

# PEKING REVIEW

6

February 10, 1978

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**Fake Left, Real Right**

**Superpowers and Neutron Bomb**

*January's Industrial Successes*

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# PEKING REVIEW

北京周報

BELJING ZHOUBAO

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## Chairman Hua Meets President Sadat's Special Envoy

Chairman Hua Kuo-feng met on the afternoon of February 4 Egyptian President Anwar el-Sadat's Special Envoy Hassan el-Tohamy, Deputy Prime Minister at the Presidency and Political Adviser to the President.

During the meeting, Deputy Prime Minister Tohamy handed President Sadat's letter to Chairman Hua. He said: President Sadat asked me to convey his sincere regards to you.

Chairman Hua expressed his thanks for this, and said: "We appreciate the heroic struggle waged by the Egyptian Government and people under the leadership of President Sadat to safeguard state sovereignty and national independence and dignity and oppose big-power hegemonism."

Chairman Hua stressed: "The Chinese Government has followed a consistent policy on the Middle East question. We condemn Israeli Zionism for its policy of aggression. We condemn hegemonism for subjecting the Arab nation to its aggression, control and exploitation."

In its negotiations with Israel, he pointed out, the Egyptian Government has stuck to a stand that calls for the recovery of the lost Arab territories, restoration to the Pales-

tinian people of their national rights, and a total solution; this stand is just and conforms to the interests of the Egyptian, Palestinian and other Arab peoples.

He said: "We sincerely hope that the Arab peoples will unite to exclude superpower interference and splitting activities, and form a broad united front against the common enemy."

Chairman Hua asked Deputy Prime Minister Tohamy, upon returning home, to convey the regards of the Chinese Government and people and his own to President Sadat and the Egyptian Government and people.

The meeting proceeded in a cordial and friendly atmosphere.

Special Envoy Tohamy arrived in Peking on February 2 at the invitation of the Chinese Government. Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien and Foreign Minister Huang Hua held talks with him while he stayed in Peking. Vice-Premier Li spoke at the banquet held in his honour on the same day. The Vice-Premier sincerely hoped that the Arab countries would attach importance to the common interests of the Arab nation, cast off superpower interference and sabotage, unite as one and persist in the struggle.

After giving a return banquet at the Great Hall of the People on February 4, the Special Envoy went to Shanghai for a visit.

## A Precious Gift From Canada

When Chairman Hua Kuo-feng met Canadian Secretary of State for External Affairs Donald Jamieson last week, he received a bronze bust of Dr. Norman Bethune presented by the Canadian Government to the Chinese Government and people.

Forty years ago, Dr. Bethune came to China from Canada and dedicated his life to the revolutionary cause of the Chinese people.

During the meeting, the Canadian Secretary of State for External Affairs said: Dr. Norman Bethune has become a hero and legend in your country and a figure of historical importance in my own. Dr. Bethune's qualities as a fighter, as an innovative surgeon and above all as a dedicated humanitarian deserve homage. The skill and devotion which he brought to his work in the service of the Chinese people has left a profound and lasting impression. By his deeds he has set us an example which will serve as inspiration for succeeding generations.

Chairman Hua expressed thanks for the gift. He said: Dr. Bethune not only served China with his medical skills but laid down his life for China's progressive cause. Chairman Mao, the Chinese people's great leader and teacher, wrote a special article



**Chairman Hua receiving a bronze bust of Dr. Norman Bethune presented by Canadian Secretary of State for External Affairs Donald Jamieson on behalf of the Canadian Government.**

in his memory. The name of Dr. Bethune is known to all Chinese, old and young. The Chinese people hold this internationalist fighter in esteem and set him up as an example to follow. Chairman Mao called on the Chinese people to learn from Dr. Bethune's spirit of internationalism, utter devotion to work and constantly perfecting his skills. Dr. Bethune is a symbol of the friendship between the Chinese and Canadian peoples.

Donald Jamieson came to China on a return visit at the invitation of Foreign Minister Huang Hua who had visited Canada last October.

Accompanying the Canadian Secretary of State for External Affairs on his visit were his wife, Members of Parliament, an Under Secretary of State for External Affairs, and well-

known personages in industrial and commercial circles.

### **Vice-Premier Teng Visits Nepal**

Last Friday, February 3, Kathmandu gave a red-carpet welcome to Vice-Premier Teng Hsiao-ping, who came on an official friendship visit to Nepal at the invitation of Prime Minister Bista. His one-week visit to Burma finished, Vice-Premier Teng flew over the roof of the world — Himalayas — by special plane following the route which King Birendra of Nepal had taken on a visit to China in 1976. That year, Premier Hua Kuo-feng had cordially hosted King Birendra in Szechuan Province. The visit of Vice-Premier Teng to China's close neighbour will add another chapter to the history of Sino-Nepalese traditional friendship.

In the evening of the arrival of Vice-Premier Teng and his party at the Nepalese capital, Prime Minister Bista, by order of the King and Queen, gave a state banquet in honour of the Chinese guests. The King and the Queen attended. Before the banquet, the King and the Queen and the Prime Minister of Nepal had a long conversation with Vice-Premier Teng.

Host and guest made cordial speeches at the banquet. They both stressed the long-standing close relations and profound friendship between the two peoples. They also gave their views on the current international situation. (See highlights of the speeches in box on p. 5.)

On the afternoon of February 4, the Kathmandu City Panchayat held a mass rally at the Tundikhhet Open Theatre to welcome Vice-Premier Teng and

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I am happy to note with great satisfaction that both Nepal and China have adhered to these basic postulates of inter-state relationship [Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence], thus making it a model of relations between big and small countries with different political values.— **Bista**

Nepal is determined to design her own destiny.— **Bista**

We condemn all forms of discrimination and injustices, and support the just struggle of the peoples of southern Africa. We have been equally concerned with the situation prevailing in the Middle East. The problems of the Middle East are such that unless a satisfactory solution acceptable to all is reached, the situation may deteriorate and endanger the peace of the world.— **Bista**

His Majesty the King's proposal on declaring Nepal a zone of peace, which reflects the just stand of the Nepalese Government and people to maintain the peace of this region and develop friendly relations with all its neighbouring countries, has won extensive respect and support internationally.— **Teng Hsiao-ping**

The situation in South Asia is also developing in a direction favourable to the people of all the countries there and unfavourable to hegemonism. The people of South Asia have come to see more clearly that the rivalry between the two hegemonist powers is the main cause of the prolonged turmoil and unrest in this region.— **Teng Hsiao-ping**

We, the Chinese Government and people, will, as in the past, firmly support the South Asian countries and peoples in their just struggles to safeguard national independence and state sovereignty and oppose foreign interference and control. We firmly support His Majesty King Birendra's proposal on declaring Nepal a zone of peace and are ready to assume appropriate commitments arising therefrom. We firmly support the proposal of the Pakistan Government for the establishment of a nuclear-free-zone in South Asia. And we firmly support the positive proposal of the Sri Lanka Government for making the Indian Ocean a zone of peace.— **Teng Hsiao-ping**

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his party. When the Chinese Vice-Premier arrived at the theatre, 39 Panchayat members presented bouquets of flowers to him.

After the welcoming address made by B.P. Dhungana, Chairman of the City Panchayat, Vice-Premier Teng spoke and asked the rally to convey to the Nepalese people the cordial greetings and good wishes of the Chinese people. That evening, King Birendra and the Queen feted Vice-Premier Teng at the Royal Palace.

On February 5, Vice-Premier Teng visited Patan and Bhadgaon, two towns near Kathmandu. He gave a farewell banquet in the Chinese

Embassy to Nepal that evening before his departure for home.

### **January's Industrial Successes**

As a Chinese saying goes: A year's work, well begun in spring, is as good as half done. In other words, laying a good foundation in spring ensures success for the whole year's work.

Achievements of the nation's major industrial departments in January show that a good start has been made for this year's industrial production.

**Iron and Steel.** State plan for steel production in January was fulfilled two days ahead of schedule and the output of pig

iron, rolled steel and other steel products all topped planned targets. The 1978 state quotas for the metallurgical enterprises are much higher than those of last year, but output hit an all-time high for this month thanks to the efforts of workers and staff members.

**Petroleum.** Crude oil production plan was overfulfilled, with both monthly and daily output outstripping that of the fourth quarter of last year. Since the end of last December, with the minister and vice-ministers of the petroleum and chemical industries taking the lead, some 20,000 cadres in the petrochemical industry have gone to the grass-roots units to work alongside the workers. This has given further impetus to oil production. Total drilling footage in January nearly doubled that of the same period of last year.

**Coal.** State plan for coal production was fulfilled three days in advance. Following the example set by Chairman Hua who inspected the coal pits in Tangshan on New Year's Day, more than 30,000 leading cadres of the coal mines in various parts of the country went down the pits to do a stint of labour and give on-the-spot guidance.

**Railways.** In the past, freight volume used to drop in January because of the cold weather and the great number of passengers during the traditional Spring Festival. In January this year, however, instead of a decline, freight volume exceeded that of last December. While more freight and passenger trains ran according to schedule, the turnaround period of freight waggons was further shortened.

# Fake Left, Real Right

— The “gang of four’s” counter-revolutionary revisionism seen in the context of class struggle

by Wang Cheh

ALL revisionists are in essence politically Right; this is their common nature whether they are revisionists of the old line or of today, abroad or in China. However, they alter their appearances in different periods or under different conditions. Some emerge as Rightists; others dress themselves up as “Leftists.”

Lin Piao and the “gang of four” were revisionists who donned the mask of “Leftists” but were ultra-Right in essence. The latter, in particular, could not have been farther to the Right, yet they pretended to be “Leftists” in the extreme. This deceptiveness of theirs was shown particularly on questions of political line and theory.

## Making Use of the Phrase “Class Struggle”

The “gang of four’s” revision of Marxism did not lie in their denying the existence of class struggle in the socialist period, but consisted in isolating the phrase of “class struggle” from the complete system of Marxist theory and in exaggerating, distorting and perverting it from the “Left.” By analysing their disguise as “Leftists” in connection with their attitude towards Chairman Mao’s three directives, one can see their ultra-Right essence.

In 1974, Chairman Mao issued three important directives on different occasions: one on studying the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, another on stability and unity, and

still another on pushing the national economy forward. The “gang of four” took over the directive on studying the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, distorted it and cast the other two directives to the winds.

Seeing this, Comrade Teng Hsiao-ping pointed out in 1975 that the three directives were interrelated and inseparable, therefore they must be understood in their entirety and implemented in an all-round way. Under the guise of grasping the key link of class struggle, the “gang of four” spared no effort to criticize what they called the “theory of the all-importance of the productive forces” and the “theory of the dying out of class struggle.” Actually they intended to use their “class struggle” to replace everything else so that they might negate the interrelations between the three directives and brush aside the necessity of promoting stability and unity and of pushing the national economy forward.

The relationship between class struggle and national economy is that the two are consistent. Since class struggle is the key link, it should be used by the proletariat to promote the growth of the national economy. Why should we engage in class struggle, in making revolution? In the last analysis, it’s to liberate the productive forces. Why should we exercise the dictatorship of the proletariat? **“The aim of this dictatorship is to protect all our people so that they can devote themselves to peaceful labour and make China a socialist country with modern in-**

dustry, modern agriculture, and modern science and culture.” (Mao Tsetung: *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People*, 1957.) The realization of the modernization of agriculture, industry, national defence and science and technology will in turn consolidate the proletarian dictatorship. However, the “gang of four” set these two in opposition to each other. They talked about class struggle, but discarded the struggle for production and scientific experiment. They dwelt on proletarian dictatorship, but opposed the “four modernizations.”

Class struggle is the motive force of social development in class society. This is a fundamental Marxist principle. Yet there is another fundamental Marxist principle, that is, production is the base of a society and first there is the struggle for production and then there is class struggle. Productive activity is the most elementary practice of mankind. It decides all other human activities, including class struggle. The proletariat is sure to triumph over the capitalist class because the former represents the new productive forces. Socialism is sure to triumph over capitalism because socialism can create higher labour productivity. These are all basic Marxist principles. In criticizing what they called the “theory of the all-importance of the productive forces,” the “gang of four” actually denied the fact that in the last analysis

the productive forces are the decisive force in historical development. Theirs was not a criticism of revisionism as they pretended, but of Marxism. Using class struggle to brush aside the struggle for production is revisionist, not Marxist.

Now take the relationship between class struggle on the one hand and stability and unity on the other. The two are interrelated. Stability and unity does not mean writing off class struggle, and vice versa — class struggle does not mean writing off stability and unity. Class struggle is the key link which should be grasped to promote stability and unity. By onesidedly exaggerating class struggle, the “gang of four” set it against the principle of stability and unity, and used their so-called class struggle to undermine stability and unity. To them, struggle meant everything, the more acute the struggle, the better. “One should not worry that struggle will undermine mutual relations, unity and unification” — this appeared in an article in the April 1974 issue of the journal *Hongqi*, then controlled by the “gang of four.” Reading between the lines would show that their real motive in carrying out struggle was to undermine unity and foment a split, and their greatest anxiety was not to have enough disorder in the country.

Surely, this is not Marxism, but revisionism.



Lenin once pointed out that the surest way to discredit a new idea is to exaggerate it or carry it beyond the limits of its actual applicability on the plea of defending it. For under these conditions, any truth can be reduced to an absurdity. The "gang of four" did exactly what Lenin had said. On the plea of defending Marxist teachings on class struggle, defending Chairman Mao's theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, they did their utmost to exaggerate class struggle and apply it everywhere to negate other basic Marxist theses and principles and to dismember the whole system of Marxism. As a result, an originally correct thing is bound to be reduced to an absurdity. Under circumstances in which Marxism has already gained great victories, it is far more effective and vicious to use this method to damage it than to openly oppose it.

### Carrying Out Struggles on Two Fronts

Waging struggles against both "Left" and Right deviations is a basic experience of the international communist movement; it is also one of the basic experiences of our Party. In the two-line struggle between Marxism-Leninism and opportunism or revisionism, the latter may attack the former from both the "Left" and the Right side. Therefore, we must defeat them on both the "Left" and Right fronts or waging struggles on the two fronts. This is the case during the period of the democratic revolution and that of the socialist revolution. As Chairman Mao pointed out: **"We must wage a struggle on both fronts, combating both 'Left' and Right deviations."** (*Speeches at the National Conference of the Communist Party of China, 1955.*)

All revisionists invariably oppose Marxism within the scope of Marxism. The difference is that those revisionists on the Right aim at blunting the revolutionary edge of Marxism and emasculating its revolutionary spirit, while revisionists like the "gang of four" try every

means to disguise themselves as more "Left" and more revolutionary than Marxists.

Is it possible that there are persons more Left or more revolutionary than Marxist-Leninists? There is none. Only out of sarcasm can they be called "Leftists." Commenting on Trotskyism, Stalin said: **"But if the Trotskyist trend represents a 'Left' deviation, does not this mean that the 'Lefts' are more to the Left than Leninism? No, it does not. Leninism is the most Left (without quotation marks) trend in the world labour movement."** **"And within our Party we combat not only those whom we call openly opportunist deviators, but also those who pretend to be 'Left' than Marxism, 'Left' than Leninism, and who camouflage their Right, opportunist nature with high-sounding 'Left' phrases."** (*Industrialization of the Country and the Right Deviation in the C.P.S.U. (B), 1928.*) Stalin pointed out in explicit terms later in the same speech: **"Not only are the 'Left' deviators not Lefts without quotation marks, they are essentially Right deviators."**

Of course there are different cases of "Left" deviation. Some are just erroneous trends in doing concrete work. Some have matured into a line of "Left" deviation. Even when a line is formed, there is still a distinction to be made: some result from impetuosity, immaturity or petty-bourgeois fanaticism, but some are a counter-revolutionary disguise. When Trotsky finally turned out to be an out-and-out counter-revolutionary, his speeches were still quite "Left." As to Lin Piao and the "gang of four," their counter-revolutionary scheming under a "Leftist" mask can be said to have reached a pinnacle. They confounded the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, Marxism and revisionism, ourselves and the enemy, and Left and Right. They tried to present genuine Leftists as "Rightists" in order to overthrow them, while at the same time they — a band of real Rightists — styled themselves "Leftists." We must without fail set to rights again everything that they had confounded.



# Mask and True Features

by Chou Cheng

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**C**HAIRMAN Hua Kuo-feng pointed out in his article "Continue the Revolution Under the Dictatorship of the Proletariat to the End" that "in the deep-going struggle to expose and criticize the 'gang of four,' we must use Mao Tsetung Thought to strip off their 'Leftist' mask and reveal their true features as ultra-Rightists." This points to the connection between the gang's mask and its essence.

## (I)

Inheriting Lin Piao's "Leftist" disguise, the "gang of four" cloaked themselves in it with even greater subtlety.

In his Report to the Tenth National Congress of the Communist Party of China in 1973, Premier Chou En-lai quoted a saying among the people pointing out the characteristics of Lin Piao "who never showed up without a copy of *Quotations* in his hand and never opened his mouth without shouting 'Long live,' and who spoke nice things to your face but stabbed you in the back." The first three points refer to Lin Piao's disguise as a "Leftist." Lin Piao's line is characterized mainly by the use of this kind of mask to cover up his ultra-Rightist features.

His plan for an armed counter-revolutionary coup d'etat entitled *Outline of Project "571"* and his flight in betrayal of the country on September 13, 1971, exposed his ultra-Rightist essence. But he depended upon his disguise as a "Leftist" to start out with. This highly deceptive ruse of posing as a "Leftist" does great harm to the revolution. Unless this legerdemain of Lin Piao's is exposed and criticized, we cannot clearly understand how his ultra-Right line could hoodwink a section of people during the struggle at that time.

The "gang of four" forbade criticism of Lin Piao's "Leftist" disguise, as well as any mention

of guarding against the "Left" deviation. Anyone who tried it would be labelled an "ultra-Rightist," castigated as "attacking Leftists" or accused of "negating the Great Cultural Revolution."

The "gang of four" and the Lin Piao anti-Party clique behaved in a strikingly similar manner; that is, they all put on masks to pass themselves off as "Leftists" and to hide their true features as ultra-Rightists. This is the reason why the "gang of four" did all they could to undermine the movement to criticize Lin Piao.

An important reason why the "gang of four" was able to work so much havoc under the same guise not long after the shattering of the Lin Piao clique is that the "Leftist" mask of the Lin Piao anti-Party clique had not been fully exposed or criticized in the light of the true features behind it.

## (II)

Some comrades think that "Left" is better than Right.

This is not true. Both "Left" and Right will lead the revolution to failure.

In Volume V of the *Selected Works of Mao Tsetung*, Chairman Mao time and again pointed out that adhering to the correct line involves the necessity of struggling against both Right and "Left" deviations. In opposing Right opportunism, attention should always be paid to opposing "Left" deviations. There he criticized the view that "Left" is better than Right. In *The Debate on the Co-operative Transformation of Agriculture and the Current Class Struggle* written in 1955, Chairman Mao pointed out: "Attention must be paid to guarding against the 'Left' deviation. To guard against the 'Left'

deviation is Marxism, not opportunism. Marxism does not call for 'Left' deviations, and 'Left' opportunism is not Marxism."

While exposing Liu Shao-chi's ultra-Right line during the Great Cultural Revolution, Chairman Mao never neglected criticism of "Left" deviations. The Communiqué of the 11th Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party adopted on August 12, 1966, pointed out the necessity of overcoming obstacles arising from both "Left" and Right opportunism during the Cultural Revolution. In his letter to the Red Guards of a middle school, Chairman Mao reminded them of uniting with all those who could be united and paying attention to policy.

During the convening of the Ninth Party Congress in 1969, Chairman Mao taught us that while paying attention to a major tendency, we must take note of another tendency which may be covered up. In his report to the Tenth Party Congress held in 1973, Premier Chou reiterated this view of Chairman Mao's.

"Left" and Right opportunism are both characterized by the breach between the subjective and the objective, by the separation of knowledge from practice. Their way of thinking is subjective and metaphysical.

The method of thinking of those with "Left" deviationist ideas is also subjective. They are apt to give an absolutely affirmative or negative answer to a question. Organizationally speaking, they take a fancy to sectarianism. They regard themselves as the most revolutionary, thinking "only I am a Leftist" or "it's only me that's revolutionary." Therefore, they are unable to unite with the vast majority. This is one aspect of petty-bourgeois "revolutionary spirit." It is difficult for people like this to see through the schemes of the "gang of four," and under certain circumstances they are likely to be made use of by the enemy. This is why Chairman Mao always made opposition to subjectivism and sectarianism an important component of every Party rectification campaign.

Since the struggle against the bourgeois Rightists in 1957, a salient feature of the class struggle in China has been that bourgeois representatives within the Communist Party wave the banner of revolution to oppose revolution.

To distinguish who are Rightists in such a situation, it is all the more necessary to pay attention to stripping them of their "Leftist" mask.

### (III)

Generally speaking, bourgeois representatives like the "gang of four" do not openly speak of their true motives. Instead, they take over revolutionary slogans for their own ends and turn them into something preposterous through distortion or exaggeration. For instance, when Chairman Mao said that capitalist-roaders existed within the Party, the "gang of four" came out in fervent support. But they trumped up the perversion that a bourgeoisie existed within the Party. When Chairman Mao issued the call to wage revolution in the political and ideological spheres, they took over this slogan as an excuse for opposing expansion of the productive forces in order to undermine the national economy. Borrowing the slogan against putting knowledge first in the revolution in education, they pitted it against students raising their general educational level or seeking scientific knowledge.

On the surface, their line appears to be opposed to Liu Shao-chi's line. In fact, the only difference is that it is enveloped in a "Leftist" smokescreen. The "Leftist" cover-up and its real ultra-Rightist features are two sides of the same coin. It is imperative that we criticize the "gang of four" first by exposing its "Leftist" disguise, and then criticize it in connection with its ultra-Right essence. Only in this way can we eliminate its pernicious influence and really see through its counter-revolutionary nature and tactics.

While we stand for exposing and criticizing the "gang of four's" "Leftist" tricks, it is by no means tantamount to saying that they are "radicals" of some kind. They are typical representatives of the Kuomintang reactionaries in our Party. They are a gang of ultra-Rightists. They painted themselves as "Leftists" in an attempt to enforce an ultra-Right line. This is all there is to it. It may seem contradictory that ultra-Rightists should issue forth as "Leftists," but in fact this shows their counter-revolutionary tactics of waving "red flags" to oppose the red flag under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

# Refuting Yao Wen-yuan's Fallacy That The Principle "To Each According To His Work" Breeds Bourgeoisie

by Su Shao-chih and Feng Lan-jui

IN March 1975, Yao Wen-yuan, a member of the "gang of four," wrote in an article: "The existence of bourgeois right provides the vital economic basis for the emergence of new bourgeois elements." He also made it clear that what he meant by bourgeois right was mainly the principle "to each according to his work." Thus, since it embodies the exchange of equal amounts of labour, "to each according to his work" was described as a capitalist principle, a bourgeois right, a decadent hangover of the capitalist system. And subsequently, the fallacy that "to each according to his work" would engender the bourgeoisie was spread far and wide by Yao Wen-yuan's article.

## Is It a Capitalist Principle?

Under the capitalist system, the purchase and sale of labour power is conducted in the field of circulation where both capitalists and workers are commodity-holders, the former possessing money and the latter their own labour power. There transaction proceeds according to the principle of exchange of equal values. But in the field of production, the use value of the labour power belongs to the capitalists, and the workers furnish a far greater amount of labour to the capitalists in productive labour than that which they are paid for by the capitalists in the form of wages, which are roughly equivalent to the value of their labour power. Here it is no longer an exchange of equal values, and the difference, the surplus value created by the workers, is pocketed by the capitalists gratis. So under the capitalist system the workers are subjected to exploitation.

Under the socialist system, it appears that workers give more to society than they get from it, that is, they do not take back from the society exactly the amount of labour they furnish to it. True, it is impossible for every individual worker to take back the total amount of labour he renders. But as far as all the workers taken as a whole are concerned, they do receive back from the society exactly what they give to it, for all the deductions made from every worker, except those for accumulation and reproduction, are used to satisfy the common and long-term needs of all of them. This is an "exchange of equal amounts of labour," but without exploitation. It was only in this sense that Marx said: "Equal right here is still — in principle — bourgeois right." (*Critique of the Gotha Programme*, 1875.)

Can such "exchange of equal amounts of labour" possibly be found in capitalist society? Is there such "bourgeois right" in capitalist society? Certainly not. So how can the principle "to each according to his work" be regarded as capitalist because it embodies the "exchange of equal amounts of labour"?

"To each according to his work" is not an obsolete capitalist principle; on the contrary, it is a newborn socialist thing, a socialist principle that comes into force only after the proletariat has overthrown the capitalist system and established the socialist system. Its introduction gives a labourer the right to work according to his ability and to receive pay according to his labour. It enables workers to be concerned about the fruits of their labour and brings their enthusiasm for socialism into full play.

Of course, under the principle "to each according to his work" the phenomenon that one is richer than another will still exist. This is a "defect" as compared with the future form of distribution in the higher phase of communist society. But this by no means indicates that the principle has at the present stage become a decadent old hangover. Only when it no longer conforms to the development of the productive forces and its limits are exceeded by such development will it begin to die out.

### **New Bourgeois Elements Do Not Emerge As a Result of This Principle**

A fundamental cause of the emergence of capitalism, as Yao Wen-yuan described in his article, was "bourgeois right and that part of inequality it entails." Here, "inequality" unmistakably referred to the principle "to each according to his work." He also maintained that "a small number of people will in the course of distribution acquire increasing amounts of commodities and money through certain legal channels and numerous illegal ones." Here, "legal channels" "in the course of distribution" too referred to the same principle of distribution. Obviously, to discredit the principle and condemn it as the economic cause of the emergence of capitalism and new bourgeois elements is precisely what Yao's article was written for.

The substance of Yao Wen-yuan's fallacious contention can be summed up in three points: One, the principle "to each according to his work" would enable a small number of people to "acquire increasing amounts of commodities and money," entail inequality and inevitably cause polarization. Two, it would "give rise to such acts of capitalist exploitation as the conversion of commodities and money into capital and labour power into a commodity." Three, it would stimulate "capitalist ideas of amassing fortunes and craving for personal fame and gain." Hence the emergence of capitalism and new bourgeois elements from the principle "to each according to his work."

Now let us examine these points one by one to see how absurd they are.

First, Yao Wen-yuan said that the principle "to each according to his work" would enable a

small number of people to amass commodities in huge amounts.

Labourers, as we know, do not acquire commodities; they spend their pay to meet their needs as consumers.

Speculators would amass large quantities of commodities, but they are few in number. The money they use for their speculative activities does not consist of wages paid in accordance with the principle "to each according to his work," nor are their commodities bought with such wages. Their money and commodities, by and large, are "accumulated" through illegal channels such as graft and theft. Of course, a very small number of persons engaged in productive labour may speculate with the money they get under the principle "to each according to his work," but the scale and scope of their speculative activities can never be very big. And, if they could carry on speculation for long, then the money available would have to come mainly from speculation and exploitation and not from their legal earnings they would get under this principle.

So it is clear that these are two different things: one, labourers receiving pay for their work, and the other, scoundrels grabbing the fruits of labour from others by illegal means such as graft, theft, speculation, etc. But Yao Wen-yuan lumped them together in an attempt to discredit the socialist principle "to each according to his work."

Yao Wen-yuan asserted that distribution to each according to his work and that part of inequality it entailed would inevitably give rise to polarization.

There are two kinds of polarization. One arises among small commodity producers under the system of private ownership of the means of production which brings about competition and anarchy in production. While a small number of them climb up and become capitalists, the large majority are reduced to the ranks of the proletariat. As for that part of inequality the principle "to each according to his work" entails, it consists only of differences that exist among the labouring masses in the course of their advance towards the goal of providing plenty for all. Such differences have nothing in common with the polarization which results from small

commodity production. The other is the polarization which takes place in capitalist society as a result of the accumulation of capital, namely, with capital becoming increasingly concentrated in the hands of a tiny number of capitalists, the workers becoming more and more impoverished and bankrupt. This sort of thing does not happen in a socialist society.

Second. Yao Wen-yuan alleged that the principle "to each according to his work" would lead to capitalist exploitation involving the conversion of commodities and money into capital and labour power into a commodity.

Money can be converted into capital and labour power into a commodity when, in the first place, money can be used to buy as commodities the means of production (including machines and raw materials) and such means of production can be employed to exploit workers; and secondly, when money can buy labour power in the market without restriction, that is, when a labourer who possesses nothing but his labour power can dispose of it at his own discretion.

But in a society where the system of public ownership of means of production is established and the principle "to each according to his work" applied, free purchase and sale of the means of production is not allowed. Besides, as workers are masters of the means of production, they need not sell their labour power. Therefore, in socialist society there exist no legitimate conditions which would allow for capitalist exploitation through the hiring of wage labourers.

Another situation exists in which money is converted into capital — money is used to buy commodities (mainly means of consumption) which are to be resold for profit. This is money converted into commercial capital, which, as it does not have to buy the means of production and labour power, is not restricted by the aforesaid two conditions. Yet still, such conversion is conditional. In our society, no individual is allowed to buy or sell not only the



means of production but also the means of consumption, nor is he (she) permitted to engage in intermediate exploitation. In other words, conversion of money into commercial capital is strictly restricted and such activities are illegal.

As there are still classes and class struggle in our society, there are always people who will engage in such illegal activities. But, so long as the state under the dictatorship of the proletariat tightens its control over them, both the state and co-operative commercial enterprises provide an abundant supply of commodities and the prices between town and country and in different areas show no substantial discrepancies, the scope for such speculative activities will be very narrow and, consequently, it will be very difficult for money to be converted into speculative commercial capital.

If counter-revolutionary revisionists usurp the Party and administrative leadership in certain departments or areas, then, without doubt, speculative activities would spread unchecked there. In the last few years, for instance, speculation flourished in those places seriously sabotaged by the "gang of four"; there the conversion of money into commercial or speculative capital presented a very grave situation. How-

ever, as stated above, such money as was converted into capital was acquired through exploitation and not labour. So such conversion had nothing to do with the principle "to each according to his work."

Third, Yao Wen-yuan asserted that ideas of amassing fortunes and craving for personal fame and gain would spread with the introduction of the principle "to each according to his work."

This is sheer slander. Amassing fortunes and seeking personal fame and gain are characteristic of capitalist ideas, whereas the principle "to each according to his work" is a negation

of the system of exploitation. So how can it be said that such ideas come from this socialist principle?

The assertion that the principle "to each according to his work" would engender new bourgeois elements is not only absurd in theory, but it proves false in real life. Were new bourgeois elements like Wang Hung-wen (a member of the "gang of four") born out of the principle "to each according to his work"? Absolutely not. They became new bourgeois elements precisely because they used that portion of power they usurped to grab wealth from the people.

## CHINESE PRESS SURVEY

### Guideline for P.L.A.'s Work

**W**E Must Grasp the Key Link of Class Struggle in Running the Army Well and the Army Must Prepare Itself for Fighting" was the title of an editorial published in *Jiefangjun Bao* on January 26.

This, the editorial noted, is the guideline for all fields of work in the army for some time to come. To ensure success, the editorial put forward the following tasks:

Efforts must be made to secure complete victory in the great political revolution to expose and criticize the "gang of four" politically, organizationally and ideologically.

The whole army must make every preparation against any war of aggression launched by the imperialists and, in particular, the Soviet social-imperialists. It must be ready to cope with the gravest situation. Veteran army cadres should be mentally prepared to take part in a war against foreign aggression and should do their best to train new cadres.

A good job must be done in reorganizing the ranks of cadres and appointing competent cadres to various leading posts. Leading bodies at all levels in the army must hold aloft the great banner of Chairman Mao, resolutely obey the Party Central Committee and its Military Commission headed by Chairman Hua and be capable of standing the tests of wars and struggles between the two lines. In testing and judging cadres, the editorial stressed, we must attach importance to their attitudes in the 11th two-line struggle. All leading bodies must rid themselves of opportunists and persons who gloss over their faults, engage in factional activities or indulge in politicking as well as those whose revolutionary will has degenerated to a serious extent.

It is necessary to step up Party building and political work. Party committees at various levels must be consolidated and they must uphold democratic centralism and adhere to the system of division of labour among leading comrades with each taking on due responsibilities so that the Party committees will become nuclei in giving unified leadership and achieving unity in the army. Political organs, for their part, must function as effective bodies of the Party that enjoy high prestige.

Education and training must be carried out with an eye to strategic needs and the political and military qualities of army units must be further improved. The whole army must study

and grasp Chairman Mao's military thinking comprehensively and accurately. Through diligent study and hard training, the commanders should be efficient in organizing and directing a war fought with modern weapons and the fighters should be skilful in using their weapons and equipment. Military academies or institutes of various types should be run well so as to enable cadres receiving training there to acquire a wider range of knowledge in military affairs.

The whole army must make the best of available financial and material resources and keep expenditures at the minimum so that more funds can be used to speed up national economic construction. Spare-time recreational activities must be organized well in all companies.

It is necessary to keep to the system of building up the armed forces by combining the field armies with regional forces and the militia; the building of the militia must be strengthened. Provincial military area commands, sub-area commands and departments in charge of the people's armed units at the county level must attach importance to militia work.

Our army's fine traditions and style of work — seeking truth from facts, the mass line, democratic centralism, criticism and self-criticism and arduous struggle — must be restored and carried forward. Company commanders must be thoroughly familiar with their men, commanders of the regiments and battalions with the squads and platoons, those of the divisions and armies with the companies, and the various arms and services must have the divisions and regiments at their finger-tips.

Efforts must be made to step up research work on national defence science and technology and the production of military industries and to bring about the modernization of national defence. It is necessary to streamline administrative organs in the army, strengthen the sense of organization and discipline and carry out orders and rules and regulations to the letter.

We must be ready at all times to liberate Taiwan. The editorial stressed that the army must in all its work keep an eye on preparing itself for fighting. Since we are still in

the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution, wars are inevitable. The contention between the Soviet Union and the United States for world hegemony is bound to lead to a war some day. We must uphold Chairman Mao's theory differentiating the three worlds, adhere to his revolutionary line in foreign affairs and form the broadest possible international united front against superpower hegemonism and policy of aggression and strive to put off the outbreak of a war. But we must be prepared for the war launched by the enemy at an early date and on a large scale.

Our Party, the editorial continued, is now in a new period of carrying on the revolutionary cause pioneered by our predecessors. And our army must follow Chairman Mao's military thinking and military line comprehensively and accurately, carry forward its fine tradition and style of work and take over the ideological wealth bequeathed to us by Chairman Mao.

In conclusion, the editorial called on all comrades in the army to hold high the great banner of Chairman Mao, grasp the key link of class struggle in running the army well and work hard to raise our army's military and political qualities to a new high, push our work on making preparations against war to a new and higher level and build the P.L.A. into a proletarian army capable of standing the tests of any modern war and political upheaval.

## Spreading Scientific Knowledge

FRESH efforts are being made in China to popularize scientific knowledge among the masses through special columns in newspapers and special programmes in TV and radio broadcasts.

*Renmin Ribao* has from time to time devoted a whole page to important articles and reference materials on science and technology, including an article published recently by the well-known physicist, Chien Hsueh-sen. *Jiefangjun Bao* has published in its special column the exploits of outstanding people in the

electronics industry; it has also carried articles on military science and stories about ancient Chinese scientists and their inventions. *Guang-ming Ribao* runs a special column "On the Scientific and Technical Front"; to date more than 20 issues have been published, acquainting the readers with scientists and technicians who have made noteworthy achievements and imparting scientific information on large-scale integrated circuit, quantum biology and other fields of research. Peking's *Beijing Ribao* and Shanghai's *Wen Hui Bao* also have special columns carrying stories about ancient and contemporary Chinese inventors and scientists and reports on how young people in China are learning and applying science.

Most provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions have their own science periodicals. The *Hunan Science and Technology*

*Gazette* has won the praise of Chairman Hua. It has published more than 400 issues and has done much in disseminating scientific knowledge and promoting scientific activities among the masses.

The "Scientific Knowledge" programme sponsored by the Central People's Broadcasting Station covers a wide range of disciplines of natural science and new techniques such as the satellite communication ground station and genetic engineering. More than 20 articles were broadcast recently on farm mechanization. A special programme for children includes science stories and fictions and quizzes on common scientific knowledge.

Televised courses in English, mathematics and electronics are given by the Peking Television Station and are relayed to 24 provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions.

## Explanatory Notes to Volume V of "Selected Works of Mao Tsetung" (5)

### The national bourgeoisie

(See p. 34, Vol. V, Eng. Ed.)

In colonies, semi-colonies or dependent countries, the bourgeoisie is divided into two sections—the comprador big bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie (mainly the middle and small capitalists). This thesis of Chairman Mao's was a major development of the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary theory. It was an important basis on which Chairman Mao formulated his theory and tactics of setting up an extensive national-democratic revolutionary united front in the colonial and semi-colonial countries.

In his work *The Chinese Revolution and the Chinese Communist Party* written in December 1939, Chairman Mao said:

**"There is a distinction between the comprador big bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie.**

**"The comprador big bourgeoisie is a class which directly serves the capitalists of the imperialist countries and is nurtured by them; countless ties link it closely with the feudal forces in the countryside. Therefore, it is a target of the Chinese revolution and never in the history of the revolution has it been a motive force."**

Referring to the national bourgeoisie, Chairman Mao said:



"The national bourgeoisie is a class with a dual character.

"On the one hand, it is oppressed by imperialism and fettered by feudalism and consequently is in contradiction with both of them. In this respect it constitutes one of the revolutionary forces. In the course of the Chinese revolution it has displayed a certain enthusiasm for fighting imperialism and the governments of bureaucrats and warlords.

"But on the other hand, it lacks the courage to oppose imperialism and feudalism thoroughly because it is economically and politically flabby and still has economic ties with imperialism and feudalism. This emerges very clearly when the people's revolutionary forces grow powerful.

"It follows from the dual character of the national bourgeoisie that, at certain times and to a certain extent, it can take part in the revolution against imperialism and the governments of bureaucrats and warlords and can become a revolutionary force, but that at other times there is the danger of its following the comprador big bourgeoisie and acting as its accomplice in counter-revolution."

In the War of Liberation, the people's democratic revolutionary united front under the leadership of the Communist Party of China included the national bourgeoisie. In *Manifesto of the Chinese People's Liberation Army* (1947), Chairman Mao pointed out clearly that the people were made up of the workers, peasants, soldiers, intellectuals, businessmen and other patriotic personalities. Here, "businessmen" referred to the national bourgeoisie, namely, all the middle and small capitalists who were subjected to persecution and restriction, and "other patriotic personalities" referred mainly to the enlightened gentry.

In the period of socialist revolution, Chairman Mao pointed out in 1957 in *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People*: "In our country, the contradiction between the working class and the national bourgeoisie comes under the category of contradictions among the people. By and large, the class struggle between the two is a class struggle within the ranks of the people, because the

Chinese national bourgeoisie has a dual character. In the period of the bourgeois-democratic revolution, it had both a revolutionary and a conciliationist side to its character. In the period of the socialist revolution, exploitation of the working class for profit constitutes one side of the character of the national bourgeoisie, while its support of the Constitution and its willingness to accept socialist transformation constitute the other... The contradiction between the national bourgeoisie and the working class is one between exploiter and exploited, and is by nature antagonistic. But in the concrete conditions of China, this antagonistic contradiction between the two classes, if properly handled, can be transformed into a non-antagonistic one and be resolved by peaceful methods."

## History of social development

(See p. 34.)

The history of social development is the theory which explains the emergence and development of human society from the viewpoints of Marxist historical materialism. It holds that labour created man himself. It studies the laws of development of the five types of society — primitive communal, slave, feudal, capitalist and communist. It reveals the basic contradictions of each type of society and points out that the supersession of backward and lower forms of society by advanced and higher forms, especially the supersession of capitalism by communism, is historically inevitable. In studying the history of social development, the proletariat and other revolutionary people will be greatly encouraged in their struggle to overthrow the capitalist system and realize communism — the supreme ideal of mankind.

In the War of Resistance Against Japan, the War of Liberation and the early post-liberation period, our Party organized the cadres and masses to study the history of social development and helped them establish a revolutionary and scientific world outlook and conception of history.

(To be continued.)

## **Why Did Lenin After World War I Divide Countries Into Three Groups?**

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**QUESTION:** After World War I, why and how did Lenin divide the countries of the world into three different groups? What were the historical conditions prevailing at that time? What was the basic idea behind Lenin's differentiation?

**ANSWER** by historian Sa Na: After the October Revolution in Russia and World War I, a profound change took place in the international situation and a new alignment of political forces emerged. In his report to the Second Congress of the Communist International in July 1920, Lenin, after an analysis of these changes, divided the countries of the world, which at that time had a total population of 1,750 million, into three different groups: the colonial, semi-colonial countries, the vanquished powers and Soviet Russia, countries having a population of roughly 1,250 million; countries that retained their old position, with a population not exceeding 250 million; and a few countries emerging victorious from the war, with a population of less than 250 million.

### **Why Were Soviet Russia, the Colonies, Semi-Colonies, and Defeated Countries Included in the Same Category?**

First, Lenin put countries like India, Persia, Turkey and China which were being enslaved and partitioned by imperialism, the defeated countries like Germany and Austria, and Soviet Russia all in the same category. This was because, from the viewpoint of international relations at that time, all these countries were being subjected to enslavement and oppression by the imperialist powers and they constituted the main force in the struggle against imperialism.

World War I had brought unbearable burdens and sufferings to the people of the colo-

nies and semi-colonies; their contradiction with the imperialist powers became more acute than ever. Under the impact of the Russian October Revolution, these people were further awakened. In quite a number of countries, the working class and other labouring people, led by the nascent Communist Parties, began to engage in powerful anti-imperialist revolutionary movements. In China, India and other countries, revolution was in the making. In Persia and Turkey, the struggle against imperialism and feudalism was growing with great vigour. All this took place in the imperialist countries' vital rear areas. It dealt heavy blows to imperialist rule while directly helping and promoting the proletarian revolution in the suzerains and developed capitalist countries.

Germany, Austria, Bulgaria and other countries, which had been defeated in World War I, were now reduced to a subordinate position similar to that of a colony. Germany, for instance, not only lost all its colonies but part of its territory was under occupation. Moreover, the Treaty of Versailles had imposed a heavy war indemnity of 20,000 million gold marks which Germany was required to pay in gold and in kind before 1921. Again in 1921, the victor countries demanded a new indemnity of Germany, fixing the total at 132,000 million gold marks. to be paid off in annual allotments of 2,000 million. It was compelled by such extortionate terms to hand over its shipping facilities, livestock and also its revenues from railway transport and the mining industry as part of the payment. As Lenin put it, "**The Peace of Versailles is oppressing hundreds of millions of people. It is robbing Germany of coal, robbing her of her milch herds, and is reducing her to an unparalleled and unprecedented state of**

**servitude.”** (*Speech Delivered at a Congress of Leather Industry Workers, 1920.*) These circumstances aroused strong anti-imperialist sentiments among the German proletariat and other labouring people. The bourgeoisie in Germany, who also resented being bullied in this way, asked for a revision of the treaty while attempting to get out of their predicament by exploiting the contradictions among the United States, Britain and France. Germany, an imperialist country itself before the war, had by then become an oppressed and enslaved country having most acute contradictions with the imperialist powers.

Why did Lenin put Soviet Russia, where the proletariat had already won state power, in the same category with the colonial, semi-colonial and defeated countries? This was because, on the one hand, tsarist Russia's participation in World War I caused the country tremendous losses in manpower and material resources and seriously impaired its economy. After the October Revolution, Soviet Russia had to endure an imperialist-sponsored armed intervention by 14 countries and the revolt of the White Guard. The imperialists vainly hoped to strangle the Soviet regime and turn Russia into a colony. The Soviet regime was forced to go to war for more than three years, which crippled the economy, brought production to a standstill, caused the land to lie waste, with famine plaguing many parts of the country. After the armed intervention was crushed, the imperialists did not give up their scheme of wiping out the Soviet regime. Instead, they intended to destroy it by continued encirclement, economic blockade and other means. Soviet Russia at that time, whether viewed from its political and economic conditions or from the situation of the international class struggle, was in a position akin to that of a colony suffering from imperialist powers' aggression and bullying. On the other hand, the historical mission of the Soviet regime determined that it was bound to throw in its lot with the proletariat and oppressed nations in the other parts of the world. This was because, in Lenin's opinion, the victory of the socialist revolution in one country only spelled the beginning of the world revolution; it must not only unite with the proletariat

of the advanced countries and form a close alliance with them, but also ally itself with the liberation movements of oppressed nations in the colonies and semi-colonies in a common struggle to defeat international imperialism. Only thus could the Soviet regime become really consolidated and advance; only thus could the proletarian revolution win its final victory. Lenin said, "The socialist revolution will not be solely, or chiefly, a struggle of the revolutionary proletarians in each country against their bourgeoisie — no, it will be a struggle of all the imperialist-oppressed colonies and countries, of all dependent countries, against international imperialism." (*Address to the Second All-Russia Congress of Communist Organizations of the Peoples of the East, 1919.*)

### Two Other Groups of Countries

The countries which retained their old position, mainly those which kept neutral during World War I and the small and medium-sized countries which maintained their independent status in the war, belonged to another group. They included Holland, Norway, Switzerland, Spain, Portugal and a number of Balkan countries as well as some countries in Central and South America. Though they had the semblance of independence, and some made economic gains by trading with the belligerents during the war, they were under the influence and sway of the imperialist powers politically, especially in world affairs. During the war, they had sunk to the position of military and economic dependence on the imperialist powers in general and the United States in particular. After the war, their contradictions with the imperialist powers also became aggravated.

A few imperialist powers, namely, the United States, Britain, France and Japan of the Allied Powers, made up the third category. These were the victor nations in World War I. But in these countries, it was only the monopoly capitalists and the rulers who were the real beneficiaries. At the Paris peace conference following World War I, the United States, Britain and France lorded it over the vanquished powers and imposed on them the oppressive Treaty of Versailles. By virtue of this treaty they divided among themselves the former German colonies and marked out anew their own spheres of influence. They organized

counter-revolutionary forces against the Soviet regime and repressed revolutions in various countries. They called into being the League of Nations and deprived the small and medium-sized countries of their rights and interests in a vainglorious bid to set up an international order where as the big powers they would have the final say on everything. However, contradictions were rife among this handful of imperialist powers. The United States made a big fortune out of the war and changed from a debtor nation into the richest and most powerful imperialist country in the postwar world. It did its utmost to gain a foothold in Europe as well as establish hegemony over the Far East and the Pacific region. Britain, lagging far behind the United States in economic strength, was half way to becoming a debtor but it still wanted to edge the United States out and preserve its hegemonic position in Europe and the world as a whole. It did not wish to see a Germany weakened to the extreme for it considered Germany a counter-weight to be used in its confrontation against France and in opposing Soviet Russia. France, which suffered big losses in the war, had been weakened economically but tried its best to ruin and split Germany completely and establish its own hegemony over Europe; it had contradictions with both Britain and the United States. Japan which had enlarged its sphere of influence in the Far East and the Pacific during the war, now found its contradiction with the United States growing more acute with each passing day, and a war between them was brewing. All this showed that although the imperialist powers had founded the League of Nations to place the whole world under their thumb, "there was not a jot of unity among them" and "on every question, they put spokes in one another's wheels." (Lenin: *Report on the International Situation and the Fundamental Tasks of the Communist International*, delivered at the Second Congress of the Communist International, 1920.)

This was how Lenin differentiated the world's countries and, on this basis, worked out the strategy and tactics for the international proletariat. Addressing the delegates to the Second Congress of the Communist International, he said: "Thus we get the main outlines of the picture of the world as it appeared after

the imperialist war. . . . I would like you to memorize this picture of the world, for all the fundamental contradictions of capitalism, of imperialism, which are leading to revolution, all the fundamental contradictions in the working-class movement that have led to the furious struggle against the Second International . . . are all connected with this division of the population of the world." (ibid.)

### Basic Idea Behind Lenin's Differentiation

Lenin's differentiation of the world's political forces did not appear from nowhere. It was a conclusion he reached after a comprehensive examination of the various fundamental contradictions in the world in his time. Lenin's basic idea, like that of the revolutionary teachers Marx and Engels before him, was to distinguish between the enemy, friends and ourselves in the international class struggle, and to expand to the maximum our own ranks and those of our allies while isolating and striking at the main enemy to the maximum so as to win final victory for the proletarian revolution.

At the beginning of this century, when capitalism developed to the stage of imperialism with monopoly capital in a dominant position, the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie became more acute than ever. In analysing the peculiar features of imperialism, Lenin, for the first time in history, declared that the world had entered the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution. Imperialism, he pointed out, had divided the world into two parts: the populous oppressed nations and the oppressor nations with very small populations but in possession of huge wealth and great military strength. Imperialism's oppression of the whole world further intensified the resistance movement of the oppressed nations. Proceeding from the stand of the proletarian revolution and of fighting against international imperialism, Lenin set great store by the liberation struggles of the oppressed nations. In his opinion, after the October Revolution and World War I, these struggles had by then become a component part of the socialist movement of the proletariat of the world. The revolutionary struggles in the colonies and semi-colonies were in turn affecting the working-class liberation struggle in the capitalist countries in Europe; besides, the social revolution against imperial-

ism as a whole could win out only when the civil wars launched by the working class in the developed countries against the bourgeoisie were linked up with the liberation movements of the oppressed nations. Moreover, the final victory of the socialist revolution of the proletariat of the world, he pointed out, would depend on and eventually be ensured by the revolutions in countries like Russia, India and China which made up the overwhelming majority of the world population.

These viewpoints of Lenin's were diametrically opposed to those of the Second International's social-chauvinists who always belittled the liberation struggles of the oppressed nations. These opportunists knew nothing about the revolutionary significance of the national-liberation movement in the colonies and semi-colonies, denying that it played a great role in demolishing the foundation of imperialist rule and in promoting the working-class revolutionary movement in the capitalist countries. Therefore, in practice they refused to support the liberation movement in the colonies and semi-colonies.

Lenin also attached great importance to the contradictions and struggles among the imperialist countries. After World War I, the contradictions between the imperialist victor nations and the defeated countries as well as those among the victors themselves were very sharp. Lenin was of the opinion that, in order to deal blows at the principal enemy, the proletariat must make a distinction between the secondary and lesser imperialist countries on the one hand and the imperialist powers which held sway over everything on the other. He also held that it was necessary to link the proletariat's anti-imperialist struggle with the struggle of the defeated countries and the small and medium-sized countries against the imperialist powers' enslavement. In the struggle against imperialism, therefore, he pointed out that the Soviet state must try to win over the bourgeoisie in the small countries, **"for the imperialists oppress not only the workers of their own countries but the bourgeoisie of the small states as well."** (*Report of the Central Committee of the R.C.P. (B.)*, 1920.)

Under the guidance of these strategic and tactical principles laid down by Lenin, the first thing under consideration in Soviet Russia's

foreign relations at that time, was how to preserve and consolidate its own existence. After the October Revolution of 1917, Soviet Russia, then still at war with German imperialism, found that, to preserve the regime of the Soviets, it was necessary to pull itself out of the imperialist war as quickly as possible, restore production and organize the building of the political power. At that time, the government of the Kaiser was girding for an attack on Soviet Russia and the Allied Powers too were making plans for an intervention in Soviet Russia. After the Allied Powers rejected the Soviet appeal for a peace parley, Lenin proposed to hold immediate talks with Germany alone, to conclude a peace treaty, withdraw from the war and so to avert a German offensive. Although German imperialism had put forward extremely harsh terms, Lenin believed that it was necessary to make compromise with Germany for a breathing space, in order to build up the Red Army before it could repulse the joint attacks by the bourgeoisie both at home and abroad. Lenin's proposal was opposed by the enemy both within and outside the Party. At his insistence, however, Soviet Russia succeeded in signing with Germany the Treaty of Brest Litovsk in March 1918. This was an application of the flexible tactic of avoiding a showdown with imperialism when conditions were unfavourable to the proletariat and of making use of the contradictions among the imperialists to ensure the survival of the Soviet regime. The next thing to do was to establish ties with the neighbouring small and medium-sized countries. In 1920 and 1921, it succeeded in establishing diplomatic relations with many countries, including Finland, Estonia, Lithuania, Poland, Turkey and Persia. After this, making use of the contradictions between the victor nations and the defeated countries, it sought out the latter and established trade and friendly relations with the developed capitalist countries in Western Europe. In April 1922, the Soviet delegate to the conference of Genoa signed the Treaty of Rapallo with Germany under which the two countries were to restore diplomatic relations immediately, and expand trade relations with mutual favoured treatment; the two parties declared that they would mutually relinquish

(Continued on p. 25.)

# Superpowers and Neutron Bomb

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ACCORDING to the Western press, in his recent messages to West German Federal Chancellor Helmut Schmidt and leaders of other Western countries concerning their deliberations on production and deployment of neutron bombs, Brezhnev played the bully and warned them not to produce the bombs. When word of his messages leaked out, the Soviet leader came under heavy fire from Western political circles and the public. NATO diplomatic circles considered this step taken by Brezhnev "rather extraordinary" and consonant with "the Kremlin's well-known line of bringing pressure to bear on neighbouring countries militarily and politically." Western military circles described the move as "the height of impudence." West Germany's paper *Die Welt* said that while Moscow is mounting widespread opposition to a weapon still under study in the West, "the Soviet Union itself is deploying SS-20 missiles to menace the whole of Western Europe."

In answering a *Pravda* reporter last December 23, Brezhnev spoke of Soviet policy towards neutron bombs. He warned that if the United States produced neutron bombs, "it must clearly realize that the Soviet Union would not remain a passive onlooker." The Soviet Union would find it necessary to answer the U.S. challenge, he declared.

Brezhnev's attitude towards the question of neutron bombs shows that the Soviet Union is ready to enter into another race with the United States over the neutron bomb. To put it bluntly, "shall not remain a passive onlooker" implies that the Soviet Union is prepared to devote as much effort to researching and developing neutron bombs as it did to catching up with the United States in other nuclear weapons.

The neutron bomb is a nuclear weapon of mass destruction primarily by radiation. The United States has spent several years developing this kind of weapon and succeeded early last July. President Carter then asked Congress for endorsement on its production, while making it appear that he was preparing to allot pro-

duction funds. At a recent press conference in Warsaw Carter said that whether the United States would deploy neutron bombs or not "was subject to NATO allies' approval." The United States has taken this new step in developing nuclear weapons primarily because of its rivalry with the Soviet Union for Europe and to cope with the Soviet momentum in the arms race. The Soviet Union in recent years has stepped up its arms expansion under the signboard of "detente" and "disarmament," with the result that it has got the upper hand in conventional armaments and is catching up with the United States in nuclear weapons and their means of delivery. It is obvious that the U.S. plan to produce neutron bombs is a new step to meet the change in the balance of forces between it and the Soviet Union. Moscow attacked Carter for giving the "green light" to another nuclear race. But as a matter of fact, the "green light" has been switched off neither by the Kremlin nor by the White House.

Brezhnev declared that the Soviet Union opposes the U.S. production of neutron bombs because it is a cruel weapon. But can it be that other nuclear weapons being improved and renewed by the Soviet Union and the United States without sparing any effort are civilized ones? It is clear to all that the intense nuclear arms race between the two superpowers is not to seek "civilized and non-merciless weapons" but to try to have the most sophisticated weapons of mass destruction.

Isn't it absurd for the Soviet Union, a militarized country armed to the teeth, to claim to oppose the production of "cruel" weapons when it is going flat out to upgrade its own nuclear arsenal?

The Soviet journal *New Times* said pretentiously: "The Soviet Union does not intend to compete with anyone in the invention of cruel combat weapons." However, the fact is that the Soviet Union is going full steam ahead in its race with the other superpower over all types of cruel combat weapons. When speaking about

U.S. development of new weapons, a Soviet official article admitted that every move by either side, the Soviet Union or the United States, gave rise to an equal reaction. Each tries to catch up with and outmatch the other—reciprocity is a hallmark of their arms race. The difference between the rivals is that Moscow's "reaction" is often much greater and its zeal in the arms race grows keener. This is borne out by what has happened. When it learnt that the United States was developing MIRVs, the Soviet Union plunged into the race and began intensive research and development of the same weapon. No sooner had the Soviet Union heard that the United States was deciding to produce cruise missiles than it said that it had all the possibilities of possessing any such missiles and in any numbers. It is known to all that the Soviet Union today has acquired all kinds of cruel weapons

of mass destruction and their means of delivery in competition with its rival, such as MIRVs, mobile missiles and big land-based missiles. Moreover, it is now engaged in the research and development of killer satellites and laser weapons. Moscow is going hell-for-leather to beat its rival in their arms race, but it has the cheek to assert that it "does not intend to compete with anyone!"

The fundamental way to eliminate nuclear weapons lies in their complete prohibition and thorough destruction. It is of no avail and only deceptive to hold SALT or to argue about which nuclear weapon is the crueller. It is certain that the contention between the Soviet Union and the United States for nuclear superiority will never lose its momentum but will go on with growing intensity.

— by Jen Ping

## France and West Germany

# Voices Against Appeasement

**E**XPLOITING the desire of European people for peace and security, Soviet social-imperialism in the past few years has been talking long and loud about "detente" and "disarmament" in an attempt to lull them into a false sense of security. On the other hand, the Soviet Union has continued with its military buildup, upgraded its weaponry and redeployed its military forces in Europe, thus gravely menacing the countries of Western Europe. These circumstances have led France and West Germany to see that West European countries can effectively cope with their common enemy and ensure their independence and security only by reinforcing their national defences.

More and more people in France have seen through the "disarmament" and "military detente" fraud peddled by the Soviet leaders and are calling for greater vigilance against Moscow and more powerful national defences to safeguard the independence and security of France. Director and editor-in-chief of *L'Aurore* Roland Faure noted: "For the Soviet Union, detente has

been much more profitable than cold war. Behind the welcoming appearance painstakingly put up by Brezhnev to facilitate fruitful exchanges, the Russians have made a prodigious armament effort."

### Justifiable to Doubt Soviet Policy

The French paper *Le Monde* wrote that there was justifiable reason to doubt the military policy pursued by the Soviet leaders and to think over why the Soviet Union has been incessantly increasing its armed forces in Europe during these years of so-called "detente." Henry Peyret, *Le Nouveau Journal's* commentator pointed out sharply: "The U.S.S.R. talks about detente and disarmament, but it is the very country that has the strongest armies in the world and incessantly reinforces them. While talking about peace, it tries to create disorder everywhere." "Compared with those days before the convening of the European security conference, European security today is equally precarious, if not more so," he noted.

As is well known, the Soviet Union has deployed much more conventional weapons in Europe than the West European countries. Under these circumstances, the Soviet leaders, while mouthing "disarmament" and "military detente," attempted to render ineffective the Western defence based on nuclear deterrence by proposing that all participating countries in the European security conference undertake "not to be the first to use nuclear weapons." This proposal has been denounced by many far-sighted French people. The French commentator Jean-Raymond Tournoux pointed out that the Soviet "insistence on the proposal is of significant importance because Western Europe's defence is entirely based on deterrence. To pledge not to use nuclear weapons will impair the concept of French and Western defence." Jacques Cressard, RPR leading member responsible for military affairs, said that to accept the Soviet proposal "is exactly what the Soviets want because the moment a simple conventional war breaks out, they will defeat us for their conventional forces are greatly superior to those of [Western] Europe." Former French Permanent Representative to the NATO Council Francois de Ross noted in an article that if the Soviet proposal is accepted, "Western Europe will lose its deterrence in the present balance of forces, and we shall be put in a state of military and political vulnerability in the face of any pressure the Soviet Union may exercise." He held that as far as France is concerned, it is evident that should the Soviet proposal be accepted, the military and political results France has gained in the past 25 years in its nuclear military programme would be lost, which means the loss of France's deterrent capability and independence in decision-making on matters of defence.

Seeing the large-scale Soviet arms expansion and war preparations behind the smoke-screen of "detente," many people in France have come out for strengthening their national defence capabilities. France's new five-year military programme stipulates that the country's military spending in 1982 will account for 20 per cent of government budget expenditures, an actual increase of 52 per cent over the military outlay of 1977.

While spending huge sums on developing its strategic nuclear forces and conventional

weapons, the French Government has adopted practical measures to improve the combat effectiveness of its army. Last autumn French ground, naval and air forces staged a series of massive military exercises which were seldom seen in recent years in terms of frequency and scale. Incomplete statistics show that between September and December last year there were some ten exercises, large and small. The French armed forces in the course of these exercises also strengthened their co-operation with NATO forces. The United States, Britain, West Germany, The Netherlands, Canada, Portugal, Norway, Greece and other countries separately participated in a number of French air and naval exercises.

### **Calls for Stronger National Defence**

The people of West Germany in the heart of Europe have been more vocal in calling for stronger national defence and firmer opposition to appeasing the Soviet Union. They have a profound apprehension of what intensified Soviet arms expansion and war preparations under the guise of "detente" portend.

Herbert Kremp, editor-in-chief of *Die Welt*, compared the Soviet "policy of detente" to "opium that narcotizes Europe." Hans Filbinger, Minister-President of the State of Baden-Wurttemberg, pointed out that Soviet detente talk was a cover for arms expansion. In his book *Peace and Violence — the Military Aspect of the Soviet Coexistence Policy* recently published in West Germany, General Hans-Christian Pilster (retired) wrote: "In the final analysis, the Soviet policy of peaceful coexistence has no substance of detente, but aims only at making the West asleep in the cradle of security so that it neglects its physical and psychical defence capability in a way which places itself under military threat and pressure in the future."

Soviet propaganda tirelessly alleged that since the European security conference, peace in Europe has become "all the more secured." But such an allegation has been refuted by many West German political figures, who pointed out that it was exactly the reverse. Instead of being relaxed, the situation in Europe actually has become more tense.

In her address before a meeting sponsored by the West German Bundeswehr Association



last December 6, Mrs. Barbara Koenitz, council member of the West German Atlantic Society, stressed that "the Soviet Union, behind the camouflage of the several-year-long European security conference and troop reduction talks in Central Europe, has expanded its conventional superiority in Europe" and "has become a growing menace to the northern and southern flanks of NATO." She held that the Helsinki conference did not enhance the military security of the West and, in this sense, the "conference on security and co-operation in Europe" is not worthy of its name.

### **Vigilance Against Trend of U.S. Policy**

The trend of U.S. policy towards the Soviet Union has caused some West German political and military figures to become more vigilant over the question of "detente" and European security. The U.S. "Presidential Review Memorandum 10" as disclosed by the U.S. press last August has aroused strong reaction in West Germany. According to the memorandum, the United States will give up one-third of West Germany's territory in the event of a Soviet attack. In their statements and commentaries, Chairman of the Christian Democratic Union of Land Hesse Alfred Dregger, Chairman of the Defence Commission of the Bundestag Manfred Woerner and other military and political figures as well as the mass media all came out against the U.S. trend of appeasement towards the Soviet Union. They pointed out that the proposition of ceding West German territory is absolutely unacceptable and asked the U.S. Government to confirm the "front defence" principle.

Some West German public figures recently in articles and speeches criticized the United States for making concessions to the Soviet Union in the strategic arms limitation talks to the detriment of European security. In his book mentioned above, General Hans-Christian Pilster pointed out that neither the SALT I initial agreement between the Soviet Union and the United States nor the SALT II talks now under way has checked Soviet arms expansion. On the contrary, taking advantage of this and other agreements, the Soviet Union "has introduced in the field of MRBM essential technical improvements so that the attack power of these weapon systems which are especially dangerous to Europe would increase several folds."

At the same time, more and more people have brought the policy of appeasement in economic affairs under heavier fire. They considered it dangerous for the West to help the Soviet Union in its arms expansion with credits, scientific and technological knowhow. Franz-Josef Strauss, Chairman of the West German Christian Social Union, said: "If it were not for the long-term credits extended by the West, the Soviet Union would have failed to pay for the meagre supplies to its citizens and for its massive armament expansion." Friederich Zimmermann, First Vice-Chairman of the Parliamentary Group of the Christian Democratic Union — the Christian Social Union of the Bundestag, said: "Those who tried to use assistance to make the Soviet Union abandon its expansionist and imperialist line obviously fail to see or do not want to see the Soviet policy in the postwar years."

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*(Continued from p. 21.)*

claims to indemnities and debt payments. Thus the scheme of U.S., British and French imperialism to force Soviet Russia at the conference to pay up tsarist Russia's old debts came to naught as did their plot to form a new anti-Soviet united front. The Soviet state once again broke through the imperialist encirclement and blockade. Lenin viewed the Treaty of Rapallo as a treaty the Soviet state concluded with a capitalist country on an equal footing, an example of diplomatic success achieved by the Soviet state in its conduct of foreign affairs.

From what has been described above, we can see that neither in theory nor in practice had Lenin divided the world's countries simply into two groups, capitalist and socialist; nor had he looked on imperialism as a monolithic entity. On the contrary, he ingeniously combined upholding the supreme interests of the proletariat and revolutionary principles with the tactics of uniting with all forces that can be united, making use of contradictions and dealing blows at the principal enemy in the struggle. This brilliant example provided by Lenin is still to this day something we should learn from in real earnest.

# Friendship Notes

## Dr. Joseph Needham and His Work

A delegation of Chinese scientists recently called on the renowned British scientist Dr. Joseph Needham, Librarian of the East Asian History of Science Library of the University of Cambridge. The library has tens of thousands of books and documents dealing with China, published by China and other countries, and many were collected by Dr. Needham over the years.

Dr. Needham who is an old friend of the Chinese people first visited China on a mission of scientific study during the War of Resistance Against Japan and stayed on until 1946 when he left for home. He formed close ties with his Chinese colleagues. The eminent scholar has been to China several times since liberation. During the Korean war, Dr. Needham, as an impartial biologist disregarding the threats and pressure of imperialist forces, went with other scientists to investigate on site the bacteriological warfare conducted by the U.S. imperialists in the northern part of Korea. Later, the findings were made known to the world. Dr. Needham who is also chairman of the Society for Anglo-Chinese Understanding has done much to promote friendship between the people of Britain and China.

Dr. Needham's encyclopedic *Science and Civilization in China* is a familiar work to Chinese scientists and his-

torians. The first volume of this gigantic work appeared in 1954 and three others have since come off the press. This work gives a historical outline of the development of China's science and technology, the origin and development of scientific thought as well as the achievements China made in ancient times in mathematics, astronomy, geology, physics, mechanics, civil engineering, water conservancy and navigation. The four parts of Volume V dealing with chemistry have either been published, or will be available soon. The section on acupuncture has already been completed and the botany section is completed in the main. Dr. Needham and his assistants are working now on completing the rest of this seven-volume work.

In addition to the original English edition, the work has been published in full or in part in Chinese, Japanese, French, Italian, Spanish and other languages. It has been internationally acclaimed.

In the 1930s when the West was still scornful of China, Dr. Needham already had the idea of writing such a book. Some bourgeois scholars at that time even averred that there was no science and technology to speak of in China. But Dr. Needham's studies led him to see that this was just ignorant prejudice. Ancient China was quite comparable to the West of that time in knowledge of astronomy, medicine and navigation. Moreover, it was China which

invented the compass, paper-making and movable-type printing and discovered gunpowder. So Dr. Needham decided to write a book on China's science and technology and he began learning Chinese and studying China's culture. . . .

He took up writing this book after World War II when he was teaching at Cambridge, using his free hours to do research and write. Although the conditions he worked under then were quite difficult, he assiduously read an enormous amount of publications put out by different countries and consulted scholars concerned on each and every subject he worked on. He checked and compared the materials so that scientific accuracy was assured. In the course of his work Dr. Needham found that, apart from the already known ancient inventions, there were many other Chinese scientific achievements of which many people have little or no knowledge, such as smallpox prevention. They know that Edward Jenner of Britain introduced vaccination at the end of the 18th century, but not that the prevention of smallpox was discussed in Chinese medical books some 200 years earlier. In fact, the method recorded in ancient Chinese texts was quite similar to Jenner's. The deeper Dr. Needham delved, the larger the scope of his work grew.

Dr. Needham, who is a Fellow of the Royal Society, on his 77th birthday last December 9 read a paper on China's contribution to the world's science and technology at King's College, London. Despite his years, he still works a 13-14



Left: Dr. Joseph Needham showing some reference material to Professor Shih Sheng-tai, Chinese metallurgical-chemist.



Right: Various editions of *Science and Civilization in China*.

hour day, for his one wish is to complete this tremendous piece of scholarship, which is already doing much to further understanding between the people of China and the rest of the world.

### ***Lu Hsun and Petofi***

*"Life is a treasure,  
Love even dearer;  
But to win freedom,  
I would throw both away!"*

These are lines from Petofi's poem *Life Is a Treasure*. Translated into Chinese long before the country's liberation, the verse became familiar to many in China, inspiring them in their fight against aggressors and oppressors.

The 155th birthday of the Hungarian patriot and poet was marked by *Renmin Ribao* in an article on January 2 which quoted these lines of Petofi's and described how highly China's great revolutionary and writer Lu Hsun thought of this poet.

Lu Hsun liked Petofi's poems in his youth and had a bookshop get him two books, the German edition of Petofi's prose and poems, from Germany with the intention of

rendering them into Chinese. Many years later, Lu Hsun presented these two treasured books of his to the young poet Pai Mang and, in the magazine *Torrent* Lu Hsun edited, published the Chinese translation of a Petofi biography and several of his poems, both translated by Pai Mang. *Life Is a Treasure* was one of these poems.

Lu Hsun began introducing Petofi and his works to Chinese readers at the beginning of this century. In 1907, Lu Hsun gave a detailed account of Petofi's life and thought in the article "The Power of Poetry" and in the following year, he translated the chapter on Petofi from *History of Hungarian Literature*. In ensuing years, Lu Hsun translated and published many short and long poems of Petofi's. In 1929 when he received a Chinese translation of Petofi's long poem *Brave Johan*, Lu Hsun carefully proofread the whole text and raised the money to pay for the illustrations. Lu Hsun also wrote the translator at least ten times so as to have a better version.

Although Lu Hsun was in dire difficulties politically and economically, he spent a whole year and a half trying to find a publisher for this poem.

In articles written in the last year of his life, Lu Hsun frequently quoted Petofi's poems to elucidate the relations between art and life, between love and hatred.

In a 1925 article, Lu Hsun expressed his respect for the great lyric poet and the Hungarian patriot who died for his fatherland on the spears of the Cossacks.

### ***To Climb World's Highest Peak***

China's Mountaineering Association and its Iranian counterpart have reached an agreement on jointly climbing the world's highest peak, Mt. Jolmo Lungma, which stands 8,848 metres above sea level.

The two associations will form a combine team in 1978-79 to climb the peak along the route on the northern slope which Chinese mountaineering teams in 1960 and 1975 took.

# ROUND THE WORLD

COMMUNIST LEAGUE OF AUSTRIA

## First National Congress

The Communist League of Austria held its First National Congress in Vienna from January 6 to 8. The congress discussed and adopted the summary report of the Central Committee, revised the Party Programme and Party Constitution and elected a new Central Committee. Walter Lindner was elected Secretary of the Central Committee.

The communique of the congress carried in *The Communist*, theoretical journal of the organization, in its first issue this year said: "The principal task of our organization is to build a new Marxist-Leninist party of the vanguard of the Austrian working class."

The Austrian Communists, it noted, should "struggle against the attempt of the two superpowers to place Austria under their economic, political or military control. The Austrian Communists struggle for national independence and regard this struggle as an inseparable part of that for the Austrian socialist revolution."

The communique said: "One of the questions on which discussion was centred was the line in international class struggle." Quoting the report of the Central Committee, the communique pointed out that Mao Tsetung's theory of the differentiation of the three worlds "is an essential strategic assessment" of international class struggle and "a new

analysis and differentiation" of the various political forces and their interrelationship in the world. This strategic assessment has "illuminated the way for the world proletariat and the people of all countries to wage an effective struggle against the two superpowers, their main international enemies, to get united in this struggle, and to form the broadest possible united front against the main enemies."

SOVIET SATELLITE CRASH

## Widespread Condemnation

The officials of countries like Canada, Sweden and Japan have protested the crash over Canada of a Soviet military satellite — Cosmos-954 — carrying a nuclear reactor and expressed regret over the Soviet Union's failure to inform the countries concerned in advance.

This satellite powered by a nuclear reactor containing uranium-235 was launched on September 18 last year. It broke up over northern Canada on January 24 when it re-entered the earth's atmosphere. The wreckage was found in northwest of Hudson Bay, Canada, and was giving off "extremely dangerous" radiation. Admiral R.H. Falls, Chief of Defence Staff of the Canadian Armed Forces, pointed out on January 25 that the amount of uranium required to power the Soviet satellite was approximately equivalent to that contained in a tactical nuclear weapon.

The Canadian Department of External Affairs on January 24

summoned the Soviet Ambassador Alexander Yakovlev and asked him for an explanation of the incident. Canadian Defence Minister Barney Danson described it as no ordinary accident. He asked the Soviet Union to bear responsibility for any liability resulting from contamination.

Swedish Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs Leif Leifland summoned Soviet Charge d'affaires ad interim to Sweden Eugenij Rymko on January 25 and said he was surprised that Sweden had not received advance warning from the Soviet Union. Japanese Foreign Minister Sunao Sonoda told journalists on January 27 that it was "quite regrettable" that the Soviet Union had not notified Japan about the crash of its nuclear-powered satellite. Professor Heinz Kaminski, Director of the Bochum Space Research Institute of West Germany, said it would be "irresponsible" to keep sending up more earth satellites like the Soviet Cosmos-954.

IRAN

## Soviet Spies Sentenced

Death sentences were recently passed on two Soviet spies (Iranians) by an Iranian military tribunal. This has once again brought to light Soviet interference in and sabotage against a third world country.

One of the spies, General Ahmad Mogharabi, was executed on December 25 after his trial and sentence by the military tribunal. Among the equipment used by this spy displayed at the court hearing were a miniature camera for photographing secret documents and radio transmitters

for contacting Soviet embassy personnel. The spy confessed that he had gone three times to the Soviet Embassy to learn how to operate the equipment and had handed over military documents to Soviet agents.

The other Soviet spy, Ali Nagi Rabanni, was a civil servant. During his trial last December, he confessed to having maintained contacts with Soviet intelligence agents and passed on information to them. He also admitted to possession of secret communications and intelligence-gathering equipment. On display at the court were a radio transmitter and a cryptograph. He was sentenced to death but execution has been relieved.

The spies and the material evidence have revealed the hypocritical features of the Soviet Union, the self-styled "natural ally" of the third world countries. The Soviet Union last year uttered a lot of high-sounding rhetoric on its relations with Iran. But these professions were merely a facade behind which Soviet agents were dispatched and people bought over to spy and engage in other base activities inimical to the security of Iran.

## INDONESIA

### Student Demonstrations

Since the People's Consultative Assembly of Indonesia met last October, university and college students throughout the country have held meetings and demonstrations. They became active again in mid-January, demanding the institution of "democracy" and economic improvements.

To cope with this situation, the Indonesian authorities have

massed 130,000 men of the ground, naval, air and police forces in Jakarta. Sudomo, a leading member of the Command of Operation to Restore Security and Order, announced on January 26 that 158 persons, 143 of them university students, had been arrested. It was reported that troops and police entered campuses, disbanded student unions and stopped all student political activities.

Seven principal newspapers in Jakarta including *Merdeka* and *Indonesia Times* have been closed down for reporting student activities.

The People's Consultative Assembly of Indonesia has scheduled to meet in March to elect a new president, and Indonesian Minister of Defence and Security Maraden Pangabean on January 25 ordered the armed forces to be on the alert against any pre-presidential election incident.

Fourteen public figures including lawyers, journalists and professors issued a statement on January 25 calling for the release of all the arrested students and lifting the ban on the seven newspapers.

## SOUTH KOREA

### Peasants Riled by Pak Clique's Exploitation

Long known as a big grain producer, south Korea today has become place of chronic starvation. As the shortage of grain in the cities and countryside grows ever more serious, the Pak Jung Hi clique is squeezing the peasants harder and driving them into heavier debts. This has led to strong resentment and resistance from the peasants.

The Pak Jung Hi clique last year "purchased" 1,725,000 tons of autumn grain, 600,000 tons more than the 1976 figure. After the North Cholla Provincial puppet authorities "purchased" 128,000 tons of rice at a very low price from the peasants, it extorted 279,000 tons and took away 150,000 tons by merely signing "chits."

The south Korean peasants have risen in struggle against such cruel exploitation and extortion. Peasants in North Cholla Province fought the puppet authorities paying for grain with signed "chits." They demanded immediate payment in cash and an end to such exploitation. In Kosong County, Kangwon Province, peasants have lodged protests against the puppet authority personnel who took away their life-giving grain for "payment of debts." They demanded payment in cash for the "purchased" grain.

The Pak clique extorts the peasants through the "agricultural association." Before the farming season, the association supplies the peasants with sickles, weeding hoes, fertilizers, plastic sheets and other farming material at high prices and later on makes them pay through the nose in the name of "redemption of agricultural funds." This has thrown the south Korean peasants deep in debt.

Due to the Pak clique's extortion and plunder, south Korea has had a run of poor harvests, and the peasants are starving. Women in the countryside live miserably. Some of them have to subsist on grass, roots, bark and various wild plants and some have been forced to look for work or beg in the cities.

## ON THE HOME FRONT

### *How Long Is the Yangtze River?*

A SURVEY arranged by the office in charge of the development of the Yangtze has verified the length of the river to be 6,300 kilometres, instead of 5,800 kilometres as formerly estimated. Thus it is the world's third longest river, longer than the Mississippi in the United States, and ranks after the Amazon in South America and the Nile in Africa.

Its main headstream was found to be the Tuotuo River, southwest of the snow-capped Geladaindong Mountain, the main peak in the Tangla Range. Formerly the source of the Yangtze was thought to be at the southern slope of the Bayan Khara Mountains.

There are five fairly big rivers in the region of the headwaters of the Yangtze, the 375-kilometre Tuotuo River being the longest. In accordance with

the principle that "a river's source is by and large determined by the longest branch in its upper reaches," the Tuotuo River should be taken as the Yangtze River's main headstream.

The Institute of Geography of the Chinese Academy of Sciences, using topography maps, remeasured the total length of the Yangtze River. From the headwaters to Yipin in Szechuan Province the river flows 3,496 kilometres and below Yipin the measurement remains the same as before at 2,884 kilometres. A project straightening out the two biggest bends in the Chingchiang section to facilitate navigation has shortened the river course by 80 kilometres, making the total 6,300 kilometres.

The Yangtze with its more than 700 large tributaries drains an area of over 1.8 million square kilometres. The area is

inhabited by more than 300 million people. With 26 million hectares of cultivated land, the Yangtze River basin produces more than 40 per cent of the country's total output of grain and about one-third of its cotton.

### *Treating and Preventing Goitre*

GOITRE, an endemic disease in north China, has now been brought under control in 136 counties as against only two before 1966, thanks to the prevention and curative work done in this field.

The main cause of this endemic disease is lack of iodine in the drinking water and food. Another possible cause for iodine deficiency is that a certain kind of material blocks the synthesis of thyroxine by interfering with the utilization of iodine in the human body. With the enlargement of the thyroid gland, the patient suffers from difficulty in breathing and shows other symptoms. Victims of advanced cases must stop work altogether and the next generation would be influenced.

Under the rule of the reactionary classes in old China, the disease which affected many people over large areas was ignored and the patients received little or no attention. Since the founding of New China, the Party and government have mobilized the masses in the afflicted areas to fight against goitre through various ways and means, and remarkable results have been achieved.

China's present treatment of the disease includes administra-



The headwaters of the Yangtze.

tion of drugs and injections containing iodine, plus surgical removal of the gland when indicated. In some localities, drugs or injectants are made from medicinal herbs.

Another effective method has been evolved by the efforts of members of a rural people's commune clinic in northeast China's Liaoning Province. According to records in medical classics, acupuncture is effective in curing goitre. From this, they developed a method of injecting tincture of iodine directly into the enlarged body of the thyroid gland. Above 95 per cent of patients responded effectively to the treatment.

Generally speaking, the patient is cured in less than two months. The expense is under one yuan, cheaper than half a kilogramme of eggs. A peasant who had been suffering from the disease for more than two decades was cured after eight injections. The fee was 0.4 yuan.

Prevention is put before therapeutic work. During the Great Cultural Revolution, a leading group under the Party Central Committee was re-established to take charge of prevention and treatment of goitre and other endemic diseases in the northern parts of China where local organs at the provincial level were also set up.

The barefoot doctors and health workers trained among the peasants in the rural areas have played a tremendous role in the prevention and treatment of goitre and other endemic diseases. During the last few

years, 270,000 barefoot doctors have taken part in the general survey and treatment of goitre in northern China.

Apart from adding iodine-rich water and food such as kelp to the diet, an important measure for preventing goitre is the addition of a certain proportion of iodine to all table salt distributed in the afflicted area. Northwestern Shensi Province now has 93 iodized salt-processing factories, which make it possible for all the afflicted areas to obtain iodized salt. The commercial departments supply this salt at a price the same as that of ordinary table salt, with the differences covered by the state. Now 70 per cent of the population of the afflicted areas use iodized salt.

Public health workers teach people about preventing and treating goitre at meetings, over the radio, in blackboard newspapers, and by giving lantern slides. A science film on this subject by the Sian Film Studio has been widely shown in cinema, on TV or after mass meetings.

### **Urumchi City**

**U**RUMCHI in the Uighur language means a "pleasant pastureland." Today, on what used to be a verdant grassland some 2,000 years ago, the city of Urumchi has risen as the political, economic, cultural and communications centre of the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region in the northwest China border area.

This frontier city is located near 44 degrees north latitude at about 900 metres above sea level. Its weather is pleasant

in summer and cold in winter. Looking over the city from its highest building on a summer day, one can see carefully laid-out gardens covered with flowers in full bloom. On the eastern outskirts is a famous scenic spot: Lake Tienchih half way up the 5,000-metre-high Bogdo Ula which is perennially capped with snow and glaciers. Enjoying the snowy landscape from on board a launch on the lake is one of the most relaxing experiences. Fifty kilometres south of the city, the Nanshan pastoral area is a beautiful summer resort.

Before it was liberated in 1949, Urumchi had a population of less than 80,000. Covering an area of 7.5 square kilometres, the city was mostly a conglomeration of one-story adobe dwellings. There was no modern industry.

Urumchi with a history of over 200 years has taken on a new look since liberation, particularly since the establishment of the autonomous region in October 1955. It now occupies nine times its original area, and the population has increased to 800,000. An industrial setup has taken shape comprising iron and steel, coal, power-generating, machine-building, chemical, leather and textile industries as well as factories turning out products needed by minority people.

Urumchi has been an aviation hub linking China with Europe, Asia, Africa and North and South America.

Inhabitants of the city include Uighurs, Kazakhs, Mongolians, Hans, Uzbeks and Russians. United as one, they are building socialism with a will.

# Radio Peking

## English Language Transmissions

	GMT	Local Standard Time	Metre Bands	kHz
NORTH AMERICA (EAST COAST)	00:00-01:00	19:00-20:00 (E.S.T.)	19, 16	15060, 15520, 17680
	01:00-02:00	20:00-21:00 (E.S.T.)	42, 30, 25, 19	7120, 9780, 9940, 11945, 15060
	02:00-03:00	21:00-22:00 (E.S.T.)	30, 24, 19	9940, 12055, 15060
	03:00-04:00	22:00-23:00 (E.S.T.)	42, 30	7120, 9780
	12:00-13:00	07:00-08:00 (E.S.T.)	30	9920
NORTH AMERICA (WEST COAST)	03:00-04:00	19:00-20:00 (P.S.T.)	31, 25, 24, 19	9460, 11650, 12055, 15060
	04:00-05:00	20:00-21:00 (P.S.T.)	31, 25, 24, 19	9460, 11650, 12055, 15060
AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND	08:30-09:30	18:30-19:30 (Aust. S.T.) 20:30-21:30 (N.Z.S.T.)	31, 25, 19, 17	9460, 11600, 11720, 15060, 17635
	09:30-10:30	19:30-20:30 (Aust. S.T.) 21:30-22:30 (N.Z.S.T.)	31, 25, 19, 17	9460, 11600, 11720, 15060, 17635
SOUTHEAST ASIA	12:00-13:00	19:00-20:00 (Western Indonesia, Bangkok)	32, 31, 25, 19	9290, 9470, 11650, 15270
		19:30-20:30 (Singapore)		
		20:00-21:00 (Ho Chi Minh City, Manila)		
	13:00-14:00	18:30-19:30 (Rangoon)	32, 31, 25, 19	9290, 9470, 11650, 15270
		20:00-21:00 (Western Indonesia, Bangkok)		
14:00-15:00	20:30-21:30 (Singapore)	41, 30, 25	7315, 9860, 11650	
	21:00-22:00 (Ho Chi Minh City, Manila)			
	19:30-20:30 (Rangoon)			
15:00-16:00	19:30-20:30 (Delhi, Colombo)	41, 30, 25	7315, 9860, 11650	
	19:00-20:00 (Rawalpindi)			
18:00-19:00	20:00-21:00 (Dacca)	247	1210	
	19:40-20:40 (Kathmandu)			
EAST AND SOUTH AFRICA	16:00-17:00	23:30-00:30 (Delhi)	39, 30	7620, 9860
	17:00-18:00	18:00-19:00 (Cape Town, Salisbury) 19:00-20:00 (Dar-es-Salaam)	39, 30	7620, 9860
		19:00-20:00 (Cape Town, Salisbury) 20:00-21:00 (Dar-es-Salaam)		
WEST AND NORTH AFRICA	19:30-20:30	18:45-19:45 (Monrovia)	42, 39, 31	7080, 7620, 9470
		19:30-20:30 (Accra, Freetown)		
		20:30-21:30 (Lagos)		
	20:30-21:30	21:30-22:30 (Cairo)	42, 39, 31	7080, 7620, 9470
		19:45-20:45 (Monrovia)		
20:30-21:30	20:30-21:30 (Accra, Freetown)	47, 43, 39	6270, 6860, 7590	
	21:30-22:30 (Lagos)			
EUROPE	22:30-23:30 (Cairo)	47, 43, 39	6270, 6860, 7590	
	20:30-21:30			21:30-22:30 (London, Stockholm, Paris)
	21:30-22:30	22:30-23:30 (London, Stockholm, Paris)	47, 43, 39	6270, 6860, 7590