

PEKING REVIEW

7

February 17, 1978

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**To Each According to His Work:
Socialist Principle in Distribution**

**Entering New Phase in Farm
Mechanization**

A Historical Trend

— Report from a Chinese journalists'
delegation on Western Europe

PEKING REVIEW

北京周报

BEIJING ZHOUBAO

Vol. 21, No. 7 February 17, 1978

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

CONTENTS

THE WEEK	3
Spring Is Here	
Running State Farms Well	
Facilities for More Tourists	
Training of Postgraduates Resumed	
Promising Musicians	
ARTICLES AND DOCUMENTS	
To Each According to His Work: Socialist Principle in Distribution — Li Hung-lin	6
Entering New Phase in Farm Mechanization	9
Schools of Diverse Forms	11
Explanatory Notes to Volume V of "Selected Works of Mao Tsetung" (6)	13
Three-World Theory: Questions and Answers: Why Did Stalin Divide the Imperialist Countries Into Two Groups?	16
Korea Is Bound to Achieve Its Independent and Peaceful Reunification — <i>Renmin Ribao</i> editorial	20
Commentaries:	
Incriminating Evidence Cannot Be Erased	21
Who Is the Smuggler?	21
A Historical Trend — by a Chinese journalists' delegation which has just returned from a visit to Western Europe	22
ROUND THE WORLD	27
Kampuchea and Thailand: To Normalize Relations	
Ankara: Worker-Peasant Party of Turkey Founded	
U.S.A.: Coal Miners' Strike	
Horn of Africa: Moscow Is Fuelling the Conflict	
Republic of Gabon: Refusing to Be Pawn of Soviet Imperialism	
Egypt: President Sadat Visits Three Countries	
Algiers: Summit Conference	
ON THE HOME FRONT	30
A Hundred Flowers Blossom	
Revolutionary Memoirs	
Directors of Research Institutes Appointed	

Spring Is Here

The Chinese people celebrated the traditional Spring Festival last week. According to the lunar calendar, it marks the end of winter and the beginning of spring and a new year's work.

Reforms have rid this festival of feudal dross and turned it into a symbol of unity, victory and greater success in production.

Spring Festival this year came at a time when initial success had been achieved in grasping the key link of class struggle and bringing about great order across the land and when unity and stability reigned everywhere. Brimming with joy and full of gusto, the people celebrated as never before, setting off firecrackers and beating drums and gongs.

On the eve of the festival Hsu Hsiang-chien, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress and Vice-Chairman of the Military Commission of the C.P.C. Central Committee, went on the air extending greetings to army men and civilians in all parts of the country on behalf of the C.P.C. Central Committee, the N.P.C. Standing Committee, the State Council and the Military Commission of the C.P.C. Central Committee. He pointed out that since the smashing of the "gang of four" over a year ago, inspiring news have been pouring in from the

political, economic, military, cultural and other fields of endeavour, and our socialist revolution and socialist construction have entered a new period of development. The Spring Festival, he noted, is a traditional occasion when our people carry out activities in supporting the army and giving preferential treatment to the

state leaders joined the capital's army men and people in celebrating the festival at a get-together which took place in the Great Hall of the People. In the afternoon that day, Chairman Hua made a special trip to the Shoutu Iron and Steel Company to visit the workers who were working through the holidays. He went from



families of army men and martyrs and when our army units, too, carry out activities in supporting the government and cherishing the people. He called on all concerned to do this work in a still better way than before.

On the evening of February 7, the first day of the Spring Festival holidays, Chairman Hua Kuo-feng, Vice-Chairmen Yeh Chien-ying, Teng Hsiao-ping, Li Hsien-nien and Wang Tung-hsing and other Party and

workshop to workshop, talking to cadres and workers, and reminded them that hard work in the next eight years holds the key to the modernization of agriculture, industry, national defence and science and technology. He also instructed them to take effective measures to do away with pollution and draw up a long-term plan for iron and steel production.

Leading comrades of Party and government organs in

various provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions all went to the front line of production during the festival and worked alongside workers, peasants or shop assistants. Some went to work in the coal pits, some at the railway stations or on the wharves, and others in the shops selling goods to holiday customers.

During the festival, there was a rich repertoire for the holiday-makers. The Toronto Symphony from Canada gave two concerts in Kwangchow to the great joy of local music lovers. TV viewers in Peking were delighted as they watched noted scientists, actors and actresses, writers, painters and calligraphers sing songs, make speeches, draw paintings or display the calligraphic art. For many people, there was both rest and work during the festival. The leading cadres actually had a working holiday. That the people are willing to do extra work is because they are eager to develop China's national economy at top speed.

Running State Farms Well

Peking was the site of a national state farms conference which closed on January 25. The conference discussed the ways and means of tapping potential and speeding up the development of state farms. The task now facing state farm workers is to build up their farms in various parts of the country so that they will in the not too distant future become suppliers of marketable grain, industrial raw materials, non-

staple foodstuffs for city dwellers and products for export.

Owned by the whole people, the state farms serve as examples in achieving high yields for the rural people's communes which are collectively owned. By comparison, these farms are larger in size with a more diversified economy and a higher degree of mechanization. But as a result of sabotage by the "gang of four" in the last few years, they failed to play their due role and tap their potential to the full; some even incurred losses and their production level was lower than that of the communes. The conference held that conditions are now favourable to these farms and they are expected to bring about greater and faster development of production in the next few years.

The state farms are manned by five million demobilized army men, poor and lower-middle peasants and educated young people. Special attention will be paid to developing those farms in northeast China's Heilungkiang Province. The workers there have swung into action and brought about an upsurge in spring farming.

Facilities for More Tourists

A national conference on tourism was held in Peking recently. The "gang of four" had alleged that to develop tourism was to serve the bourgeoisie and maligned the publication of albums of scenic spots and cultural relics as restoration of the old order. These fallacies were thoroughly refuted at the conference. China's tourist industry, established under the

care and leadership of Chairman Mao and Premier Chou, will surely develop in the near future. The conference decided on measures to steadily improve travel facilities and open more resorts to tourists.

The China International Travel Service, founded in 1954, is New China's first organization in charge of tourism. Later, in 1964, the China State Administration for Travel and Tourism was set up directly under the State Council.

Over the past 20 years or more, China has received tourists from more than 60 countries and regions, and, except for those years when sabotage by the "gang of four" was serious, the number of foreign visitors has increased annually.

Training of Postgraduates Resumed

China has decided to reinstitute the system of training postgraduates which was suspended for more than a decade. This is another important measure for stepping up the training of scientific and technical personnel following the college entrance exams towards the end of last year.

While visiting the miners of Tangshan in early January, Chairman Hua Kuo-feng said: Without advanced science and technology, both increases in production and the realization of the modernization of agriculture, industry, national defence and science and technology are out of the question.

The Ministry of Education and the Chinese Academy of Sciences have jointly made ar-

rangements for the work of enrolling postgraduates for both 1977 and 1978. Applications are to be made in March, and preliminary and final examinations are scheduled for May and June respectively. Successful candidates will begin their studies in September.

The postgraduates to be enrolled this year and in the next few years will form the backbone force in putting an end to the backward state of science and technology in China.

Out of their keen desire to narrow the gap between China's present standard and the world's advance level in science and technology, many accomplished scientists and professors, though now advanced in years, are looking forward to imparting their knowledge and skill to the new generation of researchers.

The Chinese Academy of Sciences has paid special attention to spotting and selecting talented candidates for postgraduate courses through such means as examinations, recommendation and investigation as well as letters and visits from the people. Once gifted young people are discovered they are enrolled.

Among those found recently are a dozen or so middle school students of 14 or 15 years old who have better power of understanding, better memory and much richer knowledge than other young people of the same age and are diligent and hard-working. One of them is a 1968 senior middle school graduate who has persisted in studying mathematics by himself for eight years while doing farm

work. As his knowledge of mathematics has reached a standard equivalent to that of an outstanding college graduate, he was chosen for postgraduate courses in the Chinese University of Science and Technology.

The Chinese Academy of Sciences has decided that this university should open courses for the youngsters to concentrate their energy on studying the basic subjects before receiving specialized training.

Promising Musicians

Renmin Ribao on January 28 carried the advertisement of a concert given by a number of talented candidates who had sat for the entrance examinations of the Central Conservatory in Peking. Sponsored by the conservatory, it proved a great success and was warmly welcomed by the capital's music lovers.

A few days after the Central Conservatory announced its plan to enrol new students, more than 17,000 people in Peking, Shanghai, Kwangchow and Chengtu applied. One of its departments originally planned to enrol only four or five students, but as many as 1,000 applications were sent in. All this was something unprecedented in the history of the conservatory. With a strong desire for study, applicants in Peking began to queue up early in the morning despite the cold weather, waiting for their turn to hand in their applications. Talented candidates were so many that the conservatory found it difficult to choose. With approval from appropriate

quarters, the conservatory managed to admit more students.

Everyone was overjoyed at the news. Chao Feng, grey-haired chairman of the conservatory's revolutionary committee, said that the Central Conservatory was founded almost 30 years ago, but it had never before had so many candidates of such a high standard. He recalled what Premier Chou En-lai had said to him in 1962: China has a vast territory, a big population and many talented people, good students can certainly be selected from among them. Results of the entrance examinations of the conservatory as well as other colleges and universities fully testify to the correctness of the late Premier's words.

IN THE NEWS

• Premier Hua Kuo-feng on February 4 sent a message to Junius Richard Jayewardene, warmly congratulating him on his assumption of the office of President of the Republic of Sri Lanka on the 30th anniversary of the independence of the Republic.

• Vice-Chairman of the N.P.C Standing Committee Tan Chen-lin on February 11 greeted and saw off at Peking Airport Vice-President of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea Pak Sung Chul who made a stopover on his way to Africa.

• Premier Hua Kuo-feng on February 12 sent a message to R. Premadasa, warmly congratulating him on his assumption of the post of Prime Minister of the Republic of Sri Lanka.

To Each According to His Work: Socialist Principle in Distribution

by Li Hung-lin

THE principle — to each according to his work — was smeared by the “gang of four” as an “old thing” left over by capitalism.

Has the world ever seen a system of distribution based on the principle “to each according to his work” since human society came into being? Did it exist in primitive society? No. At that time, equal distribution of primitive communism was practised. Was there such a thing as “to each according to his work” in slave, feudal or capitalist society? No. The principle of distribution in societies with private ownership is that the exploiting classes which own the means of production squeeze surplus labour out of the exploited classes. “To each according to his work” is out of the question in these societies.

The principle “to each according to his work” can be practised on a country-wide scale only in a state under the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is because there the means of production originally owned by the landlords and capitalists have been confiscated and turned into property owned by the whole people, and individual ownership by the labourers has been transformed step by step into collective ownership on a voluntary basis through the form of co-operatives.

The principle “to each according to his work” means that individual consumer goods

are distributed according to the amount of labour a worker has done after his labour for the common funds has been deducted. In accordance with this principle, everyone, except those who have lost their power of labour or those who have not yet reached the age of a labourer, must work. He who works more gets more, he who works less gets less and he who does not work, neither shall he eat. This is a great revolution in the system of distribution. It is a new thing which can emerge only in socialist society.

Bourgeois Right and This Principle

Since the principle “to each according to his work” is a socialist new thing, then why did Marx say that equal right is still — in principle — bourgeois right?

Dealing with the distribution system in socialist society in his *Critique of the Gotha Programme*, Marx wrote: “As far as the distribution of the latter [means of consumption] among the individual producers is concerned, the same principle prevails as in the exchange of commodity-equivalents: a given amount of labour in one form is exchanged for an equal amount of labour in another form.” “Hence, equal right here is still — in principle — bourgeois right.” Obviously the phrase “bourgeois right” Marx referred to here concerns only

the exchange of equal amounts of labour. In capitalist society, everything is a commodity, the exchange of which is worked out according to the principle of exchange of equal amounts of labour. In socialist society, individual consumer goods are also distributed on this basis. It is only because of this that Marx said that this principle is still — in principle — bourgeois right.

Equal right arising from the principle "to each according to his work" is a right of inequality among different labourers, because the productive capacity of each worker is different and their family burden cannot be the same. As a result, their living standards also vary. This of course is a defect. But this is considered a defect only when it is compared with the principle which will be practised in future communist society — to each according to his needs. If compared with the situation in capitalist society, "to each according to his work" is an extremely equal and highly reasonable principle.

Historical conditions should be considered when speaking of equality or inequality. There was equality in primitive society, yet it was replaced by the unequal slave system, because the latter is more progressive than the primitive communal system and can better promote the development of the productive forces. The same holds true when the feudal system superseded the slave system and also later on when the capitalist system superseded the feudal system. Compared with society with private ownership, the socialist system marks a great leap forward. Nonetheless, it cannot wipe out all inequality overnight. Distinctions between town and country, between industry and agriculture, and between physical and mental labour will exist for quite a long time. These distinctions are nothing but forms of inequality. Equal right arising from the principle — to each according to his work — is a defect because the principle recognizes differences, i.e., actual in-

equality. But this defect is not caused by the principle itself.

The Principle Is Not the Economic Basis Engendering the Bourgeoisie

The theorists fostered by the "gang of four" said that after the completion of the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production, bourgeois right (what they meant was the principle "to each according to his work") was the "soil" on which the bourgeoisie grew. That is to say, due to the practice of the principle "to each according to his work," those with higher incomes will constitute a new bourgeoisie.

This is a distortion of the socialist system.

The prerequisite for the enforcement of the principle "to each according to his work" is the public ownership of the means of production. Under this, the income of every labourer, no matter whether it is big or small, is created by his labour. No one is entitled to grab the fruits of other people's labour. How can a new bourgeoisie "emerge" from this kind of distribution!

True, a few newborn bourgeois elements will turn up in socialist society. But these persons do not set themselves up by the practice of this principle. They become upstarts through speculation, embezzlement, theft or appropriating collective or other people's property by the exercise of various illegal privileges. Wang Hung-wen, a member of the "gang of four," was a typical example. Could he support his utterly decadent life-style with the income he was entitled to? The "gang of four" and the old and new bourgeoisie they represented were opposed to the principle "to each according to his work" and undermined its application. They became members of an exploiting class through "unearned income."

According to another notion, a certain amount of savings from a person's wages may be used in speculation since commodities can

still be bought and sold for money. This poses an opportunity for the birth of new bourgeois elements. This viewpoint actually means that the socialist distribution principle constitutes the economic basis for the emergence of a bourgeoisie. The argument is not valid. "To each according to his work" refers to the way a person gets paid for his work. The blame for his using his savings to engage in speculation cannot be laid on how he is paid.

Marxists hold that in socialist society there is the danger of capitalist restoration, but it is not inevitable. Socialism is the first phase of communism, not the higher stage of capitalism. The economic system of socialism, including the principle "to each according to his work," cannot in any way be the base giving rise to the bourgeoisie.

This Principle Should Be Practised At Present

Chairman Mao said: "In the last analysis, the impact, good or bad, great or small, of the policy and the practice of any Chinese political party upon the people depends on whether and how much it helps to develop their productive forces, and on whether it fetters or liberates these forces." (*On Coalition Government*, 1945)

The counter-revolutionary revisionist theories and line of the "gang of four" seriously hampered the development of the productive forces in our country. The most powerful of the productive forces is the revolutionary class itself. The key to the growth of production lies in arousing the labouring masses' enthusiasm for socialism. Arousing the people's enthusiasm depends on doing political and ideological work on the one hand, and on correct economic policies on the other. Neither of them can be dispensed with. Among the two, politics is the commander. While political and ideological work helps improve the people's understanding of things, the distribution principle "to each

according to his work" solves the practical problem of material life.

The higher the level of a labourer's ideological consciousness is and the better his life becomes, the more ardently will he love socialism and the more consciously will he plunge into his work. This will help raise labour productivity greatly. On the basis of the growth of production, the income of workers will be further raised and their life will be further improved. By these repeated advances, the material base of the proletarian dictatorship will become ever stronger and the people's material life and ideological consciousness will be steadily improved and raised. This is the superiority of socialism.

The "gang of four" used a demagogic method to attack the socialist distribution principle, that is, criticizing socialism by "praising" communism, using the principle of communist society — to each according to his needs — to debase the socialist principle — to each according to his work.

Of course we must look far ahead and aim high, and should not forget the lofty ideal of communism. The system "to each according to his work" is sure to be superseded in the future by the more advanced system "to each according to his needs." But communism can be built only on the basis of socialism which is a long historical period. Not only will our generation live in socialist society, but many generations to come will do so. If we only talk about communism without enforcing socialist policies and building socialism in a down-to-earth way, how can we gradually go on towards communism?

This principle of distribution "from each according to his ability, to each according to his work" conforms to the basic Marxist principle as well as to the Constitution of our country. It fits in with the level of development of socialist production, and is a valid distribution policy for the present stage.

Entering New Phase in Farm Mechanization

ON January 26 at the closing session of the three-week Third National Conference on Agricultural Mechanization held in Peking, Yu Chiu-li, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Vice-Premier of the State Council, delivered a summing-up report entitled: "Mobilize the Whole Party, Wage a Decisive Three-Year Battle to Bring About the Basic Mechanization of Agriculture." Li Hsien-nien, Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and Vice-Premier of the State Council, delivered the closing address.

Vice-Premier Yu Chiu-li's five-part report dealt with: the task of mechanizing agriculture; exposure and criticism of the "gang of four"; employing mass movements to mechanize farming; policies and measures; and strengthening Party leadership. He stressed the urgency of this task, the fulfilment of which will be a major step towards the modernization of agriculture in China within this century.

In his report Vice-Premier Yu also said, "China's great progress in agricultural production since the nationwide liberation has basically ensured the feeding and clothing of her 800 million people and expanding production and construction. This is no small achievement. However, the development of agricultural production had been slowed up in the past few years because of disruption and sabotage by the 'gang of four.'"

He called on the whole nation to accord concrete, effective and powerful support to agriculture in the next few years so as to make a breakthrough in speeding up agricultural development.

"Disruption and sabotage by the 'gang of four' caused a drop in China's steel production and held up the pace of agricultural mechanization," said the Vice-Premier. "However," Vice-Premier Yu declared, "we are determined in the next three years to make up for this loss caused by the 'gang of four.'"

The conference put forth the following goals to be reached by 1980.

- * 70 per cent of the main work in agriculture, forestry, animal husbandry, side-line production and fisheries will be mechanized.

- * 70 per cent increase in large and medium-sized tractors;

- * 110 per cent increase in big and medium-sized tractor-drawn farm tools;

- * 36 per cent increase in walking tractors;

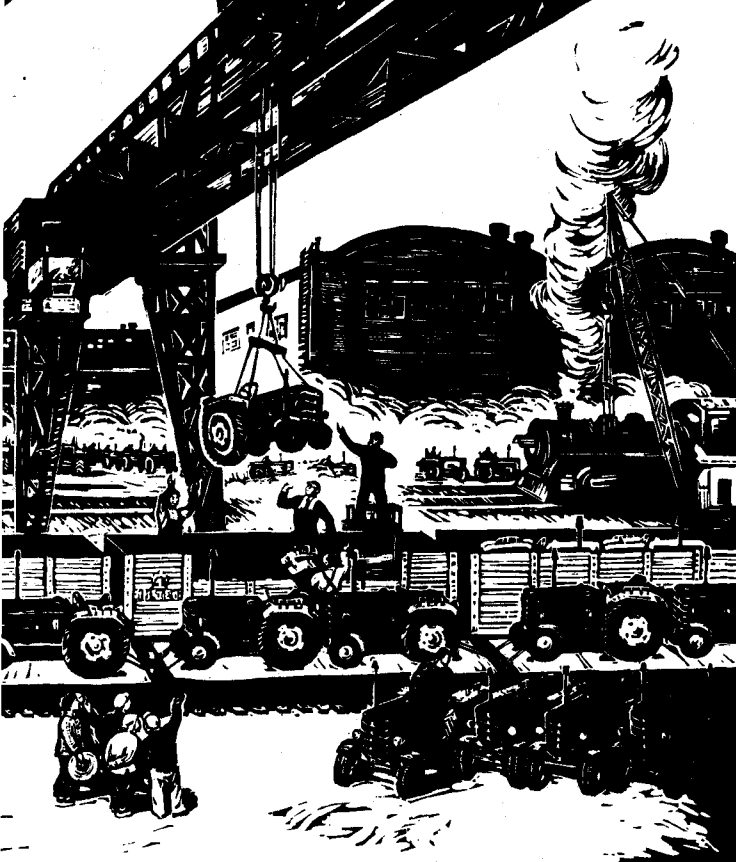
- * 32 per cent increase in power capacity of irrigation and drainage machinery;

- * 58 per cent increase in annual output of chemical fertilizer; and

- * relatively more machinery to be employed in other farm work such as farmland capital construction, crop protection, transport, harvesting, processing farm and side-line products.

The conference also stressed that in the coming three years the state supply of rolled steel for the manufacture and maintenance of farm machines should be 50 per cent greater than in the past three years. By 1980, the state supply of fuel and lubricants for farm machines should be increased by 120 per cent over that of 1977.

Vice-Premier Yu added: When all 1980 targets are fulfilled, agricultural mechanization



More Tractors for the Farms.
Woodcut by Fu Chi and Yun Han

will still not be at a high level, nor will it be all-embracing. But in contrast to the present state of affairs, conditions of production in China's agriculture will then have undergone a marked change and the rural economy will have taken on a new look. It will make possible larger-scale farmland capital construction (water conservancy projects, terracing, soil amelioration and so on), increase ability to counter natural adversities, and land reclamation on a much larger scale. China's grain production and output of non-staple crops will register a considerable increase. On this basis further efforts can be made towards a still higher level of agricultural mechanization.

Vice-Chairman Li Hsien-nien in his closing speech said that the questions discussed and decisions taken at the conference were of great significance for guiding the development of agricultural mechanization not only in the next three years but in the more distant future as well. The conference will go down as an important landmark of the new stage in China's development of agricultural mechanization.

"All-out efforts to realize farm mechanization swiftly is a major measure of strategic significance," he said. "With the new technical basis we acquire step by step in which machines will be employed for most farm work, we will be able to basically change the conditions of farm production and its backwardness, consolidate and develop the collective economy of the rural people's communes. When agriculture further develops we will have a free hand to speed up the development of industry and other fields of endeavour and there will be a sure guarantee for the realization of the four modernizations."

Vice-Chairman Li Hsien-nien called for a nationwide competition in farm mechanization, like the movement in industry to learn from Taching, to see who could achieve quicker and better results.

In response, conference delegates on the afternoon of January 29 discussed emulation. The delegate from Szechuan Province said: "Compared to Shantung, we are far behind, but we are not going to let it go at that." He then issued a three-point challenge to Shantung—which of them could do better in speed, quality and effectiveness of mechanization. Hunan and Kiangsu, which are having an emulation in the learn-from-Tachai movement, are also competing against each other in this farm mechanization drive. Peking is matched against Shanghai.

As delegates were leaving for home *Renmin Ribao* carried an editorial entitled: "Be Activists in Promoting Farm Mechanization in a Big Way and as Quickly as Possible." It called on workers, peasants, cadres and intellectuals to talk it over, think about it and ask themselves how they were going to become activists in this movement. The editorial pointed out that the crucial factor was the leadership and called on leading cadres at all levels to go out among the masses, take part in physical labour, sum up experience, learn to run modern farm production and earn the right to lead farm mechanization. The editorial also encouraged cadres at the grass-roots level and farm machine personnel as well as scientific and technical workers to become active promoters of farm mechanization.

Schools of Diverse Forms

TO bring about the modernization of agriculture, industry, national defence and science and technology in China, it is imperative to speed up the training of specialized and competent personnel in large numbers. This is a pressing task confronting educational departments.

Universities and colleges are important bases for training socialist builders, but they fall far short of present-day needs. Schools of diverse forms have thus been set up in various parts of the country such as workers' and peasants' colleges and correspondence schools, in addition to courses given through the radio and TV networks. All this is aimed at training as many capable personnel as possible.

These schools or short-term classes, run by factories or people's communes, provincial, municipal or county authorities as well as industrial departments under the State Council, are playing a great role in quickly training larger numbers of technicians urgently needed in agricultural and industrial production. Moreover, they help the workers, peasants and

soldiers raise their educational level and acquire scientific and technical knowledge.

Part-work and part-study is the general rule for such schools. The students study on a full-time or part-time basis and go back to their production posts after a few years in school. Some study during their off-hours. In addition, short-term courses lasting only a few months are given for special subjects. After completing their studies, the students attain a level equivalent to that of graduates of colleges or secondary vocational schools.

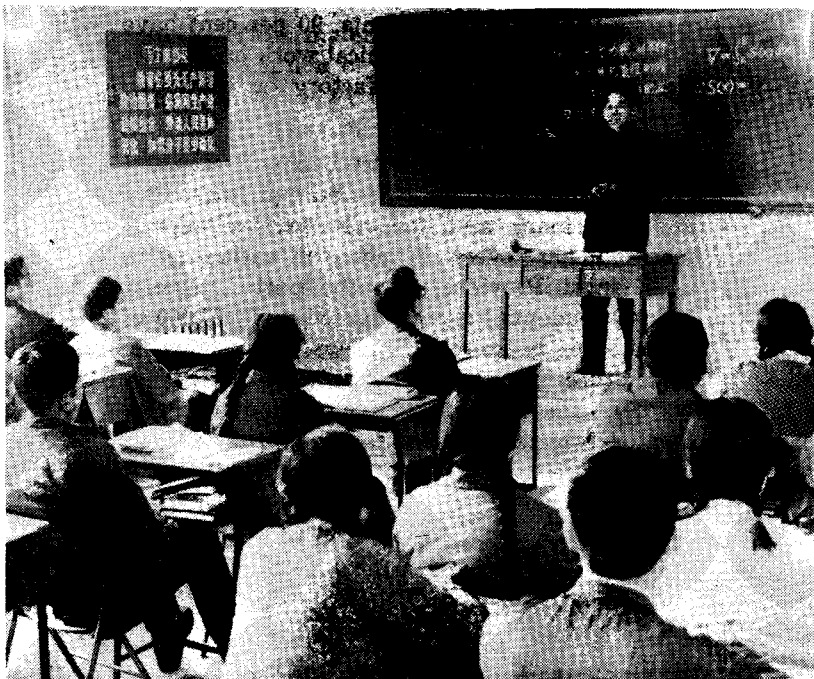
Apart from full-time teachers, technicians and veteran workers and peasants from factories, rural people's communes, scientific research institutes or universities are invited to give lectures.

These schools are financed in different ways. In the case of factory-run schools, all necessary funds are provided by the factories themselves. The peasants' colleges get subsidies from the state.

Courses are geared to production needs and the method of study is one that combines theory with practice and teaching with production and scientific research. The students study basic theories in the classrooms and, through productive labour, integrate their theoretical knowledge with practice.

The spare-time workers' college in Harbin, northeast China, gives four-year courses in machine building, automation and petrochemical engineering, training technicians for the city's medium-sized and small factories. Seventy per cent of the curricula are courses in

A class in a workers' college set up by a Peking factory.





Students of the agricultural college run by the Tachai Commune studying new rice strains.

basic theories which are systematic and comprehensive. The teachers and students of each speciality undertake to do some research work for the state in co-operation with other units.

In Tsunhua County, Hopei Province, there is a peasants' college with three classes and one speciality. The agrotechniques class teaches genetics and the tree-planting and fruit-growing class gives courses in botany and cultivation techniques. While studying basic theories of traditional Chinese medicine, students of the medical class grow medicinal herbs and run an out-patient clinic and pharmacy for the benefit of the poor and lower-middle peasants. Teachers and students specializing in water resources prospecting have worked together to design and make an electrical device for prospecting subterranean water resources and carry out a general survey of water resources in local people's communes and production brigades. Over the last three years, they have toured the more than 20 communes and 120 brigades in the county, surveying some 1,500 locations for sinking wells. In one year they manufactured 16 pieces of the above-mentioned instrument for the rural areas.

The Ministry of Posts and Telecommunications has opened correspondence courses in microwave telecommunications, carrier telecommunications and rural telephone service for the workers and staff of posts and telecom-

munications departments in various parts of the country, with the first course attended by 80 per cent of the people working in the microwave telecommunications stations. Many of the workers and staff in posts and telecommunications bureaus at the county level are taking the correspondence course in rural telephone service.

Running schools of diverse forms has made up for the deficiency of graduates from institutions of higher learning and has helped expand the ranks of technicians in the factories and mines and in rural people's communes and production brigades.

The Taching Oilfield now has 26 workers' colleges and more than 1,200 people have been trained. The spare-time workers' college in Shanghai which was set up 17 years ago has trained 18,500 worker-students in various specialities and short-term courses. After graduating from this college, Hsia Chih-keng, a worker of the Kuokuang Mouth Organ Factory, worked together with technicians and veteran workers to design an electronic organ for China's first man-made earth satellite and which sent out the melodies of *The East Is Red* as the satellite orbited round the earth. *

The workers' college run by Shanghai's Hutung Shipyard has over the last eight years opened 13 full-time, part-time or spare-time classes giving college courses, 18 spare-time classes giving secondary vocational school courses and 941 short-term courses of various types, with a total attendance of 35,900 people. Among the full-time students, 90 per cent have been put in charge of technical work or production management at the factory or workshop level after graduation.

The Kiangsi Communist Labour University has the agronomy, forestry, animal husbandry and veterinary and farm machinery departments; it has several branches in various parts of Kiangsi Province. In the past 19 years, 200,000 students have graduated and 170,000 of them have become technicians specializing in agriculture, forestry or livestock-breeding or become cadres in the people's communes, production brigades or state farms. Since 1971, its

teachers and students have carried out numerous scientific experiments on more than 160 topics under some 80 categories. As the amelioration and utilization of red soil is vital to farm production in this province, the teachers and students of the agronomy department began in 1973 experiments on planting cotton in red soil and achieved the good result of 1,920 kilogrammes of ginned cotton per hectare in 1976.

Honan Province's Yehhsien County also has a college of the same type. Its graduates from 1968 to 1977 numbered more than 6,000. Most of them are now leading cadres at the commune or brigade levels, technicians in farming or forestry, barefoot doctors, veterinarians, tractor drivers or teachers. They also play a significant role in scientific experiments. Take for instance the county's Liuchuang Production Brigade which used to get fine-strain

seeds from other places. After a graduate of this college was assigned to work in the brigade, he worked together with a dozen other young people and started a scientific research station which succeeded in breeding five new strains of wheat, maize, soya bean and sweet potato in four years. They also summed up the experience of keeping wheat and maize yields high and stable but at low cost. Thanks to all this, the brigade's per-hectare grain yield rose from 6,750 kilogrammes in 1975 to 11,250 kilogrammes in 1976. Last year the brigade gathered in 600 kilogrammes more grain per hectare than in 1976 despite low temperatures and insect pests. The students and teachers of the aquatic products department have evolved a series of techniques for hatching the eggs of freshwater fish, thus making the county self-sufficient in fry which used to be shipped in from faraway places along the Yangtze River.

Explanatory Notes to Volume V of "Selected Works of Mao Tsetung" (6)

Historical materialism

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

Historical materialism which is the proletarian conception of history is the science dealing with the laws of development of human society. It holds that social history develops in accordance with its own objective laws, that the mode of production of material life determines the entire course of social, political and spiritual life, that social being determines social consciousness which in turn reacts on social being, and that the contradictions between the relations of production and the productive forces and between the superstructure and the economic base are the basic contradictions that propel the development of all societies. In class

society, the basic social contradictions find expression in class antagonism and conflict and in fierce class struggles. Class struggle is the motive force propelling class societies forward, and class struggle inevitably leads to social revolution.

In socialist society, throughout the historical period of transition from capitalism to communism, a period of the dictatorship of the proletariat, there still exist the basic social contradictions, the contradictions and struggles between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat and between the capitalist road and the socialist road. Therefore, it is necessary to continue the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. In socialist society, while class struggle is reflected partly in the contradictions between

ourselves and the enemy, in most cases it finds expression in contradictions among the people. So it is imperative to correctly distinguish and handle the two types of contradictions in socialist society — those between ourselves and the enemy and those among the people themselves. The correct solution of these contradictions constitutes the motive force pushing socialist society forward. The history of social development is the history of the masses engaged in class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment. The people are the makers of history. Historical materialism is the proletariat's sharp weapon for knowing and transforming society and is the theoretical basis for the party of the proletariat to draw up its strategies and tactics.

The worker-peasant alliance

(See p. 35.)

This means the revolutionary alliance of the working class and the labouring peasants under the leadership of the Communist Party — the vanguard of the working class.

The concept of worker-peasant alliance was first put forward by Marx and Engels and later developed by Lenin in the light of new historical conditions. According to Lenin, the alliance of workers and labouring peasants is indispensable to the victory of both democratic and socialist revolutions and the realization of socialism and communism; it is the supreme principle of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Chairman Mao pointed out: **"The people's democratic dictatorship is based on the alliance of the working class, the peasantry and the urban petty bourgeoisie, and mainly on the alliance of the workers and the peasants, because these two classes comprise 80 to 90 per cent of China's population. These two classes are the main force in overthrowing imperialism and the Kuomintang reactionaries. The transition from New Democracy to socialism also depends mainly upon their alliance."** (On the People's Democratic Dictatorship, 1949.)

The worker-peasant alliance in China has been formed and strengthened in the protracted revolutionary struggles under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party. In the period of

democratic revolution, it had as its base the abolition of the feudal ownership of land by the landlords and thorough agrarian reform. In the period of socialist revolution and construction, after the setting up of agricultural co-operatives and people's communes in the rural areas, it is based on the socialist system of ownership.

With the socialist revolution and construction developing continually, the worker-peasant alliance will be further consolidated on the basis of the modernization of agriculture, and conditions will be created for gradually resolving the contradiction between the working class and peasantry in socialist society and eliminating the differences between industry and agriculture and between town and country.

Chairman Mao said: **"The contradiction between the working class and the peasant class in socialist society is resolved by the method of collectivization and mechanization in agriculture."** (On Contradiction, 1937.)

The petty bourgeoisie

(See p. 35.)

The petty bourgeoisie, in its broader sense, includes the middle peasants, handicraftsmen, small traders, intellectuals and professionals. In general, these people are not exploited, nor do they exploit others. Some of them may engage in exploitation to a very small degree. As labourers, they were all oppressed and exploited by imperialism, feudalism and the big bourgeoisie in old China. Economically, the phenomenon of polarization was common among them, with a tiny section becoming bourgeoisie and the overwhelming majority steadily declining and plunging into poverty and bankruptcy. Taken as a whole, therefore, they can join and support the revolution and are the reliable ally of the proletariat. But, since they are small proprietors and a section of them are quite rich, they are liable to be influenced by the bourgeoisie politically. So it is essential to do revolutionary propaganda and organizational work among them.

In the period of socialist revolution, many people of the upper stratum of the petty bour-

geoisie (the well-to-do peasants in the rural areas) are inclined to taking the capitalist road. It is necessary to educate them in socialism and criticize and overcome their tendency to take the capitalist road.

Democratic classes

(See p. 37.)

This refers to the working class, the peasantry, the petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie who joined in the common struggle against imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism during the period of democratic revolution in China.

The Common Programme adopted by the First Plenary Session of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference in September 1949 pointed out: The great victories of the Chinese people's War of Liberation and of the people's revolution have put an end to the era of the rule of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism in China. The Chinese people have replaced the Kuomintang's reactionary rule of feudal, comprador, fascist dictatorship with the republic of the people's democratic dictatorship. The People's Republic of China is a state of the people's democratic dictatorship led by the working class and based on the alliance of workers and peasants, and it is the state power of the people's democratic united front which is composed of the Chinese working class, peasantry, petty bourgeoisie, national bourgeoisie and other patriotic democratic elements.

In the period of socialist revolution and construction, the democratic classes, including the national bourgeoisie, are still joined in a broad united front led by the Chinese Communist Party; they accept socialist transformation and participate in socialist construction. The national bourgeoisie will be abolished as a class in the course of the socialist revolution, i.e., the socialist transformation; its elements will be transformed from exploiters to working people living by their own labour. The peasants and the urban petty bourgeoisie will also be transformed from labourers working on their own to labourers working for the socialist collective.

The revolutionary united front

(See p. 39.)

This is an alliance formed under certain historical conditions by the party of the proletariat with the other revolutionary classes and all the forces that can be united for the purpose of opposing the main enemy. The united front in China is a broad union of the masses led by the working class and based on the worker-peasant alliance. In the democratic revolution against imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism, the people's democratic united front, led by the Chinese Communist Party, was composed of the working class, peasantry, petty bourgeoisie, national bourgeoisie and other patriotic democratic personages (mainly the enlightened gentry).

Chairman Mao said: "We have had much valuable experience. A well-disciplined Party armed with the theory of Marxism-Leninism, using the method of self-criticism and linked with the masses of the people; an army under the leadership of such a Party; a united front of all revolutionary classes and all revolutionary groups under the leadership of such a Party — these are the three main weapons with which we have defeated the enemy." (*On the People's Democratic Dictatorship*, 1949.)

At the stage of socialist revolution, under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, these classes and patriotic democratic personages accept socialist transformation and take part in socialist construction.

The leadership of the proletariat (through the Communist Party) is the basic guarantee for the consolidation of the revolutionary united front, and this leadership is ensured by the Party's policy of combining unity with struggle and seeking unity through struggle. That is to say, while uniting with all the possible allies to fight the common enemy, the Communist Party conducts necessary and appropriate criticism or struggle against its allies when they show signs of vacillation or compromise in the struggle. The purpose of such criticism or struggle is for uniting these allies in the common struggle against the enemy so as to win victory in the revolution.

(To be continued.)

Why Did Stalin Divide the Imperialist Countries Into Two Groups?

QUESTION: Why did Stalin in 1939 define the imperialist countries Germany, Italy and Japan as aggressor countries and Britain, France and the United States as non-aggressive countries? Immediately after Hitlerite Germany attacked the Soviet Union, why did he see to it that the Soviet Union formed an anti-fascist camp with the United States, Britain and other countries? Was Stalin's action detrimental to the cause of socialism?

* * *

ANSWER by historian Wang Chang-huei: In March 1939, at the 18th Congress of the C.P.S.U. (B.), Stalin defined Germany, Italy and Japan as aggressor countries and Britain, France and the United States as non-aggressive countries. Stalin's differentiation of the imperialist countries was not arbitrary, but based on a deep analysis of the contradictions among the imperialist countries and major international events of the time. In dealing with the complex international class struggle, he did not mechanically apply the concept of antagonism between the imperialist system and the socialist system but made a concrete analysis of the development of the various fundamental contradictions in the world. Proceeding from Lenin's theory that the development of imperialism is uneven and that imperialism inevitably resorts to war to redivide the world, he concluded that imperialism was bound to become divided into two hostile coalitions which would go to war against each other. It was precisely on the basis of such a scientific analysis of imperialism that Stalin drew up a correct foreign policy for the Soviet Union.

Rise of Germany, Italy and Japan and Emergence of Two Hostile Imperialist Coalitions

Owing to the uneven development of imperialism and the powerful support given

Germany by the U.S. and British ruling classes, by the end of the 1920s Germany had recovered its economic might and had outstripped Britain and France in the output of such major industrial products as iron and steel, coal and electricity as well as in total industrial output value, to take second place in the capitalist world. Japan also saw swift development in its economy, particularly those heavy industrial branches related to arms production, and its military might expanded rapidly. All this brought a big change in the balance of forces among the imperialist countries. Germany was anxious to cast off all restrictions imposed on it under the Treaty of Versailles, recover its lost territories and colonies and seize hegemony over Europe and the world. Dissatisfied with their share of the booty after World War I, Japan and Italy planned to extend their colonies and spheres of influence at the expense of Britain, France and the United States. Such a phenomenon is not strange at all. Since the balance of power had changed, the struggle among the major imperialist countries to redivide the world could not be averted. The imperialists always divide the world up according to capital and strength.

As serious political crises arose in Germany, Italy and Japan and bourgeois democracy in these countries collapsed, the three countries went fascist one after another, with power passing into the hands of the most aggressive imperialist groupings. These fascist governments abolished all democratic freedoms and imposed a reign of sanguinary totalitarianism at home. They diverted all manpower and material resources to arms expansion and war preparations. At the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International in 1935, Georgi Dimitrov said: "*Fascism is unbridled chauvinism and predatory war.*" He pointed out that

"German fascism is acting as the spearhead of international counter-revolution, as the chief instigator of imperialist war." (Report at the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International "The Fascist Offensive and the Tasks of the Communist International," 1935.) Fascism, therefore, became not only a threat to the revolutionary movement of the world proletariat but also a grave menace to the independence, freedom and democracy of all countries.

From 1929 to 1933 the capitalist world was hit by the most serious world economic crisis in history; this sharpened contradictions within each imperialist country as well as among the various countries. The struggle among the big powers for markets, sources of raw material and outlets for investment grew tense as never before. To extricate themselves from their domestic political and economic crises, the Japanese imperialists were the first to take the road of aggression when they invaded China in September 1931. This was followed by Italy's war of aggression against Ethiopia in 1935 and Hitler's tearing up of the Treaty of Versailles and the 1925 Locarno Pact and his collusion with Italy to unleash armed intervention against Spain in 1936. In 1938 Germany expanded its aggression by annexing Austria and then Czechoslovakia's Sudetenland.

In 1936, Germany and Italy signed the "Berlin-Rome axis pact"; Germany and Japan the "anti-Comintern pact" (Italy subscribed to this the following year.) Bent on redividing the world, the three countries thus formed an aggressive fascist coalition.

German, Italian and Japanese aggression directly infringed on the interests of Britain, France and the United States and threatened their security. Therefore, the latter countries gradually drew closer to one another and in reality became an imperialist coalition against the former. At this time, however, the Governments of the United States, Britain and France which adopted a so-called "policy of non-intervention" retreated in the face of German, Italian and Japanese aggression and kept giving up their positions. They hoped that by sacrificing some weak and small countries they could maintain their vested interests, appease Germany, Italy and Japan and push Germany and Japan into attacking the Soviet Union so that

both sides would be crippled in the fight while they themselves could reap the benefits. But things did not develop the way they wished. As fascist aggression expanded, the contradictions between Britain, France and the United States on the one hand and Germany, Italy and Japan on the other grew more acute and war became inevitable.

Stalin's Differentiation of the Political Forces and Soviet Foreign Policy

Under these circumstances should the two imperialist coalitions have been identified, or should they be differentiated? Should the imperialist countries have been allowed to collude against the Soviet Union or should the contradictions among the big powers be fully exploited to win as many direct or indirect allies as possible and concentrate all forces against the main enemy? Proceeding from objective reality, Stalin clearly defined Germany, Italy and Japan as aggressor countries and Britain, France and the United States as non-aggressive countries.

The foreign policy drawn up by Stalin on the basis of this differentiation of the imperialist countries was to unite with all forces in the world opposing aggression and to isolate and attack the most dangerous enemy. From the mid-1930s on the Soviet Government adopted a series of moves with the objective of concluding bilateral or multilateral treaties with its neighbouring countries and isolating the aggressor countries to the greatest extent. To this end, the Soviet Union joined the League of Nations in 1934, and in May 1935 signed with France a pact of mutual assistance which stipulated that if either party to the agreement was wilfully attacked by any European country, the other would immediately come to its aid. The same month the Soviet Union signed a similar treaty of mutual aid with Czechoslovakia. When Japan launched an all-out war of aggression against China and Germany annexed Austria and threatened Czechoslovakia, the Soviet Government on various occasions called on all peace-loving countries to unite and collectively defend the independence of a country threatened by aggression and proposed the speedy adoption of effective measures to prevent the fascist countries from expanding their aggression.

In March 1939, when Germany occupied the whole of Czechoslovakia, dark clouds of an imminent war gathered over Europe. The Soviet Government at the time made fresh efforts to establish an international anti-fascist united front and to this end, it held talks with Britain and France in Moscow from April to August. On April 17 the Soviet Government proposed that the Soviet Union, Britain and France undertake the following obligation: Immediate and all available assistance, including military aid, should be given to any of them if it is subjected to aggression; all-out assistance, including military aid, should be given to the East European countries adjoining the Soviet Union between the Baltic and the Black Seas should they fall victim to aggression. However, the British and French Governments were not sincere and did not approve the principle of equality and mutual benefit. They only wanted the Soviet Union to guarantee their security, but they refused to guarantee the security of the Soviet Union or its western neighbours. Furthermore, Britain was still holding secret negotiations with Germany in an effort to make a package deal with it and continue to divert the fascist maelstrom on to the Soviet Union. Owing to the attitude of the British and French Governments, talks between the three countries were fruitless.

On September 1, 1939 when the German fascists attacked Poland, its allies, Britain and France, immediately declared war on Germany, and World War II was on. That the war broke out first among the imperialist countries showed that **"the struggle of the capitalist countries for markets and their desire to crush their competitors proved in practice to be stronger than the contradictions between the capitalist camp and the socialist camp."** (J.V. Stalin, *Economic Problems of Socialism in the U.S.S.R.*, 1952.)

From April to June in 1940, Germany overran Denmark, Norway, the Netherlands, Belgium, Luxembourg and France, and the British Isles were threatened with invasion. The Chamberlain government, by rejecting the Soviet proposal for collective action against the aggressor but stubbornly pursuing an appeasement policy of conniving at aggression and instigating war towards German fascism, had lifted a stone only to drop it on its own feet and finally toppled amidst angry condemnation

by the British people. The Churchill government which succeeded took its predecessor's failure as a sad lesson and realized that Britain alone was weak and badly needed to ally itself with such big powers as the United States and the Soviet Union to jointly resist fascist Germany. Therefore, when on June 22, 1941 Hitler perfidiously attacked the Soviet Union, Churchill immediately went on the air to announce that his country would fight on the side of the Soviet Union. U.S. President Roosevelt also declared that the United States would give aid to the Soviet Union in the struggle against fascist Germany.

Why the Soviet Union Formed an Anti-Fascist Camp With the United States, Britain and Others

In these circumstances, could the Soviet Union have refused to form an anti-fascist united front with Britain and the United States because they were imperialist countries? Of course not. Who would have benefited if it had refused to co-operate with Britain and the United States in the war? It could only have benefited Hitler, who was hoping to scare the British and U.S. Governments with the spectre of revolution. When he launched his blitzkrieg against the Soviet Union, Hitler hoped to use the British and U.S. ruling classes' hatred for the socialist system as a wedge to separate the Soviet Union from Britain and the United States so that he could wipe out the Soviet Union at one stroke and then turn round and deal with Britain and the United States. Stalin, seeing through Hitler's Machiavellianism, resolutely and without hesitation formed an anti-fascist united front with Britain and the United States. In his radio address on July 3, 1941, Stalin said: **"Our war for the freedom of our Motherland will merge with the struggle of the peoples of Europe and America for their independence, for democratic liberties. It will be a united front of the peoples who stand for freedom and against enslavement and threats of enslavement by Hitler's fascist armies."**

On New Year's Day 1942, the Soviet Union, the United States, Britain, China and 22 other anti-fascist countries issued the Joint Declaration by the United Nations which expressed their determination to jointly defeat the fascist bandits. In May and June of the same year, the Soviet Union

signed separate treaties with Britain and the United States on entering into alliance and carrying out mutual assistance in the war against fascism. Thus a powerful anti-fascist camp was established. The alliance of dozens of countries brought about a fundamental change in the world balance of forces. In November 1942, talking about the differentiation of the world political forces, Stalin said: **"It may now be regarded as beyond dispute that in the course of the war imposed upon the nations by Hitlerite Germany, a radical demarcation of forces and the formation of two opposite camps have taken place: the camp of the Italo-German coalition, and the camp of the Anglo-Soviet-American coalition."** (*Twenty-Fifth Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.*)

During World War II, the Soviet Union relied mainly on its own strength to resist fascism but at the same time it received aid in the form of sizeable loans and military material from its allies, the United States and Britain, which to a certain extent enhanced the Soviet Union's material strength in combating fascism. On the other hand, the Soviet people aided their allies by their heroic struggle, which pinned down large numbers of the fascist countries' effectives. The Soviet Union, its allies and the masses of people in the occupied countries formed the three fronts which pounded the fascist bandits. Helping each other, the fronts besieged the aggressors ring upon ring to spell out their doom. As Stalin said, the anti-fascist coalition **"played the decisive role in defeating the armed forces of the Axis Powers."** (*Speech Delivered at an Election Meeting in the Stalin Election District, Moscow, February 9, 1946.*)

Soviet Co-operation With Britain and the United States in the Anti-Fascist War

Did the Soviet Union negate the fundamental antagonism between the two social systems and harm the cause of socialism by forming an anti-fascist camp with the two imperialist countries, Britain and the United States? Stalin said: **"It would be ridiculous to deny the difference in the ideologies and social systems of the countries that constitute the Anglo-Soviet-American coalition. But does this preclude the possibility, and the expediency, of**

joint action on the part of the members of this coalition against the common enemy who threatens to enslave them? Certainly not." (*Twenty-Fifth Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, November 6, 1942.*) Aggression by the German, Italian and Japanese fascists brought fundamental changes in the world political situation. Aggression and opposition to aggression made up the main contradiction in the world, while all other contradictions became secondary. All countries and peoples subjected to the threat of aggression had a common vital interest on the basic point of opposing fascist aggression. This was the basis for the existence of the anti-fascist camp at the time.

Co-operation among the allies presupposed equality, mutual assistance, and non-intervention in each other's internal affairs. In the anti-fascist united front, the Soviet Union under Stalin's leadership adhered to the principle of independence and resolutely struggled against all schemes to interfere in its internal affairs and harm the cause of socialism, thus safeguarding the country's independence. At the time the Soviet Union, as the only socialist country in the world, was surrounded by capitalism. By forming an alliance with Britain and the United States, the Soviet Union not only defended the socialist motherland but also hastened the doom of the fascist camp, and helped the peoples of the enslaved countries to free themselves from the fetters of fascism. Far from harming the cause of socialism, this made socialism dearer to the hearts of the people and promoted the vigorous development of the proletarian revolutionary movement and the national-liberation movements in various countries. Imagine what great damage would have come to socialist construction in the Soviet Union, the proletarian revolutionary movement and the national-liberation movement if the Soviet Union had at the time refused to co-operate with the other anti-fascist countries because the socialist system was opposed to the capitalist system! The great victory of the anti-fascist war, and the excellent postwar situation in the proletarian revolution and the national-liberation movement are irrefutable proof of the wisdom and correctness of Stalin's policy and tactics in building the anti-fascist united front.

Korea Is Bound to Achieve Its Independent And Peaceful Reunification

THE Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea issued a memorandum on February 1 exposing the sinister activities of the domestic and foreign splittists to create "two Koreas." This fully demonstrates the entire Korean people's strong desire for the independent and peaceful reunification of their country. It is also an indignant denunciation of the United States and the Pak Jung Hi clique of south Korea for their intrigues to perpetuate the division of Korea.

The division of Korea resulted completely from U.S. imperialist aggression and intervention. The United States which has occupied south Korea since World War II flagrantly launched a war of aggression against Korea in 1950. It has to this day refused to withdraw its troops which have stayed on in south Korea since the Korean armistice. Instead it has since 1970 stepped up its scheming activities to create "two Koreas."

In pushing forward these activities, the United States and the Pak clique have repeatedly advocated the fallacy of a so-called "cross recognition" of north and south Korea in an attempt to stir up world public opinion favouring their "two Koreas" scheme and to make the permanent division of Korea a fait accompli. They have also agitated for "simultaneous admission" of north and south Korea to the United Nations, or "south Korea's unilateral entry into the United Nations," in a move to legalize the division of Korea through this international organization. Moreover, with a view to maintaining the division of Korea for ever by dint of a scrap of paper, they have advocated that north and south Korea "coexist" and conclude a "mutual non-aggression treaty." All these absurd proposals of the United States and the Pak clique are not worth refuting. Their one aim is to perpetuate the division of Korea and the Pak clique's fascist rule.

As grounds for creating "two Koreas," the Pak clique recently came up with the fallacy

that "reunification is impossible." Facts, however, speak louder than words. The Democratic People's Republic of Korea today has become the beacon of hope for the south Korean people, a bulwark for inspiring the entire Korean people and a solid base for realizing the independent and peaceful reunification of the country. The three principles of independence, peaceful reunification and great national unity put forward by President Kim Il Sung, his five-point programme to prevent a national split and to reunify the country, and the four-point national salvation programme advanced by the various Korean political parties and public organizations (see *Peking Review* No. 5, 1978, page 27) have received warm support from the entire Korean people and charted the correct road to the independent and peaceful reunification of the country. The ultimate realization of Korea's national reunification will be certainly achieved since it conforms to the general course of development and popular feeling. The reunification of the country is not impossible but an inevitable result as determined by history, and no force whatsoever can stop it.

To realize the reunification is the lofty national aspiration of the entire Korean people and the common desire of the people of the world. The activities of the United States and the south Korean Pak clique to create "two Koreas" and their fallacies have been resolutely rebutted and opposed by the entire Korean people and repudiated by the people of other countries. However, it must be noted that the superpower with a fraudulent "socialist" sign-board has in recent years been flirting with the Pak clique and is now actually a supporter of the scheme of the United States and the Pak clique to create "two Koreas."

The current international situation is becoming more and more favourable to the people of the world and unfavourable to imperialism, hegemonism and the reactionaries. The struggle

(Continued on P. 26.)

Incriminating Evidence Cannot Be Erased

CANADIAN Secretary of State for External Affairs Donald Jamieson announced in the House of Commons on February 9 that the Canadian Government had expelled 13 Soviet diplomats who had been involved in espionage activities in the country. The following day, TASS was authorized to issue a statement alleging that these Soviet diplomats were expelled "on absolutely groundless charges of inadmissible activities," and described the Canadian Government's expulsion of these Soviet "diplomatic personnel," as "unfriendly actions" and the "latest expression" by Canadian "opponents of the relaxation of international tension and improvement of Soviet-Canadian relations" and so on and so forth.

It must be noted that this ponderous "statement" of TASS dared not touch upon the fact that these Soviet "diplomatic personnel" had been caught engaged in espionage activities in Canada. The Kremlin's such activities in Canada have a long history, for which the Canadian authorities have served many warnings to the Soviet Union. In December 1976, for example, Assistant Air Attache of the Soviet Embassy in Canada V.M. Vassiliev was declared persona non grata and asked to leave the country because of "activities incompatible with his diplomatic status." Almost two months later in February, L.G. Khvostantsev, a Soviet spy disguised as a "scientist," was deported because of his espionage activities which were incompatible with "Soviet-Canadian scientific exchange" programme. The Canadian Government then warned Moscow in explicit terms that what Moscow had done would affect relations between Canada and the Soviet Union. Last July, in view of the fact that Assistant Naval Attache of the Soviet Embassy in Canada V.N. Smirnov was collecting industrial information in Canada, the Canadian Department of External Affairs again warned a number of Soviet personnel in Canada not to do what they

"should not be engaged in." Thus it can be seen that the Canadian Government had already served warnings in advance. The Soviet authorities, however, showed not the slightest intention of mending their ways. The recent discovery of a Soviet ring of 13 spies by the Canadian Government is full proof of the KGB's intensified activities in Canada. A mere statement cannot erase irrefutable evidence. Who are really the "opponents of the relaxation of international tension and improvement of Soviet-Canadian relations"? And who have taken "unfriendly actions" "with obviously provocative aims"? This "latest expression" of KGB activities in Canada speaks for itself.

Who Is the Smuggler?

IN the 50s and 60s when U.S. imperialism was trying to denigrate China, it concocted a string of lies, among them being the charges that China "exports narcotics" and engages in "smuggling." But all these calumnies came to nothing. The whole world got to know that this dirty drug trafficking was conducted outside China by none other than remnants of the Kuomintang gang backed by U.S. imperialism. Washington was forced to give these slanders up. And who should pick them up but Soviet social-imperialism!

Capitalizing on a British news item on the seizure of drugs by Britain, TASS reported, under the sensational headline "Triads Penetrate London," that the narcotics were shipped to Europe from "Southeast Asia and China" and that "Chinese gangsters" and owners of "Chinese eating places" in Europe were involved in the drug trafficking.

When the U.S. weekly *Time* reported on January 9 that some Kuomintang remnant gangsters were engaged in smuggling jade in the border region between Thailand and Burma, *Pravda* used this dispatch to fabricate the story "Smugglers From China" in which it alleged that the jade was "transhipped to Thailand from Yunnan Province in south China."

In wantonly attacking China, TASS and *Pravda* resort to doctoring others' reports by introducing surreptitiously their own stuff, and yet they claim to be "objective." This amply shows that they are real international anti-

China dope-runners and anti-China contraband traffickers. In peddling their lies, they are also trying to damage relations between the Chinese people and the people of Southeast Asia and Western Europe so as to further Soviet pene-

tration and expansion in these regions. However, the people there are clearheaded, so the Kremlin's attempts to foist what Kuomintang remnant bandits have done on the Chinese people will also come to grief.

A Historical Trend

by a Chinese journalists' delegation which has just returned from a visit to Western Europe

Last November and December, a Chinese journalists' delegation whose members included one from "Peking Review" visited Denmark, Britain, Italy and Switzerland. Upon their return they wrote a number of articles for the Chinese press giving their impressions of the tour. One of these articles which we publish below deals with the general trend of Western Europe's united struggle against superpower hegemonism. — Ed.

BACK in Peking after our visit, a West European friend greeted us jokingly: "Europe has been described as a piece of 'juicy meat.' While there, I hope you found some bones in it as well." What he wanted to say was that he hoped we had found a Western Europe determined to defend itself against being swallowed up.

He can say that again. Throughout the tour we came across quite a few people of deep insight who had come to see that Europe is the focus of contention between the two superpowers, and that Western Europe is in danger of being gobbled. These people are strongly in favour of a powerful and united Western Europe to fight against superpower hegemonism. We at the same time also sensed a trend of appeasement there chiming in with the appeasement policy on the other side of the Atlantic.

Warships by the Little Mermaid

The Little Mermaid at the harbour of Copenhagen has been looked on by many as a

symbol of Denmark for the statue always brings to mind a serene land of gentle, kind-hearted people.

However, not far from it, we saw eight dark-grey warships at anchor flying the foreign flags, including the Stars and Stripes. They belonged to a NATO joint fleet which, according to the Danish press, had just come in after an exercise in the Baltic. One paper said that the Soviet Union has always wanted to turn the Baltic into an "inland sea" of the Baltic countries and the U.S. naval presence in the Baltic was to reiterate its emphasis on the right to navigation in the Baltic by all countries.

All is not quiet on the Baltic. Denmark, a country with many islands, lies at the throat of the Baltic leading to the North Sea and the Atlantic. At the reception hall of the Danish Ministry of Defence, we were briefed on the military situation there, the coloured arrowheads and circles on the slides showing frequent Soviet air and naval activities very close to Danish territory. They certainly raised the eyebrows of those concerned about their national independence and security. We had called on a unit of the Danish Home Guards (a kind of militia) with a total membership of 70,000, including both sexes. We were told that in recent years the number of people volunteering to join had been on the increase, a sign of how the people felt.

From Berne, the Swiss capital, we drove to a nearby barracks at Thun. All the way through, the landscape was peaceful, but the



Skive, Denmark: Soldiers at drill against chemical warfare, a special demonstration for the visiting Chinese Journalists.

people we met were by no means off their guard.

A staff officer there gave us some idea of how Switzerland envisaged its defence against an enemy invasion. On a map projection we saw a thick arrow-head penetrating Swiss territory from the northeast, suggesting the possibility of an enemy attack in the early stage of a war on other West European countries by way of Switzerland. Several more arrow-heads then flashed on the screen thrusting deep into the country from various directions, suggesting another possibility of the aggressor's attempt to occupy the whole of Switzerland after his first military success in the war.

Were these merely hypotheses assumed for drill purposes? Not at all. According to the Swiss News Agency, a report published last October 31 by the Federal Council pointed out that a cut in military spending under the present situation would incur enormous danger to Switzerland's security. According to this report, the assumption that detente might help reduce military expenditure without any danger involved was found untenable.

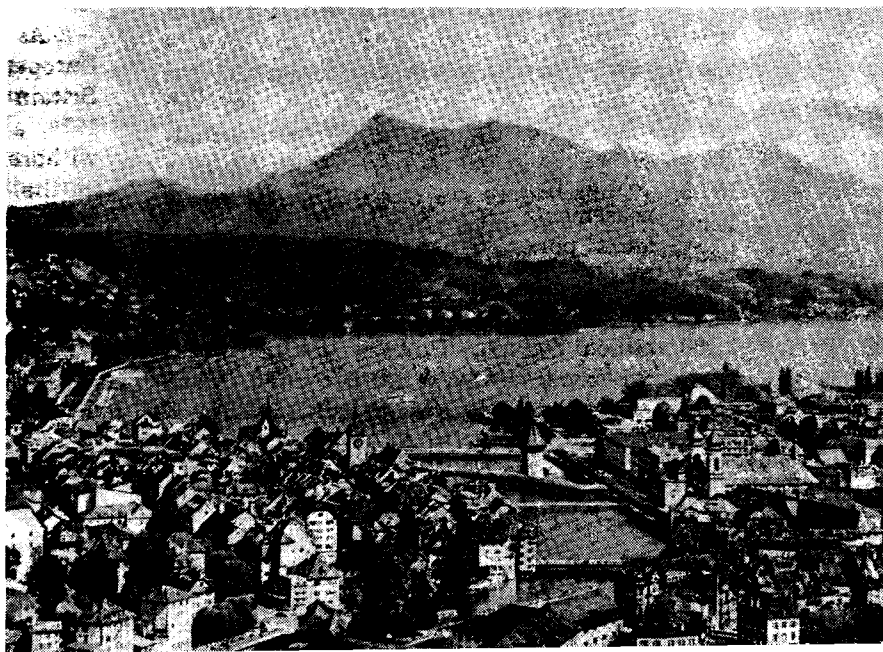
By the arrangement of the Federal Political Department, we visited civil defence installations in the city of Lucerne. A broad two-kilometre-long highway tunnel had been dug through a

mountain. It is protected by a 350-ton steel gate at both ends and, when needed, can be turned into a shelter capable of accommodating more than 20,000 persons. At one side of the tunnel, there is a huge, many-storied underground building adequately furnished with up-to-date facilities (some electronic-controlled) for liaison throughout the tunnel, ventilation and protection against poisonous gases, for water and power supply, medical care, first aid, cooking, laundering and storage. It was evidently

designed to protect people from a sudden, concentrated nuclear strike. The civil defence law of the Swiss Confederation provides for underground shelters for every Swiss by 1990. It is said that four-fifths of the population now have their own family shelters or share a collective one.

In Britain and Italy, some government leaders told us that they were ready to work with their allies to strengthen their defences in view of the current international situation. In our contacts with people from different walks of life, we found that most of them were conscious of the threat from Soviet social-imperialism, though they may differ in judgments of the seriousness and imminence of the threat. Many expressed uneasiness about the possibility of Western Europe falling into the

Lucerne, Switzerland: Here the visiting Chinese delegation saw the giant underground civil defence network.



clutches of the new tsars, with their countries reduced to Soviet dependencies and the people to second-class citizens.

The Argument and the Struggle

But we also witnessed manifestations of the trend of appeasement and heard the pros and cons in a struggle between those with some insight and those who advocated appeasement.

A British politician in a talk with us reaffirmed his viewpoint that Western Europe must get united and struggle against Soviet social-imperialism, while pointing out that there were people who nevertheless were obstinately against it and insisted on pursuing the will-o'-the-wisp of disarmament and detente. When a British woman reporter told us about the growing Soviet threat, she was then and there interrupted by a gentleman who demanded: "Have you seen it?" That was a strange question indeed, considering the fact that the Soviet Union has so many troops, tanks and missiles deployed in Europe, and certainly they are not as harmless as the pigeons in London's Trafalgar Square or the ancient cannons in Edinburgh Castle.

A senior Danish editor criticized illusions of enduring peace and lack of vigilance. He said: "On sunny days, many people tend to leave their overcoats behind." A well-known Swiss columnist held that the appeasement mentality among certain people in high places was serious, but he also said that the man in the street had a growing awareness of what might happen if his country fell into the hands of the Soviet Union like some of the East European countries.

This trend of appeasement too is apparent in the economic field, as some people still regard the export of capital and commodities to the Soviet Union as a panacea for easing the West's economic crisis and hope that they can rein in the Soviet Union with Western technical expertise, loans and sales of food grain. For instance, just before we arrived in Italy, we learnt from news reports that the Soviet Union had just got another Italian loan of 650 million dollars, which brought the total Italian credits extended to the Soviet Union since 1973 up to 3,000 million dollars. Quite a few people in Western Europe, however, are becoming aware of this trend — rearing a tiger only to get one-

self into trouble, as a Chinese saying has it — and strongly denounce it.

Call for West European Union

In order to counterbalance superpower hegemonism both economically and politically, and especially to cope with the Soviet military threat, Western Europe must unite. This is a view shared by many government leaders, newsmen and industrialists whom we met in the four countries.

Reviewing the progress of the West European union, a political leader noted that difficulties and conflicts arise when so many countries and nations try to work together. But if one compares the situation in the 1930s with the way West Germany, France, Italy and Britain are co-operating with one another now, it is something really quite remarkable. As another leading government official put it, countries which fought each other in the past are now working together within the European Economic Community — this is the most hopeful phenomenon in the postwar period.

Some political leaders, viewing the prospects for a West European union, expressed the opinion that it may not be easy for the union to advance in giant strides, but the steady progress it has been making is the important thing. Some people were firm in their belief that this union is inevitable for both geographical and historical reasons. Swiss officials said that although theirs is a neutral country which has not joined the E.E.C., this does not mean that it is not interested in economic co-operation with the community. Switzerland, they added, is interested in strengthening its bilateral relations with the other West European countries.

As a matter of course, the road to West European union cannot be an even one. Take Britain for instance. After joining the E.E.C. in 1973, a force in that country insisted on its withdrawal, which was nevertheless voted down in the 1975 national referendum. But there were still people who continued to urge withdrawal and brought on another heated debate.

It is interesting to note that during our stay in Britain, most of the people we met declared that they were "pro-European," that is, in favour of West European union. In Denmark, Switzerland and Italy, people of the press, the



London: British pressmen showing a technical device to their Chinese colleagues.

cultural and business circles we saw generally held that West European union, many difficulties notwithstanding, is a growing trend. One British journalist, however, was rather pessimistic; he thought Europe is aging and there is little that can be done about it. We do not see things this way and believe that Western Europe not only must but can get united, and become strong.

A Strong Western Europe and A Strong China

Skive is a small town in northern Denmark and Lucerne a city in central Switzerland. They are 1,500 kilometres apart, but from what we heard in the two places, there is one thing in common. Asked if he had any idea whom he may fight against someday, a newly enlisted Danish soldier at Skive said to us: "Certainly not with China." In Lucerne, the Swiss civil defence officer who took us around the underground shelter also said: "If our underground facilities ever have to be put into use, I am sure the attack will not be from China but some other country." Both expressed an important view of the West European people on the international situation: Western Europe and China are no threat to each other but face a common threat from somewhere else.

During our visit to the four countries we often sensed the people's confidence and friendliness towards China. We were greeted with manifestations of goodwill by all we talked with,

including industrial and farm workers, soldiers and students, car drivers and even fellow passengers on the same plane. We met a number of people from associations for friendship with China, who, while working busily for a living, manage to find time to work tirelessly for the promotion of friendship with the people of China.

The hope to promote friendly relations with China is not limited to the common run of people but is shared by people of a still broader social strata. The industrialists and businessmen of the four countries expressed their desire to expand trade and strengthen technical co-operation with China. Western Europe, still in



Venice: The hometown of Marco Polo, where the Chinese journalists visited and Italian friends of today expressed great interest in strengthening ties with China.

the thrall of prolonged economic recession, has not quite recovered from the crisis that began in 1974. Many firms and corporations are trying to find a way out. China, very stable after the crushing of the "gang of four," is quickening its pace of modernization. This change has arrested attention abroad, including the notice of industrial and business circles.

Many newsmen and editors told us that they wanted to visit or revisit China. This not only reflects their personal liking but represents the public's interest in China as well. One of them said that whatever their political beliefs, people look upon things taking place in China in this generation as an important experiment in history.

Many people in cultural circles expressed their wish to broaden their contacts with China, which is at once ancient and nascent.

In a talk with us one influential statesman quite frankly expressed his views, which can be boiled down to the following: Western Europe is facing the serious military threat by one superpower and also the danger of political and economic control by the other. In these circumstances, the interests of the West Eu-

ropean countries require that they seriously establish important ties with China, hold mutual political consultations, and strengthen contacts in the industrial, agricultural and other fields.

Some other West European people said: While China wishes to see a united and strong Western Europe, Western Europe also wishes to see a strong China.

* * *

Looking back at our trip to the four countries and looking forward to the prospects of Western Europe, we think of a passage from the article by the Editorial Department of *Renmin Ribao* on the three worlds. It says:

Since the second world countries are faced with the superpowers' growing threat of war, it is necessary for them to strengthen unity among themselves and their unity with the third world and other possible allies, so as to advance in the struggle against the common enemy. United struggle is the only correct path for them to take in defence of their national independence and survival, even though this path is strewn not with roses but with thorns.

(Continued from p. 20.)

of the world's people against imperialism and hegemonism is gaining momentum and the Korean people's fight for the independent and peaceful reunification of their country is a component part of that struggle. The Korean people's just struggle for national reunification which is surging forward has widespread sympathy and support from the people of all countries, especially from the people of the third world countries. Korea belongs to the Korean people and no force from outside has the right to interfere in its internal affairs. The U.S. Government must face the reality squarely, stop its intervention in Korea, give up its "two Koreas" policy, withdraw all its armed forces from south Korea in accordance with the resolution of the 30th Session of the U.N. General Assembly and let the Korean people themselves settle the question of Korean reunification.

The Chinese and Korean people have forged with their blood a great revolutionary friend-

ship through protracted struggle. This friendship is based on Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. Under the leadership of the wise leader Chairman Hua Kuo-feng and following Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in foreign affairs, the Chinese Government and people resolutely support the Korean people's just struggle for the independent and peaceful reunification of their fatherland and the solemn stand of the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea as expounded in the memorandum and strongly oppose the scheming activities of the United States and the Pak clique to create "two Koreas." We are firmly convinced that under the leadership of their great leader President Kim Il Sung, the Korean people will certainly frustrate the intrigues of the domestic and foreign splittists to create "two Koreas" and win complete victory in the great cause of the independent and peaceful reunification of their fatherland.

("Renmin Ribao" editorial, February 6)

ROUND THE WORLD

KAMPUCHEA AND THAILAND

To Normalize Relations

The Thai Government Delegation led by Foreign Minister Upadit Pachariyangkun paid a four-day friendship visit to Kampuchea from January 30 to February 2. Both sides agreed to set up diplomatic missions, exchange ambassadors to each other's capital and strengthen economic and trade ties between the two countries.

In the talks on January 31 between Ieng Sary, Kampuchean Deputy Prime Minister in Charge of Foreign Affairs, and Thai Foreign Minister Upadit Pachariyangkun, the two sides unanimously agreed that the Kampuchea-Thailand Joint Communique signed on October 31, 1975, should be adhered to in seeking friendly relations between the two countries. The problems between Kampuchea and Thailand can be settled by upholding the principles of respect for independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, non-aggression and non-interference in each other's internal affairs.

Speaking at the banquet in honour of the Thai delegation on January 30, Ieng Sary said that the questions existing between Kampuchea and Thailand can be settled and the source of tension between the two countries removed in accordance with these principles. The two sides should refrain from doing anything that may impair each other's tranquillity, and should

not allow anyone to use each other's territory directly or through other means to undermine the Kampuchea-Thailand Joint Communique.

He reaffirmed that Kampuchea had always adhered to the policy of independence, peace, neutrality and non-alignment, a policy of long-term strategy rather than expediency and that this policy of Kampuchea was also an important factor for realizing peace in Southeast Asia.

Foreign Minister Upadit pointed out: Peace would prevail in the world if the above-mentioned principles are implemented consistently. "Any country which does not respect these principles will be condemned by the world, Thailand in particular." Thailand "desires no foreign interference in our region," he declared.

ANKARA

Worker-Peasant Party of Turkey Founded

At a press conference in Ankara on January 30 held on behalf of the founders of the Party, Dogu Perincek, Chairman of the Worker-Peasant Party of Turkey, announced that the founders on that day had submitted an application to the Turkish Government for the founding of their Party. Copies of the Party's constitution and programme were distributed to newsmen. "The ultimate aim of the Party is the realization

of a classless society," he declared.

The Party opposes U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, he said. "We shall resolutely oppose all capitulationist treaties reached behind the smokescreen of 'friendship and co-operation' with Russia." He also called for Turkey's strengthening of its friendship with Greece and unity with the third world. He added that the Party is opposed to any adventurist and terrorist activities such as bombing and bank robberies, "which have nothing whatsoever to do with revolution."

U.S.A.

Coal Miners' Strike

The strike started last December 6 by 180,000 U.S. coal miners in the Appalachian Mountains and the Middle West entered its 60th day on February 3 to become the longest coal strike in the United States since the founding of the United Mine Workers Union 88 years ago.

The issue between the owners and miners is over the latter's right to strike. In the last three years, there have been 5,500 strikes by U.S. miners. Wildcat strikes alone have caused the industry to lose 5.6 million workdays and 58 million tons of coal. As the energy crisis became more serious this decade, the demand for coal in the United States has grown. According to the U.S. Government's energy plan, coal output will double by 1985. As this requires substantial investments and stable production, the mo-

monopoly capitalists have made "labour stability" its major object in negotiations with the United Mine Workers Union on a new labour contract, and are vainly trying to deprive the miners of their right to strike.

The monopoly capitalists have resorted to various tricks to break the strike. Even before the strike began, the electric and steel industries and other main coal consumers had built up huge stocks of coal. After it began, the coal companies stopped providing the health and welfare fund for some 820,000 miners and their families, and threatened that pension would no longer be paid in an attempt to create contradictions between retired miners and working miners. The miners gave tit for tat. They set up roving pickets, destroyed mine equipment, dumped coal along roads, and closed coal-loading docks.

As a result, U.S. coal production is down nearly 80 per cent and the electric and steel monopolists and the U.S. Government are worried.

HORN OF AFRICA

Moscow Is Fuelling the Conflict

Somali leaders in recent statements called the attention of "world opinion to the danger of war instigated and directed in the Horn of Africa by the Russians and their allies."

Somali President Mohamed Siad Barre revealed the fact that in the Horn of Africa an arsenal of 1,000 million dollars worth of Soviet equipment had been built up in the last three months, including

MIG fighter planes, artillery and ground-to-ground missiles.

At a February 9 press conference in Mogadishu, Somali Minister of Information and National Guidance Abdul-Kasim Salad Hassan listed the following facts to show the large-scale Russian-Cuban involvement in the conflict in the Horn of Africa: (a) operation orders intercepted are entirely given in Russian and Spanish; (b) it has been confirmed that the Russians and Cubans have taken up the role of combatants and are manning mechanized vehicles, aircraft, artillery and so on in the war; (c) the dead bodies found in the battlefields or trapped in destroyed tanks and armoured vehicles were either Russians or Cubans; (d) reliable sources have confirmed that Cuban military personnel are flowing into the Horn of Africa by the thousands.

It is obvious that the Soviet Union is fuelling the conflict in the Horn of Africa. But TASS in a January 30 commentary averred that the Soviet Union first tried to "prevent" the conflict from breaking out, then tried to "stop" the conflict when it broke out, appealed for seeking a political solution at the negotiation table, and so forth. What infamous chicanery!

The arsonist naturally wants to profit by his crime and Moscow has played for high stakes in the Horn of Africa. At one moment it loudly claims that this or that African country is "natural ally," while at another moment it slanders the latter as a "reactionary force."

In doing this Moscow's aim is to sow dissension among African countries so as to enable it to seize strategic bases and control the vital route from the Atlantic through the Red Sea to the Indian Ocean. Whenever there was a chance, it could get a stranglehold on its rival.

In the past few years, Moscow has met with one dismal failure after another in Egypt, the Sudan and Somalia. Now it has taken a major step to aggravate the conflict in the Horn of Africa in an effort to make good its setbacks there and threaten the above-mentioned countries and other Arab countries around.

REPUBLIC OF GABON

Refusing to Be Pawn of Soviet Imperialism

Omar Bongo, President of the Republic of Gabon, in a February 1 press interview denounced Moscow's wanton interference in his visit to West Berlin. He said: "On my way from Bonn to West Berlin, somebody told me: Mr. President, our ambassador to Moscow was called to the [Soviet] Ministry of Foreign Affairs where he was told, 'You know that we have an agreement with West Germany, and the President is going on an official visit to [West] Berlin. We'd like to call your attention to the fact. . . .'"

Both Gabon and West Germany are independent and sovereign states and, as President Bongo is the guest of the

Federal Republic of Germany, it is the host, not Moscow, which makes the arrangement for his visit. Any accord between the Soviet Union and West Germany on West Berlin is strictly a matter between them and has nothing to do with Gabon.

President Bongo has put it well: "I think the Soviets found the wrong address. They did not call the ambassador of West Germany, but my ambassador. I was officially invited, and the programme was fixed by the Federal Government. Then to what should I pay attention?"

The show of big-power hegemonism by the Soviet Union, as a matter of fact, is an example of its insulting and bullying third world countries, in this case insulting and bullying a small African state. As President Bongo said, the Soviet Union "wanted to insult me . . . and teach us a lesson."

Moscow is accustomed to play the bully and wave its baton at others. But President Bongo refused to be cowed. He declared: I'm not an appendage of the Russians. If Russian imperialism, Russian colonialism, wants to lord it over others or threaten them as its pawns, neither President Bongo nor Gabon will do its bidding.

EGYPT

President Sadat Visits Three Countries

Egyptian President Anwar Sadat in early February visited the United States, Britain and West Germany. The United States agreed to send Assistant

Secretary of State Alfred Atherton to the Middle East to renew U.S. shuttle diplomacy between Egypt and Israel. West German Federal Chancellor Helmut Schmidt assured the Egyptian President that West Germany and eight other member countries of the European Economic Community would support the President's efforts for a peaceful settlement of the Middle East question.

During his stay in the United States, President Sadat had talks with U.S. President Jimmy Carter first at Camp David and then at the White House. They discussed Middle East questions, in particular questions relating to the Egyptian-Israeli negotiations which had been interrupted since January 18. Moreover, they also discussed African problems, especially the situation in the Horn of Africa, as well as bilateral relations including the Egyptian request for purchasing U.S. planes and weapons.

President Sadat addressed the U.S. National Press Club in Washington on February 6 to expound Egypt's position on the Middle East issue. He reaffirmed that in order to reach a comprehensive settlement Israel must: 1. withdraw from all Arab territories occupied since June 1967; 2. enable the Palestinian people to exercise their natural right to self-determination; and 3. provide necessary guarantees for the security of Arab states.

Sadat also denounced Israel's expansionist policy of establishing illegal "settlements on other people's land" and its "annexation of territory."

ALGIERS

Summit Conference

Algeria, Syria, Libya, Democratic Yemen and the Palestine Liberation Organization (P.L.O.) held a summit in Algiers from February 2 to 4.

A political declaration they issued on February 5 reaffirms that the realization of a just peace in the Middle East should be based on the complete withdrawal by Israel from the Arab territories it occupies and the guarantee of the Palestinian people's inalienable national rights, including the right to return to their homeland, exercise self-determination and build an independent state. It stresses that the P.L.O. is the sole legal representative of the Palestinian people. Summit participants again expressed their opposition to the direct Egyptian-Israeli talks.

Attending the summit were Algerian President Houari Boumediene, Syrian President Hafez Assad, Secretary General of the General Secretariat of the General People's Congress of Libya Muammer al Gaddafi, Secretary General of the Central Committee of the Unified National Front Political Organization of Democratic Yemen Abdul Fattah Ismail and Chairman of the P.L.O. Yasser Arafat.

The first summit conference was held in Tripoli, the capital of Libya, early last December after Egyptian President Anwar Sadat visited Israel and held talks with the Israeli Prime Minister on the Middle East question. The four countries and the P.L.O. attended the conference.

ON THE HOME FRONT

A Hundred Flowers Blossom

Peking's stage and screen during the traditional Spring Festival (February 7-9) presented dazzlingly rich and colourful activities.

In the past week, audiences enjoyed more than 200 performances organized into 48 different programmes. These included operas, modern plays, Peking operas and other local operas, concerts, songs and dances, acrobatics, puppet shows and *chuyi* (ballad-singing and story-telling). Many of the items are based on contemporary life, some on historical events or even fairy tales.

Many fine traditional items staged during the festival have long been popular among the masses. Among them were the Peking opera *Shachiapang* which depicts the fight of armymen and civilians against Japanese aggressors in the early 40s, the full-length dance-drama *Small Sword Society* which

reflects the anti-imperialist struggle of the Shanghai people about 100 years ago, and the Peking opera *Driven to Join the Liangshan Mountain Rebels* which was adapted from the novel *Water Margin* by some amateur artists in Yenan 35 years ago and which opened up a new life for this opera at that time. They were all praised by Chairman Mao and Premier Chou.

Altogether nine plays were staged. Among them were *When the Maple Leaves Turn Red*, a comedy ridiculing the "gang of four," *Aurora* about how the late Marshal Ho Lung in his youth led the people in making revolution, *Billowing Sea of Oil* on the construction of a coastal oilfield, and *No Right to Be Born* about the suffering and emancipation of the Tibetan serfs.

Traditional Chinese instrumental music was played at two of the five concerts given during the festival. One of the

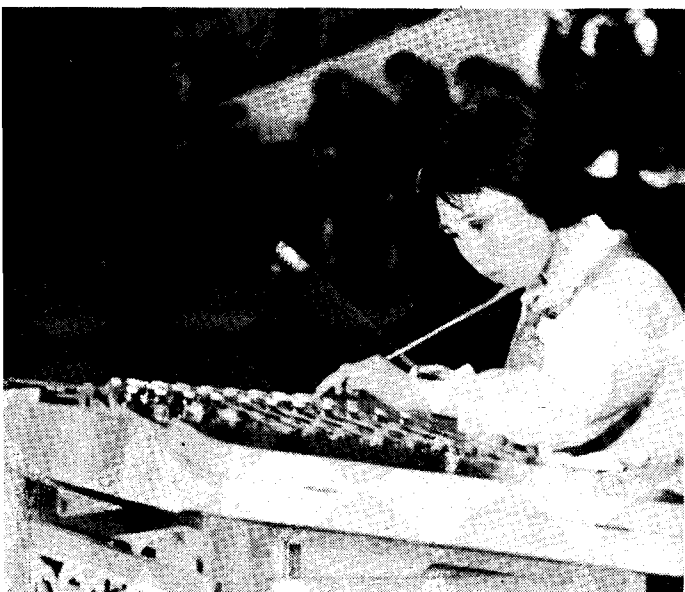
concerts given by the Central Philharmonic Society was devoted to symphonic music, including a symphony eulogizing the Mongolian hero Gada-melin who died in 1931 in the struggle against the cruel oppression of the ruling class, and *Symphony No. 9 (From the New World)* by the Czech composer Antonin Dvorak.

There were 23 feature films, five documentaries, three science films and two cartoons on show in Peking during the Spring Festival.

We Are Soldiers of the Eighth Route Army is a colour feature about the life of the armymen in the 30s and 40s. Four films depict different aspects of the struggle carried out by our army and people against the Kuomintang reactionaries and their secret agents. *Salimako*, a feature film, portrays a young woman of Yuku nationality who dedicates herself to educating the children of her people. She rides the grasslands on horseback to keep up a mobile primary school for the scattered families.

Left: Twelve-year-old Liu Yuch-ning playing the dulcimer at a Spring Festival get-together.

Right: Looking after the wounded woman — a scene from "We Are Soldiers of the Eighth Route Army."



Seventeen films which had been banned by the "gang of four" for a decade and were now reshown attracted wide attention. Among them were *The New Year's Sacrifice* (depicting the miserable life of a poor woman in the old society), adapted by the veteran writer Hsia Yen from Lu Hsun's short story of the same title, and *Dragon Beard Ditch* based on the play by the late noted playwright Lao Sheh. Dragon Beard Ditch was the name of an open sewer in old Peking and the site has now become a beautiful residential quarter.

Revolutionary Memoirs

CHINESE newspapers and periodicals in the past year or so have carried a great number of articles to cherish the memory of Chairman Mao, Premier Chou and other revolutionaries of the older generation and recall the road of revolution traversed by the Chinese people. Among the books published during this period, many are of the same theme or collections of these articles.

Volume I of *A Single Spark Can Start a Prairie Fire*, a seven-volume collection of reminiscences about the history of the Chinese people's army, came off the press before New Year's Eve. Articles in the new compilation were selected from a collection which first appeared in 1958 under the same title. In 1930, when the Chinese revolution was advancing under arduous conditions, Chairman Mao cited the old Chinese saying, "A single spark can start a prairie fire," to criticize Lin Piao's pessimistic ideas. Although the forces of the Chinese

revolution were small at that time, he pointed out, they would grow very rapidly. This prediction of Chairman Mao's was borne out by history.

When the collection appeared, it was acclaimed by readers as a "soul-stirring record." But Chiang Ching, working hand in glove with Lin Piao, banned it in 1966 on the fabricated charge that it served to "earn reputations for the revisionists."

The newly-compiled Volume I includes an article written in 1958 by Chu Teh, the late Commander-in-Chief of the Chinese People's Liberation Army, to mark the 31st anniversary of the founding of the P.L.A.; two reminiscences by Yeh Chien-ying, Vice-Chairman of the Military Commission of the C.P.C. Central Committee — one recalling the Kwangchow Uprising in the late 1920s, the other about the three gigantic campaigns during the Third Revolutionary Civil War in the 40s; and memoirs written by the deceased Marshals Chen Yi and Ho Lung.

Collections of moving revolutionary reminiscences are still coming off the press in a steady stream. The Youth and Children's Publishing Houses have been putting out books in this category specially edited for children and young readers. Chairman Mao once said in one of his famous poems: "**Bitter sacrifice strengthens bold resolve.**" Revolutionary memoirs serve as a means to educate people to inherit and carry forward the glorious revolutionary tradition and inspire them to carry the revolution through to the end. And this explains why the "gang of four" were so be-

side themselves with hatred over the publishing of these articles. The gang maligned the books portraying the revolutionary deeds of our Party and army as "praising the democrats" and "heaping praise on old chaps." They killed many revolutionary reminiscences and literary creations of a biographical nature.

Directors of Research Institutes Appointed

WITH the approval of the Party Central Committee, institutes under the Chinese Academy of Sciences have restored the system of directors undertaking responsibility under the leadership of the Party committees. Recently a number of scientists and researchers of academic standing who support socialism and have the ability to organize research work have been appointed to be directors or deputy directors of these institutes. Some of them are directors retaining their former positions, and many others are newly appointed. Among them are old, middle-aged and young scientists and women scientists as well.

The system of directors undertaking responsibility under the leadership of the Party committees had played a positive role in promoting scientific development in China. But it was attacked by the "gang of four" as having "emerged under revisionist line," "denying leadership of the Party," and "experts controlling institutes." As a result, the directors of many research institutes became figureheads for a period of time and in some institutes even the title of "director" was abolished.

SCIENCE PERIODICALS FROM CHINA

Chinese Medical Journal (in Chinese)	monthly
Chinese Medical Journal (in English)	bi-monthly
Scientia Sinica (in Chinese)	bi-monthly
Scientia Sinica (a foreign-language edition with articles mainly in English)	bi-monthly

Periodicals in Chinese (with abstracts of main articles and table of contents in English)

Acta Archaeologica Sinica	quarterly
Acta Astronomica Sinica	twice yearly
Acta Botanica Sinica	quarterly
Acta Entomologica Sinica	quarterly
Acta Genetica Sinica	quarterly
Acta Geophysica Sinica	quarterly
Acta Mathematica Sinica	quarterly
Acta Microbiologica Sinica	quarterly
Acta Palaeontologica Sinica	quarterly
Acta Physica Sinica	bi-monthly
Acta Phytotaxonomica Sinica	quarterly
Acta Zoologica Sinica	quarterly
Architectural Journal	quarterly
Oceanologia Et Limnologia Sinica	twice yearly
Physica Energiae Fortis Et Physica Nuclearis	bi-monthly
Scientia Geologica Sinica	quarterly
Vertebrata Palasiatica	quarterly

Distributed by **GUOZI SHUDIAN** (China publications Centre) Peking, China

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