

PEKING REVIEW

31

August 4, 1978

北
京
周
報

**Implementing the Socialist Principle
"To Each According to His Work"**

China's Army Day

***Why Has Moscow Changed Its Attitude
Towards ASEAN?***

PEKING REVIEW

北京周報

BEIJING ZHOUBAO

Vol. 21, No. 31

August 4, 1978

Published in English, French, Spanish,
Japanese, German, Arabic and
Portuguese editions

CONTENTS

THE WEEK	3
Chairman Hua Meets Foreign Comrades	
"August 1" Army Day	
Vice-Premier Keng Piao Visits Three Caribbean Countries	
Sino-Vietnamese Negotiations at Vice-Ministerial Level	
College Entrance Exams	
ARTICLES AND DOCUMENTS	
Implementing the Socialist Principle "To Each According to His Work" — <i>Renmin Ribao</i> Special Commentator	6
Commentaries:	
Moscow Changes Its Attitude Towards ASEAN	16
Who Owns Way Island?	17
Why Do They Return to China? — Interview with returned victimized Chinese residents from Viet Nam — Our Correspondent Liang Kwang-hsing	18
The Communist League of Union (M-L) of Iceland and the Norwegian Workers' Communist Party (M-L): Joint Statement	22
Spanish and Greek M-L Organizations: Oppose Superpower Hegemonism	22
Italian Unified Communist Party: Third Congress	23
U.S. Communist Party (M-L): First Anniversary of Founding Celebrated	23
Explanatory Notes to Volume V of "Selected Works of Mao Tsetung" (14)	24
CULTURE AND SCIENCE	26
Atomic Energy for Farm Use	
More Magazines and Newspapers	
First Medical College in Tibet	
ON THE HOME FRONT	28
Giant Diamond	
Workers' Sanatorium in Hangchow	
Airborne Magnetic Survey of Coastal Waters	
FRIENDSHIP NOTES	29
ROUND THE WORLD	31
U.S.S.R.: Abkhazians' Protest	
American Indians: Marching to Washington	

Chairman Hua Meets Foreign Comrades

Romanian Government Delegation. Hua Kuo-feng, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and Premier of the State Council, on July 26 met with the Government Delegation of the Socialist Republic of Romania led by Gheorghe Oprea, Member of the Executive Political Committee of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party and First Deputy Prime Minister of the Romanian Government.

Comrade Gheorghe Oprea conveyed President Nicolae Ceausescu's warm regards to Chairman Hua.

Chairman Hua said during the meeting: "Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's visit to China not long ago has resulted in a big step forward in the development of the relations between the two Parties and two countries of China and Romania. There are broad prospects for the development of political, economic, scientific and technical co-operation between our two countries."

Kampuchean Military Delegation. Chairman Hua on July 31 met with Son Sen, Alternate Member of the Standing Committee of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kampuchea, Deputy Prime Minister in Charge of National Defence and Chairman of the General Staff Commission of the Kampuchean Revolutionary Army, and the Military Delegation of the Government of

Democratic Kampuchea headed by him.

Chairman Hua said at the meeting: "Your struggle is a just one and a just struggle is bound to win. We support you in your struggle."

Korean People's Army Friendship Delegation. On the same day, Chairman Hua also met with the Korean People's Army Friendship Delegation led by Lieutenant-General O Guk Ryol. Chairman Hua asked Lt.-General O Guk Ryol, who had come to visit China on the eve of China's Army Day, to convey on his return the best wishes of the Communist Party of China, the Chinese people and his own to President Kim Il Sung.

'August 1' Army Day

The Ministry of National Defence gave a reception on the evening of July 31 to celebrate the 51st anniversary of the founding of the Chinese People's Liberation Army. Present at the reception were Chairman Hua Kuo-feng, Vice-Chairmen Yeh Chien-ying, Teng Hsiao-ping, Li Hsien-nien and Wang Tung-hsing and other Party and state leaders.

Teng Hsiao-ping, who is concurrently Vice-Chairman of the Military Commission of the C.P.C. Central Committee and Chief of the General Staff of the P.L.A., proposed a toast at the reception. He stressed: In the present-day world, the factors for revolution are continually growing and the struggle between the superpowers for world hegemony is inten-

sifying. That late-coming superpower, in particular, is engaged in hectic arms expansion and war preparations and is seizing every opportunity to grab places of military importance and plunder strategic resources, thus causing a marked increase in the factors for war. The way international situation is developing makes it imperative for us to be well prepared to fight a war against aggression and to turn our army into a steel great wall which will stand the test of a modern war.

He called on the commanders and fighters of the P.L.A. to study and master Mao Tsetung Thought as a system comprehensively and accurately, carry the great struggle of exposing and criticizing the "gang of four" through to the end and put revolutionization in command of modernization. He also exhorted them to restore and carry forward, under new historical conditions, the glorious tradition and good style of work of the P.L.A., to strengthen military and political training of the cadres and fighters so that the army's combat capability will be improved steadily, to step up the building of the militia and the work of civil air defence and to strengthen research in national defence science and technology and raise the production of defence industry so as to speed up the modernization of the army's equipment. He declared: We are determined to liberate Taiwan!

On the eve of the Army Day, Hongqi and Renmin Ribao published an article entitled

"Heighten Our Vigilance and Get Prepared to Fight a War" by Hsu Hsiang-chien, Vice-Chairman of the Military Commission of the C.P.C. Central Committee and Minister of National Defence.

Jiefangjun Bao and *Renmin Ribao* carried articles in memory of Comrades Chu Teh and Chou En-lai who had made immortal contributions to the founding and growth of the P.L.A. under the leadership of Chairman Mao.

Vice-Premier Keng Piao Visits Three Caribbean Countries

Vice-Premier of the State Council Keng Piao paid an official, friendly visit to Trinidad and Tobago, Jamaica and Guyana from July 12 to 24.

During his visit, Vice-Premier Keng expounded China's view that all countries, big or small, strong or weak, are equal and that relations between nations should be established and developed on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. China, he added, is opposed to interference by the superpowers in other countries' internal affairs and their monopoly of international affairs.

He also pointed out that "we are glad to see that, closely united with the people of other third world countries, the Latin American people, including the Caribbean people, have waged an unremitting struggle and won significant victories in safeguarding their national independence and state sovereignty, defending their maritime

rights and national resources, developing their national economies and striving for the establishment of a new and rational international economic order."

In Trinidad and Tobago. Vice-Premier Keng Piao paid a call on President Ellis Clarke and was received by Prime Minister Eric Williams. Talks were held between Vice-Premier Keng Piao and Errol Mahabir, Minister of Petroleum and Mines and Minister in the Ministry of Finance of Trinidad and Tobago. The two sides explored ways of further strengthening and developing their friendly relations and discussed problems of common concern.

In Jamaica. Vice-Premier Keng Piao was received by Jamaican Governor-General Florizel Glasspole and exchanged views with Prime Minister Michael Manley on the international situation and other problems of common interest. The two sides also fully discussed questions of bilateral relations. These talks and discussions have enhanced mutual understanding between the two countries and promoted cooperation and friendship between the two peoples.

In Guyana. Vice-Premier Keng Piao called on President Arthur Chung and held important talks with Forbes Burnham, Leader of the National People's Congress and Prime Minister of the Co-operative Republic of Guyana, Deputy Prime Minister Ptolemy Reid and other ministers on strengthening economic, technical and cultural co-operations between the two countries and other international problems.

Sino-Vietnamese Negotiations At Vice-Ministerial Level

As a result of the initiative taken by the Chinese Government, the Governments of China and Viet Nam have agreed to hold negotiations at the vice-foreign minister level on the question of Chinese nationals residing in Viet Nam. The negotiations are scheduled to start on August 8 in Hanoi.

The Chinese Embassy in Viet Nam has since June 13 held 19 meetings with the Vietnamese department concerned on the question of bringing back by sea victimized Chinese nationals.

The questions discussed include: Who are to be brought back, how they should apply and be examined, and detailed arrangements for Chinese ships to enter Vietnamese ports to bring back those Chinese nationals. Owing to causes arising not from the Chinese side, the talks have made no progress whatsoever and have been adjourned since July 27.

The two Chinese ships *Minghua* and *Changli*, which arrived in waters outside Viet Nam's territorial seas on June 19, were unable to enter the ports because of obstructions put up by the Vietnamese side. These ships were ordered on July 27 to return for the time being to await further instructions.

College Entrance Exams

Close to 6 million young people took part in this year's three-day (July 20-22) college entrance examinations in various parts of China.

Improvements have been introduced this year in the

enrolment system on the basis of last year's reform so that the best examinees — morally, intellectually and physically — will be admitted. Examination questions are the same throughout the nation, each individual candidate will be notified of the results and the list of successful candidates will be published.

Examination in politics took place on the morning of the first day (July 20). One of the questions was about Chairman Mao's theory of differentiation of the three worlds, and the candidates were asked to explain which countries or regions belong to the first world and which to the second and third. The stress in examinations is on testing the students' basic knowledge and their ability to analyse and solve problems. The tendency to give odd or catch questions is avoided.

Compared with last year, there are 60 more institutes of higher learning enrolling students this year. A greater number of specialities have been added, including those urgently needed in the country's economic development, such as economic information science, planned arrangement of production and capital construction economy.

The total number of applicants this year showed a slight increase over last year. (Altogether 5.7 million young people sat for the examinations and 278,000 were admitted last year.) The great majority of these candidates were around 20, half of them being this year's middle school graduates and the other half being workers, educated youth, P.L.A. men, teachers, barefoot doctors

and government employees. A small number of outstanding middle school students also took part in the exams.

Among the candidates were many of China's minority nationalities, returned overseas Chinese, Hongkong and Macao compatriots and compatriots from Taiwan Province. Also taking part were some of the victimized Chinese students driven back to China by the Vietnamese authorities. Exams centres were set up in Kwangchow and two other cities for the convenience of the Hongkong and Macao candidates.

People of all walks of life showed interest in the examinations and helped in one way or another. The factories and mines in Peking and the communes on the outskirts permitted the applicants to take 15 days off with full pay to review their lessons. More than 90,000 young people in Peking sat for the exams.

Examination papers in Uighur, Kazakh and Mongolian were sent in good time to outlying exams centres in Tibet, Inner Mongolia, Sinkiang and other border regions. Candidates in these places could answer the questions in their own languages.

The new enrolment system has put an effective curb on the notorious practice of "getting in through back door" which was widespread in the days when the "gang of four" threw their weight about everywhere. The few people who still followed such malpractices have been duly punished and denounced by public opinion. One of them, for example, was a leading cadre of a prefecture in Honan Province who used his position

and power to have his daughter admitted to a college last year. He was exposed by the press on July 28, and was dismissed from his post and demoted. His daughter was sent back by the college to where she had come from.

IN THE NEWS

- Yeh Chien-ying, Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, sent a message on July 23 to President Ali Abdullah Saleh, congratulating him on assuming the post of President of the Yemen Arab Republic.

- Foreign Minister Huang Hua on July 24 sent a message of greetings to the Conference of Foreign Ministers of the Non-Aligned Countries in Belgrade.

- Ulanfu, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, on July 25 met with the Journalists' Delegation of the Communist Workers' Party of Denmark led by Peter Blschoef, Member of the Political Bureau of the Party and editor-in-chief of the Party organ *Arbejder Avisen*.

- Vice-Premier Teng Hsiao-ping on July 25 met with American columnist Marquis William Childs and Mrs. Childs.

- The Friendship Delegation of the Workers of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia led by Branko Mikulic, Member of the Presidency of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, concluded its visit to China and left for home on July 27. Vice-Chairman Li Hsien-nien had met with the delegation during its stay in Peking.

Implementing the Socialist Principle "To Each According to His Work"

by "Renmin Ribao" Special Commentator

The following article gives a comprehensive exposition of the socialist principle of distribution, that is, the principle "to each according to his work." It also repudiates the slanders and attacks which the "gang of four" used to oppose this principle.

The first part of the article published in this issue expounds in theory that the principle "to each according to his work" is a socialist one and that it is both a logical consequence and a manifestation of socialist public ownership. Its implementation will not engender capitalism and the bourgeoisie, but, on the contrary, provides an important condition for eventually eliminating capitalism in all forms and the capitalist class as well.

The forthcoming second part will explain why in China at the present stage remuneration for work done is primarily on a time-rate basis supplemented by piecework pay, and with additional bonuses.

The third and the last part, based on China's positive and negative experience, deals with problems which require attention in the further implementation of the principle. — Ed.

IN his Report on the Work of the Government delivered at the First Session of the Fifth National People's Congress, Chairman Hua said: "Throughout the historical period of socialism, we must uphold the principles of 'He who does not work, neither shall he eat' and 'from each according to his ability, to each according to his work.' In applying them we must firmly put proletarian politics in command, strengthen ideological and political work and teach and encourage everybody to cultivate the communist attitude towards labour and to serve the people wholeheartedly. With regard to distribution, while we should avoid a wide wage spread, we must also oppose equalitarianism and apply the principle of more pay for more work and less pay for less work. The enthusiasm of the masses cannot be aroused if no distinction is made between

those who do more work and those who do less, between those who do a good job and those who do a poor one, and between those who work and those who don't. All people's communes and production brigades must seriously apply the system of fixed production quotas and calculation of work-points on the basis of work done and must enforce the principle of equal pay for equal work irrespective of sex. The staff and workers of state enterprises should be paid primarily on a time-rate basis with piecework playing a secondary role, and with additional bonuses. There should be pecuniary allowances for jobs requiring higher labour intensity or performed under worse working conditions. In socialist labour emulation, moral encouragement and material reward must go hand in hand, with emphasis on the former. As regards the reform of the wage

system, the relevant departments under the State Council should, together with the local authorities, make conscientious investigation and study, sum up experience, canvass the opinions of the masses and then submit a draft plan based on overall consideration to the central authorities for approval before it is gradually implemented."

The directives on the implementation of the socialist principle "to each according to his work" given by Chairman Hua in the report fully reflect the aspirations and demands of the masses of workers, peasants and intellectuals; these directives represent their interests and the very things they want.

In addition, the Constitution adopted by the Fifth National People's Congress also affirmed in explicit terms: "The state applies the socialist principles: 'He who does not work, neither shall he eat' and 'from each according to his ability, to each according to his work.'" And this is an important policy decision made by the Party Central Committee for holding high the great banner of Chairman Mao, grasping the key link of class struggle and bringing about great order across the land, sweeping away the pernicious influence of the "gang of four" and transforming China into a great, modern, powerful socialist country within this century.

(I) "To Each According to His Work": A Socialist Principle

"To each according to his work" is a socialist principle. This was expounded by the revolutionary teachers of the proletariat long ago. Marx in *Critique of the Gotha Programme* pointed out that in a socialist society, "the individual producer receives back from society — after the deductions have been made — exactly what he gives to it." It is true that Marx at that time did not use the term "to each according to his work," but what he had in mind was this very principle of distribution according to work. Lenin in *The Tasks of the Proletariat in Our Revolution* regarded "to each according to his work" and the public ownership of the means of production as the two basic hallmarks of socialism. He noted that "from capitalism man-

kind can pass directly only to socialism, i.e., to the social ownership of the means of production and the distribution of products according to the amount of work performed by each individual." Chairman Mao in the article *On Correcting Mistaken Ideas in the Party* pointed out that under "socialism there can be no absolute equality, for material things will then be distributed on the principle of 'from each according to his ability, to each according to his work' as well as on that of meeting the needs of the work." Later on, in the different historical periods he reaffirmed on many occasions that "to each according to his work" would be the economic principle to be followed strictly and introduced in real earnest in socialist society.

But the Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao "gang of four," using the portion of power they had usurped and the mass media under their control, slanderously distorted this principle and forestalled its full implementation. Theoretically, they wittingly spread the lie that to follow this principle was to "practise revisionism" and would result in a "restoration of capitalism"; this gave rise to great ideological confusion, to the extent that some of our comrades even became sceptical about the principle and were not sure whether it should be applied in the period of socialism. In practice, the gang did everything they could to obstruct and undermine its implementation, completely rejecting piecework pay and material rewards while going so far



Strive to fulfil the general task for the new period.

as to try to reject the time-rate wage system as well. In places and units where their destructive influence was strong, the principle "to each according to his work" was totally disrupted and the socialist relations of production as a whole were pushed to the brink of disintegration. The broad masses and cadres strongly resented the gang's sabotage of this socialist principle. Many units found various ways to counter its pressure and continued to adhere to the principle "to each according to his work," including piecework pay and material rewards. Still, the gang's destructive blows at the principle had produced extremely serious consequences.

The Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua, which smashed the "gang of four" at one stroke, quickly brought the socialist economy in our country out of danger and back into shape, winning greater victories than had been anticipated. Now united as one, the whole nation is, on the one hand, continuing to wipe out the pernicious influence of the gang and surmount the difficulties caused by it; and on the other, they are going all out to carry out the general task for the new period* and transform China into a great, modern, powerful socialist country within this century.

To accomplish this glorious, herculean task and to spur our economy on at a sustained fast tempo, it is imperative that we mobilize all positive factors both at home and abroad; first of all, we should arouse the socialist enthusiasm of the workers, peasants and intellectuals in the country. In so far as distribution is concerned, one essential measure for bringing the labouring masses' socialist enthusiasm into full play and maintaining it is to implement the principle "to each according to his work." For its implementation on a nationwide scale, first of all, it is necessary to explode all the

* The general task for the new period is: firmly to carry out the line of the 11th Party Congress, to persevere in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, deepen the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment, and make China a great and powerful socialist country with modern agriculture, industry, national defence and science and technology by the end of the century.

gang's slanders and attacks against it, clarify the ideological confusion they created, break the mental shackles they imposed on the cadres and masses and unify the whole Party's and the whole nation's understanding of the principle.

All the attacks and slanders levelled against the principle by the gang and the mass media it controlled boil down to this: "to each according to his work" is not a socialist principle, it is a "capitalist factor," "the economic base and condition engendering capitalism and the bourgeoisie," and "an obstacle to the development of the productive forces." In short, all kinds of strange talk which only counter-revolutionaries like the gang had the impudence to concoct.

Is the Principle a "Capitalist Factor"?

Contrary to the "theory" of the gang, "to each according to his work" has come into being as an antithesis of capitalism and is an indispensable important aspect of the socialist relations of production.

This principle is at once a logical consequence and a manifestation of socialist public ownership. The system of distribution is not based on man's subjective will, but is determined by a particular form of the ownership of the means of production. "The prevailing distribution of the means of consumption," said Marx, "is only a consequence of the distribution of the conditions of production themselves." (*Critique of the Gotha Programme*.) Chairman Mao also said that who holds the means of production is the decisive question. Through China's centuries-long history, it had always been the slave-owners, landlords and capitalists who owned the means of production while the working people had always been exploited and fleeced to the extreme, with their fruits of labour appropriated by the exploiters. It is only after introducing socialist public ownership that there has appeared this brand-new system of distribution, namely, "to each according to his work." This is a great leap forward in Chinese history, an invaluable fruit of the revolution won by our Party and people after prolonged and heroic struggles led by Chairman Mao.

Under socialist public ownership, the means of production belong to the whole body of the

labouring people, who, as masters of the means of production, no longer work for the exploiters but for society and for themselves. They jointly own the fruits of labour, with consumer goods for personal use distributed according to work done. The entire process through which socialist public ownership is expressed in real terms involves the labourers jointly controlling the means of production, jointly engaging in planned production, and carrying out the various links in the entire process of socialist production right up to distribution according to work. It is a process that can be neither split up nor interrupted. Joint control of the means of production by the labouring people is the prerequisite of distribution according to work, and this method of distribution is the logical consequence of joint ownership of the means of production by the labouring masses and the manifestation of socialist public ownership.

If this process stops short at joint control of the means of production by the labourers, then socialist public ownership in fact cannot be said to have manifested itself. For example, when we carried out the land reform, we announced the confiscation of land in the hands of the feudal class and its transfer to the peasants, and issued land title deeds. If this had been the end of it, then such ownership, as far as the peasants were concerned, would have remained a thing on paper, nothing substantial. It is only when the peasants obtained the fruits of their labour on the land which they received during the land reform that this ownership could really be said to have manifested itself. This is why we say that the principle "to each according to his work" embodies socialist public ownership.

To adhere to the principle "to each according to his work," therefore, is to adhere to the system of socialist public ownership; anyone who rejects this principle is indeed rejecting the system of socialist public ownership and the socialist relations of production as a whole.

The main "argument" used by the "gang of four" to dismiss the principle "to each according to his work" as a "capitalist factor" is that Marx had referred to this principle in *Critique of the Gotha Programme* as a bourgeois right (later, Lenin also used this term in *The State*

and Revolution) and so, they said, a bourgeois right must be a "capitalist factor," "capitalism in its decline," and "the important economic base on which new bourgeois elements are engendered." This is preposterous! The bourgeois right referred to by Marx in *Critique of the Gotha Programme* as something existing in the first phase of communist society is an abstract concept, the meaning of which is something like the right to exchange equal amounts of labour. And it does not imply that the right as such has the objective quality possessed by the bourgeoisie as an exploiting class. (In passing, let us point out that when Marx used the word bourgeois as an adjective, he did not necessarily confine its use to the strict sense of the word. This usage, such as "bourgeois labour," is not infrequently seen in his writings, so readers should not interpret it in its literal sense.)

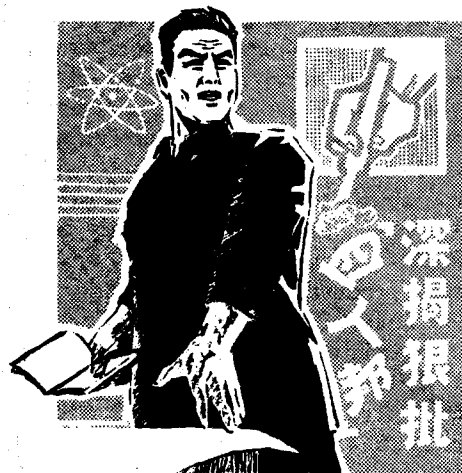
In the first phase of communist society envisaged by Marx, there no longer exist commodity production and the monetary system. ("The producers do not exchange their products; just as little does the labour employed on the products appear here *as the value* of these products." "Individual labour no longer exists in an indirect fashion but directly as a component part of the total labour.") (*Critique of the Gotha Programme*.) In that phase there no longer exists any class ("No one can give anything except his labour, and because, on the other hand, nothing can pass into the ownership of individuals except individual means of consumption.") (ibid.) This being the case, is it conceivable that the "bourgeois right" he spoke of can be the right of capitalists or other exploiters? Is it conceivable that in such a society there still exists the bourgeoisie or capitalism?

Why, then, did Marx use the term "bourgeois right"? This is because the exchange of commodities under capitalism is exchange of equal values ("as far as this is exchange of equal values"), whereas distribution according to work under socialism is exchange of equal amounts of labour — in both cases, the principle involved is the principle of the exchange of equal amounts of labour. Under this principle, the two parties in the exchange are equal. And this right of equal exchange is the hallmark of bourgeois right developed to the full historically by the bourgeoisie. Marx abstract-

ed the element common to exchange of commodities under capitalism and distribution according to work under socialism, that is, the equal right manifested in the principle of exchange of equal amounts of labour, and called it bourgeois right. When he said that the equal right in distribution according to work "is still—in principle—*bourgeois right*" (ibid.), he was speaking of this in the abstract sense of the word. When Marx made this point in the abstract, he had put aside the entirely different and particular characteristics pertaining to the exchange of commodities under capitalism and to distribution according to work under socialism; in other words, he had put aside the respective relations of production pertaining to each.

But when one uses an abstract concept to analyse a specific thing, one must go back to the particular characteristics that were put aside in the beginning. So if we are to analyse distribution according to work with such an abstract concept as bourgeois right, we must also go back to the foundation of the socialist relations of production. Only thus can we see clearly the essential difference between distribution according to work under socialism and the capitalist exchange of commodities. Only thus can we see that the exchange of equal amounts of labour through distribution according to work is entirely socialist in nature.

The trick played by the "gang of four" on the question of bourgeois right was, by confounding the general with the particular, and the abstract with the concrete, to obliterate the distinction between two things which are entirely different in nature. To put it simply, the trick they played was something like using the premise that man and dog alike are mammals to jump to the conclusion that man is a dog, there is a canine factor in man, and man will engender dog; or like using the fact that both man and ape carry things with their forearms as a pretext to say man's labour represents the quality of an ape in decline, and the basis on which man will be transformed into an ape, etc. Their aim was to put the socialist relations of production and the capitalist relations of production on a par, thereby completely denying the socialist nature of distribution according to work.



Further expose and criticize the "gang of four."

True, the society we live in has not yet entered the first phase of communist society Marx envisaged, for the reason that in our society there still exist not only commodity production and a monetary system, but also classes, class struggle, newborn bourgeois elements and capitalist factors into the bargain. Still, this cannot help the "gang of four" at all. In the first place, the fact that the society we now live in has not yet reached the first phase of communist society envisaged by Marx does not in the least show that the socialist principle "to each according to his work" has thus become a capitalist principle or a capitalist factor. Secondly, the newborn bourgeois elements and capitalist factors in our present society did not originate from the socialist relations of production, or from the socialist principle "to each according to his work," but rather resulted from sabotage of the socialist relations of production and violation of the principle "to each according to his work."

Chairman Mao in his 1974 instruction on the question of theory said: Our country even now "practises an eight-grade wage system, distribution according to work and exchange through money, and in all this differs very little from the old society. What is different is that the system of ownership has been changed." While pointing out that distribution according to work and exchange of commodities under socialism on the one hand, and the exchange of commod-

ities in a capitalist society on the other, have a similar aspect (the same principle — exchange of equal amounts of labour — prevails in these cases), Chairman Mao also emphatically pointed out their entirely different nature (the system of ownership has been changed, the social system has been changed and, therefore, the principle of exchange of equal amounts of labour has also changed both in content and in nature).

The “gang of four” and their mass media wantonly distorted the above-mentioned instruction by Chairman Mao. When quoting it, they omitted this most important passage “what is different is that the system of ownership has been changed,” in an attempt to prove that in essence there is no difference whatever between distribution according to work and exchange of commodities we now practise on the one hand and the exchange of commodities in the old society on the other, and that the former is a “capitalist factor.” But futile as their efforts were, they forcibly testified to the fact that what the “gang of four” wanted was to overthrow the basic Marxist principle that the ownership of the means of production determines the system of distribution of the means of consumption.

The Principle Is Not the “Economic Base and Condition Engendering Capitalism and The Bourgeoisie”

Contrary to the “theory” of the “gang of four,” the principle “to each according to his work” will not engender capitalism, but it is an important condition for finally eliminating all forms of capitalism and the bourgeoisie.

This principle means more pay for more work, less pay for less work, and that he who does not work shall not eat. In essence, it goes against exploitation. Lenin once said: “‘He who does not work, neither shall he eat’ — every toiler understands that. Every worker, every poor and even middle peasant, everybody who has suffered need in his lifetime, everybody who has ever lived by his own labour, is in agreement with this. Nine-tenths of the population of Russia are in agreement with this truth. In this simple, elementary and perfectly obvious truth lies the basis of socialism, the indefeasible source of its strength, the indestruc-

tible pledge of its final victory.” (*On the Famine.*) This famous conclusion of Lenin’s is the most vivid and incisive explanation of the essence and role of distribution according to work. It tells us that this principle protects the material interests of the labouring people, and is spearheaded at the exploiters. Only by adhering to it can socialism be consolidated and developed.

“To each according to his work” is an economic form of enforcing the compulsory reform of old bourgeois elements and other exploiters. Under this principle living on unearned income or by exploiting others is impermissible. Anyone who does not work shall have nothing to eat, and the only way out for the old-time exploiters is to reform themselves and live off their own labour. Therefore, to the old bourgeois elements and those of the other exploiting classes, implementation of the principle means that they “must be made to learn productive labour and join the ranks of the nation’s economic life.” (Mao Tsetung: *Speech at a Conference of Cadres in the Shansi-Suiyuan Liberated Area.*) In this way, the majority of them will be made into new people through labour. This kind of reform will help bring about the elimination of the bourgeoisie as the last exploiting class in human history.

Distribution according to work is an important economic means of preventing the emergence of new bourgeois elements because it excludes any possibility of exploitation. Under this principle, no one can obtain means of livelihood or money except through their own labour. That is to say, no one can become an exploiter by acquiring the fruits of other people’s labour gratis. Moreover, when this principle is genuinely applied, the labourers feel keenly that the fruits of social labour are closely linked with their own interests, and that any loss of the fruits of labour has a direct impact on their own well-being. Therefore they will take it upon themselves to supervise the production and distribution of products. This kind of supervision will effectively curb embezzlement, theft, extravagance, waste or other phenomena detrimental to the fruits of labour. In case any such things emerge, they can be more easily discovered and stopped. The carrying out of this principle will greatly strengthen

the labouring masses' effective supervision over the production and distribution of social products, and this will become a strong force in blocking the channels through which new bourgeois elements emerge.

Similarly, when the principle "to each according to his work" is thoroughly applied, the masses will be aroused to oppose all kinds of waste and backwardness in the process of production such as overstaffing or waste of manpower, slackening of labour discipline, tying up or squandering funds, high consumption and inefficient use of the means of production. They will spring into action to promote technical innovation and technical revolution, improve production management and introduce modernized methods of management.

In a word, distribution according to work promotes development of the social productive forces and raises labour productivity. In the last analysis, a new labour productivity which is much higher than that of capitalism is the most important and the primary guarantee for the complete triumph of socialism over capitalism.

In *The Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Government* Lenin wrote: Having overthrown the political rule of the bourgeoisie and confiscated the means of production of the capitalists, the proletariat is faced with a much more complicated and difficult task of "creating conditions in which it will be impossible for the bourgeoisie to exist, or for a new bourgeoisie to arise." From these words of Lenin, it can be seen that implementation of the principle "to each according to his work" is one of such conditions. On the other hand, the undermining of this principle may give rise to capitalism and the bourgeoisie. The sabotage of this principle means permitting unearned income as well as theft and plunder of the labouring people's fruits of labour. That will impair the socialist relations of production and productive forces, lead to scarcities of social products and give rise to speculation rings, "underground factories," "underground contract-labour teams" and bourgeois elements of various descriptions, thereby aggravating the danger of capitalist restoration.

"To each according to his work," the "gang of four" distorted, was "the economic base and

condition engendering capitalism and the bourgeoisie." Their main "argument" was that the wage differences which result from following this principle inevitably lead to "extremes of poverty and wealth, and class polarization," and to some members of society "freely appropriating the fruits of labour of others"; therefore the "rapid rise of capitalism and the bourgeoisie would be possible." This "argument" is utterly groundless. These differences in wages are those existing under the conditions of eliminating capitalist exploitation and achieving equality in labour and reward. The differences are strictly limited; they are small differences in affluence with all the labouring masses advancing on the road to common prosperity. Any improper widening of the limits of these differences violates the principle of distribution according to work. Moreover, in the wake of the gradual development of the social productive forces and the constant raising of the scientific, cultural and technical level of the workers, these limited differences will become steadily smaller. How can it give rise to "extremes of poverty and wealth, and class polarization" and to some members of society "freely appropriating the fruits of labour of others"?

Let the facts speak for themselves. Did class polarization and capitalist restoration take place at the Kailan Coal Mine of Hopei Province, at Whampo Harbour in Kwangtung Province or in the enterprises and units where the policy of distribution according to work has been upheld? Did the workers there become members of the bourgeoisie? Far from it; these enterprises and units have become advanced socialist ones. Putting the small differences in affluence between labourers on a par with those between exploiting and exploited classes, the "gang of four" directed their spearhead of struggle at Party, state and army leaders at various levels, a section of the intellectuals and a large group of veteran workers, peasants and labour models. The gang prepared opinion for their counter-revolutionary programme of "overthrowing a stratum of people."

The Principle Is Not a "Hindrance to the Growth of the Productive Forces"

Contrary to the "arguments" of the "gang of four," the principle "to each according to his work" is an important force in promoting

the development of the productive forces during the period of socialism, and in no way a "hindrance to the development of the productive forces."

Application of this principle will integrate the interests of the state, the collective and the individual. Chairman Mao taught us in his work *On the Ten Major Relationships*: "We should consider not just one side but all three, the state, the collective and the individual." To follow the principle correctly means precisely the carrying out of the above-mentioned teaching of Chairman Mao's. The practice of more pay for more work and less pay for less work will certainly encourage labourers to work hard, diligently study and master science and technology, and strive to improve their skills. As a result they will create more wealth for the state and the collective. The bigger the contribution a labourer makes to the state or the collective, the more pay he will get. As the saying goes, there will be more in one's own bowl if the pot is full. In turn, increasing the income of the labourers and improving their livelihood will help further stimulate their enthusiasm for production and create better conditions for raising their skill of labour. And they will produce even more wealth and make bigger contributions to the state and the collective. This mutual promotion and continual advance constitutes a process of

constant development of the social productive forces.

More pay for more work is first of all more gain by the state and the collective, and then more pay for the labourers. More gain by the state and the collective is the premise of more pay for the labourers. Less pay for less work is also first of all less gain by the state and the collective, and then less pay for the labourers. Less pay for the labourers is the result of less gain by the state and the collective.

"To each according to his work," therefore, considers the interests of all three — the state, the collective and the individual — with priority to the state and the collective. It combines the interests of all the three aspects in a close and organic way in accordance with socialist principles. During the period of socialism, the combination of the interests of the three is a very important condition for the development of the social productive forces. In practice, the principle "to each according to his work" is of course a manifestation that the productive forces of socialist society are not very high and that the society lacks an abundance of material wealth. Yet the implementation of this principle to the full can effectively promote the growth of the productive forces of socialist society and lay a material basis for the future realization of communist society.

Only Through "to Each According to His Work" Can We Achieve "to Each According to His Needs"

The lofty ideal of Communists is the realization of communism which practises the principle "from each according to his ability and to each according to his needs"; we do not rest satisfied with achieving "to each according to his work." However, any loyal Marxist must understand that he shoulders the dual responsibility of fulfilling the immediate practical task and realizing the future ideal. Only by fulfilling the current task with the greatest possible thoroughness can a sound base be laid for advancing towards our future ideal. Socialist society and communist society are two different stages of economic development. The transition from socialism to communism is a fairly long and complex process of development.



Socialist labour emulation drive.

China is now still a developing socialist country whose productive forces are still at a low level and whose economy is backward. The problem at present is not that we have practised "too much" of the principle "to each according to his work," but that it has not yet been as fully implemented as it should be. Our present task is to act according to the consistent teachings of Marxism-Leninism and Chairman Mao, faithfully adhere to this principle of distribution, promote the swift development of the productive forces and bring about great increases in social output. Only thus can China's present stage of socialism with two kinds of ownership—ownership by the whole people and ownership by the collective—existing side by side be changed into the stage of socialism with ownership by the whole people as the sole form of ownership. Only then can we make further preparations for the transition to communism which practises the principle of distribution according to needs. Even in the stage of socialism with ownership by the whole people as the only form of ownership, we must continue to carry out the principle "to each according to his work."

Only through applying the principle "to each according to his work" for a long period can we reach the final stage of "to each according to his needs." Similarly, only through the dictatorship of the proletariat can we reach the stage in which classes and the state wither away. This is an unalterable principle of Marxism.

Compared with capitalism, socialism through implementing the principle "to each according to his work" has eliminated exploitation and achieved remuneration according to work—actual equality in the sphere of circulation. Doesn't capitalism talk about equality? Capitalist equality means first of all equality between owners of commodities, which includes the equality of commodity-exchange between the rich and the poor, between exploiters and the exploited and, between capitalists and proletarians. For the proletariat, this kind of equality exists in name only, not in fact; it is a phony equality. The fact is that in the sphere of production the capitalists cruelly exploit the commodity of the wage workers—their labour power. The principle "to each according to his

work" is an overall negation of this phony equality. Compared with communism, socialism through implementing this principle has not achieved true equality in one sense, that is to say, it has not achieved that kind of equality represented by receiving products according to one's needs. This is what Marx termed "birth marks of the old society" and "defects" of the new society which are "inevitable."

In communist society which has a great abundance of products, goods are distributed to a worker according to his needs regardless of how much labour he has contributed to society. In socialist society where products are not available in abundance because of the limited development of the productive forces, consumer goods cannot be distributed according to needs but according to one's work. It is only in this sense that we say distribution according to work achieves equality in form, but not in fact. We must also understand that the actual equality existing in communist society is still inequality in the sense that the needs of labourers are different, because absolute equality is an unattainable and an unreasonable utopian notion. As a matter of fact, the concept of equality will become meaningless and non-existent in communist society.

How to Understand Restrictions on Distribution According to Work

"Under the dictatorship of the proletariat," Chairman Mao said in his instruction, the wage system based on distribution according to work "can only be restricted." How should we understand this instruction by Chairman Mao? Like the "gang of four" who distorted it in such a way as to abolish this socialist principle in the stage of socialism? Chairman Hua in the Report on the Work of the Government announced that throughout the historical period of socialism, we must uphold the principle "to each according to his work." His statement has thoroughly exposed the gang's shameless distortions. To impose proper restrictions on distribution according to work certainly does not mean the relinquishment of this system. We must, as Chairman Hua has put it, "firmly put proletarian politics in command, strengthen ideological and political work and teach and

encourage everybody to cultivate the communist attitude towards labour and to serve the people wholeheartedly" in the implementation of the principle.

To uphold the principle of distribution according to work and to promote communist labour are in no way contradictory. While doing no harm to distribution according to work as the fundamental system of distribution under socialism, communist labour is, in fact, an indispensable restriction on and supplement to the system. Communist labour, to quote Lenin, is "unpaid labour with no quota set by any authority or any state" and it constitutes "the labour of individuals on an extensive scale for the public good." (*Report on Subbotniks Delivered to a Moscow City Conference of the R.C.P.[B.]*) It certainly cannot be the basic labour system of socialist society. However, it is a very precious communist factor in socialist society and it plays a significant role in holding back the ideological influence of the bourgeoisie, in raising the consciousness of the labouring masses to continue the revolution and in advancing the cause of socialism.

If we only apply distribution according to work without at the same time energetically encouraging communist labour, this will limit the far-sighted outlook among the labouring masses, adversely affect them in raising their political consciousness, hold back the continued advance of socialism and hinder the cause of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Chairman Mao told us not to forget the principle "from each according to his ability" while practising the principle "to each according to his work." In the course of applying the latter principle, he was asking us to promote energetically the former principle and create the necessary conditions for all working people to develop their abilities fully, to promote the communist attitude towards labour, and to encourage communist labour without regard to remuneration so that we can serve the people wholeheartedly.

Educated by Chairman Mao and the Communist Party, the masses of workers, peasants, Liberation Army fighters and intellectuals in the country are going all out to build up our great

socialist motherland. In a revolutionary, hard-working spirit, upholding the style of plain living and arduous struggle, they are working selflessly without regard to remuneration and beyond their work quotas. They are willing to give up individual interests for the public interest, and are even ready to lay down their lives for it. Moreover, heroic deeds are performed every day at the various fronts of socialist revolution and construction, and large numbers of such advanced people have come to the fore. We have greatly promoted and developed communist labour in the past and will continue to do so.

"To each according to his work" is the basic form but not the only form of distribution in socialist society. In socialist society, apart from the consumer goods for personal use distributed according to work, some of them are supplied to the workers in the form of collective welfare. With the development of the social productive forces and the increase of social products, the proportion of collective welfare in the distribution of consumer goods for personal use will also grow.

While upholding the principle "to each according to his work," when conditions permit, we will undertake as much collective welfare as possible. This is in conformity with what Chairman Mao always had in his mind. He said: "As their [the workers'] labour productivity rises, there should be a gradual improvement in their working conditions and collective welfare." (*On the Ten Major Relationships.*) He also said: What kind of socialism is this if there is no social collective welfare in a socialist society? In the distribution of consumer goods for personal use in our society, with the increase in the share for collective welfare, the proportion for distribution according to work will gradually and relatively become less. Therefore, the development of social collective welfare is another kind of indispensable restriction on and supplement to the system of distribution according to work under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

(End of the first part. The second and last parts of the article will appear in our next issue.)

Moscow Changes Its Attitude Towards ASEAN

FROM slandering and attacking the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), the Soviet Union has of late performed a somersault. ASEAN, once regarded by the men in the Kremlin as "a disguised military organization in the service of the United States," is now an organization "formed by its five member states without the backing of big powers." Soviet abuses of ASEAN as an "anti-communist military alliance" and intense efforts to topple it are now replaced by professions of "the necessity of treating the presence and activities of ASEAN with goodwill."

Why this drastic change of attitude?

Is there any change in ASEAN's policy? No. The Declaration on the Neutralization of



"Granny Bear."

by Chiang Yu-sheng

Southeast Asia issued at the 1971 conference of foreign ministers of the five ASEAN countries proposed to turn Southeast Asia into a "zone of peace, freedom and neutrality" free from interference by outside powers. A recent meeting of ASEAN foreign ministers "reaffirmed the commitment of the ASEAN countries towards the realization of the zone of peace, freedom and neutrality in Southeast Asia."

Has ASEAN recently gone out of its way to please the Soviet Union so that Moscow is obliged to reciprocate? Again, no. The ASEAN countries have remained on their guard against this country which is ever ready to pounce on them. Not long ago, reports in the ASEAN press said: "The Soviet Union is pursuing an Asian policy which is in no way different from its policy in Africa" and "if Soviet expansion is not halted, the world will face a serious danger."

Why then has the Soviet Union suddenly changed its attitude towards ASEAN? This change in Soviet policy, it is pointed out, shows that the Soviet Union "can no longer ignore the ascending position of the ASEAN nations." In other words, it is compelled to do so by events.

While the Soviet Union has stopped at nothing in its efforts to break up ASEAN, the Southeast Asian organization and its proposal for neutrality in the region have won increasing support and approval of the third world countries. Forced by circumstances, the Soviet Union, an old hand at the game of counter-revolutionary dual tactics, turned round to dangling the carrot and commenced an offensive of "smiling diplomacy" towards ASEAN.

However, with tongue in cheek as it expresses support, the Soviet Union urges ASEAN to expand its sphere "to include other countries with different social systems such as Viet Nam, Laos and Cambodia (Kampuchea)." Chiming in with the Soviet Union, Viet Nam on the eve of the recent ASEAN foreign ministers' meeting came out with a proposal to create a "zone of peace, genuine independence and neutrality" with the participation of Southeast Asian countries including Viet Nam. Changing "freedom" into "genuine independence" is indeed a masterstroke. It expresses, however, something sinister behind the move. ASEAN's foreign ministers saw immediately that "the

Vietnamese proposition appeared to be similar to that made ten years ago — and periodically put forward — by Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev in favour of an Asia and Southeast Asia collective security pact." Some cast doubts in particular on the meaning of "genuine independence" put forward by Viet Nam. In their view, it implies that some countries in Southeast Asia are not independent and that these countries are not "genuinely independent" if they do not sell themselves to the Soviet Union like Viet Nam. Asian public opinion hits the nail on its head when it points out that the Soviet Union hopes to bring ASEAN within the orbit of its conceived "Asian security system," and "is attempting to use Viet Nam as a bridgehead for its expansion in Southeast Asia."

It is clear that the Soviet Union has miscalculated again. For nearly a decade it has tried every conceivable trick to sell its shoddy ware of an "Asian security system" but has found few takers. How can it expect to fare better by revamping the stuff and with an extra barker thrown in?

Who Owns Way Island?

THE July 15 issue of the Vietnamese paper *Nhan Dan* charged that Kampuchea "ordered troops to attack the Vietnamese Island of Way" in May 1975, and so the curtain was raised for an "atrocious war against our people" lasting for over three years. One may well ask:

Does Way Island belong to Kampuchea, or to Viet Nam? Who is the aggressor? Viet Nam aggressing Way Island that belongs to Kampuchea, or Kampuchea aggressing Way Island that belongs to Viet Nam?

Way is a small island lying some 50 miles off the Kampuchean coast. It has always been under Kampuchean sovereignty. Even according to the "Brevie Line" designated by the French colonial authorities in 1939, which was made public by the Vietnamese authorities not long ago, and to the "Sea Patrol Lines" delineated by the puppet Saigon regime and the Lon Nol puppet administration before their collapse, the island is unmistakably part of

Kampuchean territory. Since its country-wide victory on April 17, 1975, Kampuchea has exercised sovereignty by maintaining regular armed patrol of Way and other islands and their surrounding waters.

The Vietnamese authorities have publicly admitted before that Way Island and its surrounding waters are under the territorial sovereignty of Kampuchea. In May 1975, the United States repeatedly carried out provocations by dispatching vessels and aircraft to intrude into the islands of Way and Tang and their nearby waters. The shocking incident concerning the ship *Mayaguez* (See P.R. issue No. 21, 1975) took place in the sea of Tang not far from Way Island. On May 15 the same year, the Ministry of Information and Propaganda of the then Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia issued a statement exposing and denouncing repeated U.S. encroachments upon the Kampuchean islands of Way and Tang and their coastal waters. On the same day, the Vietnamese Foreign Ministry issued a statement saying that the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam "resolutely supports the Cambodian people's inviolable right to defend their territorial land, air and sea as pointed out in the May 15, 1975 statement of the Ministry of Information and Propaganda of the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia."

But in June the same year, shortly after the Vietnamese authorities' statement had been issued, Viet Nam occupied Way Island by force. This flagrantly set the stage for the Viet Nam-Kampuchea border conflict. This aggressive and expansionist act was naturally excoriated by Kampuchea. World public opinion was outraged, too. With a guilty conscience, the Vietnamese authorities withdrew their troops from Way Island and returned it on the sly to Kampuchea in August the same year.

On April 7, 1978, the Vietnamese Foreign Ministry made public what it called "The Truth About the Viet Nam-Kampuchea Border Question," a document designed to justify Viet Nam's aggression against Kampuchea. Referring to the question of Way Island, it said that Vietnamese armed forces on June 5, 1975 "pursued" the Kampuchean troops as far as Hon Troc (Way Island). Viet Nam "ordered its armed forces to withdraw from the island" after they

had completed "pursuing" the Kampuchean troops on the island, the document said. Though dodging and dissembling, these words throw light on the basic fact: Vietnamese armed forces did invade and occupy Kampuchea's Way Island.

Now the Vietnamese *Nhan Dan* alleges that Kampuchea ordered its troops to attack Viet Nam's Way Island. Does this mean that the

Vietnamese authorities want to write off at one stroke the statement issued three years ago? Or does this mean that they want to refurbish the document issued three months ago entitled "The Truth About the Viet Nam-Kampuchea Border Question"? Their words are contradictory. They are trying to stir up public opinion on the question of Way Island. What is Viet Nam up to? This deserves close attention.

Why Do They Return to China?

— Interview with returned victimized Chinese residents from Viet Nam

by Our Correspondent Liang Kwang-hsing

THIS correspondent arrived in Nanning, capital of the Kwangsi Chuang Autonomous Region, by CAAC airplane. It was in the rainy season, with hot weather every day. From Nanning we travelled south by bus to the border town of Tunghsing over 200 kilometres away. The highway, winding through a mountainous region, was packed with a steady stream of motor vehicles. The driver remarked indignantly: "Look, the passengers are all victimized Chinese residents from Viet Nam who have just returned. It was along this very highway that we were sending various kinds of materials from China to the frontlines of Viet Nam only a few years ago. But we never dreamt that today..."

Scene of the Border

Tunghsing is a small town with a population of little more than ten thousand. But now, the victimized Chinese residents who have flooded the town live crowded in shops, schools, warehouses and meeting halls of the local administrative organs. Wooden huts have been also built along the sidewalks for the returnees.

Tunghsing town is separated from Viet Nam's city of Mong Cai by the Peilun River, and connected to it by a bridge — the Sino-Vietnamese Friendship Bridge. People can see each other from either bank. People living along the

banks have an unbroken record of friendly exchanges. During the arduous Vietnamese war against U.S. aggression a few years ago, despite frenzied bombing by U.S. aircraft, the Tunghsing people sent large quantities of materials across the bridge to support the front in Viet Nam. Many times they warmly hosted Vietnamese fighters, women and children, housing them, cooking for them and giving them medical treatment. . . .

However, it is along the bridge or by wading the Peilun River that great numbers of Chinese residents expelled by the Vietnamese authorities have come from Viet Nam in recent months. Some of them shouldered luggage, some only carried a change of clothes, while others came back empty-handed, victims of plunder by the Vietnamese security personnel on the way.

By mid-July, the number of victimized Chinese residents entering through Tunghsing reached over 84,000. The highest record for one day was 4,000 people. This unavoidably brought all sorts of difficulties to the town. Working personnel of the receiving centre said that many of the victims were old and weak people, women and children. Providing the victims on the way to their final destination with quarters, water, meals and medical treatment required a great

deal of work, let alone resettling them in a proper way.

The Great Majority Are Labouring People

According to statistics, up to July 20, the number of victimized Chinese residents forced to leave Viet Nam exceeded 160,000. Most of them have been resettled in farms in Kwangtung, Kwangsi, Yunnan and Fukien. Who are they? What did they do before coming back to China? Among the people whom this correspondent contacted in Tunghsing, and at the Overseas Chinese Farms in Kwangsi and Kwangtung were workers, peasants, teachers, military personnel, cadres and their family members. The great majority are labouring people. Over 95 per cent were from north Viet Nam.

Li Wen-chi, a responsible member of Kwangsi's Wu Ming Overseas Chinese Farm, explained that 1,900 returnees had been resettled by the farm during April and May. According to registration figures, among the 577 who had jobs in Viet Nam, there were 404 workers, 49 peasants, 17 fishermen, 30 teachers, 28 military personnel and 49 cadres, technical personnel and persons of other occupations. In addition, there were more than 1,300 housewives, pupils, children and others.

Before they returned to China, some of them had been sacked or demoted. Some returnees' property had been confiscated and some others' food ration stopped. Some had lost their means of livelihood because their identity cards had been taken away. Those who had even lost their personal freedom were forced to risk their lives in making a long and hard journey back to their motherland. If the returnees could have found any way of eking out a living in Viet Nam, they would not have left the country in which they had lived for generations.

Discrimination, Ostracism and Forced Naturalization

According to information given by the victimized Chinese residents, as early as the first years of the 70s, the Vietnamese authorities broke their promise that Chinese residents enjoy the same rights as the Vietnamese people, and



**Damaged houses of Chinese residents in Deo Hang Le
in Mong Cai.**

adopted a policy of discrimination and ostracism towards the Chinese nationals who were labouring people. Last year, the Vietnamese leading officials at various levels and the security departments intensified their persecution of the Chinese nationals and began to "mobilize" them to return to China. By April this year, their activities had been stepped up and developed into a nationwide campaign.

Chen Fu-shou, formerly a resident of Quang Ninh Province, joined the Vietnamese People's Army in 1973 and won citations and medals many times. Severely wounded in a battle, he became blind and lost his right hand. Chen suffered all kinds of discrimination because he refused to take Vietnamese nationality. He said: "Disabled Vietnamese armymen each received a pension of 38 dong a month, but I got only 8 dong. I could only live on my wife's monthly wage of 40 dong as a worker at a brick kiln. Early this year, my wife was discharged by the Vietnamese authorities. There was nothing to do but come back to the motherland."

Hsuan Tsu-hsi, a former worker of the Haiphong Shipbuilding Co-operative, told this correspondent that at the beginning of this year, the security personnel came to his home and announced: "Identity cards are to be changed. Don't fill in 'Han,' you are to fill in 'Hoa.'" According to allegations of the Vietnamese authorities, Chinese residents in Viet Nam all belong to a minority nationality in Viet Nam, whether they have applied for Vietnamese nationality or not. To compel the Chinese resi-

dents to fill in "Hoa" means to force them to admit that they are Vietnamese citizens. As Hsuan Tsu-hsi was unwilling to give up his Chinese nationality, the security personnel threatened him: "If you don't fill in 'Hoa' you won't be issued an identity card, and without it you won't be able to continue working here."

Hsuan Tsu-hsi lost his right eye in an accident at work. Instead of receiving 1,000 dong in compensation, as is stipulated by the Vietnamese Government, he got only 72 dong after repeated applications. Discrimination in various ways, plus the threat of unemployment, left Hsuan with no choice but to depart from Viet Nam. Similar examples are too many to recount.

Chinese residents without identity cards not only found it hard to get jobs, but their actions were restricted. By means of discrimination in jobs and treatment and by threatening to rescind their legitimate rights, the Vietnamese authorities forced Chinese residents to take Vietnamese citizenship; those who refused to do so were forced to leave Viet Nam in large numbers.

Veterans Forced Out

Both in north and south Viet Nam, there were Chinese nationals who had joined the Viet-



This old returned Chinese resident says: "This is all I have left after toiling for several dozen years in Viet Nam — 50 cents!"

namese people's war against French and U.S. aggression. Many had shed their blood and distinguished themselves in battle. Nevertheless, they had to face expulsion.

Ho Shih-pin joined the army in 1968 in the north. In February 1969, he went to south Viet Nam with his unit. He fought 37 battles, wiped out 162 enemy soldiers, and won many citations. He served as a company commander and then a battalion commander. But when he was recommended to the higher leadership for the title of "Combat Hero" by his unit, it was not approved, simply because he was a Chinese national. After the liberation of south Viet Nam, he was discriminated against in various ways, and even slanderously accused of being a "Chinese spy" and "paid by two countries." His battle exploits, it was alleged, could only "atone for his crimes." He was very indignant. Realizing that longer stay in Viet Nam would bring him more persecution, he fled to China in May this year.

Lin Tso-chung, 52, was a veteran fighter of the war against French aggression. He said: "During the war, we kept up guerrilla warfare in the mountains under very hard conditions. But for the independence and freedom of the peoples of China and Viet Nam, we fought heroically, and were ready to lay down our lives. In Quang Ninh Province alone, more than 200 Chinese nationals gave up their lives in the war."

"In the town of Tien An where I lived," Lin continued, "there were over a dozen martyr's families of Chinese nationals. In the protracted revolutionary war, a profound revolutionary friendship was forged between the Vietnamese people and us. They highly disapproved of the expulsion of the Chinese nationals by the Vietnamese authorities. After we had decided to leave for China, many of our Vietnamese neighbours came to my home evening after evening to chat with us. When we said goodbye to them they could not hold back their tears. One of my Vietnamese friends said to me: 'There is something I can't tell you right now. I don't ask you to stay; it is better for you to go back, otherwise you will suffer more.' Some Vietnamese women and Chinese women wept over their parting."



This victim, who had joined the Vietnamese people in fighting against the U.S. aggressors, suffered a head injury when he was beaten up by Vietnamese security personnel on his way back to China. A Chinese medical worker is dressing his wound.

"Clearing Up the Border Area"

Standing on the shore, this correspondent could see both sides of the Peilun River. The scenes which appeared were quite different. On the Tunghsing side, crowds of children and adults were swimming in the river and the streets of the town were busy with shoppers. But the sight on the other side was a dismal one, with many of the houses damaged and roofless. This was the result of "clearing up the border area."

Ning Yu-tsai, a former porcelain factory worker in Mong Cai, explained to us: Last February, the local authorities announced that along the Peilun River, a "cleared-up zone" was to be set up and that Chinese nationals who lived in Deo Hang Le (a place where Chinese residents live in community) had to move to an out-of-the-way area over a dozen kilometres away from the border. How could the Chinese residents easily give up their homes built with their savings in which they had lived for generations! They did their best to postpone their departure. By March, the pressure became worse. The head of the security department of Mong Cai called Ning Yu-tsai to his office many times and directed him to move out first. Ning refused to do so, and was discharged from his post as a group leader of the machine repair shop of the factory.

On March 24, the department head notified Ning Yu-tsai to appear for another session. Ning knew that this time they would not

let him go so easily. Making up his mind to escape from Viet Nam, he crossed the river with his family and reached Tunghsing that evening.

Ning was resettled on a farm together with 180 other returnees, most of whom were workers of the same porcelain factory in Mong Cai and their family members. The workers denounced the Vietnamese authorities for expelling over 80 Chinese households in Deo Hang Le from Viet Nam within several days, for confiscating their property and tearing down their houses.

There were many more similar cases which took place because of "clearing up the border area."

Planned Actions

This correspondent interviewed over a hundred Chinese returnees near the Sino-Vietnamese border and in farms in Kwangtung and Kwangsi. Though their personal experiences differed, they were all asked the same question which needed to be answered. Why did Chinese residents in Viet Nam come back? This involved a massive migration of more than one hundred thousand people. Without exchanging views beforehand, so many people in a short period of several months left their homes and returned to China at the risk of their lives. Why?

Are they all capitalists who returned to escape "socialist transformation" as the Vietnamese authorities allege? Far from it.

Could it be that they suddenly gave up what the Vietnamese authorities called a "secure life" in response to a "call" from China to return? Could it be that they were "duped and instigated by a few bad elements who spread rumours"? Why is it that they didn't leave Viet Nam during the arduous years of war against French and U.S. aggression, or in the 50s when socialist transformation was carried out in the north, but, instead, decided to leave just at this particular time? No sober-minded person can give credence to the above "reasons" supplied by Viet Nam. Facts are clear: these Chinese nationals returned only because they were subjected to intolerable persecution and organized efforts to expel them — planned actions taken with ulterior political motives by the Vietnamese authorities.



The Communist League of Union (M-L)
of Iceland and the Norwegian Workers'
Communist Party (M-L)

Joint Statement

REPRESENTATIVES of the Norwegian Workers' Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist) and the Communist League of Union (Marxist-Leninist) of Iceland met recently to discuss the development of the class struggle in Norway and Iceland, the international situation and the increasing danger of war.

A joint statement issued at the end of the meeting points out that of the two most dangerous enemies of the people around the world today, the Soviet Union which is a superpower is, in particular, on the offensive and becoming increasingly aggressive. The two sides agree that Chairman Mao Tsetung's theory of the three worlds is an important and correct guide to the common struggle against imperialism and hegemonism.

The statement points out that the meeting has strengthened the good relationship between the two sides. They are two fraternal organizations which represent the interests of the proletariat and working people of Norway and Iceland. They support each other in the struggle against monopoly capital in their countries as well as against imperialism and the two superpowers, the Soviet Union and the United States.

The statement says in conclusion that the Norwegian Workers' Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist) supports Iceland in demanding complete control over its 200-mile fishing zone and in resisting the two superpowers' attempt to control Iceland. The Communist League of Union (Marxist-Leninist) of Iceland gives full

support to Norway's demand for a 200-mile fishing and exclusive economic zone, and its struggle against the pressure from social-imperialism on Svalbard and in the Barents Sea.

Spanish and Greek M-L Organizations

Oppose Superpower Hegemonism

AMANCIO Cabrero Ledesma, Member of the Political Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Spanish Workers' Revolutionary Organization, and Petros Stangos, Member of the Political Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Movement of Greece, held talks in Madrid from May 26 to 28, says a joint communique issued by the two Parties recently.

The communique reports that topics of mutual interest discussed during the talks include the situation in the Mediterranean, ever sharpening rivalry in this area and in the world between the two superpowers, the necessity of waging a common struggle against superpower hegemony and war plans, especially against the major source of war — the most aggressive Soviet social-imperialism.

It adds: "The two Parties are of the opinion that whether on a world scale, or in each country, the broadest possible front against hegemonism of the two superpowers should be formed. The two Parties agree that in order to oppose the two superpowers and safeguard national independence and territorial integrity, European countries and peoples should get united and unite with the third world countries and peoples."

The communique says that the two Parties expressed their firm belief in the unity of the international communist movement on the basis of Marxism, Leninism and Mao Tsetung Thought for the struggle against modern revisionism with Soviet revisionism as its centre.

"The two Parties take the scientific theory of the three worlds set forth by Chairman Mao as the theory they should follow." This theory is a strategic line leading the international proletariat to victory, it says.

Italian Unified Communist Party

Third Congress

THE Third Congress of the Unified Communist Party of Italy was held in Florence recently.

The congress approved the political report delivered by Osvaldo Pesce, General Secretary of the Party, and the new Party Programme. It elected a new Central Committee and other leading organs.

In his report General Secretary Pesce analysed the domestic and international situation, recalling the history of the two-line struggle within the Party and the international communist movement. He also criticized and repudiated modern revisionism, and called for a broad united front under proletarian leadership to safeguard national independence.

He said: "While the revolutionary forces are still in a stage of reorganization, the two superpowers are arming themselves to the teeth; social-imperialism, in particular, is preparing to launch a third world war and to invade Europe. In this situation, a united front policy defending independence is indispensable, and is the only possible course for the proletarian revolution."

He stressed that the Italian Unified Communist Party would resolutely adhere to the principles of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tsetung Thought. "Our Party resolutely opposes terrorism, because terrorism indicates no confidence in the masses," he said.

Pesce also spoke of the importance of the theory of the three worlds as formulated by Chairman Mao Tsetung. He said in conclusion: "Under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party headed by Chairman Hua Kuo-feng, the Chinese people will build China into a great

modern, powerful socialist state by the end of the century. The Italian people are naturally delighted at the historical achievements of this socialist country. The consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat in China is a very important contribution not only to the victory of the world revolution but also to countries striving for independence and nations struggling for liberation."

U.S. Communist Party (M-L)

First Anniversary of Founding Celebrated

THE U.S. Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist) held a meeting in Chicago on June 11 to celebrate the first anniversary of the founding of the Party.

There were 1,200 workers of many nationalities from over 40 cities and towns at the meeting, and also personages from overseas.

Addressing the meeting Chairman of the U.S. Communist Party (M-L) Michael Klonsky said: "Today all the contradictions in society are sharpening, here and throughout the world. On one side stand the two imperialist superpowers. They are contending with each other to recarve the world and are preparing to go to war to do it. On the other side stand all the peoples and countries of the world. It is they who suffer the consequences of the activities of these two biggest exploiters and oppressors." "It is precisely at such a point in history that the need for working class unity is greatest," he added.

Chairman Klonsky summed up the Party's work over the past year. He pointed out that the U.S. Communist Party (M-L) was guided by a revolutionary programme. It was organized along Leninist lines, that is, organized for class struggle and making revolution.

He stressed that "our Party has no reason for being except to wage class struggle."

He also spoke on building principled communist unity around a revolutionary line.

Explanatory Notes to Volume V of "Selected Works of Mao Tsetung" (14)

"The Dream of the Red Chamber"

(See p. 150, Vol. V, Eng. Ed.)

This work, written by Tsao Hsueh-chin in the mid-18th century, is an outstanding Chinese classical novel, both ideologically and artistically. By depicting the ups and downs of four typical big feudal families, it vividly reflects the acute, complicated class contradictions and class struggle in feudal society and exposes the corruptness and ugliness of the reactionary feudal ruling classes, heralding the coming doom of the feudal system. On the surface, the work deals with love ending in tragedy, but so far as the main content is concerned, it is a political historical novel, and a must for understanding China's feudal society. Inevitably, it has some negative aspects.

Hu Shih (1891-1962)

(See p. 150.)

Hu Shih, a native of Chihsi, Anhwei Province, was a politician representing the interests of the big bourgeoisie, and served as a cultural comprador of U.S. imperialism.

He was a student of John Dewey, an American philosopher and head of pragmatism, when he studied in the United States in 1910-17. He became a professor at Peking University when he returned to China in 1917. He once advocated literary reform during the May 4th Movement in 1919, but, as it soon turned out, he was the representative of the right wing of the May 4th new cultural movement. He opposed revolutionary changes, but stood for "bit by bit" reformism. In 1919, he published an article entitled "More Study of Problems, Less Talk of 'isms,'" openly opposing the use of Marxism-Leninism to guide the Chinese revolution.

During the period of the First Revolutionary Civil War (1924-27), he kept advocating "government by good people" to help prop up the reactionary rule of the Northern warlords. In 1925, he attended the "Rehabilitation Assem-

bly" which was manipulated by the warlord Tuan Chi-jui, pitting it against the National Assembly proposed by Sun Yat-sen. During the period of the Second Revolutionary Civil War (1927-37), he was one of the directors and concurrently honorary secretary of the China Board of Education Fund, Dean of the College of Liberal Arts of Peking University, and a member of the Northeast Political Committee of the Kuomintang government. In essence his role was that of a spokesman of the U.S. imperialists and a pawn of the Kuomintang reactionaries. In co-ordination with Chiang Kai-shek's activities in opposing the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal democratic revolutionary programme put forward by the Chinese Communist Party, Hu Shih spuriously advocated the "overthrow" of the "five big enemies — poverty, disease, ignorance, embezzlement and rioting." Thus he openly slandered the revolutionary movement led by the Communist Party as "rioting" and ranked it one of the "enemies." Hoping to poison the relations between the revolutionary people and the Chinese Communist Party, he blared, "No real man can be led by the nose by Marx, Lenin and Stalin!" After the Japanese imperialists occupied China's three northeastern provinces in 1931, he founded the *Independence Review* and actively supported Chiang Kai-shek's counter-revolutionary policy of "internal pacification before resistance to foreign invasion."

During the period of the War of Resistance Against Japan (1937-45), he collaborated with traitors Wang Ching-wei and Chen Kung-po in organizing the "Low-key Club" to spread defeatist views. Later he became the Kuomintang government's ambassador to the United States and top political advisor of the bogus Executive Yuan, selling himself body and soul as a servant of Chiang Kai-shek's reactionary policy of passively resisting Japan and actively opposing the Communist Party. During the period of the Third Revolutionary Civil War

(1945-49), he became Chancellor of Peking University and took an active part in opposing the Communists and the people. At the bogus National Assembly convened by Chiang Kai-shek in 1946, he was appointed "chairman" who handed the bogus constitution to the former.

He fled to the United States on the eve of the country-wide liberation in 1948. Later he again became Chiang's ambassador to the United States and assumed the presidency of the "Academia Sinica" in Taiwan, all for obstructing the liberation of the island in the interests of the U.S. imperialists and the Chiang gang. He died in Taiwan in 1962.

Hu Shih wrote many reactionary books including *A History of Chinese Philosophy* (first volume) and *Hu Shih Anthologies*. These books, filled with reactionary pragmatic views on politics, philosophy, history, literature and education, caused widespread harm in cultural and ideological spheres in China before liberation.

Hu Shih school of bourgeois idealism

(See p. 150.)

This is an ultra-reactionary, decadent bourgeois pragmatic philosophy represented mainly by the American philosophers William James and John Dewey. Hu Shih peddled these viewpoints and introduced them to China from the United States at the time of the May 4th Movement of 1919 to oppose Marxism-Leninism.

Pragmatism is a form of subjective idealism which denies the objective reality of the material world. It regards scientific knowledge as a "man-made," "hypothetical," subjective thing, and denies that scientific theories are a correct reflection of objective reality and its laws. Pragmatism disregards the objective criterion of truth and nonsensically regards truth as a tool for coping with the environment. One of the famous slogans of pragmatism is that "if it 'works'" (i.e., if it is useful to the imperialists and all reactionaries) it is "truth." It opposes Marxist materialistic dialectics and stands for reactionary vulgar evolution; favours bit-by-bit reforms in opposition to revolutionary changes. It advocates the subjective idealist method of coping with the environment, that is, "boldness in suggesting hypotheses coupled with a most solicitous regard for control and verification."

First suggesting hypotheses based on subjective fictitious ideas and arbitrariness, then verifying these hypotheses with some superficial phenomena suited to the needs of subjectivism, so as to prove the "reasonableness" of the reactionary proposals and tyrannical rule of the imperialists and all reactionaries — this is the essence of pragmatism's spurious "scientific" method.

In 1954, starting from the criticism of idealism in the study of *The Dream of the Red Chamber*, China conducted systematic criticisms of the pernicious influence of the Hu Shih school of bourgeois idealism in every sphere.

Millet plus rifles

(See p. 153.)

This expression was popular during the War of Resistance Against Japan among the revolutionary fighters and people. At that time in some of the revolutionary base areas led by Chairman Mao and the Communist Party of China, the armymen and civilians lived mainly on millet and fought with rifles of an old type. Nevertheless they prevailed over the harsh material conditions, upheld Marxism-Leninism and displayed the revolutionary spirit of plain living and hard struggle. Finally with their millet plus rifles, they defeated the Japanese imperialist invaders who had adequate clothes and food and were armed with planes, field guns and other fine weapons. In the War of Liberation later, the Chinese people, again with millet plus rifles, vanquished the U.S.-supported, well-armed Chiang Kai-shek reactionaries, wiped out more than 8 million Kuomintang troops and won the victory in the Chinese revolution.

The Chinese Communist Party has always maintained that weapons are an important factor in war, but not the decisive factor; it is people, not things, that are decisive. By using the expression "millet plus rifles," Chairman Mao illustrated the point that if, at that time, the United States with its planes plus A-bombs launched a war of aggression against China, then the Chinese people, armed with Marxism-Leninism and bringing into full play their revolutionary traditions of hard struggle and dauntless heroism, would surely emerge victorious.

(To be continued.)

CULTURE AND SCIENCE

Atomic Energy for Farm Use

Using nuclear irradiation to bring about genetic changes in crop seeds, Chinese scientists have succeeded in breeding some 100 new varieties of rice, wheat, maize, cotton, soya bean, peanut and cabbage. These have been sown to 1.6 million hectares of land. One of the radiation-induced rice mutants ripens 45 days earlier than its parent variety and gives yields 10 per cent higher than others ripening as early.

Since China set up its first laboratory for applying atomic energy to agriculture in 1957, great headway has been made in this field. Most of the provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions now have their own laboratories with irradiation equipment and facilities for the study of isotopes, where researchers have been carrying out scientific experiments with the support and co-ordination of large numbers of peasant enthusiasts.

Treating tussah silkworm eggs with low-dosage fast neutron irradiation has not only resulted in a 20 per cent increase in the output of cocoons but also helped raise the quality of silk.

Harmful insects can be sterilized under atomic irradiation. This has enabled the peasants to eliminate these insects at a great saving of insecticides. Irradiation has also been used to preserve grain, pork, vege-

tables and precious herbal medicines.

Radioisotopes emit rays from time to time, so that they can be found with detectors wherever they are. Radio-labelled compounds are helpful in studying the laws of movement and change of substances. China has by now synthesized 20 radio-labelled compounds for agricultural use which before were mainly imported.

In recent years radioisotope tracer techniques have been applied to the study of soil, fertilizer, photosynthesis, plant nutrition and metabolism and pest control.

More Magazines and Newspapers

The number of magazines and newspapers published in China is going up rapidly. Their combined circulation now reaches 91,430,000 as against 2,996,000 in 1950, the year after the founding of the People's Republic of China.

When the "gang of four" had control of literary, art and

publishing departments, many fine literary and art works and academic journals were banned on all kinds of pretexts. There was a great shortage of books and magazines at one stage.

After the "gang of four" was smashed, many magazines resumed publication and a number of new ones appeared. Since the beginning of last year to the end of April this year, 180 magazines resumed or started publication.

Science journals published in Chinese include *High-Energy Physics and Nuclear Physics* dealing with experiments, theories and current activities in these fields, *Nature*, a comprehensive monthly of natural science, *Journal of Mechanics* and *Journal of Computing*. A popular monthly, *Rural Scientific Experiments*, for commune members and educated young people in the countryside is one of the new magazines to come out this year.

Social science magazines published in Chinese such as *History Studies*, *Philosophical Studies*, *Economic Research*, *Literary Review* and *Chinese Language* have resumed publication. To further research work of languages of Chinese national minorities, a journal



Bringing about changes in seeds with the aid of laser.

called *National Languages* has begun publication.

Science picture magazines such as *We Love Science*, *Children's Epoch* and *Little Friends* have also resumed publication.

In addition, over 30 other magazines and newspapers will resume publication or come out before the end of this year.

First Medical College In Tibet

Tibet's first medical college has been set up in Lincih, a newly developed industrial city east of Lhasa. Thus all the provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions in China have their own medical colleges.

This college has a curriculum for speeding up the training of not only Tibetan doctors but those of other nationalities as well. In the preceding decade or more, the local government of the Tibet Autonomous Region has been sending students to inland medical colleges for study. The seven secondary hygiene and sanitation schools in Tibet were all set up after liberation. Training was mostly done in the course of practice. Since the Great Cultural Revolution started in 1966, more than 12,000 barefoot doctors and health workers have been trained from among the peasants and herdsmen. Professional medical workers, including those who came from places inland to settle down in Tibet, now number some 5,000.

Since 1973 many medical teams embracing 2,000 members from 7 provinces and Shanghai have been sent to work in Tibet.

They regard the training of local national minority doctors as one of their important tasks.

This medical college offers courses in medical treatment, pharmacology, hygiene and Tibetan medicine, which has a history of some 1,000 years. It takes the students five years to complete their studies as in other Chinese medical colleges.

Briefs

Peking's Week-End Concerts. The Central Philharmonic Society last month resumed its week-end concerts after 12 years' suspension due to the obstruction of the "gang of four." The first concert presented a programme of Chinese symphonic music, including two works by young composers — *Festival Prelude* which praises the people's communes and the big leap forward, and the violin concerto *Liang Shan-po and Chu Ying-tai* which describes the two legendary young people's fight against the old feudal marriage system. There were also the new symphonic music *Heroic Epic* which was recently completed by the veteran composer Chen Pei-hsun on the basis of three poems of Chairman Mao, and the suite *Taiwan Island* by Wei Li, a young conductor of Taiwan origin.

Spring in Shanghai. At the recent music festival held in Shanghai after a 12-year interruption, 2,000 professional and amateur musicians, singers and



A Folk Dance.
Sketch by Hu Lien-chiang

dancers presented over 100 new items, including both Chinese and foreign vocal and instrumental music, classical and folk, as well as fine works of the war years before China's liberation and 20 dances of various nationalities and ballets. Beginning 1960, Spring in Shanghai music festivals were held annually until they were banned by the "gang of four" in 1967. The performers and the audience warmly hailed the resumption of the festival.

Kwangtung Music Festival. The 17-day music festival in Kwangchow, capital of Kwangtung Province, saw performances by noted veterans, teenagers and folk-singers from fishing villages. The festival was permeated with a strong local flavour. The folk music, songs, and arias of local operas of different schools all showed a distinctive, local character.

Folk Music of Many Nationalities. At a recent provincial music festival held in Hunan in central China, artists and folk singers of Tuchia, Yao, Tung, Miao, Han and other nationalities performed nearly 200 local or traditional items.

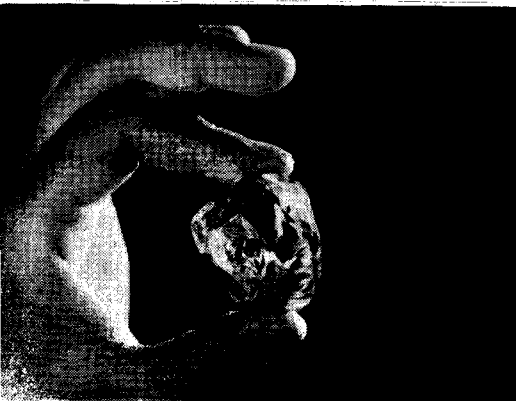
ON THE HOME FRONT

Giant Diamond

WEI Chen-fang, a young peasant woman of Changlin Production Brigade in Linshu County, Shantung Province, found a huge diamond when she was levelling the land on December 21, 1977.

Weighing 158.786 carats, the luminous amber precious stone is the largest natural diamond ever discovered in China.

When Wei Chen-fang, a Communist Youth League member, brought it home and told the family how she found it, all agreed to present it to the



The "Changlin Diamond."



Wei Chen-fang.

state. That evening they wrote a letter to Chairman Hua, saying that the precious stone belongs to the motherland and the people and it should be presented to the Party and people so that it can be used to promote socialist modernization. In the old society the Wei family often went cold and hungry. They love the socialist new China ardently.

Chairman Hua has named the diamond "Changlin Diamond."

The local leading organs held a ceremony to commend Wei Chen-fang for her patriotism. She appeared at the meeting festooned with red sashes and wearing a red flower presented to her and received a reward.

Reports from some scientific research institutes say that the diamond throws new light on research in several branches of science.

Workers' Sanatorium In Hangchow

A WORKERS' sanatorium near the scenic West Lake in Hangchow reopened not long ago to receive more than 120 model and advanced workers from various units in industry, communications, transport, finance and commerce in Chekiang Province. All services are free and the workers draw full pay throughout their stay.

The sanatorium, set up by the Chekiang Provincial Trade Union Council, catered to a large number of workers each year in the past. As a place of rest and recuperation, it showed

the Party's concern for the workers' health.

During the Cultural Revolution, Lin Piao, the "gang of four" and their followers attacked the sanatorium vacation system as "welfarism" and slandered convalescents as "intellectual aristocrats." Under these pretexts they occupied the premises themselves. The sanatorium, closed to workers for 12 years as a result, is now functioning again.

Airborne Magnetic Survey of Coastal Waters

CHINA recently completed an airborne magnetic survey of its coastal waters.

Beginning in June 1974, the scientific surveying team of the General Administration of Civil Aviation of China and the aerial geophysical prospecting team of the State Geological Bureau conducted a survey of prescribed coastal waters on a 1:500,000 or 1:1,000,000 scale. A 1:200,000-scale survey was made over some marine areas. In all, the survey covered more than 250,000 line-kilometres.

Preliminary results show the geological structure under the coastal water areas and indicate petroleum and natural gas resources there. Magnetic anomalies were discovered on land, islands and in shallow beach waters along the coast, providing new clues for the prospecting of deposits of iron and other metallic ores.

CORRECTION: In our issue No. 27, lines 7, 6, 5 and 4 from the bottom of the right-hand column on page 3 should read: "Vice-Minister of Communications Pan Chi was deputy leader of the delegation on the Pakistan visit."

Friendship Notes

Sino-Japanese Cultural Exchange

Two events of outstanding lustre marked recent Sino-Japanese cultural exchange. One was a painting exhibition held in Peking and Shenyang by the famous Japanese painter Kail Higashiyama; the other was a concert given by the Symphony Orchestra of the Central Philharmonic Society under the baton of the noted Japanese conductor Seiji Ozawa.

Painting Exhibition by Kail Higashiyama. Most of the 150 paintings on display are landscapes. Among the most striking is a large fresco for Toshodaiji Temple in Nara, which took Kail Higashiyama three and a half years to complete. Toshodaiji Temple was built in 760 under the guidance of a monk, Kamjin, during the Tang Dynasty. In order to propagate religious teachings in Japan, Kamjin tried to sail east across the sea several times, but it was not until he made his sixth attempt that he

succeeded; he reached the southern part of Kyushu. Kamjin made a considerable contribution to cultural exchange between China and Japan. Unfortunately he had become totally blind and therefore was never able to see his beloved land. To show his esteem for Kamjin, Kail Higashiyama drew two paintings which portray the most beautiful natural scenery of Japan's June (the month of Kamjin's death). Only green leaves of pines and filmy clouds appear in the painting *Mountain Clouds*. At the left corner is a cuckoo, which flies up to the sky in June. In the other painting *The Song of Sea Waves*, there are only low-lying rocks over which the waves are breaking. There are no high waves or boats on the vast ocean, only rhythmical waves which seem to create beautiful music.

One part of the exhibition consists of sketches by Kail Higashiyama during his 1976

and 1977 tours of Kweilin in the Kwangsi Chuang Autonomous Region, Sian in Shensi Province, the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region and other places. Chinese viewers find much to appreciate in these familiar scenes.

Kail Higashiyama's works are impressive in conception and of unique composition. They are finely drawn in simple yet striking colours and are imbued with poetic beauty. The painter has assimilated the techniques of both West European and Chinese drawings, while at the same time displaying prominently the characteristics of Japanese painting. This gives his works a unique style, which is rough, emphatic, plain and expressive.

During his 1972 China visit, former Japanese Prime Minister Tanaka presented Chairman Mao with a highly treasured gift — a landscape painting, *Spring Dawn*, by Kail Higashiyama. Now, after six years, his works were put on display in China for all to see. In a sense, this was a gift the Japanese people present to the Chinese people, and a sign that the friendship between the Chinese and



At Kail Higashiyama's painting exhibition.



Seiji Ozawa (front right) with members of the Central Philharmonic Society.

Japanese peoples is developing and deepening.

Conductor Seiji Ozawa. Covering a wide range of representative works, classical and contemporary, the programme conducted by Seiji Ozawa displays his own unique interpretation. In dealing with Brahms' *Symphony No. 2*, a work which the Central Philharmonic Society had not presented before, Seiji Ozawa was serious and meticulous; after a short time of rehearsal, the presentation by the society achieved a definite standard of quality. The strong points and potentials of the society were skilfully brought into full play under the guidance of Ozawa's impassioned and superb conducting, so that the symphony was rendered with faithfulness to original style, combined with contemporary fervour. The presentation of Hector Berlioz's *Carnaval Romain* gave full expression to the liveliness and jubilation of the composition.

Japanese symphonic work *Woodcutters' Song* by Kiyoshige Koyama is new to the Central Philharmonic Society and to Chinese music-lovers. But with Seiji Ozawa conducting, the Chinese orchestra created the distinctive flavour of Japanese folk music in expressing the hearty, joyful feelings of the woodcutters.

Seiji Ozawa also conducted the society in presenting works by Chinese composers such as *pipa* concerto *Sisters on the Grassland* and a composition for strings *The Moon Reflected in the Second Fountain*. Clearly, Seiji Ozawa displayed not only a proper understanding of

Chinese musical instruments and folk music but also a good comprehension of the content.

Seiji Ozawa contributed his superb conductorial expertise unstintingly to Chinese music-lovers. More important, he also brought friendship to the Chinese people. As he put it: "I am not here to demonstrate my conductorial expertise during this China visit. I was born in Shenyang and China is also my native land. I come to China for the exchange of heartfelt sentiments between the Japanese and Chinese peoples." The hearts of Peking audiences and Seiji Ozawa are linked. At the concerts, music-lovers again and again gave the Japanese conductor a standing ovation in appreciation of his superb conducting art and fine co-operation with the Chinese musicians. The atmosphere was so charged with emotion that the world-renowned conductor was moved to tears.

Meiktila People's Textile Mill

The Meiktila People's Textile Mill, the biggest in Burma, is situated in the southern part of the city of Mandalay. Its 200 ordinary looms have now trial-produced dacron. Each loom can produce 22 yards of dacron per shift on an average, surpassing the output of similar mills in Burma.

Jointly built by Chinese and Burmese workers and technicians between March 1966 and July 1967, the mill was expanded in two stages between October 1974 and February 1978. There are now 80,000 spindles,

600 looms and some 4,000 workers.

In the second stage of expansion, a shop was built for the production of dacron. Looms in this mill in the past could produce cloth of ordinary cotton yarn. According to the original plan of the expansion project, the blending yarn produced in this mill would be shipped to Rangoon for the production of dacron, which then would have to be sent to another place for dyeing. The shipment over half of Burma would burden the transportation facilities unnecessarily. Friends from the two countries put their heads together and were determined to turn out dacron by making changes in these ordinary looms. The key question was the transformation of the sizing machine. Importation of a new machine from abroad would cost the mill nearly 1 million Burmese kyat. What was more, waiting for its delivery would retard production. Seeing that the only way was to change the existing equipment, technicians and workers of the two countries co-operated closely and produced the needed spare parts. At length, they succeeded in transforming the old sizing machine at the cost of only 20,000 Burmese kyat. This not only met the needs of production but also enhanced the technical level of the Burmese workers.

In the course of production, as workers and technicians of the two countries learnt from and helped each other, their friendship grew. After the completion of the expansion project, the Burmese workers and technicians were reluctant to let their Chinese friends depart.

ROUND THE WORLD

U.S.S.R.

Abkhazians' Protest

A mass demonstration of some 30,000 people took place on May 21 in Sukhumi, a well-known Soviet resort on the Black Sea coast.

This was a high point in the protest campaign which had been carried on in recent months by the Abkhazian people against the Kremlin's policy of ethnic oppression. The Abkhazians live in Soviet Transcaucasia which was formed into an autonomous republic after the October Revolution, subordinate to the Georgian Union Republic. They were fighting against coercive ethnic assimilation and the squandering of the natural resources of their land. A group of 130 Abkhazian intellectuals last December had sent a protest letter to the Supreme Soviet which, however, had taken "systematic reprisals" against them. This aroused stronger resistance. Public demonstrations occurred in Bzyb, Likhni and other Abkhazian cities. In March, 12,000 people in Likhni, the ancient capital of Abkhazian kings, demonstrated. Many demonstrators in their speeches expressed their support to the protest letter. In April, a mass rally was held by the people in Tkvarcheli, the industrial centre of the autonomous republic. The mass campaign developed so rapidly that the Soviet paper, *Dawn of the East*, had to acknowledge on May 26: "Of late the Central Committee of

the C.P.S.U., the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet and other union agencies have received quite a number of letters, verbal complaints and telegrams from Abkhazia, raising 'critical views' on the authorities."

The tide of protest greatly alarmed the men in the Kremlin and various Abkhazian officials were singled out to be scapegoats. V.M. Khintba, first secretary of the Abkhazian Party committee, was removed from office and Georgian Party chief, Eduard Shevardnadze, was forced to publicly acknowledge that "he had erred." Some minor demands were met to pacify the disgruntled Abkhazians. The Abkhazian people's demands for an end to the Soviet policy of ethnic oppression and coercive assimilation, however, were ignored by the Kremlin. Furthermore, the *Dawn of the East* on May 26 reported that at a meeting of Party activists in Abkhazia, secretary of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. Kapitonov accused those who had raised the above demands of "undermining the trust among nationalities," "stirring up unwholesome sentiments" and "taking an incorrect stand." The day after the meeting, large groups of Soviet troops, armed with machine guns, were moved to Sukhumi to suppress the Abkhazian people.

AMERICAN INDIANS

Marching to Washington

More than 1,000 American Indians marched into Washington

on July 15 after a five-month, long-distance walk to demand guarantees for their national rights.

The march to Washington was to ask Congress to abolish 11 pieces of anti-Indian legislation, which would "destroy the American Indian way of life," and to arouse public attention to this matter. The marchers, including old men and children, represented some 80 tribes from all parts of the United States. The 4,800-km. across-the-country walk started in California and won great support from people along the way. White, black and Chicanos joined the contingent, and many workers expressed their support with donations of food and clothing. Support rallies were held in many cities.

Scores of years ago, American Indians were forcibly driven to barren wastelands called "Indian reservations," where life was hard and precarious. But these "reservations" are now found to contain rich deposits of uranium, coal, natural gas and other resources. So the monopoly capitalists are fighting with each other to get control of these "reservations" and violating the interests of the American Indians. In the interests of monopoly capitalists, 11 pieces of legislation were submitted to Congress in order to legalize this new plunder of the American Indians. Passage of the legislation would put an end to these "reservations" of the Indians, shut down their hospitals, schools and housing projects and deprive them of their fishing and hunting rights. This has aroused Indian defiance and resistance.

THE WORKS OF MARX, ENGELS, LENIN AND STALIN

(English edition)

- Karl Marx and Frederick Engels**
Manifesto of the Communist Party
Selected Letters
- Karl Marx**
Wages, Price and Profit
The Civil War in France
Critique of the Gotha Programme
Preface and Introduction to *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*
The Poverty of Philosophy
- Frederick Engels**
Anti-Duhring
On Marx
Ludwig Feuerbach and the End of Classical German Philosophy
Socialism: Utopian and Scientific
The Part Played by Labour in the Transition From Ape to Man
Principles of Communism
Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany
The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State
- Marx, Engels and Lenin**
Marx, Engels and Lenin on the Dictatorship of the Proletariat
- V.I. Lenin**
Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism
Two Tactics of Social-Democracy in the Democratic Revolution
"Left-Wing" Communism, an Infantile Disorder
- The State
The State and Revolution
The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky
Karl Marx
Lenin's Prediction on the Revolutionary Storms in the East
Lenin on War and Peace (Three articles)
Lenin on the National and Colonial Questions (Three articles)
Materialism and Empirio-Criticism
What Is to Be Done?
The Tasks of the Youth Leagues
On Marx and Engels
Economics and Politics in the Era of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat
The Three Sources and Three Component Parts of Marxism
What the "Friends of the People" Are and How They Fight the Social-Democrats
One Step Forward, Two Steps Back
A Great Beginning
- J.V. Stalin**
The Foundations of Leninism
Economic Problems of Socialism in the U.S.S.R.
Marxism and Problems of Linguistics
Problems of Leninism
Lenin
On the Opposition

Published by **FOREIGN LANGUAGES PRESS**, Peking, China
Distributed by **GUOZI SHUDIAN** (China Publications Centre), Peking, China

Order from your local dealer or write direct to the

Mail Order Dept., **GUOZI SHUDIAN**, P.O. Box 399, Peking, China