

BEIJING REVIEW



A CHINESE WEEKLY OF
NEWS AND VIEWS

- Communist Ideology in Practice
- Soviet Detente Strategy
- Secondary Education Reforms



HIGHLIGHTS OF THE WEEK

Has Communism Been Tested in Practice?

Hu Qiaomu, Member of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee, explains the meaning of communism and why communist thought and the communist movement have always advanced through practice (p. 12).

A Close Look at Soviet Detente Policy

An analysis of the Soviet detente policy—its basis, its goals, its gains and losses, and why Moscow is finding it more and more difficult to pursue this in the 1980s (p. 16).

Washington's Words and Deeds

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Communique and is absolutely unacceptable to the Chinese people (p. 8).

Secondary Vocational Education

To meet the urgent needs of the modernization programme, China is currently restructuring its secondary education so that the large numbers of students not entering universities are trained in socialist consciousness and scientific and technical skills (p. 23).

Women Leaders

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women are playing in the nation's political, economic and cultural life (p. 4).

Model Worker Zhao

A campaign to learn from the late Zhao Chune. A worker who delivered briquets, she believed that serving the people meant doing whatever society needed of her (p. 4).



Students at the technical school of the Beijing Electric Machinery Plant attending a lecture by a veteran worker.

Photo by Wang Jie

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Party Consolidation

How will the decision of the 12th Party Congress on Party consolidation be carried out? Why will the process have to last three years?

The Chinese Communist Party is a Marxist-Leninist political party tempered and tested through long decades of struggle. In its ranks are outstanding elements of the Chinese working class and the Chinese people. The main body of our Party remains politically pure and strong despite the serious damage inflicted by the "cultural revolution." After the recovery and consolidation of the past few years, the situation in our Party is now much improved and its prestige is being restored and is rising.

On the other hand, it cannot be denied that our Party still has a dark side. This can be attributed to many factors. First, there is the pernicious influence of the 10 years of domestic turmoil which has not yet been completely eliminated. Second, we must admit that China's policies of increasing economic contacts with foreign countries and of stimulating its domestic economy, while totally necessary and correct, have somewhat increased the corrosive influences of different kinds of exploiting-class ideologies.

In his report to the 12th Party Congress, Hu Yaobang, General Secretary of the Party Central Committee, pointed out the problems that still exist in the Party.

He mentioned, among other things, the following: flabbiness and lack of unity in the leader-

ship work of some Party organizations; the extremely irresponsible or seriously bureaucratic attitude of a small number of Party members and cadres; abuse of power by some others to seek personal gain and privileges; corruption, embezzlement and other serious malpractices in the economic field among a small number of people.

The recent decision on Party consolidation was taken with these problems in mind. During the Yanan rectification movement in 1942, Chairman Mao formulated the principle of "learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones and curing the sickness to save the patient" and "clarity in ideology and unity among comrades." The implementation of this principle enhanced the understanding of the whole Party, strengthened its unity and created conditions for achieving victory in the anti-Japanese war and the War of Liberation. In contrast to this, excessive inner-Party struggle in the past, which advocated a purge either by "ruthless struggle and merciless blows" or by "overthrowing a large number and discrediting another large number," was linked with erroneous ideological, political and organizational lines.

The proposed Party consolidation next year will adhere to the previous correct principles, and the key link in accomplishing this work is to conduct a thoroughgoing ideological education throughout the Party. With regard to the organization and leadership, the consolidation will start with the

leading cadres and leading organs and then proceed to the lower-level organizations. The consolidation is aimed at unifying the thinking and actions of the entire Party and uniting the whole Party to work wholeheartedly for the Party's cause.

During this Party consolidation, the spirit of the Yanan rectification movement will be followed towards comrades who have committed mistakes, unfold criticism and self-criticism in real earnest in accordance with the requirements set for the Communist Party members. The emphasis is to help them learn from the past and correct their mistakes and raise their understanding together with the other comrades. In the final stage, there will be a re-registration of the Party members and only the very few who still fail to meet the requirements for membership after education will be expelled from the Party or asked to withdraw. As for the handful of remnants of the followers of the gang of four who continue to make trouble and those degenerate elements who have sunk to corruption and embezzlement, once discovered, they will be unequivocally expelled from the Party.

The consolidation of the Party organization is of primary importance to the Party and requires great care and adequate preparations. It needs to be carried out step by step in a planned way. That is why our Party has decided to do the work by stages and by groups over a period of three years beginning in the latter half of next year.

— Political Editor An Zhiguo

POLITICAL

**Party Central Committee:
Women Members**

At the time of liberation over 30 years ago she was only an ordinary worker, today she is a deputy provincial governor as well as an alternate member of the newly elected Party Central Committee. The daughter of a poor family, Chen Suzhi, 51, was admitted into the Party in 1949, one year after she became a factory worker in Shenyang in northeast China's Liaoning Province. In the ensuing years she served successively as a workshop section chief, a member of the factory Party committee and a factory director. Respected for her down-to-earth work style and studiousness, this March she was elected deputy governor of Liaoning Province in charge of the province's industrial work. Since assuming her new post, she has canvassed opinions in 30 factories and enterprises in four cities and a special administrative prefecture on how to conduct technological reforms and improve economic results.

Chen had only four years of primary school education before she went to work, but today she is a college graduate. In the 50s she attended night school classes and later went to a workers' political college. She also completed a university correspondence class and a two-year course in economic management at Liaoning University.

Some of the 11 newly elected female members and 13 female alternate members of the Party Central Committee are well-experienced veteran revolution-

aries who have been on the Central Committee for many years. Others are now on the committee for the first time. Younger and well-educated, these women, like Chen Suzhi, are professionally competent and have political integrity gained from many years of grass-roots work.

These new members come from numerous trades and professions. Xie Xide, for example, is a scientist. A graduate in theoretical physics from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Xie has taught and conducted research in semiconductors since she returned to the motherland in 1952. Now 62, she is concurrently deputy president of Fudan University in Shanghai, head of the Contemporary Physics Institute and vice-president of the China Physics Society, as well as a presidium member and general assembly member of the Chinese Academy of Sciences.

Even after she became a Party Central Committee member, uppermost in this physicist's mind were the problems in education and scientific research. In a recent press interview, she emphasized the importance and urgency of reforming the present higher education system. Instruction in pure science—including the arrangement of specialities, the teaching goal, professional training and the curricula—should be improved and updated to meet the needs of the nation's modernization drive. She added that the relations between disciplines should be strengthened, some engineering and technological sciences should be developed, and large numbers of engineering and

technical personnel in the interdisciplinary sciences should be trained.

Needless to say, the number of scientists and other professional women in leading posts should be increased. The election of women like Xie Xide and Chen Suzhi to the Party Central Committee is an indication that Chinese women are occupying increasingly important positions in the nation's political, economic and cultural life.

Learn From Zhao Chune

A campaign is under way to emulate a woman worker who dedicated her entire life to her people and her country.

Zhao Chune, who died of illness at the age of 47 in April this year, delivered briquets for a coal briquet shop in Luoyang in central China's Henan Province.

Some people look down on service work, influenced by traditional social prejudice. But Zhao Chune loved her job delivering briquets to the local residents because she understood how indispensable it was to them. Prompted by her desire to provide good services and contribute to the modernization drive, she often worked overtime. She was especially considerate of widowed, elderly and invalid people and family members of armymen and martyrs. She not only delivered their coal but also helped them do laundry and other household work in her spare time. She lived very simply and saved money to help people with financial problems.

Zhao was born into a poor peasant family, whose life im-



Zhao Chune clearing up the coal yard.

proved considerably after the Communist Party liberated her home village. Zhao decided to dedicate herself to her country and her people. She joined the Communist Youth League and later became a Communist Party member, determined to work full time for the communist cause.

In China, people who selflessly serve the people at the expense of personal interests are highly commended. There are many people like Zhao who have made contributions to the socialist cause doing ordinary jobs. Zhao Chune was honoured posthumously as a "special-class model worker" by the Ministry of Commerce.

The All-China Federation of Trade Unions recently issued a circular calling on the workers throughout the country to learn from Zhao Chune's noble qualities and her spirit of hard work. The staff of the briquet shop where she worked has decided to extend business hours and add some new services for the convenience of the customers. Thirty young people in the shop formed a "learn from Zhao Chune group," delivering briquets to the residents without a delivery charge. They have

also taken over caring for the families Zhao used to help.

In the campaign to learn from Zhao Chune, more than 300 such groups have emerged in the Luoyang commercial departments. About 180 workers, staff and shop assistants have been cited as advanced workers and 37 groups commended as advanced collectives.

The campaign has identified many advanced personnel and collectives all over the country.

FOREIGN RELATIONS

Peruvian Prime Minister Visits China

Peruvian Prime Minister Dr. Manuel Ulloa Elias paid an official visit to China from October 6 to 12. He and the other distinguished Peruvian guests accompanying him received a warm welcome from the Chinese Government and people.

In Beijing, Premier Zhao Ziyang held talks with the Peruvian Prime Minister. General Secretary of the Party Central Committee Hu Yaobang and State Councillor and Min-

ister of Foreign Economic Relations and Trade Chen Muhua also met with the Prime Minister and his party on separate occasions. During the talks and meetings, both sides exchanged views on bilateral relations and the international situation.

Bilateral Relations. Zhao Ziyang noted that Prime Minister Ulloa is the first leader of the Peruvian Government to visit China. He said that the visit is a big event in the annals of Sino-Peruvian relations.

Referring to China's foreign policy, Zhao Ziyang said that China adheres to an independent foreign policy and establishes and develops its relations with all countries, including Latin American countries, on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. He said: China will not permit any foreign interference in China's internal affairs or violation of China's sovereignty, nor will China interfere in other countries' internal affairs or violate their sovereignty.

In his speech, Prime Minister Ulloa said both Peru and China are countries with old civilizations and with great vitality. He said that the expansion of relations with China is an important aspect of Peru's relations with other countries. He reiterated on behalf of the Peruvian Government that Peru recognizes the Government of the People's Republic of China as the sole legal government of China and appreciates the Chinese Government's efforts to bring about the reunification of the motherland.

He added that the two countries have many things to do in economic co-operation and that Peru will send delegations to decide a co-operation programme for the coming five years.



At the welcoming ceremony in Beijing.

International Situation. Zhao Ziyang said that the super-powers are intensifying their contention for world hegemony, and the international situation is tense and turbulent. The world economic situation is also serious. The economic recession in developed countries and their policy of shifting economic crisis on to others deteriorates the economy in third world countries. He added that the prospects are broad for South-South co-operation, which will promote the progress of South-North dialogue.

Ulloa said that the people of the third world countries are organizing themselves in order to strengthen their position in the dialogue, to oblige rich nations to accept a more reasonable distribution of wealth and to respect the desire for independence of the people of all countries.

Latin American Region. Zhao Ziyang said that both China and

Latin American countries belong to the third world, and that no fundamental conflict of interests exists between them. China and the Latin American countries should co-ordinate and support each other in safeguarding national independence and sovereignty, developing national economies, improving people's livelihood, reforming the old international economic order and building a new and reasonable international economic order.

Ulloa said: In the current strained international situation, Latin America's position in the world has become increasingly important. He said he believes the Latin American countries will surely win China's support in their struggle for establishing a new international economic order.

Relations Between the CPC and Other Parties. Hu Yaobang said: We are willing to establish ties with nationalist parties and Communist Parties of the third world countries. In the course

of establishing such ties, we strictly follow the principle of independence, equality, mutual respect and non-interference in each other's internal affairs. Only by standing on the side of one's nation and people can a political party win victory.

Prime Minister Ulloa said: Though Peru and China have different social systems, we have many things in common. We feel inspired as comrades-in-arms on the same front with China because peoples of our two countries are fighting for a just cause in common.

Ulloa and his party, after leaving Beijing, visited Nanjing and Guangzhou.

Economic Briefs

- China's biggest power station using exhaust heat as an energy source has gone on line at the Daye Nonferrous Metal Company in Hubei Province. Powered by the exhaust heat produced in the smelting process of the reverberatory copper furnace, the station consists of a boiler and two generating units with a combined capacity of 9,000 kilowatts.

- A large chemical fertilizer plant is being built in the Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region in northwest China. The construction of the plant in Miquan County near Urumqi began in March 1980. Its imported equipment will enable it to produce 300,000 tons of synthetic ammonia and 520,000 tons of urea upon completion. It already has 58 separate pieces of machinery installed and 27,000 metres of pipes laid.

Political and Economic Justice, Theme of UN Speeches

Report from New York City

OPENING addresses to the 37th Session of the UN General Assembly have highlighted the increasing urgency and complexity of world tensions, continuing of super-power confrontation and the pressing need for more equitable and just solutions to the political and economic issues facing the 157 member states of this world body.

China Is With the Third World

In his October 4 speech (for full text see *Beijing Review*, issue No. 41), Head of the Chinese Delegation and Foreign Minister Huang Hua briefed the session on the Chinese Communist Party's 12th National Congress, and elucidated China's views and stand on the present international situation. His speech was warmly applauded. When he stepped down from the platform, delegates from more than 80 countries came up to greet him with handshakes. Some delegates told reporters outside the assembly hall that Huang Hua's speech is a proof that China is on the side of the third world.

"China is a friend of the third world and a friend of Bangladesh too," said a Bangladesh diplomat. "We agree with China's positions and we'll support each other for the realization of these positions."

Norodom Sihanouk Given Warm Welcome

The most prominent event at the current UN session so far was Samdech Norodom Sihanouk's speech at the September 30 meeting.

The Head of the Coalition Government of the Democratic Kampuchea Delegation spoke from personal experience to convincingly expose the vicious actions and atrocious crimes of the Vietnamese authorities in their aggression against Kampuchea. He said that only when Viet Nam withdraws all its occupation forces from Kampuchea can there be a decent solution to the Kampuchea question.

His speech, so full of strength and reason and confidence in final victory, aroused a long, standing ovation. A high-ranking UN official said that he has worked in the organization for many years and has seldom

seen a speech by a head of state so warmly applauded.

With the exception of the delegates of the Soviet Union, Viet Nam and 20 or so other countries, who walked out when Sihanouk spoke, all listened carefully. When Sihanouk finished his speech, more than 100 delegates went over to him to express their congratulations and respect.

On his arrival at the UN headquarters, Sihanouk was accorded a welcome that is given only to a head of state. At his place flies the national flag of Democratic Kampuchea. All this shows that most countries uphold justice, love peace and oppose foreign aggression. Also, it demonstrates that Viet Nam, which seeks regional hegemony, and its supporter, the Soviet Union, have become increasingly isolated in the international community.

China Condemns South African Authorities' Atrocities

CHINA strongly condemns the South African authorities for pursuing a policy of apartheid and resolutely supports the South African people's just struggle.

This was reaffirmed on October 11 by Huang Hua, State Councillor and Minister of Foreign Affairs of China, in a message addressed to Alhaji Yusuff Maitamasule, Chairman of the Special Committee Against Apartheid of the United Nations, on the occasion of the Day of Solidarity With South African Political Prisoners (Oct. 11).

The message demands the immediate and unconditional release of Nelson Mandela and all the other nationalists who have been put in prison by the South African racist authorities.

The message says, "For years,

the South African authorities have pursued a barbarous policy of racial oppression, wantonly arresting, imprisoning and killing leaders of the nationalist movement and the black people."

"The fascist atrocities committed by the South African racist regime have aroused the strong indignation of the international community and evoked the strong resistance of the South African people," the message says.

It says, "The Chinese Government and people have consistently and firmly supported the people of South Africa in their struggle against colonialism and racism and for national liberation."

"We are convinced that, with the solidarity and support of the African people and the people of the world at large, the South African people will win final victory in their struggle against racism and for freedom and liberation," the message concludes.

Superpowers Condemned

Many delegates in their speeches expressed grave concern about the tense international situation caused by the two superpowers — the Soviet Union and the United States — contending for world domination. They demanded that the two superpowers immediately stop their mad arms race.

French Prime Minister Pierre Mauroy, the first French head of government to attend a UN General Assembly session since 1958, spoke at the September 30 meeting. He said that a permanent factor of destabilization in the world is the continuing attempts by Washington and Moscow to defend or enlarge their spheres of influence, to deal with the world's problems through the distorting lens of their own interests. "This blindness on the part of the two superpowers is without doubt one of the principal causes of the world's present disorders," he said.

Since the founding of the United Nations in 1945, blood has been shed in 120 conflicts in all parts of the world. The past two years have witnessed an even worse situation. Crises have followed one after another, and it is the third world countries that have suffered most in all cases.

Many UN delegates demanded that the Soviet Union and the

Kremlin-backed Vietnamese authorities abide by UN resolutions and withdraw their troops from Afghanistan and Kampuchea. They also condemned Israel for its invasion of Lebanon and for massacring the Lebanese and Palestinian peoples with the connivance of the United States. They called for a fair and reasonable solution to the Middle East issue.

Concerned about the impact of the developed countries' sustained economic recession on the whole world, many third world delegates urged early global negotiations on changing the old, unequal economic relationship between the developed and the developing countries and that it be replaced with a new international economic order.

Those speaking in the general debate expressed their appreciation and support for the Secretary-General's proposal to defend the UN Charter and strengthen the world body's functioning ability.

On the current session's agenda are 138 items, covering a wider range of topics than any previous UN General Assembly session. This indicates that the world organization faces an increasingly complex and difficult international situation with new problems of all types continually arising.

—Chen Yicun

Respect the China-US Joint Communique

ANSWERING a question about Taiwan at the White House on October 6, US President Reagan expressed US willingness "to sincerely and honestly do our best to improve the relations with the People's

Republic of China." He also stressed that the US Government would continue to carry out the "Taiwan Relations Act," saying that "if the People's Republic keeps their word that . . . they would try to resolve

their differences (with Taiwan) peacefully and arrive at a peaceful reunification . . . then there would be a decline and an end at that time." Reagan's implicit demand that China must deliver a "peaceful solution" to the Taiwan problem as a prerequisite for an end to the US arms sales to Taiwan diametrically contradicts the China-US Joint Communique of August 17 as do his remarks about his "sincerity" about improving relations with China. Reagan's statement is absolutely unacceptable to the Chinese people.

The joint communique laid down the principles by which the US arms sales issue should be solved, i.e., US arms sales to Taiwan should be gradually reduced, leading, over a period of time, to a final resolution. No prerequisite should or can be attached to this. Taiwan is a province of China, and US arms sales to Taiwan constitute an infringement on China's sovereignty and interference in China's internal affairs, and should end as early as possible. As to how China will solve the Taiwan problem and achieve reunification, it is China's internal affair which permits no interference from any foreign country. In the China-US Joint Communique both sides reaffirmed respect for each other's sovereignty and territorial integrity and non-interference in each other's internal affairs as the fundamental principles guiding relations between the two countries. This certainly includes the issue of US arms sales to Taiwan. The US Government reiterated in the communique that it has no intention of infringing on Chinese sovereignty and territorial integrity, or interfering in China's internal affairs, or pursuing a policy of "two Chinas" or "one China,

one Taiwan." Therefore, starting from the issuance of the joint communique, the US Government should gradually reduce its arms sales to Taiwan and finally stop them. However, less than two months after the joint communique was issued, the US president said that the United States would reduce, and stop its arms sales to Taiwan only if China "keeps its word" on "a peaceful reunification." This cannot but make one doubt the US Government's sincerity in implementing the communique and promoting Sino-American relations on this basis.

There have always been people in the United States who are reluctant to give up the policy of "two Chinas" or "one China, one Taiwan." They live

in the 1980s, but cling to the Dulles doctrine of the 50s. They continue to regard Taiwan as an "unsinkable aircraft carrier" and disregard China's sovereignty. Those people went all out to block an agreement between the two countries and now they are trying to obstruct its implementation.

It is China's hope that the US Government will cherish its relations with China and be faithful to its words by strictly abiding by its commitments as stated in the communique. Only by so doing, can this obstacle be overcome and Sino-American relations be further developed in accordance with the desire of the two peoples.

— "Renmin Ribao" commentary
(October 10)

turn exacerbating unemployment.

Following are some of the factors contributing to the increasing number of jobless.

First, economic stagnation has retarded the EEC growth rate since 1973, thus limiting the number of job openings. For 22 years prior to 1973, the average annual growth of industrial production was 5.6 per cent in the nine EEC countries (Greece, the 10th member, joined on Jan. 1, 1981). Between 1973 and 1981 the rate decreased to 0.9 per cent. This year, the index of industrial production was slightly lower in February than it was in January and showed a 1.2 per cent decrease from the same period last year, according to European Statistical Office figures released in May.

Secondly, the lower investment rate combined with bad management has forced many West European enterprises to close down. The growth rate of fixed capital investment in the EEC fell from 6.2 per cent in the 1960s to 2.1 per cent in the 1970s. Today the region's productive capacity cannot be fully utilized, so there are no job openings.

Thirdly, because the recession is worldwide and has crippled all capitalist countries, Western Europe cannot substantially increase exports, and thus cannot hope to create jobs by producing goods for export. As it is, the limited market has caused repeated trade wars between countries, has irritated already existing difficulties within the EEC and has given rise to new protectionist measures in some countries.

Fourthly, 40 per cent of those without jobs in EEC countries

Jobless in Western Europe

THE economic recession in Western Europe has entered its third year, accompanied by serious and unremitting unemployment.

European Economic Community statistics outline the severity of the problem: In fiscal 1980-81, the number of unemployed rose from 6.7 to 8.8 million people, a sharp 31 per cent increase. It had crept up another 13 per cent last December when the number of jobless in the EEC topped 10 million. Some 300,000 more joined the rolls of the unemployed between July and August alone, bringing the total to more than 10.9

million people out of work (9.6 per cent of the work force).

The sustained recession has also brought inflation, and some countries have responded by cutting their budgets. While these measures succeeded in checking inflation somewhat, they also put a damper on investments, thus acting as a deterrent rather than a catalyst for economic recovery, and in



are under 25 years of age, because of the baby boom in the 1960s. About one million people are new entrées to the job market each year.

Fifthly, automation has reduced the number of jobs, causing a phenomenon known as "the unemployment of structure" or "the unemployment of technology." Under capitalism, there are few provisions for the workers who are replaced by machines.

Unemployment has inevitably affected the social and political stability of the entire region, making Western Europe crisis-ridden. Many countries have promised to create jobs and provide job training, but thus far the results have been negligible. It seems that at least in the immediate future, the unemployment problem will not be eased, but will worsen.

— Lin Jun, Yao Li

Spotlight on Panama

A MAJOR government shake-up in the wake of the resignation of Panama's President Aristides Royo and the succession by Vice-President Ricardo de la Espriella Jr. has brought international attention to the political situation in Panama.

Government Reshuffle

Acting on the proposals of the Commander of the National Guard, Ruen Dario Paredes, the new President fired hundreds of top government officials, including all the ministers in the Royo cabinet, the governors of the provinces, mayors of cities and ambassadors.

It was Panama's biggest government reshuffle in more than a decade. Panama enjoyed relative political stability after Chief of Government and Commander of the National Guard Omar Torrijos took power by a coup d'état in October 1968. But his death in a tragic plane accident last year was followed by political in-fighting in the ruling circle and several personnel changes in the government.

When he was in power, Torrijos was responsive to the wishes of the people for safeguarding national independence and state sovereignty. He opposed

colonialism and waged a long struggle to regain Panama's sovereignty over the Panama Canal. When he signed a new Canal treaty with US President Jimmy Carter on September 7, 1977, the 70-year-old national aspiration of the Panamanian people was finally realized.

In domestic affairs, Torrijos promoted a policy of democratization and of gradually returning political power to the people. In 1978, he nominated 38-year-old Minister of Education Aristides Royo for the presidency. Panama's stability was largely attributable to the wide support among the people for these policies.

After Torrijos' death, changes began to appear in the power structure. The first sign was sweeping staff changes in the National Guard, which is the country's armed forces and police force. The National Guard has always been the main force influencing Panama's political situation. Last March, Florencio Florez, who had succeeded Torrijos as Commander of the National Guard, was forced to retire. His successor, Paredes, immediately changed many leading members of the general staff and regional commanders.

In June, the General Secretary of the Democratic Revolutionary Party was replaced. All the leaders of the pillars of the state—the party, government and armed forces—are new to their offices.

Contradictions

Royo's resignation was the climax of the changes. Before resigning, he clashed with the Commander of the National Guard, the General Secretary of the Democratic Revolutionary Party, the President of the National Assembly and other important officials. Paredes, in fact, had publicly called for early general elections. This, of course, was directed against Royo.

All this added to Panama's serious economic recession, with foreign debts totalling US\$3,000 million, a growing mass movement of discontent, and more aggressive activities by opposition parties forced Royo to step down.

Another reason for Royo's resignation was the souring of relations with the United States. Apart from being of major strategic significance to the United States, which still has 20,000 troops stationed in the Canal Zone, Panama, after Mexico and Brazil, has the most US investments, totalling US \$2,800 million.

With the US Government taking a hard line of supporting the Right-wing military regimes in Central American states, it is not surprising that Royo's government wasn't to US taste. Royo was for closer ties with Cuba and he wanted to exclude the United States from the Latin American foreign ministers' conference scheduled for Panama City at the end of the year and to invite Cuba to this conference. Royo's position in this

matter, besides angering the United States, had widened his differences with the National Guard.

New President's Policies

After becoming President, Ricardo del la Espriella, while dismissing hundreds of government officials, took a middle-of-the-road position in forming his new government. He brought in opposition party members and people from various circles to his government. He also took steps to improve the domestic economy.

In foreign affairs, the new President supports US involvement in all Western Hemispher-

ic matters but he has reiterated that Panama will continue to stand together with other Latin American and third world countries. He said that Panama will support the efforts of the peoples of all countries who are opposing colonialism and are striving for national independence and territorial integrity, and that Panama is opposed to all forms of interference in and threats against small and weak nations.

As the new President's policies take into account the interests of all sides, Panama has managed to escape political turmoil despite a major government shake-up.

— Zhu Manting

self-sufficient in grain. The government has urged farmers to sell their surplus grain to the state, has taken steps to curb speculation, and has stopped the export of grain, thus stabilizing grain prices.

Togo is seventh in the world in phosphate deposits, with proven reserves totalling 160 million tons. Phosphates, cocoa and coffee are the country's main exports. To protect Togo's sovereignty over its natural resources, the government nationalized the foreign-owned Benin Mining Company in 1974. Togo's small and medium-sized enterprises have grown rapidly in recent years.

Togo's Search for Economic Independence

TOGO, on the west coast of Africa, is an example of a small agricultural nation that has readjusted its economic development strategy and is moving towards self-sufficiency in grain.

Like other African countries, Togo suffered the ravages of Western imperialism and colonialism. In the late 15th century Togo had already become a major slave-trading centre serving the growing Western colonies. It was not until independence in 1960, especially after Gnassingbe Eyadema became president in 1967, that Togo started to attain real progress in economic development.

Economic Growth

President Eyadema has stressed that true political independence must be supported by economic independence. The

Togo Government, therefore, has made economic development its primary objective. During the past 15 years, its per-capita income has tripled, reaching US\$380 in 1981. Thus, Togo no longer ranks as one of the world's most underdeveloped countries.

Over 80 per cent of Togo's population is engaged in farming. In the past, however, Togo produced almost exclusively cash crops for export, such as cocoa and coffee, while relied on import for grain. In 1977, the government called on the country to become self-sufficient in grain in five years. It launched a "green revolution" campaign and adopted a series of measures designed to attain this goal. In recent years, Togo has raised its grain production to 1.2 million tons a year, making the country basically

Difficulties Ahead

Due to falling world prices for phosphates, Togo's earnings have declined in recent years. Heavy borrowing to finance major capital construction projects has also brought Togo some financial and economic difficulties.

Last year, Togo entered into its fourth five-year plan for economic development and the government embarked on a policy of careful reappraisal and cutbacks. Government spending was reduced and industrial targets were readjusted, but efforts to develop agriculture continued, particularly in grain production and purchase. By closely co-ordinating economic development with both its domestic policies and foreign relations, Togo is able to maintain economic and social stability, and continues to move forward along the road towards economic development.

— Zhang Zhuji

On the Practice of Communist Thought

by Hu Qiaomu

WHEN the nation discussed the maxim that practice is the sole criterion of truth in 1978, some people held the following view concerning the practice of communism: Communism is a truth but it has not been tested by practice; since not all truths need to be tested by practice, practice is not the sole criterion of truth. This argument is wrong.

Of course, the purpose of the report to the 12th Party Congress is not to answer this question. But in the section dealing with socialist spiritual civilization, it explains a basic view that the communist thought and the communist movement advance through practice in the past, present and future. As the communist movement is a century and a half old, we cannot say that it has not been tested by practice.

The Meaning of Communism

What does communism refer to? It has two meanings: On the one hand, it refers to a social system to be established in the future; on the other, it means the ideology that elaborates why and how to establish this social system and the practice that aims at realizing this ideology, that is, the communist movement. (The ideology is also commonly referred to as the theory of scientific communism or scientific socialism, that is, the theory of Marxism. Marx did not distinguish socialism from communism as Lenin did later, but only put forward the idea that communist society had two phases. Therefore, the distinction between the theory of scientific communism and that of scientific socialism is of little significance.)

Some people may ask: Then does communism have three meanings, that is, the system, the thought and the movement? This question is not completely unfounded. We think, however, the thought and practice or movement are

inseparable. Without thought, there would be no corresponding practice or movement, and without practice or movement, there would be no way to reflect any thought of a mass nature. Therefore, we say that communism has two meanings.

Of course, strictly speaking, these two meanings cannot be completely separated. How can one completely separate the movement and the aim of the movement? But, in order to avoid confusion in usage, some distinctions are still necessary. In short, since the movement for communism began, communism has progressed through practice and achieved great developments and victories. Therefore, the idea that communism has not been tested by practice as well as the related view that communism is a "distant utopia," are completely wrong.

Development of Communist Movement Depends on Practice

The development of the communist movement has always depended on practice, not empty talk. What has guided the movement since there was scientific socialism? Communism. Why are we named Communist Party? Because the final aim of our struggle is to bring about a communist society and what we have been doing is the movement towards communism. The communist movement involves a prolonged historical process, which includes the whole process from the founding of the first Communist Party to the ultimate realization of communism all over the world.

Someone could say, "When I say that communism is distant and indistinct, I am not referring to the communist movement. I only mean that the final aim of communism is distant and indistinct."

This view is still completely wrong, because the steady progress of the communist movement has proved the correctness of the Marxist law of social development and the correctness of our theory and methods to achieve the final aim,

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and also has proved that the final aim can be achieved.

Let's take the climbing of Taishan Mountain for example. When we have climbed to the middle of the mountain, we can of course say that there is really a Taishan Mountain and, therefore, deduce that it really has a top. Although we have not reached the top and cannot be sure what a form it takes, we cannot say it is non-existent, because people's practice of climbing mountains has proved that every mountain has a top. What is more, our own experience of climbing to the middle of Taishan Mountain has provided us with considerably good reasons to make some rough estimates of the situation at the top of the mountain even though the relationship between these estimates and reality still needs to be tested by future practice.

Similarly, we have successfully entered socialist society, the first phase of communism, according to the theory of scientific communism. This is a most forceful and objective proof of the correctness of the theory of communism.

Since the movement of communism refers to the whole process from the founding of the first Communist Party to the ultimate realization of communism, all the work we do at the stage of socialist society today is a part of the communist movement. The struggles and work done by all Communist Party members and Communist Youth League members as well as the revolutionary masses who were united around the Party at the stage of the new democratic revolution prior to the establishment of the socialist society and after the founding of the Communist Party were also a part of the communist movement. Although the tasks of the movement, then or now, have not been to realize the communist social system, but to overthrow the rule of imperialism and feudal warlords, carry out the agrarian revolution, resist Japanese aggression, overthrow the reactionary government of Chiang Kai-shek, found the People's Republic and carry out socialist transformation and construction, all these struggles have been led to successes by the Communist Party according to the theory of communism. Therefore, they are all practice of communism.

The everyday revolutionary practice of all loyal Communist Party members is the practice of communism and every movement and action of the revolution is part of the communist movement. The task confronting the Communist

Party now is, of course, not so much to realize a communist social system, but to continuously improve and consolidate the extant socialist social system. This is something that needs to be made very clear and must not be confused. But it is nonetheless the task of the communist movement today.

Communist-Led Struggle Must Be Guided by Communist Thought

It is nothing new to publicize communist thought and put it into practice. We began to do so with the founding of the Party. It differs from but relates to the concrete tasks in the various periods since the founding of our Party. Early in the War of Resistance Against Japan, Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out in *On New Democracy*: "Without communism to guide it, China's democratic revolution cannot possibly succeed, let alone move on to the next stage."

Marx and Engels never considered communism as simply a social system. When they were first engaged in the communist movement, they founded an organization, the Communist League, and wrote the famous *Manifesto of the Communist Party* for it. However, they never thought that their task at that time was to establish the social system of communism. In *Principles of Communism* by Engels and in *Manifesto of the Communist Party* by Marx and Engels, they were clear that they did not envisage that all the means of production could be nationalized at one stroke after the Communist Party came to power. On the contrary, they pointed out that it was impossible to "abolish private property at one stroke" but necessary to "transform existing society only gradually." Nor was socialism established by the Paris Commune, the first state power of proletarian dictatorship in the world, which was esteemed by Marx and Engels and was called the "proletarian socialist republic" by Lenin in *The State and Revolution*.

Therefore, the Communist Party seizing political power does not mean the establishment of a communist system. This is a truth that has been proved by experience in all international socialist movements since the 1917 socialist revolution in Russia. The communist movement is not equivalent to the communist social system; the latter is only the final aim of the former. But, Communist-led struggles of

all natures are inseparable from the guidance of communist ideology and are hence steps of the communist movement, just as the steps we take in climbing Taishan Mountain, including those we take in various detours, are steps of the whole process of climbing.

Communism Has Been and Will Still Be Tested by Practice

The communist movement and the practice of communism began immediately after the birth of the Communist Party, so it is sheer nonsense to claim that communism has not been tested in practice. If this is true, why do we sum up experience in each of our meetings? We do this to summarize our experiences in the practice of the communist movement, no matter whether it has been gained in overthrowing reactionary rule or improving the production responsibility system in socialist agriculture and the economic responsibility system in socialist industry. We have already undertaken numerous practices. Hasn't our practice from the founding of a communist group to the present socialist People's Republic of China with a population of 1,000 million been the most remarkable in human history? If this has not been the practice of communist thought, then, what kind of practice has it been? Without the guidance of communist ideology and the Communist Party, this practice would be totally inconceivable.

We now have firm confidence in communism because we have already proved, both in theory and in practice, that the communist movement is correct. If not, how could a communist group develop and succeed in establishing the People's Republic of China? Although we Communists have weathered many twists and turns and have experienced many difficulties and dangers in our revolutionary cause, we have withstood all of them and are still pursuing our cause successfully. We have no practice in the future communist social system. It is both impossible and unnecessary for us to discuss today what the future communist social system will be.

Marx and Engels never liked to give detailed descriptions of the future communist society as many of the earlier utopian socialists had done, and this serves well to prove that they were very strict scientists. They confined their tasks to discovering the historical necessity that human society would definitely advance to the

communist society. Occasionally they made some very simple assumptions about the future communist society. But, the correctness and possibilities of these assumptions should still be tested by practice, just like any other scientific suppositions which need to be verified and corrected through experiments.

The development of every step of our socialist system which is now being built should also be constantly tested by practice. All the revolutionary movements our Party has engaged in, however, are the practice of communist ideology and are moves towards the final goal of communism. This cannot be denied.

Communist Thought and Present Policies

Here, one question should be thoroughly clarified. Our vigorous efforts to publicize and practise communist thought today does not mean that we are trying to stir up another "communist wind" and obstruct the development of collective and individual types of ownership or the thorough implementation of the genuine principle of "to each according to his work." We are now building a socialist society and improving the relations of production and their superstructures; we will never allow the institution of any subjective, utopian or adventurist policies which surpass the limitations allowed by the stage of social development. Otherwise, our socialist system as well as our communist cause will be undermined and we will surely end up in failure. We have suffered enough from such failures. Today we have become wiser and will never do the foolish things we did before.

However, we should also not forget that we are Communists and that only scientific communist ideology can successfully guide us in building a socialist society. We should never slacken our efforts to publicize communist ideology and educate our people with it, nor should we forget, in particular, that the bounden duty of every Communist is devotion to the final goal of communism throughout his or her life and wholehearted dedication to the greatest interests of the greatest number of the people. This calls upon us to adhere to our communist ideology, communist spirit, communist morality and communist attitude towards work under all circumstances and in all places.

We joined the revolution not for wages nor for getting our share according to our work. Since the founding of the Communist Party, none of the genuine Communist Party members have joined the revolution for reward, for promotion or for profit (if there are such people, we must expel them from the Party). Isn't this the communist spirit? We do not work for rewards no matter what revolutionary work we do (this does not mean that socialist society should not pay us appropriately for us to make a living, that is another question). What we strive for is the great ideal of communism; this ideal is absolutely not a utopian one but has already become a great mass movement and is advancing victoriously step by step.

There should be a unified understanding of this question in the whole Party. We must firmly reject such misunderstandings and fallacies which claim that communism is a "distant utopia" that has not been tested by practice. Communist elements exist in our everyday life. Otherwise, how can there be so many heroes and models who work selflessly and people who will sacrifice everything they have for the communist ideal? Are these people just utopianists? No. They are people of action working wholeheartedly for communism.

We are absolutely not utopianists. Our ideology has been tested in practice and this has confirmed our confidence in communism. Why does our confidence become firmer and firmer? Because practice shows that all the right things we have done have promoted the progress of the material and cultural well-being of our society. They conform to the interests of the people and have won their support, and are steps towards the future communist ideal.

Without Communist Thought There Wouldn't Be Socialism

To resist the corrosive influence of capitalist ideas, it is not enough just to rely on the socialist principle of "to each according to his work." Our country is big and poor and has a vast population. Even after our gross annual value of industrial and agricultural production has quadrupled and thereby places China in the front ranks of the countries of the world, our average per-capita annual income will still fall behind that of developed capitalist countries. We must, therefore, mainly rely on communist thought to resist the corrosive influence of capitalist ideas. The great ideal of ensuring

everybody a high level of material happiness and of spiritual civilization in the communist society is diametrically opposed to any exploiting system, and no exploiting class can think or conduct itself in this way.

Why did people lay down their lives for the communist cause, including the socialist cause, and why do others still working tirelessly at different posts for the socialist cause? Because of communism. Without communist ideology, where would these revolutionary acts come from? And why are we so busy today? If we were working only for the sake of our own sons or to acquire better housing, the socialist cause of our Party and the people throughout China would have perished long ago. We work simply for communism, not only the future communist society but, first of all, the present communist cause. The communist cause is not the same as the communist social system. Our socialist social system is only the first stage of the communist social system. Without communist thought there wouldn't be socialism.

The report to the 12th Party Congress calls for the consolidation of the Party organization. We must rely on communist ideology to do this work. Otherwise we won't be able to convince those who insist on "working according to how much one is paid" or "more pay but less work." We will also be less eloquent in accusing those who have seriously violated the law and discipline of betraying communism and failing to live up to the title of a Communist (these people, of course, have also betrayed socialism and are not progressive citizens). Why do we set such high demands on our Party members in the new Party Constitution? As I mentioned repeatedly in the previous paragraphs, we Communists are not just prepared to fight for the communist cause in the future, we began to fight for this cause long ago and we are still fighting for it.

We began to use communist ideology to fight all sorts of enemies when the Communist Party was founded in China. But, before the completion of the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production, we could not talk about building a socialist spiritual civilization. Today we have already established a socialist society and are promoting our socialist cause. This means that it is time to build a socialist spiritual civilization guided by communist ideology.

(A slightly abridged translation of an article published in "Renmin Ribao," September 24. Subheads are ours.)

Some Observations on Soviet Detente

by Zhang Zhen and Rong Zhi

"Detente" as a Soviet policy hit the headlines at the turn of the 1970s as changes and a shift in the balance of forces were taking place in the world. With this policy the Soviets sought to tip the balance in their own favour. Apart from trying to gain the edge on their adversary the United States, they set their sights on sowing dissension in the West, pursuing a southward thrust strategy and bringing about a strategic encirclement of Western Europe. Their ultimate goal was to seize worldwide hegemony from their North American rivals.

In the past 10 years, this policy has bought time for the Soviet Union and proved beneficial to the men in the Kremlin. It has quickly narrowed the gap between the two superpowers in the way of economic and military strength, in addition to weakening its opponent, and driving a wedge in the US-European alliance. But strategically, the policy has increasingly isolated the Soviet Union and has provided the West with an opportunity to infiltrate Eastern Europe and make its influence felt in the internal life of the Soviet Union.

As a tactic for achieving global supremacy, the Soviet "detente" policy, which was capable of making its way internationally, was designed to meet domestic needs. However, the Soviet Union will undoubtedly find it more difficult to press on with this policy in the 80s.

MOSCOW has been pursuing "detente" for more than 10 years from the late 1960s through to the early 80s. During this period the world witnessed many changes in the international situation as the two superpowers, the Soviet Union and the United States, locked in fierce trials of strength all over the world, manoeuvred to get the better of each other. Soviet "detente" had its ups and downs and then decidedly went on the decline. This policy continued without letups, and if there was any change, it was only about methods, tactics and means of implementation. In the words of the Kremlin leaders, the Soviet "detente" policy was by no means an "expedient measure"; instead, it was a well-conceived "long-term strategic principle," and that the Soviet Union would "carefully" and "consistently" carry it out.

No wonder that some questions relating to Soviet "detente," such as the international historical background for the formulation of the "detente" policy and the substance, aim, gains

or losses and the prospects of this policy remain matters of common concern to international public opinion.

Historical Background

International changes and the shift of emphasis in a given country's foreign policy have always been determined by various subjective and objective factors, the major one being the rise and fall of the forces in the international arena and the resultant new realignment. Keeping this basic point of view in mind and noting the changes in the postwar international situation and the Soviet Union's foreign policy as well will help people understand why Moscow found it necessary and thought it possible to put forward the "detente" policy at the turn of the 1970s.

In Stalin's postwar period of 1945-52, international forces were polarized, with a socialist

camp headed by the Soviet Union and an imperialist camp headed by the United States. These two camps were very uneven in strength. In the case of the United States, it was left essentially unscathed by the destruction of war and moreover made a huge fortune out of it. In the case of the Soviet Union, the best part of the country was ravaged, as it did sustaining the heaviest sacrifice for the defeat of Hitler's Germany. The disparity in economic and military strength between the two countries, great as it was before the war, now became more strikingly so. An economically and militarily strong United States brazenly infringed upon the interests of the Soviet Union and other countries and menaced their security in a frantic attempt to establish world hegemony.

The Soviet Union, on its part, devoted itself to rehabilitating its war-ravaged economy while internationally it focused its attention on consolidating its fruits of victory. In years following the war, Soviet-US relations may be characterized in the main as a "cold-war stalemate."

In the Khrushchov years (1953-64), the Soviet Union made considerable gains in the economic and military spheres. It began to reduce the gap with the United States in economic strength. The national income accounted for 31 per cent of the United States' in 1950 and 58 per cent in 1960; the value of its total industrial output, less than 30 per cent of that of the United States in 1950, rose to 55 per cent in 1960; and its total agricultural output value was about 85 per cent of that of the United States during the 1956-60 period.

In the military sphere during this period the Soviet Union made up its deficiencies, too. It began with the launching of a man-made earth satellite in 1957 and for a time the USSR outstripped the United States in the development of ballistic missile delivering systems. Its conventional armaments, hitherto no weaker than those of the United States, were further strengthened in those years.

During the early Khrushchov years, the Soviet Union followed a relatively flexible policy in its relations with the Western countries and stepped up its activities in the third world. In the intermediate years, the Soviet Union, overestimating the change in its favour with regard to the balance of forces between itself and the United States, pursued a line of policy of peaceful coexistence, peaceful competition and peaceful transition and indulged in a

fond dream of "dominating the world through Soviet-US co-operation."

At that time, however, the United States, unwilling to sit as equals with the Soviet Union, tried hard to preserve exclusive domination.

The Kremlin took some measures designed to relax the tension in Europe. For instance, it withdrew its troops from Austria and extended diplomatic recognition to the Federal Republic of Germany. But this quid pro quo received no response from the United States. The postwar situation in Europe remained fluid and the Soviet Union and the United States found themselves still at daggers drawn.

Undeniably, the "detente" advocated by the Soviet Union during the Khrushchov period did not get the results expected. In part this was due to the man's rashness in foreign affairs but the decisive factor was the imbalance of forces — the United States was stronger than the Soviet Union.

The first years after Leonid Brezhnev came to power in the late 60s marked a turn in the postwar international situation. The United States was considerably weakened by its war of aggression against Viet Nam and was obviously going downhill as a result of the domestic political crisis resulting from the Watergate scandal. The Soviet Union took advantage of the opportunity to catch up with the United States economically and militarily and to close the gap between the two countries.

Economically, the Soviet national income rose from 59 per cent of the United States' in 1965 to over 65 per cent in 1970; its industrial output value went up from 62 per cent to over 80 per cent and its output of 20-odd kinds of industrial products surpassed that of the United States.

Militarily, as far as strategic nuclear weapons were concerned, the Soviet Union was by and large on a par with the United States, and the way it had the edge on its opponent in conventional arms grew further. By that time the Soviet Union had come into the international arena as the other rising superpower, increasing its momentum of aggressive overseas expansion.

In the meantime, Western Europe and Japan which after 20-odd postwar years of restoration and development had steadily become another lever in the disposition of international forces did what they could to speak for

themselves in world politics and ceased to act at the beck and call of the United States.

At the same time, the socialist camp which came into being in the early postwar period no longer existed. So the earlier 2-way division was splintered into numerous poles. It was this significant turning point in the postwar international situation that brought about a profound change in the relations between the East and the West in the 70s.

At the Budapest Conference attended by the Warsaw Pact countries in March 1969, Brezhnev was at it once again, dishing up a whole set of proposals for achieving "detente" in Europe. Between March and April 1971, he put forward a 6-point "peace programme" at the 24th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU).

As for the United States, in July 1969, then President Richard Nixon, in his speech in Guam, set forth a so-called "new Asian policy," trying to extricate Washington from the quagmire of its aggression against Viet Nam and ease its tense relations with China and the Soviet Union. In his State of the Union Message to the US Congress in February 1970, he described three principles guiding US foreign policy: "partnership," "strength" and "negotiation," as the "three pillars" for the United States to establish a "lasting peace edifice."

In October 1969 after the Social Democratic Party of Germany came to power, then Chancellor Willy Brandt introduced his *Ostpolitik* and declared Federal Germany's "co-operation with the West" and "understanding with the East." As a member of the NATO and EEC, the Federal Republic of Germany tried to improve its relations with the Soviet Union and East European countries and establish a special relationship with the German Democratic Republic.

The "detente pattern" between the East and the West in the early 1970s was the result of the readjustment in the foreign policies of the Eastern and Western countries whose leaders deemed it necessary to keep up with the change in the disposition and balance of international forces. And so the Soviet "detente" policy took shape and developed during this period of upheaval.

Substance and Aim

The substance and aim of the Soviet "detente" policy can be clarified through an

examination of the fundamental aim of Soviet global strategy. The Soviet Union stresses that a scientific understanding of our era is the most important prerequisite a socialist country needs to correctly formulate its foreign policy. What is basic to our era, Moscow maintains, is the "transition from capitalism to socialism." Taken literally, such a formulation is not wrong, although it is a bit oversimplified because it fails to take into consideration the major tenets that countries want independence, nations want liberation and the people want revolution. Now how does the Soviet Union pursue its foreign policy? That's the point at issue.

For many years, the Soviet Union through the CPSU has assumed the role of a "father party" in the international communist movement, acted as a patriarch in the "big community," and set itself up as the "natural ally" of the third world countries. It followed the practice of "the big bullying the small and the strong bludgeoning the weak," in total disregard of the elementary international norms. It frequently resorted to interference, subversion and aggression and imposed its "model" and "experience" on other countries, forcing them to suit their domestic and foreign policies to the needs of Soviet domestic and foreign policies. Such Soviet big-nation chauvinistic and self-serving nationalist practices fully prove that its formulation about what is basic to our era is nothing more than a synonym for transforming the era of US world hegemony into an era of Soviet world domination.

As an important component of Soviet foreign policy, "detente" is a tactic by which Moscow hopes to realize its global strategy, in other words, to serve and give expression to the fundamental aim of Soviet global strategy — seizure of world hegemony from the United States.

As the Soviet Union has repeatedly emphasized, "detente" is by no means an "expedient measure." It has a special position in Moscow's various tactics.

Soviet official mass media frequently spread the notion that the emergence of weapons of mass destruction has "altered the mutual relationship between the aim of war and the means for realizing the war and changed the balance between the two and disrupted their unique equilibrium, ushering in for the first time a situation where the means of waging war now surpasses the aim of war."

In this thermonuclear epoch, Moscow stressed again and again, the "only way out" is to achieve relaxation between the East and the West and to pursue "detente" is the "wisest choice." To do otherwise would mean for mankind the destruction of all.

Of course, people must not take the Kremlin's statements too seriously. They seem to imply that the Soviet Union has ruled out all possibilities for recourse to war as a means to realize its global strategy. In this connection there are indications that for the present the Soviet Union seems ready to confine itself to using "detente" in the struggle with the United States for world hegemony.

To see things in this light, Soviet "detente" differs from its general tactics because it does contain certain strategic implications. Judged by Soviet words and deeds over the last 10 years, especially the so-called "materialization of detente" which it had been peddling since the European Security Conference, the substance and aim of Soviet "detente" can be summed up mainly as follows:

1. Through "detente" between the East and the West to create conditions for solving the remaining problems in postwar Europe and consolidate the achievements of the Soviet Union in Eastern Europe after the war.

2. Through "detente" between the East and the West to develop Soviet economic relations and trade with the West, import funds and technology from the West to accelerate the growth of its economic and military strengths.

3. Through "detente" between the East and the West to use negotiations and disarmament proposals to delay Western armaments expansion, work out the so-called "competition regulations" to restrict the West in its arms race with the Soviet Union and at the same time to go all out to develop its war arsenal so as to gain military superiority over the United States.

4. Through "detente" between the East and the West to lull the West, especially Western Europe, into a false sense of security and use economic bait and military deterrents to encourage appeasement in the West, widen the rift between the United States and Europe and gradually get US forces out of Western Europe.

5. Again to use "detente" to promote so-called "social progress," in other words, to use relaxation as a cover so that the Soviet Union

can bring its influence to bear and expand in its near neighbours, especially in the third world countries.

In short, the substance and aim of Soviet "detente" reflect Moscow's global strategy. That is to say, it uses East-West relaxation to gain an extended respite to vigorously develop its economy and increase its armaments so as to bring about a further change in its favour in the balance of forces, hoping thus to gain all-round superiority over the United States. At the same time, Soviet "detente" is designed to split the West, particularly to drive a wedge in the alliance between the United States and Western Europe, avoid a head-on conflict with the United States, press ahead its so-called "southward thrust" and realize its strategic outflanking encirclement of Western Europe. Finally, it is an attempt to defeat the United States, by war or without it, in order to displace that country and seize world hegemony.

Gains and Losses

What has the Soviet Union gained and lost in pushing "detente" over the past 10 years?

Firstly, it has won time with which to expand its economic and military strength measurably. Soviet military forces developed drastically over the last 10 years, too. When the first SALT (Strategic Arms Limitation Talks) agreement was concluded in 1972, the Soviet Union had fewer intercontinental ballistic missiles than the United States and had not yet solved the problem of independently targeted technique and accuracy. During the mid-70s, the Soviet Union made a breakthrough in the development of MIRVs and began deploying multiple warhead missiles. Today, it has approached or even surpassed the United States in the quantity and quality of strategic weapons and reached the stage where it can really claim parity with the United States. Besides, in the theatre of Europe it has a superior nuclear strike capability over the United States. The Soviet navy, once way behind the United States, is fast catching up too. In the 70s the number of Soviet warships swelled 40 per cent, thereby numerically outstripping the United States and developing an ocean-going fleet. Soviet conventional fighting services, including ground forces and a tactical air force, at present maintain and develop the superiority achieved in the 70s.

Secondly, it has benefited from large amounts of money and technology derived from the West. Estimates give the loans the Soviets received in the 70s in excess of US\$20,000 million; the volume of Soviet trade with the West shot up from 4,600 million roubles in 1970 to 31,500 million in 1981, a nearly 8-fold increase in 10 years.

By importing technology from the West, the Soviet Union has improved the technical level of industry, including its war industry. According to Western sources, by using such technology the Soviet Union increased its total industrial output value by 15 per cent in the period between 1968 and 1973. It was partly due to such Western financial aid and technology that the Soviet Union was able to quickly bridge the gap with the United States in the economic and military spheres.

Thirdly, it has weakened its opponent and split the Atlantic alliance. By using the breathing-space afforded by the relaxation of international tension, the Soviet Union has developed its economic and military strength more quickly than the United States. By expanding its close trade and economic relations with Western Europe, the Soviet Union, apart from winning economic gains for itself, has influenced Western Europe in such a way as to make it steadily dependent on itself economically. Furthermore, Moscow has availed itself of the rough balance of forces as exists between the Soviet Union and the United States and the military superiority it enjoys in the European theatre of war to exacerbate war fears among West European leaders and the public. And it left no stone unturned to alienate Western Europe from the US nuclear umbrella or at least to undermine its confidence in it. All this has thrown a spanner into the works, leaving European and American policies towards the Soviet Union in disarray and making it possible for the Soviet Union to make the most out of the situation. A notable case in point is the drawn-out and heated wrangling between the United States and Western Europe over the recent deal to build a natural gas pipeline jointly by Western Europe and the Soviet Union.

Fourthly, it has solved some outstanding problems of postwar Europe, and this led to the West's recognition of the status quo of postwar Eastern Europe. The treaty between the Soviet Union and the Federal German Republic affirming the existence of the two Germanys is favourable to the development of the German Democratic Republic. Bonn today has established diplomatic relations generally with the

East European countries and recognized the postwar international boundaries in this part of the world, forming as it does an important link in preserving the political status quo of postwar Eastern Europe. The convocation of the European Security Conference and its resolutions further confirmed Soviet achievements in Eastern Europe after the war.

Finally, over the last 10 years, the Soviet Union has speeded up its overseas expansion into several countries — Angola, Ethiopia, the three countries comprising Indochina and Afghanistan where the scope of its control and influence has far outmatched what, traditionally, is known as spheres of influence. It was to "detente" that the Soviet Union owed all these expansionist achievements. Detente may take the credit for these achievements, as its by-products, if not as its direct results.

Nevertheless, for the Soviet Union there is a debit side of this account.

Strategically, the Soviet Union has found itself increasingly isolated. Detente can be likened to a coin: On the obverse side is "real relaxation" — winning time to create conditions for realizing its global strategy and putting off an immediate head-on conflict with the United States. On the reverse side is "sham relaxation" — with the breathing-space at its disposal, going all out to build up Soviet strength and reinforce its strategic position in key areas of the world. Therefore, in terms of gains and losses, one cannot be separated from the other in the pursuance of detente. But as the Soviet Union exploits this respite to make vigorous efforts to expand economically and militarily in order to have the edge on the United States, it inevitably puts the West on guard and spurs it to catch up. Soviet manoeuvres to step up its expansion southward under the cover of relaxation also arouse, though slowly, the suspicions of third world countries, the immediate victims, and open the West's eyes to what Moscow is up to. On its part, the United States, determined to turn the tide in its favour, has begun to take a hard line towards the Soviet Union. In the case of second world countries, while pushing a "detente plus defence" policy, they, too, have begun to pay attention to building up their military strength.

As regards third world countries, they have heightened their understanding of the need to drive the tiger away from the front door and resist the wolf at the back and to close their ranks in the common struggle against hegemony. Such being the case, the Soviet Union

will find it more difficult to implement the "detente" policy as time goes on.

The West has exploited East-West relaxation to infiltrate Eastern Europe in a big way and intensify the centrifugal drift of the "big community" away from the Soviet Union. As the West is doing so, Moscow is bent on driving a wedge in the US-West European alliance, the West is doing the same with regard to Soviet-East European relations.

In the 1970s, the Soviet Union was compelled to relax prohibitions which restricted East European countries from developing contact with Western countries, in order on the one hand to indicate to the West its sincerity of "detente," and on the other hand, to reduce its economic commitments to Eastern Europe.

With the expansion of exchanges and business ties between the East and the West, the West also exerted an increasing influence on Eastern Europe.

Western countries, especially the United States, followed the principle of dealing with different East European countries in different ways, combining economic benefits to East European countries with efforts to promote political changes within them. At the same time, the West took advantage of these opportunities to establish contacts with many political dissidents in East European countries whose capacity for political manoeuvres far surpasses that of their counterparts in the Soviet Union.

The Polish crisis, now going on for one and a half years, is by and large the outcome of the sharpening contradictions within Poland and between Poland and the Soviet Union, but it also has something to do with the West's infiltration into Eastern Europe.

East-West relaxation also has provided an opportunity for the West to influence life in the Soviet Union, particularly in the ideological field. Once the Soviet Union starts opening up, albeit in a limited way, to the West, the latter's infiltration, maybe merely trickles in scale, does exert an influence on the people, especially the younger generation. Many of them are obsessed with so-called Western democracy, and unsatisfied with what they have to eat and wear, go after creature comforts. They no longer respect Soviet reality and adopt a nihilist attitude towards today's Soviet Union, thus giving rise to social problems of every description.

The political dissidents originating from the opponents to Stalin's personality cult were

very active after the European Security Conference. Helsinki agreement implementation supervisory committees (or groups) were set up one after another in union republics in the European part of the Soviet Union, which helped intensify the West's infiltration.

At the All-Soviet Ideological-Political Work Conference held last year, Mikhail Suslov admitted that an active "anti-Sovietist and anti-communist" feeling was spreading in Soviet society. People's concept of "class struggle" was fading away while unorthodox opinions were sprouting and taking root. Western newspapers and magazines confirmed that scepticism was surging ahead like flood-water.

Prospects

As the world entered the 1980s, it found the Soviet-backed war of aggression by Viet Nam against Kampuchea still raging, Afghanistan under occupation by direct Soviet armed invasion and the Polish crisis more acute than ever. The international situation in the 1980s will undoubtedly be more complicated and volatile with contention between the Soviet Union and the United States becoming more and more serious.

However, the rough balance of forces between the East and the West, especially between the Soviet Union and the United States, which came into existence during the 1970s, probably will be maintained. The world will not see another "golden age of detente" like the mid-1970s, neither will it be threatened by a return to the "cold war period" of all the 1950s. The Soviet Union is likely to continue its "detente" policy and pursue what is called its "indisputable strategic achievements."

With regard to US-European relations, the Reagan administration believes that an emaciated US-European alliance, weakened in spirit and on the point of breaking up, is due mainly to the decline of the US position of strength and a loss of will to assume leadership. If the United States builds up its strength and adopts a hard line towards the Soviet Union, the alliance will be cemented.

This view of the Reagan administration runs counter to Western Europe's "detente plus defence" policy. For while Western Europe wishes to see the United States take a firm attitude towards the Soviet Union, it nevertheless fears a too rigid stance could introduce new tensions into a "peaceful and prosperous" Europe.

Moscow, having felt the pulse of the contradiction between the United States and Europe over the issue of the Soviet Union, tries a different approach by acting in a way diametrically opposite to the United States and hoping thus to reap benefits from a situation in which Washington and its European allies are working at cross purposes — to pit a softening up process against the hard line and to overcome rigidity with flexibility.

This Soviet "detente" policy, as mentioned before, was designed to meet its needs at home. But the Soviet economy, developing at a visibly decreasing pace since the mid-1970s, has further slowed down in the early 80s, indeed to its lowest point since the war.

The causes for this are legion but the most important one is that its expenditures on arms expansion and war preparations as well as its outlays on overseas expansion have put the Soviet economy under intolerable pressure. According to estimates by Western countries, the percentage of Soviet present military spending in the GNP has run to about 13-14 per cent. If this spending continues at an annual rate of 4 per cent in the next few years, it is expected that it will go up to 15 per cent of its GNP (while that of the United States is now only 6-7 per cent) in the mid-1980s.

In addition, the Soviet Union is obliged to foot the bill for its adventures in Cuba, Viet Nam and Afghanistan to the tune of nearly US\$10,000 million annually. All this obviously has put a crushing burden on the Soviet economy.

Experiences over the years show that the Soviet Union will by no means be reconciled to losing the rough balance in military strength with the United States, nor will it shrink back from its arms race with that country. Moscow has its worries about a new round of the arms race between the two countries in the 1980s, in as much as the United States will use the lever of its leading economic and technological position to make a breakthrough in the development and deployment of new weapons and thereby upset the existing balance of US-Soviet military forces.

Since the Reagan administration came to power, it has tried hard to change its waning defence capability against the Soviet Union by assuming a fairly rigid stance towards the Soviet Union. Nevertheless, the decline of US

economic and military strength is a signal of the sinking of the imperialist system as a whole which no subjective desire or wise policy of any president can change. This determines the innate weakness of US policy towards the Soviet Union. Like the Soviet Union, the United States wants to use the respite prevailing to revitalize itself.

Western Europe is the major object of Moscow's "detente" policy. Western Europe is interested in relaxation because it believes that relaxation brings it real benefits. Western Europe also has its own strategic considerations. West European far-sighted statesmen are of the opinion that the confrontation between NATO and the Warsaw Pact Organization has reached a stalemate, and neither side can change the status quo of Europe by recourse to arms. In these circumstances, "cold war" can only accelerate the "calcification" of the situation characterized by the "separate rule between the two poles" of Eastern and Western Europe. While Western Europe on the one hand cannot rid itself of Soviet threats, on the other it has to depend on the United States. Conversely, relaxation makes it possible to exert a certain restrictive influence on the Soviet Union and provides Western Europe with an opportunity to demonstrate to the United States that it has "character," and thereby enhance its role and position in international affairs. One important point to bear in mind is that Western Europe seeks "detente" with the Soviet Union in part to influence Eastern Europe, hoping that some day Eastern Europe will become, to a certain extent, a "buffer zone" between itself and the Soviet Union. This, in the opinion of Western Europe, will improve its own strategic position.

In brief, under the present-day balance of international forces, relaxation caters to the needs of various quarters and thus provides the objective possibility for the Soviet Union to carry out its "detente" policy. Of course, the East and the West have always differed in their understanding of the substance and aim of relaxation. Throughout the last 10 years, each side has seen more clearly what the other side means and each has tried to profit from this knowledge. Thus, the Soviet Union will undoubtedly find it more difficult than before to push detente in the 1980s.

(From the "Journal of International Studies," issue No. 4, 1982.)

Tailoring Education to Fit China

China's modernization requires, among other things, rational job assignments — that is, matching people who have particular abilities to jobs that require those qualifications.

Such accurate placement is only possible if young people getting an employment are offered training in needed skills.

Since the reinstatement of university entrance examinations in 1977, secondary education has stressed academic preparation for potential university students. But it has tended to ignore the needs of the vast majority of students who go directly into the labour force from secondary schools.

However, Chinese secondary education is currently being reformed to better reflect the needs of students who are not university bound and of a society that requires young workers with socialist consciousness, culture, and basic scientific and technical training.

The new emphasis on vocational training is, however, not a static educational approach, but one tailored to find jobs for those who are awaiting them, jobs that support modernization. When the twin problems of low productivity and an untrained and job-waiting labour force are solved, the flexibility of socialist education will allow adjustments to deal with the challenges created by this improved situation.

This special feature focuses on the current and planned changes in secondary education. — Ed.

New Skills for a New Era

by Wen Xiajie

CURRENTLY, Chinese secondary education offers too much general academic course work and too little specific vocational and technical training. The planned structural changes will reform this irrational use of our educational resources so that our educational system can better serve the needs of modernization.

In the final analysis, rapid economic development can only be accomplished by people — people with the right knowledge and skills for the jobs. Not only are top scientists, engineers and researchers essential, but large numbers of skilled workers and technicians are also of fundamental importance.

The author is on the staff of the Ministry of Education's Middle School Education Department.

However, technical, agricultural and other vocational training is but a tiny component of secondary education. In 1977, only 5 per cent of all secondary school students were enrolled in vocational schools. The rest study in junior and senior middle schools.

Compounding this problem is the emphasis on preparing for college entrance examinations. Although about 4 million students have graduated from general senior middle schools each year since the examinations were restored in 1977, less than 300,000 were admitted to institutions of higher learning annually.

As a result, more than 90 per cent of senior high school graduates entered the labour

market directly without the necessary professional knowledge or job skills. Many required two or three years additional training following graduation. This led to low labour productivity in numerous enterprises that are key to economic construction.

Historical Patterns

The patterns of secondary preparation have not always been so irrational. Prior to the "cultural revolution," the structure of middle school education was basically compatible with national economic development.

In 1958, the government proposed twin emphases for secondary education — academic and vocational — to train young people for the tasks of New China. As a reflection of the changing needs of society, in 1963 Premier Zhou Enlai called for more urban vocational schools. The following year, Chairman Liu



A group of Guangzhou youths learning culinary skill.

Shaoqi proposed a two-level educational system that would offer some full-time schools (both academic and vocational ones) and some work-study (or farmwork-study) programmes.

Following a successful trial period, the government concluded that the two-level system was commensurate with China's reality and called for its institution nationwide. Spare-time schools for those already in the workforce were added to the second level, and together these schools became the foundation of China's socialist secondary education.

By 1965, more than half of the secondary school students (52.1 per cent or 4 million students) had been enrolled in secondary technical schools¹, workers' training schools², vocational (technical) schools³, agricultural middle schools and work-study schools. The remaining 47.9 per cent were in academic senior middle schools.

During the 10 years of the "cultural revolution" (1966-76), the two-level educational system came under attack from Lin Biao and the gang of four, who slandered it as a "bourgeois tracking system."

Many secondary technical schools and workers' training

schools were summarily closed; agricultural middle schools and vocational schools were completely dismantled.

In so far as there was any secondary education at all, the only schools allowed to develop were academic senior middle schools.

Wheels in Motion

In 1978, the Party Central Committee set the wheels in motion for a reform of the secondary educational system and the expansions of vocational training. The Report on the Work of the Government adopted by the Second Session of the Fifth National People's Congress in 1979 outlined plans for establishing several types of secondary vocational schools. In response, some local governments tried out selected experimental measures.

In 1980, the State Council issued a report submitted by the Ministry of Education and the State Bureau of Labour on the reforms of secondary education. More local governments undertook to reform senior middle school education and, in addition to government funded secondary schools, promoted schools operated by enter-

prises, factories, mines and communes.

Nationally, courses in vocational and technical skills were added to academic curricula. Some academic schools were converted into vocational or agricultural schools.

Local governments attempted to co-ordinate plans for vocational training with the needs of local economic development, so that the educational reforms would serve the economic reforms.

In the provinces and municipalities that instituted reforms in the earlier experimental period, some new job placement provisions were established. Enterprises were permitted to select vocational school graduates who scored well on qualifying examinations without requiring the usual job-waiting period. Graduates were allowed to seek jobs on their own without going through government agencies. Agricultural school graduates are assigned jobs and work as technicians or management personnel in rural areas. Graduates of all vocational schools may sit for university examinations.

The year 1981 saw great progress in educational reforms.

1. Secondary technical schools train middle-level professional personnel, such as accountants and nurses. At present, the programmes adopted by such schools are varied: Some enrol junior middle school graduates for four years; some enrol senior middle school graduates for two or three years of training.

2. Workers' training schools train middle-level technical workers, such as carpenters and welders. Currently they enrol mostly senior middle school graduates for two years' training.

3. Vocational (technical) schools train skilled workers and workers with special skills, such as chefs, tailors and photographers for one, two or three years.

Nearly two-thirds (60.3 per cent) fewer students were in academic senior middle schools than had been enrolled in 1977, while secondary technical school enrolment increased 55.3 per cent and workers' training grew 18.8 per cent. Enrolment in agricultural and other specialized vocational middle schools shot up from practically none to 481,000 people. Altogether 23.1 per cent of the senior middle school population is in vocational school.

Although this work is still in the experimental stages, even greater expansion is expected as the concepts are popularized in the next two years.

Solving Old Problems

Several obstacles have arisen in the course of educational reform. For example, in some

vocations or places the system of job recruitment was not altered to correspond to the educational changes, so that sons and daughters continued to inherit jobs from their retired parents, regardless of qualifications. As a result, many poorly educated people got jobs without a hitch while competent vocational school graduates could not get through the factory gates.

To solve such problems, some local governments are encouraging enterprises to link hiring to training, so that instead of retraining graduates after they are hired, the enterprises hire directly from the pool of already trained vocational senior middle school graduates. This method has demonstrated its superiority but remains to be popularized.

Fuxin — Education in an Industrial City

by Our Correspondents Li Ming and Zhao Funian

LI BIN knew failure well. School was an anathema to him and he never did well. He grew up in Fuxin, an industrial city in northeast China, during the "cultural revolution" (1966-76) while education was in shambles and primary schools barely taught the basics. When he entered junior middle school he was not prepared and not interested.

But Li was neither stupid nor badly behaved, and he turned his inquisitive mind to subjects he could grasp. He began to raise animals — doves, rabbits, cats and dogs. In the course of caring for them he found he needed other skills and struggled to learn carpentry.

His parents recognized that despite his poor performance in school, he was not an incapable student. "Wouldn't it be wonderful," they often sighed, "if

there was a school that could teach people manual skills."

Such schools were set up in Fuxin in 1979. It had become obvious that hundreds of Li Bins were being discarded by a

secondary educational system that offered only academic university preparation. The new vocational schools were a source of renewed hope for discouraged junior middle school graduates like Li. For Li, it was a dream come true. Today, thanks to the vocational school diploma, Li works as a carpenter.

Changes for the Better

"We changed the secondary educational structure in two ways in Fuxin," said Wang Rulin, deputy director of the city cultural and educational office. "First we eliminated a number of senior middle schools that weren't teaching anything and cut the number of middle schools (with both junior and senior highs) from 125 to 27. Most of these schools were set up arbitrarily during the 'cultural revolution' and had too few and unqualified teachers, poor teaching materials and inadequate facilities. They never functioned properly," he said.

"Secondly, we set up vocational middle schools for junior middle school graduates who could not get into senior middle schools. The new schools offered special technical training



Li Bin (left).

for particular jobs," he continued.

The city now has 69 vocational (agricultural) schools with an enrolment of more than 8,000. In 1978 only 1.3 per cent of all senior middle school age students were in these schools. Today they enrol nearly half (45 per cent) of that age group. Moreover, some vocational courses are offered in academic senior middle schools.

Help from Several Quarters

The Fuxin educational department did not have sufficient funds or teachers to operate the number of vocational schools they thought were necessary. Efforts became focused on urging enterprises to fund their own training programmes. Today, 89 per cent of the city's vocational and agricultural middle schools are run by factories, mines, and communes.

The agricultural middle school run by the Paozi commune is one of the 28 agricultural middle schools on the outskirts of Fuxin.

It teaches technical skills for agriculture while giving students a basic senior middle school education. It offers four majors: accounting, tractor principles, starch-making and cement-making. Its 115 students are peasant children from the surrounding area who graduated from junior middle school.

Shortly after the school opened in 1979, the commune allocated some valuable grain-growing land and a tractor to it, as well as a 13-room building for classrooms and dormitories. Commune Party committee secretary Wang Fengqi explained this aggressive support with a light analogy. "When a village lacks technical personnel, it is like a person who lacks



A technician teaching tractor principles to agricultural middle school students.

water. He won't quench his thirst if he sits at home waiting for the water to knock at his door."

Teachers and students alike participate in a work-study system that utilizes the land and equipment and helps fund the school. The students operate several agricultural projects, including a 50,000 yuan experimental hybrid seed plot and a tree farm.

Principal Han Zhenhe said, "The high-yield strains of seeds we cultivated last year were useful to local residents and earned us 12,000 yuan. We are now entirely self-supporting and have made numerous improvements in the school."

Centre for Skills Training

Fuxin's successes in vocational education can be attributed to its diversity, according to Wang Rulin, deputy director of the city cultural and educational office. Among its other endeavours, Fuxin operates a vocational educational centre that offers skills training on both a full-time and a part-time basis. More than 1,200 students are enrolled there.

Full-time study is roughly divided into three parts—literacy, specialized skills and other practical knowledge.

Visitors to the centre can observe numerous absorbed students: arts and crafts students in a three-year programme learning specialized commercial arts like plaster sculpturing; students in a six-month embroidery class doing the finishing work on machine-embroidered goods for export; and students in a one-year training course for pre-school teachers learning auxiliary skills such as dance and music. The two-year tailoring class boasts of more than 100 students.

The short-term evening courses and holiday skills training seminars were initially conceived of as a means of maximizing the use of buildings, facilities and teachers. They have been enormously successful in attracting students from academic high schools as well as workers looking to improve their work skills in their spare time. The centre's head, Deng Yaoming, believes its popularity stems from the fact that the centre provides training in

significant areas and thus is "geared to the needs of society."

Real Training for Real Jobs

Co-ordinating the training programmes with job assignments has been a complicated task, according to Chen Deshan, vice-chairman of the city planning commission, and Wang Jīngui, director of the city labour bureau.

Long-term plans for vocational education must be closely tied to economic projections, Wang said.

Overall the city's efforts have paid off in this direction. Beginning in 1981, in compliance with the state plan for labour, trades and professions were required to give preferential hiring privileges to the best qualified graduates of vocational schools.

Last year, half of the 600-plus graduates were assigned to work in state-run units and the other half to collectively owned units, Wang said. This year, still another 300 state posts will be filled by competent graduates from vocational schools (this figure constitutes 10 per cent of the openings made available by retirement and death; the rest will be filled by university and college graduates, demobi-

lized army men and job-waiting youths who were not assigned work in previous years).

These measures are significant indicators of Fuxin's support for vocational education in an economy that is being readjusted and has only a limited number of openings.

But there have been some shortcomings in deciding what training programmes were necessary, Wang said.

"For instance, because we failed to adequately summarize the city's needs, we trained more machine-building workers than we could use while we have an acute shortage of skilled and semi-skilled construction workers," he said.

As vice-chairman of the city's planning commission, Chen Deshan accepted the commission's responsibility for the errors, explaining that steps are being taken to ensure more accurate projections in the future.

Benefits of Reform

The Fuxin No. 20 Senior- and Junior-Middle School is a clear example of the benefits of reform. At one time it had about 1,600 students spread through some 30 classes. Since it had

been expanded arbitrarily, it was poorly funded and had a weak faculty.

Overcrowding plagued it. Several classes had to share one classroom in split sessions—some students attended school in the morning only, others in the afternoon only. No room was available for self-study or for individual tutoring.

Most of the students were local miners' children with two working parents. Because the school provided inadequate study facilities and most students had no one to supervise their study at home, they did not perform well. None of them ever passed the college entrance examination and few were admitted to other advanced training programmes.

In 1979 the city decided that this situation was intolerable. In compliance with the principle for readjusting academic middle schools, all the senior middle school classes in No. 20 were closed. Senior middle school teachers were reassigned to junior classes; teachers with the fewest qualifications were transferred from junior middle school to primary schools.

After readjustment, the No. 20 Middle School had 1,100 students in 20 classes, and each class had its own classroom. Funds were used more productively. The school, which once had no office for its principal, was able to set up chemistry, physics and biology laboratories and build a reading room that can seat more than 100 people.

Principal Chai Yadi, (who now finally has his own office), said that the school authorities have allocated 10,000 yuan for laboratory and other equipment and are taking steps to guarantee teaching quality.

With the improved facilities and teaching staff, students are



Display of vocational education centre students' works.



Graduates from a textile technical school at their workposts.

generally achieving more. Perhaps most important is the change in the students attitude, Chai said. University admission is no longer the only and impossible goal. Today students know that they can go on to vocational school, a reality that has changed a listless, unhappy school population into a bright and hopeful one.

"They Can Go Right to Work"

The final test of vocational education is on the job. Fuxin's vocational graduates are passing that test with flying colours.

Yu Yajun, the deputy head of a hostel that employs many vocational school graduates, finds them different from other recruits in two ways. First she says, they love their jobs because they chose these trades themselves, whereas other new workers were assigned to whatever job came open. Second, while other recruits must be trained, the vocational school graduates are already familiar with the tasks of the hostel and can "go right to work."

She is particularly impressed with the vocational graduates' initiative. For example, when a hostel guest was unhappy that

the hostel did not offer shoe-polishing services, vocational graduate Zhao Guangjie volunteered to polish his leather shoes with her own tools. When another guest tore her trousers, another staff member who had graduated from vocational school, Xie Jian, took out a needle and thread and solved the problem. When an older man required emergency medical care, vocational graduate Wang Xiaoling immediately sent for a doctor. While he was convalescing, she brought him three meals a day until he recovered.

The vocational graduates' initiative in taking care of these trifles shows the quality of their training, Yu Yajun said.

The vocational graduates also lead the others in the attitudes required of hostel staff members. Soft-spoken, light-footed and well-mannered, they set a good example for other youths who have just begun to work and do not find it easy to perform well, she said.

Strengthening the Backbone

The Fuxin Textile Plant, which accepted 400 graduates last year from its factory-run

vocational school, has found that these young people greatly strengthen its technical workforce, the backbone of the plant's production.

In the weaving workshop, which absorbed 200 of the graduates, the students are capable of many tasks and are receptive to learning new ones, according to Zheng Yunxiang, a workshop leader. "The school taught them both theory and operational skills and they are well able to do the work they are assigned," he said.

"Many workers who have been here four or five years still can't do the work required of top-grade operators, but 30 per cent of the graduates have achieved those skills," said Zhang Lirong, a supervisor in the weaving workshop who has worked in the factory for 10 years. Forty per cent of the graduates have first-grade (2nd highest) skills and the remaining 20 per cent are second-grade level (in a 4-grade system), she said.

Vocational school graduates are also credited with having a good sense of organization and discipline and an enterprising spirit. The workshop held a contest to determine who was the best worker over a given period, measured by the rate of error. Graduate Han Meijing won, with 99.3 per cent of her work virtually flawless. Graduate Liu Sumei was a three-time winner of a competition to produce 3,000 metres without errors and overfulfils her production quotas every month.

These two women are not alone, Zheng Yunxiang said. Since the graduates' arrival, the workshop as a whole has overfulfilled its targets as well.

Vocational schools are clearly an asset to the modernization drive. □

POPULARIZING SCIENCE

Peasants Welcome It

The popularization of agricultural science and technology has been gaining momentum over the last few years throughout China's rural areas. Hoping to transform traditional methods of cultivation with modern science, peasants have been seeking advice from agricultural technicians, a striking contrast with the past when contacts were few.

"Whether we are sitting in the office, working in the fields or shopping, peasants often raise questions concerning new agricultural methods," said Cui Huairang, an agricultural technician in Fengyang County, Anhui Province. In a recent three-month period 2,200 persons contacted the service centre where Cui Huairang works to raise questions about sowing,

fertilizing, plant protecting and irrigating. Peasants from kilometres around often gather there to attend lectures on agricultural science.

In Zhejiang, a provincial agricultural bureau member explained that the peasants are enthusiastic about science and technology because of the implementation of the responsibility system in production. During the three-day agro-science fair sponsored by Zhejiang's Tonglu County, more than 10,000 peasants attended in spite of stormy weather, buying 12,000 books. There are now 5 million production groups, peasants and households in the province who have signed contracts with their production teams pledging production results, so they are eager to learn more about science and technology.

By applying new methods, a young peasant in Shanxi's Linyi

County earned a bonus of 374 yuan for his extra production of 3,920 kilogrammes of wheat on the 1.4 hectares of land, while a peasant who cultivated a plot beside his with old methods was fined for failing to meet the quota.

Peasants have seen with their own eyes the importance of studying science. To meet their demand for knowledge, numerous popularization associations for agricultural science and technology have been set up in rural areas. In Jilin's Siping Prefecture, for example, there is a popularization association in each of its 150 communes. In addition, many societies concerned with various kinds of plants and diversified production have also emerged. These organizations have brought together local agronomists, veterinarians and other knowledgeable personnel



Left: A member from a science and technology popularization team telling the peasants in Shanghai's outskirts how to diagnose vegetable diseases.



Right: Liu Songhua (second, left), a production team leader in Hubei's Guangji County, sharing his knowledge about growing rice seedlings with others.

to provide services for rural production and construction.

Planting of good varieties of seeds has been vastly increased. Over 90 per cent of the rice, wheat and cotton seeds planted last year in Anhui Province were of superior strains. By planting 140,000 hectares of hybrid rice the province harvested an extra 160,000 tons of rice.

Xushu 18, a new species of sweet potato which was popularized last year on 800,000 hectares of land in eight provinces and municipalities, yielded an increase of 3,750 kilogrammes per hectare over local varieties.

As the network of wireless communication which covers most rural areas and radio sets have become even more prevalent, peasants are able to listen to weather forecasts and programmes related to current agricultural production. The Central People's Broadcasting Station has broadcast courses on agricultural knowledge and local stations have added their own programmes on agricultural science and technology.

In many areas, "exemplary households" have been selected as a method to further promote dispersion of new agricultural technology. These households, with the assistance of local technicians, plant new varieties and use improved technology while other peasants learn by example.

Among the 9 million peasant families in Anhui Province, there are 52,000 such "exemplary households" who have been applying advanced methods to 19,000 hectares of land. Since there are only 10,000 state-assigned agro-technicians working in the province's 3,300 communes, these "exemplary households" are vital to magnifying their impact.

MEDICINE

Medical Records of the Qing Court

The study of medical records of the Qing Dynasty (1644-1911) is a new field of research into Chinese medical tradition.

Collected by China's First Historical Archives, these materials are completely preserved. They total 40,000 items including the diagnoses and treatments given to emperors, empresses, imperial concubines, princes, eunuchs, palace maids, dukes and ministers and instructions concerning medicine and pharmacology in the emperors' handwriting. In 1980 systematic study of these records by the Academy of Traditional Chinese Medicine in co-operation with the First Historical Archives began.

These medical records represent the advanced level of the traditional Chinese medicine in the Qing Dynasty and its results in healing diseases. For instance, the medical records of Empress Dowager Cixi and Emperor Guangxu deal with curing various diseases, prescribing for long life, building up health, regulating the menstrual periods, child-bearing and treating spleen, stomach, liver, kidney, eyes, nose and ears. These records are of value today in helping know how to use Chinese medicine in preventing and curing chronic diseases and in regulating disorders.

Recently, China's first monograph on imperial court medicine *Selected Cases and Comments on Medical Recordings of Cixi and Guangxu* was published. Two other books, *Study of Qing Medical Records* and *Study of Prescriptions of*

Qing Court, are now being compiled.

Clinical research will be carried out based on the experiences reported at the Qing court. Researchers of the Academy of Traditional Chinese Medicine, co-operating with certain pharmaceutical factories, will make up medicines according to the recorded prescriptions for treating some common ailments such as heart and respiratory troubles, enterogastritis, and old-age diseases. Curative effects will then be scientifically tested.

Tibetan Secret Medical Dictionary

Ang Gong, a doctor of traditional Tibetan medicine, recently presented to the state a handwritten copy of the 900-year-old *Secret Medical Dictionary*, the first one known to be in existence.

According to appraisals by doctors of Tibetan medicine, this is a copy of the work originally written in 1076 by Milaqiadong, a noted doctor at that time. It is said that Milaqiadong refused to pass on his knowledge to anyone except his closest disciples and for a long historical period, no one had seen the work, though there is reference to it in *Tibetan Medical History*.

This copy was scribed by Tibetan doctors of the school of Zhi Gong about 400 years ago and passed on secretly from generation to generation.

Divided into 36 chapters, the book recorded its unique way of treating various diseases caused by heat symptom-complex and the prevention and cure of seasonal febrile diseases. This book is of value in the study of traditional Tibetan medicine.



Chinese wisteria
and sparrows.



A pond in autumn.

Huang Dufeng's

Traditional Chinese Paintings



Nantian Gate on Mount Huashan.

Born in Jieyang County, Guangdong Province, in 1913, Huang Dufeng learnt painting from the famous artist Gao Jianfu when he was very young. He later studied in Japan. After he returned to China, he continued painting and also taught fine arts. He is now a professor at the Guangxi Institute of Fine Arts and deputy director of the Guangxi branch of the Chinese Artists' Association. His unique paintings mainly depict nature.

"JINGJIXUE ZHOUBAO"

(Economics Weekly)

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