “wanting only big projects and doing things according to impractical foreign standards” and looking down at medium-sized and small hydropower stations.

**Initiative From Two Sources**

Chairman Mao has said: “It is far better for the initiative to come from two sources than from only one.” Facts have borne out the correctness of this thesis. Large-scale building of medium-sized and small hydropower stations can bring into full play the initiative of the localities. (Building big stations with state investments is the other initiative.) Medium-sized and small stations, locally built, directly serve local farm production and industry. In addition, they involve relatively easy engineering work and are within the ability of counties and people’s communes. All this explains why they are welcomed by the masses.

A lively example was provided by the building of the Fenghuang Hydropower Station in Kwangtung’s Swatow Prefecture. When the news of its construction spread, large numbers of peasants in nearby areas applied to join the work and a strong army of 16,000 builders was soon at the work-site. To solve the housing problem, they chopped off tree branches and put up sheds. As vehicles could not be used along the steep mountain paths, cement and other material were carried up to the site by shoulder-poles. The tool shortage was solved by using indigenous methods. This is how the station was built and put into production in just 18 months.

Generally speaking, prefectures in the province go in for hydropower stations with a generating capacity of between 5,000 and 50,000 kw., counties build stations in the 500-5,000 kw. category, while communes, production brigades and production teams set up stations with less than a 500-kw. generating capacity. The installed capacity of stations built by communes, production brigades and teams accounts for 48 per cent of the total of all Kwangtung’s medium-sized and small stations.

By vigorously developing production, the communes and production brigades have accumulated funds for building small hydropower stations. Needed equipment and parts for the stations were produced through the large-scale co-operation of various trades under the leadership of the county Party committees. The question of technical force was solved by sending commune members to learn from technicians working in hydropower stations. Kwangtung Province now has trained more than 26,000 peasant-technicians who can handle surveying,
Rapacious Social-Imperialism

At the recent Seventh Special Session of the United Nations General Assembly, Soviet Representative Malik bragged about Soviet “help” and “support” for the developing countries’ “effort to achieve economic independence.” He also spoke of the “economic integration” experience inside the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (C.M.E.A.), suggesting that the developing countries follow suit and join the Soviet-designed “international division of labour.”

How does the Soviet Union “help” and “support” the developing countries? What does C.M.E.A. “economic integration” amount to? The answer is found not in the Soviet revisionists’ self-praise but in the objective facts — the cold reality. The following two articles provide some facts and analyses.

“Paragon” of Neo-Colonialism

India ranks first on the list of recipients of Soviet revisionist economic “aid” to the third world. It alone, for instance, took nearly 20 per cent of the total “aid” between 1954 and 1972. The chieftains of Soviet revisionism and its press try to make the most of this by calling it “fruitful co-operation for mutual benefit” which, they boast, is a “paragon of [its] relations of friendship and equality with the developing countries.” What kind of “paragon” is this?

Vampiric Creditor

Lenin hit the nail on the head in his comment on treaties for loans to foreign countries concluded by imperialism. He called this “the export of capital” “a solid basis for imperialist oppression and the exploitation of most of the countries and nations of the world, for the capitalist parasitism of a handful of wealthy states.” (Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism.) Soviet social-imperialism today is exporting capital to India in this very form of loans to rob and exploit the Indian people.

India is so overburdened with heavy debts that sometimes new loans do not cover what it has to pay back. According to figures released by the Indian Ministry of Finance, in fiscal year 1973-74, the loan extended as “aid” to India by the Soviet Union totalled 139 million rupees, whereas what India paid back to it in the same period came to 567 million rupees in both principal and interest.

In every “loan” by the Soviet Union to India which has to be paid back with interest, it is stipulated that the loan is to be used only to import Soviet goods. Besides, India is also required to export raw materials to the Soviet Union as repayment. In other words, India is to become a market for dumping goods and a supplier of raw materials for the Soviet Union. In 1974, the Soviet Union exported to India machinery and transport equipment worth 82.95 million rubles, about two-thirds of which (54 million rubles) were spent on projects built with Soviet “aid.” Moreover, many Soviet exports are industrial goods of inferior quality. As a creditor nation, the Soviet Union has taken out of India huge quantities of mineral ore, jute, leather and spices for a song.

Public opinion in India has for quite some time been expressing discontent with the Soviet rip-off. India’s Economic Times made the following estimates on June 24, 1974: By the time India has cleared its debts, the Soviet Union will receive a sum that is 56.57 per cent of the principal loaned to it. This kind of exploitation is even harsher than that carried out by the other imperialists.

Indian sovereignty in monetary and financial matters has also been infringed on. Arbitrarily and unilaterally, the Soviet revisionists changed the parity of the Indian rupee and the Soviet ruble to its advantage. Last March, using the devaluation of the rupee as a pretext and going back on a previous agreement, they demanded that India recalculate the principal and interest on Soviet loans in making repayment. This means India has to pay back an additional sum of 4,000 million rupees.

Control Is the Word

The Soviet revisionists brag that their “aid” to India is meant to “help India build up independent national industries.” But what is the reality?

Soviet economic “aid” to India is mainly in the heavy industrial and basic industries, such as steel mills, heavy-duty machinery plants, oil refineries and hydro- or thermo-power stations, enterprises which belong to the “public sector” in India’s economy. It is clear that having control of these industrial departments signifies the control of India’s economic lifeline to a very great extent. At present, the proportion of the output of enterprises built with Soviet “aid” and controlled by
the Soviet Union in their respective branches is as follows: heavy machine-building industry, 55 per cent; heavy electric equipment, 60 per cent; oil, 35 per cent; steel, 40 per cent; and electric power, 20 per cent.

The Indian press has disclosed that all enterprises built with Soviet “aid” are completely placed under direct Soviet control from designing, installation of equipment and supply of appliances down to their management.

One typical case is the Bokaro Steel Plant, the construction of which has caused India to incur a debt of nearly 1,700 million rupees to the Soviet Union. The latter stepped in by first taking over the exclusive right to design this plant from an Indian company previously entrusted with the job. Originally scheduled for 1971, completion of the first stage of construction has been postponed eight times up to now. As revealed in the Indian Parliament, the equipment provided by the Soviet Union fell far below what the contract called for.

Although this steel plant was expected to produce 7 million tons by 1977, the present estimate is it will only be able to produce 4 million tons by then. Nevertheless, the Soviet revisionists have tried to shift the blame on to the Indians, accusing them of failing to do a good job and being “not worth their salt.”

After all these years of Soviet “aid” to India’s iron and steel industry, steel output has registered little increase. Statistics show that 1974’s national output was only 6.8 million tons, hovering around the 1963 level.

The Soviet Union has sent a vast number of experts to India as a means of getting its hands on the latter’s heavy industry. These experts who enjoy amazing special privileges there lord it over the Indian enterprises. There are as many as 500 Soviet experts and advisers in the Bokaro Steel Plant alone. They live grandly in separate quarters, with pay so much higher than that of Indian workers that there is no comparison between the two. In addition, India is also required to pay for these experts’ air trips home and return, life insurance policies and their family dependents’ travel expenses, subsidies for moving, medical expenses, transportation fees, etc. Ordinarily, these “service remunerations” alone make up 15 to 20 per cent of the Soviet loans for the “aid” projects.

This is the state of affairs in Bokaro and other enterprises. In the Bhilai Steel Plant, built many years ago with Soviet “aid,” there still is a Soviet set-up parallel to the management and this “Soviet shadow cabinet” to this day still controls production there.

Dishonest Merchant

With the foray by Soviet capital into India, the total volume of Soviet-Indian trade has grown scores of times. Using the position of a creditor nation, the Soviet Union robs India of its wealth through trade.

One usual way of doing this is to buy cheap and sell dear. The Soviet loans deprive India of much of its freedom of choice in foreign trade; many important products have to be shipped to the Soviet Union in large quantities as repayment for debts and the price it gets is as a rule 10 to 15 per cent, or in some cases as much as 30 per cent, lower than on the international market. Soviet machinery and equipment sent to India as part of a loan are of poor quality and high-priced, some costing 20 to 30 per cent more than on the international market. Staggering superprofits have been taken away from the Indian people in this way.

Extortion by taking advantage of the other party’s difficulties is another means employed by Moscow. Under a Soviet-Indian agreement, the Soviet Union was to export 45,000 tons of newsprint in fiscal 1974-75. But in carrying out the agreement, the Soviet revisionists, seeing the acute shortage of paper in India, quickly raised the price, wanting India to pay 50 per cent more than the market price. This “newsprint extortion” incident for a while was quite a shock to the Indian people. But in the end the price the Soviet revisionists got was still 30 per cent more than the world market price. The Soviet Union also supplied India with fertilizer in late 1974 and afterwards charged 60 to 70 per cent more than the price prevailing at the time of the shipment.

There also is the trick of buying and selling to make a killing. In the name of “division of labour and co-operation,” the Soviet revisionists insist that India buy some raw materials from the Soviet Union at high prices and sell it the finished products at low prices. When India in 1972 processed some textile goods for the Soviet revisionists the price per bale of imported Soviet cotton was 30 per cent more than the then price on the Indian market. Later, the Soviet revisionists bought the finished goods at a price lower than that on the Indian market and then re-sold them to other countries at a high price. It was reported that in that deal India suffered a loss to the tune of 2.5 million U.S. dollars.

Numerous facts prove that the Soviet-Indian relation is not the “paragon of relations of friendship and equality” the Soviet revisionists have bragged about, but a “paragon” of neo-colonialism pure and simple.

Inside That “Community”

SPEAKING at the Seventh Special Session of the U.N. General Assembly, Soviet Representative Yakov Malik dealt specially with the “experience” of “economic integration” inside C.M.E.A. “This integration,” he said, “rests on such a foundation as a mutually advantageous co-operative policy in the economies” of the member countries “based on rational international division of labour among them,” adding that “economic integration” as such “is open in its nature” to developing countries.
The Soviet revisionists have in recent years been touting the C.M.E.A. “experience” and suggesting that the third world countries, with C.M.E.A. as the model, gradually enter into the Soviet-designed “international division of labour.”

What is C.M.E.A. “economic integration” anyway? The “experience” of the “C.M.E.A. integration processes” introduced by the Soviet journal Voprosy Ekonomiki (Problems of Economics) in its third issue this year for “the developing countries to apply extensively,” can tell how the Soviet revisionists have “extensively” applied this to the other members of C.M.E.A., the so-called “socialist community.”

The first point in the “experience” as advertised by the article “The Economic Co-operation of Developing Countries” in the journal is “the inclusion of the long-term plans for external economic ties in the general economic plans.” This in reality is nothing but a nose around the necks of the people of the other C.M.E.A. member states.

For more than a decade the Soviet revisionists have had strong objections to the independent development of the other C.M.E.A. countries’ national economies, insisting that they “co-ordinate” their economic plans with the Soviet Union and incorporate “the long-term plans for external economic ties into the general economic plans.”

With Moscow pulling the strings, C.M.E.A. in 1971 passed a “comprehensive programme for economic integration” by which member states are required to work out not only five-year plans but also long-term programmes of up to 15 to 20 years in “co-ordination” with the Soviet Union, during which time there would be further “integration” in production, science and technology, foreign trade and monetary affairs and finance. When all is said and done, both the production and “external economic ties” of these countries are brought into the orbit of the Soviet economy and to a large extent actually made to cater to Soviet needs.

A Hungarian Party official last year wrote an article complaining about C.M.E.A.’s “too rigid system of integration” which “has weakened the sense of responsibility of the governments of the respective countries as far as economic policies are concerned.” He also disapproved of “the overriding or overlooking of national views on the strength of the slogan ‘Long live internationalism!”

The second point in the “experience” is “international division of labour and industrial co-operation,” the practice which has made C.M.E.A. countries other than the Soviet Union suffer tremendously.

Through this “division of labour” and “co-operation,” Moscow has reduced some C.M.E.A. member states to virtual processing plants serving the Soviet economy and markets for Soviet merchandise. For example, while the Soviet Union itself turns out the main parts for its computers and passenger cars, some East European countries produce and supply accessories and minor parts. For this reason Hungary has slashed production of tractors and lorries to give priority to producing other items. Bulgaria’s machine-building industry is required to devote 60 per cent of its capacity to manufacturing things for the Soviet Union; a number of Bulgarian factories must make accessories for Soviet plants where they are assembled into finished products and shipped back to Bulgaria as Soviet exports.

In the name of “economic integration,” Moscow has in recent years set up an increasing number of supra-national bodies and transnational corporations in the form of “international economic combines” within the framework of the C.M.E.A. in an effort to bring the economies of the rest of the member states under further control. A prototype for this is the Optico-Chemical Industrial Combine jointly set up by the Soviet Union and the German Democratic Republic in 1973. The Soviet revisionists were thus able to sever the photographic chemical industry, a very important industrial branch in the G.D.R., from the structure of its industrial management, thus placing that industry under the exclusive control of the combine headquartered in Moscow, from its means of production to its products. It is evident that “integration” as such is in fact only a euphemism for annexing enterprises belonging to other countries.

The third point in the “experience” peddled by Voprosy Ekonomiki to the developing countries is “to ensure necessary financial appropriations.” In plain language, this is, in the name of the “joint undertaking of industrial projects,” to let other countries provide the money, manpower and equipment for construction in the Soviet Union.

The Kremlin in recent years has hit on something new to promote this “experience.” Called the “co-ordinating plan on measures for multilateral integration,” it forces the other C.M.E.A. countries to “coordinate the use of material and financial resources and manpower” and pool their efforts to help the Soviet Union develop its own energy and raw material production. The construction of projects for these purposes has been incorporated into the five-year plans of these C.M.E.A. member countries.

As reported in the Soviet press, 30 “multilateral integration” projects have been mapped out within the C.M.E.A., but most of those already agreed upon are to be built in the Soviet Union! Thus, the laying of a natural gas pipeline from Orenburg in the Ural to the western frontier of the Soviet Union alone has involved five countries — Bulgaria, Hungary, the G.D.R., Poland and Czechoslovakia — which are obliged to channel several thousand million rubles into the project and have tens of thousands of their skilled workers and technicians tied up in it, with the Soviet Union enjoying all the benefits. In this way, the Soviet revisionists not only pass their own economic difficulties on to
these countries but also make them more dependent than ever on the Soviet Union for raw materials and fuel.

Lenin wrote that the imperialist powers, “under the guise of politically independent states, set up states that are wholly dependent upon them economically, financially and militarily.” (Preliminary Draft Theses on the National and the Colonial Questions.) Things in the C.M.E.A. where the Soviet revisionists have for many years been pushing this “integration” and “international division of labour” drive home the truth that their aim is to deprive the members of that “community” of their sovereign rights and make them Soviet dependencies.

So, when Malik talked volubly about “economic integration” and “international division of labour” at the Seventh Special Session of the U.N. General Assembly, he obviously was trying to get the developing countries to become Soviet economic appendages as is the case with some C.M.E.A. countries. But the daily awakening third world countries and their people will not fall into the trap set by the Kremlin rulers.

Reference Material for Study

“Marx, Engels and Lenin on the Dictatorship of The Proletariat”: Questions and Answers (2)

This Socialism is the declaration of the permanence of the revolution, the class dictatorship of the proletariat as the necessary transit point to the abolition of class distinctions generally, to the abolition of all the relations of production on which they rest, to the abolition of all the social relations that correspond to these relations of production, to the revolutionizing of all the ideas that result from these social relations.

Karl Marx: The Class Struggles in France, 1848-1850 (January-November 1, 1850)

Question: What is the basic spirit to be grasped in particular in studying this passage from Marx?

Answer: This quotation points to the characteristic of scientific socialism as one of persisting in the permanence of the revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat and elucidates in concrete terms all the tasks of this dictatorship, that is, the entire content of the permanence of the revolution in the socialist period — the abolition of all class distinctions, the abolition of all the relations of production on which they rest, the abolition of all the social relations that correspond to these relations of production, and the revolutionizing of all the ideas that result from these social relations. In other words, throughout the entire historical period of socialism, the proletariat must always persist in exercising all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie in the economic base and the superstructure and in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat until the complete abolition of class distinctions, the removal of the soil giving rise to them and the advent of communist society.

Question: How should we understand Marx saying that “this Socialism is the declaration of the permanence of the revolution, the class dictatorship of the proletariat”?

Answer: Marx's words draw a fundamental demarcation line between the scientific socialism he created and bourgeois and petty-bourgeois socialism. Bourgeois and petty-bourgeois socialism of all descriptions appeared during the French February Revolution of 1848, advocating the emancipation of the proletariat not by revolutionary means, still less by protracted struggles in the permanent revolution. Instead their exponents harboured the illusion that they could peacefully bring about their socialism through a single movement by reformist methods. In fact, this could only be a fond dream. As Marx put it in his serious criticism, this could only idealize bourgeois society. He pointed out that the fundamental difference between proletarian scientific socialism and bourgeois and petty-bourgeois socialism lay in the fact that this Socialism is the declaration of the permanence of the revolution, the class dictatorship of the proletariat. This shows us the correct orientation of socialism.

Question: How should we understand the dictatorship of the proletariat as the necessary transit point to the abolition of class distinctions generally, the abolition of all the relations of production on which they rest, the abolition of all the social relations that correspond to these relations of production and the revolutionizing of all the ideas that result from these social relations?
Answer: The ultimate aim and historical tasks of the proletarian revolution are to achieve the “abolition of all the class distinctions generally,” so as to enable mankind to enter a classless society and realize communism. Abolishing class distinctions “generally” means not just abolishing this part or that part, but all class distinctions, as well as the class distinctions between workers and peasants and the differences between town and countryside and between manual and mental labour which are left over from the old society and which reflect class distinctions.

The abolition of all class distinctions cannot be accomplished by carrying out one revolution on a certain front; it can gradually be accomplished only by persisting in continued revolution in all spheres.

To abolish all class distinctions, it is necessary to abolish all the relations of production which give rise to them. These relations include three aspects, namely, the forms of the ownership of the means of production, the position and mutual relations of people in production and the distribution of products, of which ownership of the means of production is of decisive importance. People’s position and mutual relations in production and the forms of distribution, however, can also react on the system of ownership and play the decisive role under given conditions. Therefore, the proletariat must not only eliminate all private ownership of the means of production, but also create conditions for the transition from collective ownership to ownership by the whole people in the future, thus turning all the means of production over to the whole society; it must not only transform the forms of ownership, but also transform all unequal relations as regards people’s position and mutual relations in the course of production as well as all unequal relations with respect to distribution. This is because all the old birth marks in the relations of production are the material foundation giving rise to class distinctions.

To abolish all class distinctions, it is also necessary to abolish “all the social relations that correspond to these relations of production.” People’s social relations refer to their mutual relations forged in social activities. They include economic relations, or the relations of production, which constitute the main aspect and play the decisive role; in addition, there are the relations in the political, ideological and cultural fields. All these relations are a reflection of particular relations of production and have definite social contents which differ as the social system changes. To abolish all class distinctions, therefore, we must not only abolish all the relations of production on which they rest but all the social relations that correspond to these relations of production. This is because the social relations in the political, ideological and cultural fields can react on the relations of production and can play the main and decisive role under given conditions. If we do not abolish all the old social relations, the new socialist relations of production cannot be consolidated and developed and, with the passage of time, can even be disintegrated by the old social relations, resulting in the latter being restored.

To abolish all class distinctions, it is also necessary to effect the “revolutionizing of all the ideas that result from these social relations.” Ideas mean thinking or social ideology, they are a reflection of social being. A particular idea always stems from and serves particular social relations. It is, therefore, imperative to make the revolutionizing of all old ideas—including old thinking, old culture, old customs and old habits—an important task of the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is impossible to achieve the final victory of communism unless all kinds of non-proletarian ideas are done away with, and failure in this respect may even result in a big historical retrogression. This is because the existence of the influence of bourgeois ideas is the ideological source of new bourgeois elements and capitalism. It was precisely because of its vain attempt to turn back the clock of history and restore capitalism that the Lin Piao anti-Party clique did its utmost to preach the doctrines of Confucius and Menius and hawk revisionist junk. Thus, Chairman Mao teaches us that it is necessary to “exercise all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie in the superstructure, including all spheres of culture.” (See “Socialism Is the Class Dictatorship of the Proletariat” in our issue No. 15, 1975.)

In destroying the existing conditions of oppression by transferring all the means of labour to the productive labourer, and thereby compelling every able-bodied individual to work for a living, the only base for class rule and oppression would be removed. But before such a change can be consummated, a dictatorship of the proletariat is necessary, and its first premise is an army of the proletariat.

Karl Marx: Speech on the Seventh Anniversary of the International (September 1871)

Question: Why did Marx say that class oppression is to be destroyed by transferring the means of labour to the productive labourer? And why is a dictatorship of the proletariat necessary before such a change can be consummated?

Answer: Private ownership of the means of production is the base of class exploitation and class oppression. With the land, production tools and other means
of production seized by landlords and capitalists in the old society, the proletariat and other labouring people who were too poor to own anything or had very little were forced to live under their exploitation and oppression. The result was those who toiled got nothing or very little, while the exploiters who did not work at all got much. To put an end to such an irrational phenomenon, we have to change the ownership of the means of production and transfer them to the proletariat and other labouring people. But this is not easy because ownership by the landlord and capitalist classes is protected by their political power. When you ask the landlords and capitalists to surrender the land and factories they have unreasonably appropriated, they turn a deaf ear. The economy under public ownership of the means of production, which is fundamentally opposed to private ownership by the landlord and capitalist classes, cannot possibly emerge within the old society. Therefore, to change the ownership of the means of production, we must resort to revolutionary violence to overthrow the dictatorship of the landlord and capitalist classes and exercise the dictatorship of the proletariat. Is it not a fact that bureaucrat-capital and the landlords' land in old China were expropriated and transferred to the labouring people only after the revolutionary people and the People's Liberation Army led by the Chinese Communist Party had defeated Chiang Kai-shek and established the people's political power?

**Question:** How should we understand the remark that "its [the dictatorship of the proletariat] first premise is an army of the proletariat"?

**Answer:** This remark represents a very important idea which we should particularly grasp in studying this quotation from Marx. It profoundly defines the position of a proletarian army in exercising the dictatorship of the proletariat and stresses that it is of paramount importance for the proletariat to have revolutionary armed forces in establishing the relations of production under public ownership and eliminating class exploitation.

Here we should note that what Marx said is "first premise," not secondary or insignificant premise. This is because an army is the chief instrument of state power. The chief component of the landlord and capitalist classes' state machinery is their reactionary army. To win emancipation, the proletariat must smash the old state machinery and, first and foremost, wipe out the army of the reactionary classes. And to annihilate the reactionary armed forces and seize political power, it must have revolutionary armed forces, that is, its own army. This is the indispensable and first premise for establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat.

An army of the proletariat is the first premise both before and after the seizure of political power. Only by maintaining a powerful proletarian army after the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat can we suppress enemy resistance at home, guard against enemy subversion and aggression from abroad and defend socialist revolution and construction. Just as Chairman Mao has said: "According to the Marxist theory of the state, the army is the chief component of state power. Whoever wants to seize and retain state power must have a strong army." (Problems of War and Strategy)

It is also necessary to note that Marx spoke of "an army of the proletariat" and not of any other army. That is to say, this army must always retain its proletarian nature and only in this way can it fulfill the arduous and complex fighting tasks entrusted to it by the dictatorship of the proletariat. The Chinese People's Liberation Army is a new-type proletarian army founded, led and commanded personally by the Chinese people's great leader Chairman Mao; it is a people's army which is placed under the absolute leadership of the Party, implements Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and carries out its tasks as a fighting team, work team and production team. "The sole purpose of this army is to stand firmly with the Chinese people and to serve them wholeheartedly." (Mao Tsetung: On Coalition Government.) It is this proletarian nature of the P.L.A. that makes it always the mighty pillar of the dictatorship of the proletariat. To subvert this dictatorship, Lin Piao and other bourgeois careerists and conspirators like him invariably tried in every way to weaken the Party's leadership over the army and push a bourgeois military line, in a vain effort to change the proletarian nature of our army. But all their schemes ended in ignominious defeat.

The Communist revolution is the most radical rupture with traditional property relations; no wonder that its development involves the most radical rupture with traditional ideas.

Karl Marx and Frederick Engels: Manifesto of the Communist Party (February 1848)

**Question:** What are traditional property relations?

**Answer:** "Traditional property relations" mean the relations of production under private ownership. Since human society in its history of development moved to class society after the disintegration of primitive communes, one social system has replaced another and the mode of production has kept progressing as slave society developed to feudal society which then developed to capitalist society over the last thousands of years. But private ownership has remained unchanged. All the revolutions of bygone days, be it the replacing of the slave system by the feudal system or the replacing of the feudal system by the capitalist system,

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all resulted in replacing one kind of private ownership with another. Hence, private ownership is a traditional system of ownership.

**Question:** Why is it necessary for the communist revolution to effect the most radical rupture with traditional property relations?

**Answer:** When society developed to the capitalist stage, the development of big industries using machines turned production into large-scale socialized production which led to insuperable contradictions with private ownership of the means of production. Such a state of affairs determines that the communist revolution must thoroughly abolish private ownership and place the means of production under public ownership by the whole society. Only thus can the relations of production suit the needs of the development of the productive forces.

The abolition of private ownership is fully in accord with abolishing classes. The communist revolution is the most profound and thoroughgoing revolution in human history and its aim is to uproot class exploitation and oppression, abolish all classes and class distinctions and establish a classless communist society. Private ownership is the economic root cause of class exploitation and oppression and the foundation on which all exploitation systems rest. After seizing political power, the proletariat must deprive the landlord and capitalist classes of their means of production and abolish feudal and capitalist private ownership. Meanwhile, it must also gradually transform small production, i.e., small private economy. Otherwise small private economy would be in contradiction with big socialist industrial production and hamper the development of production, and so long as it exists, it would cause polarization and engender classes, class exploitation and capitalism again at any time.

This is why the communist revolution must effect the most radical rupture with traditional property relations and do away with private ownership lock, stock, and barrel.

**Question:** What are traditional ideas?

**Answer:** "Traditional ideas" refer to all the old ideas reflecting the social relations in a society under private ownership. They include all old thinking, old culture, old customs and old habits, as well as the decadent ideas of the landlord, capitalist and other exploiting classes and small proprietors' narrow-minded ideas of private ownership. The doctrines of Confucius and Mencius are traditional ideas continuously replenished and rebornished by the exploiting classes of China over thousands of years and have spread their pernicious influence far and wide; and they are the spiritual pillar of these classes' reactionary rule.

**Question:** Why does the communist revolution involve the most radical rupture with traditional ideas? How is this related to the complete abolition of private ownership?

**Answer:** Ideology belongs to the superstructure; it stems from a particular economic base and in turn serves it. Chairman Mao has pointed out: "While we recognize that in the general development of history the material determines the mental and social being determines social consciousness, we also — and indeed must — recognize the reaction of mental on material things, of social consciousness on social being and of the superstructure on the economic base." (On Contradiction.) All old ideas reflecting the relations of private ownership are ideological weapons for preserving private ownership. Traditional ideas formed on the basis of thousands of years of private ownership are deeply rooted and cannot vanish of themselves the moment private ownership is abolished. After the establishment of socialist public ownership, such ideas will remain for a long time, corrupting people's minds and impeding and undermining the consolidation and development of socialist public ownership. If no struggle is waged to get rid of them step by step and if they are allowed to spread unchecked, they can lead to the restoration of capitalist private ownership at any time. Therefore, it is not enough for the proletarian communist revolution to break with traditional property relations, but it must effect the most radical rupture with traditional ideas. These two most radical ruptures are interrelated and neither can be dispensed with. And the rupture in these two respects necessarily calls for upholding the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In the 20 years or so since liberation, the proletariat and other labouring people of China have, in the main, freed themselves of the shackles of private ownership and the socialist economic base has been gradually consolidated and developed as a result of the socialist transformation of the system of ownership. But we must also be aware that the issue has not been entirely settled with respect to the system of ownership and that part of the task yet to be fulfilled in the socialist transformation of ownership can only be accomplished over a fairly long period of time. The birth marks of the old society which exist in people's mutual relations and in distribution still will react on the system of ownership. A serious struggle between the two classes and the two roads still remains on the economic front. The struggle of who will win out, the proletariat or the bourgeoisie, in the ideological field will be a much longer and more profound one. In China, the ideological influence of the exploiting classes handed down over the past several thousand years are very deeply rooted and that of the petty bourgeoisie is like a vast ocean. The overthrown class enemies are bound to use the old ideology and traditional ideas to attack the proletariat. This being the case, it is imperative to continue the revolution in the economic base and the superstructure and persist in exercising all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie.

(To be continued.)

Peking Review, No. 41
Old China was an agricultural country with a vast sea of small producers.

After the founding of New China in 1949, land reform which eliminated feudalist ownership was carried out in the countryside and the collective economy of the co-ops and people's communes gradually replaced the private economy of individual peasants. Hundreds of millions of peasants have taken a decisive step forward on the socialist road. However, there are still some remnants of private ownership of the means of production in the countryside, such as people's commune members farming small plots for their personal needs and engaging in limited household side-line production. Ownership of the means of production in the people's communes is collective ownership by the labouring peasants and not yet ownership by the whole people; in the latter case all the means of production belong to the whole society. The socialist transformation of agriculture remains a long-term task. Meanwhile, as the commodity system and exchange through money still exist, the peasants unavoidably retain some characteristics inherent in small producers, and the well-to-do peasants, in particular, still have strong spontaneous tendencies towards capitalism. Hence, "the serious problem is the education of the peasantry." (Mao Tsetung: "In the People's Democratic Dictatorship."

The system of collective ownership in the rural people's communes at the present stage is ownership by the commune, the production brigade and the production team, with the last as the basic accounting unit. Distribution is made according to the work-points a member gets, that is, from each according to his ability, to each according to his work. As far as products divided according to the amount of labour performed is concerned, bourgeois right—equality in appearance covering real inequality—continues to prevail. However, the Party stresses propagating communist ideology in doing political work in the rural areas so that more and more peasants will liberate themselves from the narrow concept of bourgeois right and fight for the lofty goal of communism.

We visited many advanced people's communes, production brigades and teams as well as commune members in Lankao County, Honan Province. Not only did we see initial successes in transforming the once poor, disaster-ridden countryside, we saw the peasants' efforts in breaking with traditional ideas of private ownership while transforming nature. Nurtured by Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, more and more peasants are displaying a selfless communist spirit.

Keeping to the Socialist Road

For centuries, peasants in old China lived on an individual economy with each household as one production unit. Such scattered individual production which was the economic base of feudal rule kept the peasant masses in dire poverty. The only way to overcome this was to bring about socialist collectivization of agriculture after liberation.

Agricultural collectivization is by no means smooth sailing. Every step forward involves, first of all, a struggle against the handful of class enemies upholding the old system; at the same time it is necessary to educate the peasants in socialist ideology. Not only did the Right opportunists in the Party slash the agricultural co-ops everywhere in the initial stage of their formation, many difficulties and setbacks came up even after the establishment of the people's communes. But the result of the struggle shows that the poor and lower-middle peasants, who make up the vast majority of the rural population, adhere to the socialist road under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. Lankao's Shuangyangshu Brigade is an example.

Towards the end of the 1950s and in the early 1960s, China suffered severe successive natural calamities, sabotage by the Soviet revisionist renegade clique and interference by Liu Shao-chi's revisionist line. Like the rest of the country, Lankao County faced temporary economic difficulties. Liu Shao-chi's line of fixing farm output quotas for individual households with each on its own in his attempt to undermine the collective economy also found expression in Lankao where some people suggested that the collectively owned farmland be "loaned" to individual households in order to tide over the difficulties.

The Shuangyangshu poor and lower-middle peasants represented by Party branch secretary Wang Fa-
hsiang resolutely opposed this restoration and retrogression. They said: "We still haven't forgotten the misery and exploitation we suffered in the old society and we've experienced the difficulty of working on one's own. We must never go backward." Wang Fa-hsiang correctly pointed out: "If we divide the collectively owned land among individuals and transform public ownership of the means of production into private ownership, will there be any socialism? If that happens, the poor will become poorer and the rich richer, and a few people will amass wealth through speculation while the great majority won't be able to make both ends meet. If this should come about, where then is the superiority of socialism? If the collectively owned land were divided up, grain would again be in the hands of individuals. What would the workers and P.L.A. men who guard the motherland eat? Can we allow the handful of bourgeois elements and the well-to-do peasants to hoard grain and put pressure on the state?"

Although the pressure from the bourgeois headquarters of Liu Shao-chi who had hidden in the Party was great, and the spontaneous capitalist forces among the well-to-do peasants once ran wild, Wang Fa-hsiang who led the other peasants in taking the socialist road never lost his bearings. Together with the awakened poor and lower-middle peasants, he untiringly fought against the erroneous line. At the time when the struggle was really fierce, the Tenth Plenary Session of the Party's Eighth Central Committee was convened in September 1962, at which Chairman Mao issued the call "Never forget class struggle." Towards the end of that year, the new county Party secretary Chiao Yu-lu was posted to Lankao. The first thing he did was to rectify the erroneous line of dividing the land among the peasant households and organize local peasants to restore and expand collective production.

Sabotage by the erroneous line and severe natural calamities had seriously undermined the collective economy of the Shuangyangshu Brigade. Life for the commune members was pretty hard at that time. But the evil trend of individual farming had been defeated, Shuangyangshu's members pooled their efforts to overcome difficulties. Several production teams did not even have seeds for wheat sowing in 1963. Communist Party members took the lead in lending part of their wheat to the collective for seed. Some members helped their teams financially with the money they had saved for building new houses. A grandmother who was too old to work and who depended on the collective for a living contributed some eggs she had saved to show her solidarity. In this way not only was enough seed available, but several head of cattle were bought in addition and wheat sowing was done on time. The brigade recovered and prospered. It soon became an advanced unit praised throughout the county.

The Shuangyangshu example of upholding the socialist road is not an isolated one in Lankao County or in the whole country. The poor and lower-middle peasants have through both positive and negative examples received a profound education. They have become more convinced than ever that the only way to extricate themselves from poverty, improve their livelihood and resist natural calamities is to unite and take the bright socialist road.

**Love the Country and the Collective**

Marx and Engels pointed out in their *Manifesto of the Communist Party* more than one hundred years ago: "The Communist revolution is the most radical rupture with traditional property relations; no wonder that its development involves the most radical rupture with traditional ideas." The socialist revolution in China's countryside has transformed the traditional property relations. In the wake of the change in the system of ownership and as a result of constant education in communist ideology, the traditional ideas of private ownership among peasants are being gradually wiped out.

In the old society where the means of production were privately owned, "heaven destroys those who don't look out for themselves" was propagated by the exploiting classes. Their philosophy of life was "everyone for himself." In today's Lankao, we saw many socialist
new-type peasants who are shedding the mental shackles put on them by the system of private ownership. What they think first and foremost is not their own families, but how to run their production teams, brigades and people’s communes well and how to contribute more to the Chinese revolution and the world revolution.

Party member Yen Hsieh-chung of poor peasant origin is in his late fifties. He used big buckets to carry water when dry spells came, deep-ploughed with a big spade and was the first to jump into the icy water when a water conservancy project was being built. He is always to be found working tirelessly with mud-soiled legs. He said: “When I think of the revolution or the collective, it gives me inexhaustible strength.”

The fifth team of the Nanmachuang Brigade had a bumper wheat harvest last year. Because of carelessness in management of the threshing ground, however, several hundred kilogrammes of wheat went bad. Since the amount was quite small, if it was mixed with good wheat, it wouldn’t affect the quality of the grain to be delivered to the state. But the peasants said that the wheat had gone bad because of their carelessness and so they should keep it themselves. The wheat they sold to the state purchasing department was all good.

Similar stories in Lankao are too numerous to cite. To protect the brigade’s rice seedlings, Shih Teh-Il of poor peasant origin in Hsukungchuen used his body to block a hole in a leaky channel despite the freezing water in early spring. Once there was a shortage of building material at a water conservancy project worksite. When the commune authorities told its members about this, many of them brought the bricks they had kept at home for use in building new houses. At first a count was kept of the number of bricks delivered, but gradually this could not be done because many brought their bricks at night to add to the pile. Why did they do it? Certainly not for fame. For till this day the contributors remain unknown. For profit? But they didn’t get any. They did it solely to help complete the project at an early date so that the collective could grow more grain for the country, out of which they got a share.

“Spirit of the Dragon River Brigade”

This is something out of the revolutionary model Peking opera Song of the Dragon River. The opera describes how the Dragon River Production Brigade on the bank of a river, to raise the water table of the irrigation network, voluntarily inundates 20 hectares of its farmland to overcome a dry spell on the commune’s 6,000 hectares. The “spirit of the Dragon River Brigade” means the communist spirit of taking the interests of the whole into account. Since the wide showing of the film version of this opera in cities and countryside, this spirit is being advocated everywhere.

Lankao’s Hantsun Brigade is one that gives full play to this spirit. In 1973, the brigade dug a 3.5-kilometre-long channel to divert the silt-laden water of the Yellow River to transform 20 hectares of sandy and alkaline soil into fertile farmland. After last year’s wheat harvest, it prepared another 27 hectares of farmland for sowing. The members repaired and extended their channel in July for this purpose. It was at that time that the commune Party committee, in the interests of the whole commune, decided to widen and lengthen Hantsun’s channel to first divert Yellow River water to two other brigades south of Hantsun because both these brigades had a lot of alkaline soil.

Yang Su-Jan, Hantsun’s Party branch secretary, came back from a commune meeting with the commune Party committee’s decision, and the Party branch asked the county mobile film team to show Song of the Dragon River and organized a discussion participated by cadres and members after it was shown. Many poor and lower-middle peasants said that they should sacrifice their own interests to help fraternal brigades change their backward production conditions. Members of the three brigades all did digging on the planned channel.

The Yellow River water silted the more than 100 hectares of alkaline soil of the two brigades south of Hantsun, turning them into fertile farmland. Although Hantsun lost part of its farmland for the channel, its total
grain output last year still doubled that of the year before.

When we asked how they reached this ideological plane, Yang Su-lan said: “We can’t build socialism if only one village or one brigade is rich.” One of Han-tsun’s team leaders said: “One flower does not make a spring, but myriads of flowers in bloom fill the garden with the beauties of spring.”

Political Education

Lenin said: “Small production engenders capitalism and the bourgeoisie continuously, daily, hourly, spontaneously, and on a mass scale.” (“Left-Wing” Communism, An Infantile Disorder.) Since the collectivization of agriculture, China’s peasants are no longer small producers doing individual labour, but members of people’s communes. However, many peasants still retain, in various degrees, certain inherent characteristics of the small producer. As Chairman Mao pointed out in the 1950s when China’s agricultural co-operation was at its high tide: “Before a brand-new social system can be built on the site of the old, the site must be swept clean. Invariably, remnants of old ideas reflecting the old system remain in people’s minds for a long time, and they do not easily give way.” (Introductory note to “A Serious Lesson” in The Socialist Uproar in China’s Countryside.) How to sweep clean the old ideas of the small producer in the peasants’ minds? This calls for stress on political work. “The basic task in political work is constantly to imbue the peasant masses with the socialist ideology and to criticize the tendency towards capitalism.” (Introductory note to an article in The Socialist Uproar in China’s Countryside.)

The above examples showing how the peasants keep to the socialist road, love the country and the collective and give play to their communist spirit are a result of the Party’s constant efforts in educating the peasants in Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. If political work were neglected, even these advanced communes or brigades would possibly be overrun by capitalist tendencies.

To educate the peasants, Lankao County, like many other places in the country, run evening political schools for the peasants. The evening school of the No. 5 team of the Nanmachiugang Brigade has been going for the past decade. Peasants in these schools study works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and Chairman Mao’s works, and through discussions on what are socialist ideas or what are capitalist tendencies they become clear on what to support and what to restrict.

During the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution the poor and lower-middle peasants have arrived at a deeper understanding of the importance of studying Marxism-Leninism. In the last two years, peasant evening political schools have sprung up in the county like mushrooms. There are over 1,300 such schools run by Lankao’s production brigades and production teams, attended by the vast majority of peasants. Apart from studying politics, they strive to raise their general educational level and study agro-techniques. Especially through the present study of the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the peasants’ initiative for transforming their old small producers’ ideas is soaring still higher.

(Continued from p. 15.)

designing, construction and installation as well as management and overhauling.

Remarkable Role

Thanks to the power provided by the medium-sized and small stations, small plants making chemical fertilizers, cement and iron and steel and small coal mines have sprung up rapidly in the various localities. This has further accelerated progress in farm mechanization. Since attention has been paid to the multi-purpose use of water resources in building these stations, they have also played a useful role in irrigation, flood prevention and drainage and thus boosted grain yields. For instance, Loting County was well-known as a dry mountain area in pre-liberation days. It has now built 226 small hydropower stations, 500 kilometres of transmission lines and 555 electric pumping stations, and an irrigation network has been formed with the result that the area under rice paddy has been enlarged and a much bigger amount of grain gathered.

Mechanized processing of farm and sideline products has liberated a large number of commune members for other jobs, enabled the communes to develop a diversified economy including farm and sideline production, forestry, livestock breeding and fisheries, and expanded the collective economy.

Electric lighting also makes rural political and cultural life more lively. Many communes and production brigades have established political evening schools where old and young students study under bright electric lights. Radio rediffusion networks are now found even in remote mountain villages.
ON THE HOME FRONT

Peking's Rich Repertoire

MULTIFARIOUS were the activities in Peking's theatres and cinemas during the recent National Day festivities.

Actors and actresses of over 60 art troupes gave performances in the city's theatres and a number of factories and mines, people's communes and P.L.A. units to entertain the holiday-makers. The programmes presented included dramas, Peking operas, pinju operas, chuyi (balladry, story-telling and cross-talk), vocal and instrumental music, dance and acrobatics. Among these, modern revolutionary Peking operas The Red Lantern, Shachiapang, Red Detachment of Women, Azalea Mountain and Fighting on the Plain, modern revolutionary dance dramas Red Detachment of Women and The White-Haired Girl, and the symphony Taking Tiger Mountain by Strategy were favourite items among the audiences.

The Long March, a 10-act play staged by the Modern Drama Company of the P.L.A. General Political Department, describes how a Red Army battalion follows Chairman Mao across numerous rivers and mountains, marching to the north to fight the Japanese invaders. It presents a magnificent picture of the militant course of the 25,000-li* Long March which took place 40 years ago. The play eulogizes the great victory of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line over Wang Ming's opportunist line and over Chang Kuo-tao's line of Right-deviationist flightism and splitism. In vivid images The Long March tells the people that it was Chairman Mao who saved the Red Army and the revolution at crucial moments of the Chinese revolution; that so long as Chairman Mao's revolutionary line is implemented, the revolution is sure to triumph no matter how tortuous the road; and that deviation from Chairman Mao's revolutionary line leads to setbacks for the revolution.

Rich and varied repertoires were also presented by worker-peasant-soldier amateurs as well as students and children who take a fancy to art.

About one-third of the items performed during the National Day celebrations were outstanding stage productions chosen from a recent national theatrical festival sponsored by the Ministry of Culture which closed in mid-September. In the last 20 months since the Spring Festival in February last year, art troupes from the country's 29 provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions (with the exception of Taiwan Province) have staged in Peking 30-odd modern dramas, over 100 local operas (including adaptations from model theatrical works born in the proletarian revolution in art and literature and other new creations), as well as a great number of songs and dances and chuyi items rich in local and national features.

Among those new films shown for the first time in Peking seven are new feature films.

Spring Shoot and Crimson Rain, named after their respective leading characters, depict the growth of barefoot doctors emerging in the Great Cultural Revolution. Both show how barefoot doctors, with the care of the Party and the support of the people, are maturing in the struggle against class enemies and have become a backbone force in China's rural medical and health work.

Describing how workers and technicians in a naval shipyard built a torpedo boat in the early 1960s, The Second Spring praises the spirit of independence and self-reliance in building socialism.

Battle in the Shipyard is based on the construction of a 10,000-tonner on a small dock by the Chinese shipbuilders in the Great Cultural Revolution. The film praises the Chinese workers' revolutionary aspiration in working hard to build socialism.

The film version of the Sinkiang Uighur opera The Red Lantern adapted from the outstanding Peking opera of the same name is marked by the rich national flavour of the traditional 12 Mukams—12 symphonic musical works popular among the Uighur people, with certain innovations at that.

New Song of the Great Wall by the Changchun Film Studio in northeastern China depicts the life of the Chinese People's Liberation Army. Produced by the Chuchiang (Pearl River) Film Studio in south China, Conch tells the story of Little Red Soldiers on a South China Sea island who help capture enemy agents in defence of the motherland.

One of the documentaries recently screened is New Landscape Along the Red Flag Canal. This records the achievements of the people in Linhsien County, central China, in transforming nature after they carved in the cliffs the famous Red Flag Canal ten years ago. Another documentary Paintings of the New Times films the 1974 National Fine Arts Exhibition and the 1974 exhibitions of workers' paintings from Shanghai and two other cities.

In addition, there were 15 scientific and educational films and a cartoon film.

*Two li equal one kilometre.

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OPEC

Oil Price Raised

The extraordinary meeting of the Ministerial Conference of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries in the latter part of September decided to raise the price of crude oil by 10 per cent as from October 1.

This is another victory by the oil-exporting countries in standing up to superpower pressure and safeguarding their legitimate rights and interests by upholding unity.

Using oil as a weapon, the oil-producing countries of the third world have in the past two years won significant victories in safeguarding their state sovereignty and economic interests and in striking at hegemonism and the old international economic order. But one superpower hurled abuse and even waved the big stick at them in a vain attempt to coerce them into submission. The U.S. spokesman howled on the opening day of the meeting that raising oil prices was “unjustifiable.” On the second day, the Soviet mouthpiece TASS tried to sow dissension in an effort to split the oil producers and disrupt the meeting.

It is completely legitimate for the oil-exporting countries to readjust prices. It is a proper step to take in opposing the shifting of the burden of the economic crisis and protecting the national rights and interests of the oil-producing countries of the third world. Since these countries decided to freeze the petroleum price from January 1, 1974, prices of their imported manufactured goods and grain from the developed countries have been soaring. A survey published by the Japanese Economic Research Institute for the Middle East shows that prices of commodities imported by five oil producers in the Middle East in 1974 went up more than 20 per cent over those of 1973. With worsening capitalist world inflation, the purchasing power of the oil-exporting countries’ oil revenues has dropped 30 to 40 per cent. In these circumstances, it is only natural that they readjusted prices. Actually, they were compelled to do so. However, they all along have paid attention to waging the struggle on just grounds, to their advantage and with restraint. In the 21 months since the oil price freeze, while taking measures to curb excessive exploitation by foreign oil monopoly companies and increase their real income, the oil-producing countries have twice adjusted prices downwards a little. Even with the 10 per cent increase, as decided at the recent meeting, the price of oil per barrel stands at 11.51 dollars which approximates the January 1974 figure.

The oil struggle has always spearheaded third world struggles over raw materials. This new victory of unity in struggle will encourage the raw material-producing countries of the third world to become further organized and struggle more resolutely to safeguard their legitimate rights and interests.

U.N. SECURITY COUNCIL

Another U.S. Veto

The United States unjustifiably vetoed for the second time two draft resolutions recommending the admission of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and the Republic of South Viet Nam to the United Nations at the U.N. Security Council meeting on September 30.

After the United States first vetoed the applications at the Security Council on August 11, a General Assembly plenary session adopted on September 19 a resolution by an overwhelming vote of 123 in favour, holding that the two parts of Viet Nam should be admitted to the United Nations and requesting the Security Council to reconsider immediately and favourably their applications in strict conformity with the relevant provisions of the U.N. Charter. The Security Council thus met again to reconsider their applications. At the Security Council meetings held afterwards, China, Tanzania and seven other countries once again put forward two draft resolutions recommending the admission of the two parts of Viet Nam to the United Nations. When put to the vote, both received 14 votes in favour, but were vetoed by the United States, a permanent member.

During the Security Council debate, Chinese Representative Huang Hua said: “The Security Council should respect the resolution adopted by the General Assembly on September 19 and in strict accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter, recommend to the General Assembly the admission of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and the Republic of South Viet Nam for membership in the United Nations, thus ending the utterly abnormal situation in which they have arbitrarily been obstructed from joining the United Nations.”

Many representatives of non-member states of the Security Council spoke in support of the admission of the two parts of Viet Nam to the United Nations and refuted the arbitrary U.S. position.

Huang Hua pointed out after the voting that the U.S. practice is completely unjustifiable. “The Chinese Delegation will continue to work together with all justice-upholding member states for the attainment of the full rights of the Vietnamese people in the United Nations.”

Dinh Ba Thi, Permanent Observer of the Republic of South Viet Nam to the United Nations, pointed out in a statement that the second U.S. veto showed that “the United States is obviously continuing its hostile policy started decades ago against the Vietnamese people. It is now preventing the Vietnamese people from occupying their rightful place and making their voice heard at the United Nations, just as in the past it tried by every means to deny them
of their fundamental national rights and their right to self-determination.”

NAMIBIA

People Oppose “Constitutional Conference” Farce

The September “constitutional conference” farce put on by the South African racist regime in Windhoek failed to fool the people of Namibia. Instead, it goaded them into stronger resistance.

The convocation of the conference was part of Vorster’s “detente” scheme. With the collapse of Portuguese colonial rule in Africa, the South African racist regime felt that big trouble was coming up and so resorted to counter-revolutionary dual tactics in the fond hope of cajoling the Namibian people into giving up their struggle for liberation. In reality, the aim of the “constitutional conference” still was to push ahead with the so-called “Bantustan” plan which the South African racists cooked up back in 1968 — putting over 700,000 Namibian people into 10 “homelands” (Bantustan) in the impoverished areas making up only 40 per cent of the country’s territory and letting 90,000 white settlers occupy the fertile lands equal to 60 per cent of the total territory.

To ensure the holding of the “constitutional conference” in Windhoek, the Vorster regime has made mass arrests in Namibia since late August. Nevertheless, on September 1, the opening day of the conference, two groups of people defied police suppression and demonstrated around the conference site, holding aloft placards bearing the battle slogans: “If Hitler depopulation was defeated why not the racist regime of Vorster?” “No round-table talks [the ‘constitutional conference’] — we want Namibia!” “We need freedom not compromise!” etc. The Namibian National Convention (N.N.C.) distributed leaflets in Windhoek calling for an all-out strike in Namibia. The South West African People’s Organization (SWAPO) pointed out that the South African racists had staged the “constitutional conference” because they wanted “to remain in Namibia” and it stressed: “We can only attain national independence through armed struggle.”

AUSTRALIA

“Overproduction” in Agriculture

As the capitalist world economic crisis deepens, Australia’s agriculture is faced with a crisis of overproduction.

Farm and animal husbandry products account for a great part of the country’s export commodities. The U.S. cut in imports from Australia has caused a drastic drop in the volume of the latter’s exports. Yearly beef exports to the United States were reduced from the past figure of 480,000 tons to 280,000 tons. According to the Australian Bureau of Statistics, in the first 11 months of 1974-75, meat exports dropped by 20 per cent, butter by about 44 per cent and fruit by 28 per cent.

The overproduction of meat cattle was most acute. The slaughter of such cattle occurred everywhere in the rural areas owing to dull foreign markets, drastic falls in prices and a shortage of fodder.

Wool, which holds an important place in Australia’s foreign trade, suffered a sluggish sale last year. As a result, unsold wool was piling up on the markets and wool prices dropped 30 per cent on the average.

Canning factories in Shepparton, the main fruit-producing area, have reduced operations considerably and are stockpiling fruit. Fifteen per cent of the apples in some orchards were unpicked and left to rot last year.

The crisis has seriously undermined the productive forces in the countryside. Many stock-raising farms have cut down on cattle breeding. Some dairy farms have stopped the production of butter. There was large-scale felling of fruit trees in Tasmania which is noted for its apples.

The agricultural recession has caused the dismissals of many farm workers and workers in chemical fertilizer plants and in factories processing farm and animal husbandry products. The unemployment rate has reached 5.2 per cent in the countryside. Small farmers with little land and livestock are becoming more and more impoverished. According to a recent government survey, farmers in poverty are found in every state. Because of heavy debts, many small farmers had to sell their farms to big farm-owners.

SPAIN

Arbitrary Executions Arouse Strong Protests

A massive wave of protests against the Spanish authorities’ execution of five members of two mass organizations on September 27 has swept Spain and Western Europe.

In Madrid, over 1,000 people took to the streets. In the Basque region in the northern part of the country, thousands of people staged protest demonstrations. Some 1,000 people in Biscay Province blocked the highways leading to the provincial capital. Protest rallies also took place in San Sebastian and some other industrial cities. Workers of all local enterprises in Azpeitia downed tools to take part in the rallies.

There also were protest demonstrations in Paris, London, Brussels, West Berlin, Bonn, Rome, Stockholm, Copenhagen, Athens, Lisbon, Geneva and other places.

The Governments of Britain, the Federal Republic of Germany, Denmark, the Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, France, Belgium and Portugal decided to recall their ambassadors to Madrid. Statements were issued by the Belgian and British Governments and the Executive Committee of the European Economic Community expressing regret over the executions.

The Spanish authorities have made mass arrests of members of the two mass organizations in the past few months. After an act against so-called “terrorists” was announced on August 22, death sentences were imposed on 11 members of both organizations.
Friendship Notes

At the Kinshasa International Fair

Over half the countries represented at the 4th Kinshasa International Fair in Zaire belong to the third world. This was the second time China took part in the exhibition. On display in the Chinese Pavilion were farm produce, light and heavy industrial goods as well as handicraft articles. A continuous stream of people visited the pavilion, reaching a total of over 400,000.

The Zairian people today give top priority to boosting agricultural production. “Eating no imported grain” is their watchword; they are relying on their own efforts to realize this goal. Hence the visitors’ great interest in the Chinese farm products. Kinshasa’s mayor visited the pavilion three times, together with municipality bureau chiefs and 24 district heads. The mayor recalled that after returning from his first visit to China, President Mobutu gave instructions to turn the suburbs of Kinshasa into a “green belt” to guarantee supplies of food grain, vegetables and fruits for the capital’s 1.5 million people. After seeing models of the achievements of Tachai [China’s agricultural pace-setter], he said, he had ever greater confidence in the success of the “green belt programme.”

The visitors were greatly delighted to know that Chinese oil and geological workers and technicians, under most difficult conditions, have rapidly exploited the Taching and other oilfields. A Zairian friend remarked: “People in the West used to say China was an ‘oil-poor’ country. But now you have found so many oilfields, and all by your own efforts. This has enabled China to meet her domestic needs and have a certain amount to spare for export. The West also babbled that Zaire was an ‘oil-poor’ country. Now that we have found oil in the coastal areas, we are confident our country will produce oil very soon.”

Many Zairian workers showed great interest in the lathes and farm machines on show. The imperialists always sneered at African countries for being unable to make their own machines, said a worker from a lathe-repairing factory. He was pleased, he said, to see so many machines made in China. Good machines surely will be made by Zaire, he added.

The Chinese delegation, which had come to Kinshasa on the occasion of the exhibition, visited the pavilions of Zaire and other third world countries. It rejoiced at the achievements in the development of their national economies, and was particularly impressed by the tremendous changes that had taken place since 1973 in Zaire—new agricultural advances and a drop in grain imports, as the exhibition showed.

Since the measures for “Zairianization” were put into effect at the end of 1973, many more foreign-owned mining companies, farming and various industrial enterprises have been nationalized. Products of these enterprises were displayed at the fair.

Doctors in Ethiopia

Ethiopian and Chinese doctors work together in the out-patient department and perform surgical operations at Ras Desta Hospital in Jimma, a famous coffee-growing area, some 300 kilometres southwest of Addis Ababa, Ethiopia’s capital. The hospital was named after a martyr in the war of resistance against the Italian fascist aggressors.

The Chinese doctors arrived at this hospital in April 1974. The head of the hospital enthusiastically helped them to familiarize themselves with its general situation and gave detailed accounts of certain diseases prevailing in the country, their causes, symptoms, diagnosis, treatment, etc. Knowing nothing or very little about these local diseases before, the Chinese doctors, with this help, were able to treat them very soon.

Language difficulties also have been overcome in a short time due to their Ethiopian colleagues’ earnest efforts to help. Nurses and cleaners in the hospital who have some know-

ledge of English volunteered to serve as interpreters in the out-patient department. One nurse gave the Chinese doctors a list of medical terms for out-patient treatment in English and Gallia (the local dialect) which she prepared during her spare-time. After a few months’ study the Chinese doctors could use simple expressions in the local dialect to work on their own.

Acupuncture is new in Ethiopia. To popularize its use, the Chinese doctors applied needles on their own bodies as a demonstration to those who would never believe diseases can be cured by acupuncture. When the efficacy of acupuncture treatment for apoplexy, paralysis and polio became evident, more and more people requested such treatment. An old peasant paralysed for 12 years was carried to this hospital by his son and was given acupuncture treatment. He was able to stand on his feet after 10 days of treatment. A number of Ethiopian medical workers are now learning acupuncture with great interest.

Chinese Archaeological Finds Exhibition in U.S.

A total of 1.8 million visitors saw the Chinese archaeological finds on exhibit in three U.S. cities for eight months.

Ending its U.S. stay in San Francisco on August 28, the exhibition helped promote general understanding among the visitors of China’s long-standing historical development, the splendid ancient culture created by her labouring people and the headway made by Chinese archaeological workers in post-liberation years.

The exhibition began in Washington. Despite severe cold in winter, there were long lines of visitors every morning. During the two-month showing in San Francisco, total attendance reached 840,000, sometimes 25,000 visitors in a single day. Many organizations in 13 western states including Hawaii sent groups to see the exhibition. In Kansas City, home town of Edgar Snow, the well-known American writer and a great friend of the Chinese people, over one-third of the population viewed the exhibition. A truly
big event in Kansas City, it helped promote friendship between the American and Chinese peoples, said Snow's sister Mrs. Mildred Mackey. The Nelson Gallery where it was on display decided to commemorate the exhibition with a bronze cast image of the "Galloping horse on the wing of a swallow," a relic of the East Han Dynasty (25-220), at the front of the building.

The American people supported the exhibition in a big way. Housewives, retired old people and art college students in Kansas City and San Francisco came to help every day. The Americans who helped got on very well with the Chinese staff, and a firm bond of friendship was struck up between them. When the exhibition was going to close in Washington, D.C., some packing workers gave their Chinese friends a gift they had made and which had their signatures on it.

The exhibition was a reminder of the profound traditional friendship between the Chinese and American peoples. Nothing can stand in the way of the American people's eager desire to understand China and show their warm friendly feelings for the Chinese people.

New Zealand Orchestra

On a visit to China, the New Zealand National Youth Orchestra performed in Peking and Kwangchou. The performance made a profound impression on the Chinese audience.

The orchestra consisted of 52 young musicians, averaging 18 years old. Their artistic style was both conscientious and lively. The programme in Peking included the Aotearoa Overture by contemporary New Zealand composer Douglas Lilburn and a clarinet concerto by New Zealand composer John Ritchie. With the help of Chinese musicians, the orchestra played excerpts from the Chinese symphonic suite The White-Haired Girl and from the revolutionary dance drama Children of the Grassland.

The orchestra was the first New Zealand art troupe to visit China since the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries in 1972. Bringing with it the friendship of the New Zealand people for the Chinese people, it has helped increase mutual understanding between art workers in both countries. A Chinese orchestra will soon visit New Zealand, taking with it the friendly feelings of the Chinese people for the New Zealand people.

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Children present flowers to the Chinese Performing Arts Troupe in Venezuela.

with their families. Their applications have been approved by the People's Government.

Leading members of the Ministry of Public Security received the 65 men.

At the reception, Yu Sang, a leading member of the Ministry of Public Security, warmly congratulated the 65 on their taking on a new life. He said the recent decision by Chinese judicial organs to release all 144 U.S.-Chiang armed agents and crew members of agent-carrying vessels captured between October 1962 and September 1965 showed that the dictatorship of the proletariat in China is stronger than ever.

Yu Sang added: In accordance with instructions from Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee, all those released are given the rights of citizens of the People's Republic of China. Those who have relatives in their native places can return to work there. Those who have no homes will be settled by related departments. Those who wish to return to Taiwan can do so, and they will be given adequate money for travel and provided with conveniences. If they fail to get to Taiwan, they can come back and the government will give them jobs too.

Addressing the 65 men, he said: You have expressed the wish to return to Taiwan Province. The government respects your wish and approves your request. We hope you will have a happy reunion with your families, relatives and friends in Taiwan at an early date.

Yu Sang reviewed the current excellent international and domestic situation and described how the Chiang clique on Taiwan is beset with internal and external difficulties. He said: Taiwan is sure to be liberated and the motherland unified. We place our hopes on the people of Taiwan Province. Only when they return to the embrace of the motherland will they be able to become masters of their own destiny and have bright prospects. Among those from the mainland working in various fields on Taiwan, patriots are many and traitors are only a few. All patriots belong to one big family, whether they come forward early or late.

Yuan Tsu-sui and several others who were due to leave for Taiwan spoke at the reception. They said: We have been given lenient treatment, set free and granted citizen's rights. Our request to return to Taiwan to rejoin our families has been approved. Only the socialist motherland under the leadership of Chairman Mao and the Communist Party can show such revolutionary humanitarianism.

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