

PEKING REVIEW

33

August 18, 1978

北
京
周
報

China and Japan Sign Peace And Friendship Treaty

**At Hanoi Talks: China Seeks
Settlement Through Consultation**

**Interview With Artists of Tibetan
Song and Dance Troupe**

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China and Libya Establish Diplomatic Relations

Libyan Envoy in Peking. Chairman Hua on August 8 met with Abdel Salam Jalloud, Member of the General Secretariat of the General People's Congress of the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, his wife and members of the delegation he led. Chairman Hua and His Excellency Jalloud had a friendly talk on international issues of common concern and on developing bilateral relations.

The Libyan guests visited China from August 4 to 11. During their stay in Peking, Vice-Premier Teng Hsiao-ping held talks with His Excellency Jalloud.

Seeing off the Libyan delegation at the airport when it left Peking for south China, Vice-Premier Teng said that His Excellency Jalloud's visit had resulted in the normalization of relations between the two countries and that this was of benefit to the development of their friendship and co-operation. His Excellency Jalloud said that he would never forget this visit. He assured the Vice-Premier that "we are your friends" whether in the past, at present or in the future.

Joint Communique. A joint communique on the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and Libya was signed in Peking on August 9 by Foreign Minister Huang Hua and Secretary of Foreign Affairs Ali Abdul Salam

Treiki on behalf of their respective countries.

The communique said: "The People's Republic of China and the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, in conformity with the interests and desires of the two peoples, have decided through friendly consultations to establish diplomatic relations at ambassadorial level and to exchange ambassadors.

"The two countries have agreed to develop friendly relations and co-operation between them on the basis of the five principles of mutual respect for state sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence.

"The People's Republic of China respects the policies of neutrality and non-alignment pursued by the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya and appreciates the Libyan people's achievements in the political, economic and cultural fields as well as their struggle to consolidate their independence and build their country. China supports the Libyan people in their struggle against imperialism and Israeli Zionism."

Agreements on economic and scientific, technological co-operation and on trade between the two countries were signed on the same occasion.

Renmin Ribao published an editorial on August 11 hailing

the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries, which, it pointed out, is propitious not only to the peoples of China and Libya but also to the development of friendly relations between the peoples of China and the Arab countries.

The editorial added: "The unity of over 100 million people in the various Arab countries is an important weapon and basic guarantee of victory for the just Arab cause. Differences of opinions between the Arab countries can be solved through friendly consultation in the spirit of seeking common ground on major issues while reserving differences on the minor ones."

The editorial also stressed: "Taiwan Province is an inalienable part of the sacred territory of the People's Republic of China. The Government of the People's Republic of China is the sole legal government representing the entire Chinese people. We resolutely oppose any plots to create 'two Chinas,' 'one China, one Taiwan,' 'one China, two governments' or other similar schemes. Taiwan will certainly return to the embrace of the motherland."

Outstanding P.L.A. Leader Lo Jui-ching Dies

Lo Jui-ching, an outstanding leader of the Chinese People's Liberation Army, died of a heart

attack on the morning of August 3 at the age of 72.

Member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, Member of the Standing Committee and Secretary-General of the Military Commission of the C.P.C. Central Committee and Member of the Standing Committee of the Fifth National People's Congress, Comrade Lo Jui-ching was a veteran fighter who joined the revolution in the 20s, took part in the 25,000-li Long March and made outstanding contributions in the prolonged revolutionary wars against both domestic and foreign enemies. After the founding of the People's Republic, he was appointed Minister of Public Security, Vice-Premier and Chief of the General Staff of the P.L.A.

A memorial meeting was held in the Great Hall of the People in Peking on August 12. Chairman Hua Kuo-feng, Vice-Chairmen Yeh Chien-ying, Teng Hsiao-ping, Li Hsien-nien and Wang Tung-hsing and other Party and state leaders, leading cadres of various units and 1,700 army and civilian representatives attended.

Vice-Chairman Teng delivered the memorial speech. He said that Comrade Lo Jui-ching was a long-tested, staunch revolutionary fighter of the proletariat, an outstanding leader of the Chinese People's Liberation Army and a good student of the great teacher Chairman Mao.

Comrade Lo Jui-ching, Vice-Chairman Teng went on to say,



was cruelly persecuted by Lin Piao and the "gang of four." In the inner-Party two-line struggles, and especially in the struggle against Lin Piao's revisionist line and bourgeois military line, Comrade Lo Jui-ching maintained a firm and clear-cut stand. He cherished ardent love for Chairman Mao, Premier Chou and Chairman Chu Teh of the N.P.C. Standing Committee. Regarding Comrade Lo Jui-ching as an obstacle to usurping Party and state power, Lin Piao used base intrigues and framed charges against him. As a result, he was subjected to cruel persecution and torment, both mental and physical.

After the "gang of four" was smashed, Vice-Chairman Teng continued, Comrade Lo Jui-ching, with indomitable willpower, fought against illness and physical disability and worked day and night for the cause of eliminating the influence of Lin Piao and the "gang of four," reviving the fine traditions of our Party and army and im-

plementing the policies and tasks put forward by the Military Commission of the C.P.C. Central Committee.

Vice-Chairman Teng went on to say that Comrade Lo Jui-ching had made major contributions to strengthening China's socialist legal system and building a force of political, legal and public security workers. He did his best to safeguard the Party's absolute leadership over the army, strengthen the army's political work, develop advanced weapons for the national defence and build powerful ground, air and naval forces. Comrade Lo Jui-ching rendered outstanding service in internal security and national defence and contributed to the strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the consolidation of the People's Republic of China, for which the Chinese people will never forget him.

Chairman Hua Calls for Speedy Agricultural Development

Speed up the development in agriculture — that's the instruction Chairman Hua gave on hearing a report relative to the National Conference on Farmland Capital Construction that was convened by the State Council in Peking from July 22 to August 1.

Agriculture Is the Foundation. Chairman Hua said that the target set by China to produce 400 million tons of grain and

60 million tons of steel by 1985 means a lot of hard work, and this is particularly true in the case of grain. Of course, he added, if we do our work well, we can go at a faster pace. The trouble is that not everybody has got a completely clear idea of what taking agriculture as the foundation means. Not only the Party Central Committee, but all the ministries of the State Council, provinces and municipalities must get to the heart of the matter. Unless agricultural production rises, industry cannot expand. On this point, we have experience, negative as well as positive. The whole Party should pay serious attention to agricultural production. All provinces must endeavour to become more than self-sufficient in grain and ensure an all-round development of agriculture, forestry, livestock breeding, side-occupations and fishery.

Large-Scale Farmland Capital Construction. Chairman Hua said that effective farmland capital construction will assure high and stable yields. It is very important to turn to account the peasants' enthusiasm for socialism. If Party policies are adhered to, the peasants' enthusiasm will last; if the cadres keep up a good style of work, the peasants will show their zest in hard work. Coercion and commandism will not get the job properly done. The two reports — the Hunan Province's Hsianghsiang county Party committee's "Report on the Implementation of the Party's Policies and Lightening

of Unreasonable Burdens on the Peasants" (see issue No. 30, p. 20) and the Shensi provincial Party committee's "Report on Investigation of the Practice of Coercion and Commandism and Violation of Law and Breach of Discipline by a Few Cadres in Hsunyi County" — issued by the Party Central Committee have put a weapon in the hands of the peasants by which they can discern and reject what is erroneous and have done much to secure agriculture as the foundation of the national economy.

Commune- or Brigade-Run Enterprises and Local Industries. Chairman Hua attaches great importance to running these enterprises and industries well. Industries, he said, should be developed in the people's communes as long as they do not compete with factories for raw materials, while some industrial products may well be turned out by commune-run enterprises. The people's communes should make a point of expanding fishery, afforestation and animal husbandry as well. As commune-run enterprises developed, industry as a whole would be expanded, and the ability to support agriculture would increase. All this would make it possible to provide funds for the construction of water conservancy projects and for farm mechanization and gradually eliminate the difference between industry and agriculture and between town and country. This, he pointed out, is the road we must take.

Chairman Hua said that commune- or brigade-run enterprises

may have shortcomings and defects, but we must not on that account shut them down. They can be run well if we take steps to consolidate them, introduce necessary rules and regulations, and strengthen supervision by the masses.

Chairman Hua's instructions were a great encouragement to the 1,200 representatives. They pledged that, upon their return to their respective units, they would carry out these instructions, work out in the shortest possible time plans for farmland capital construction with the tasks of this winter-spring period clearly defined, and organize all trades and professions to join in the work and make new contributions to speeding up the development of agriculture.

IN THE NEWS

• Premier Hua Kuo-feng on August 8 sent a message to Sudanese President Gaafar Mohamed Nimeri, expressing sympathy for the people of his country's flood-afflicted areas. That same day, the Red Cross Society of China sent a message of sympathy to the Sudanese Committee for Disaster Relief and notified it of the society's decision to send relief material worth RMB 200,000 yuan.

• Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien on August 8 met Edmund Dell, British Secretary of State for Trade, and his party. Both sides were optimistic about the prospects of expanding economic and trade relations between the two countries.

China and Japan Sign Peace And Friendship Treaty

THE Treaty of Peace and Friendship Between China and Japan was signed in Peking on August 12. Chinese Foreign Minister Huang Hua and Japanese Foreign Minister Sunao Sonoda affixed their signatures to the treaty on behalf of their respective countries.

Hua Kuo-feng, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and Premier of the State Council, Vice-Premier Teng Hsiao-ping and Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress Liao Cheng-chih attended the signing ceremony. After the signing of the treaty they drank toasts with Foreign Minister Sonoda to mark this important event in the history of the two countries.

Prior to the ceremony, Chairman Hua met with Foreign Minister Sonoda and his party during which Chairman Hua pointed out that

the signing of the treaty reflected the common aspirations of the people of the two countries. This, he said, is beneficial to both the friendship between the Chinese and Japanese peoples for all generations to come and the maintenance of peace in the Asia-Pacific region.

Premier Hua and Prime Minister Fukuda Exchange Messages

That same day, Premier Hua Kuo-feng and Japanese Prime Minister Takeo Fukuda exchanged messages acclaiming the signing of the treaty. Premier Hua's message reads: The conclusion of the treaty "is of great importance. It will surely open broader prospects for the consolidation and development of the relations of good-neighbourliness and friendship between the two countries and the promotion of friendship between the two peoples, and will be of help to

Signing of the Sino-Japanese treaty.



the countries and peoples in the Asia-Pacific region in their common cause of safeguarding peace."

The message from Prime Minister Fukuda pointed out that the signing of the treaty "is a great contribution not only to the future of the two countries but also to the peace and stability of the Asia-Pacific region and the rest of the world." He expressed his determination "to strive for the further strengthening and development of the peaceful and friendly relations between the two countries on the basis of the Joint Statement and the Treaty of Peace and Friendship Between Japan and China."

Former Japanese Prime Minister Kakuei Tanaka who in 1972 signed in Peking the Japan-China Joint Statement and brought about the normalization of relations between the two countries expressed his hope in a statement in Tokyo that "the relations between Japan and China will continue to develop steadfastly on the basis of the new treaty."

The Japan Socialist Party, the Komei Party, the Democratic Socialist Party, the New Liberal Club, the United Social Democratic Party, many well-known figures in political circles, the Japan-China Friendship Association, the Dietmen's League for Japan-China Friendship and other organizations or their leaders either issued



statements or made speeches hailing the signing of the treaty. Quite a few newspapers in Japan carried highly favourable editorials on the Japan-China treaty.

Document

Treaty of Peace and Friendship Between the People's Republic of China and Japan

The People's Republic of China and Japan,

Recalling with satisfaction that since the Government of the People's Republic of China and the Government of Japan issued a Joint Statement in Peking on September 29, 1972, the friendly relations between the two Governments and the peoples of the two countries have developed greatly on a new basis,

Confirming that the above-mentioned Joint Statement constitutes the basis of the relations of peace and friendship between the two countries and that the principles enunciated in the Joint Statement should be strictly observed,

Confirming that the principles of the Charter of the United Nations should be fully respected,

August 18, 1978

Hoping to contribute to peace and stability in Asia and in the world,

For the purpose of solidifying and developing the relations of peace and friendship between the two countries,

Have resolved to conclude a Treaty of Peace and Friendship and for that purpose have appointed as their Plenipotentiaries:

The People's Republic of China: Huang Hua,
Minister of Foreign Affairs

Japan: Sunao Sonoda,
Minister for Foreign Affairs

Who, having communicated to each other their full powers, found to be in good and due form, have agreed as follows:

Article I

1. The Contracting Parties shall develop durable relations of peace and friendship between the two countries on the basis of the principles of mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit and peaceful coexistence.

2. In keeping with the foregoing principles and the principles of the United Nations Charter, the Contracting Parties affirm that in their mutual relations, all disputes shall be settled by peaceful means without resorting to the use or threat of force.

Article II

The Contracting Parties declare that neither of them should seek hegemony in the Asia-Pacific region or in any other region and that each is opposed to efforts by any other country or group of countries to establish such hegemony.

Article III

The Contracting Parties shall, in a good-neighbourly and friendly spirit and in conformity with the principles of equality and mutual benefit and non-interference in each other's internal affairs, endeavour to further develop economic and cultural relations between the two countries and to promote exchanges between the peoples of the two countries.

Article IV

The present Treaty shall not affect the position of either Contracting Party regarding its relations with third countries.

Article V

1. The present Treaty shall be ratified and shall enter into force on the date of the exchange of instruments of ratification which shall take place at Tokyo. The present Treaty shall remain in force for ten years and thereafter shall continue to be in force until terminated in accordance with the provisions of Paragraph 2 of this Article.

2. Either Contracting Party may, by giving one year's written notice to the other Contracting Party, terminate the present Treaty at the end of the initial ten-year period or at any time thereafter.

In witness whereof the respective Plenipotentiaries have signed the present Treaty and have affixed thereto their seals.

Done in duplicate in the Chinese and Japanese languages, both texts being equally authentic, at Peking, this twelfth day of August 1978.

For the People's Republic of China:
Huang Hua
(Signed)

For Japan:
Sunao Sonoda
(Signed)

Let the People of China and Japan Remain Friends for All Generations to Come

"Renmin Ribao" Editorial

THE signing of the Treaty of Peace and Friendship Between China and Japan conforms with the common aspirations of the Chinese and Japanese peoples for peaceful and friendly coexistence for all generations to come. It also accords with the fundamental interests of these two peoples and all other people in the Asia-Pacific region. Of course, this is of great practical significance and far-reaching historical importance for further strengthening and developing the relations of peace, friendship and co-operation between the two countries and for preserving peace and security in the Asia-Pacific region. The Chinese people rejoice over this happy occasion.

To conclude a Sino-Japanese peace and friendship treaty was an important stipulation of the Sino-Japanese Joint Statement. When former Prime Minister Kakuei Tanaka and former Foreign Minister Masayoshi Ohira visited China in September 1972 and signed the Joint Statement with the Chinese Government, relations between the two countries were normalized and a new page was written in the history of their relations. The Joint Statement is a historical document of far-reaching significance bearing on the relations between the two countries and serves as the basis for developing good-neighbourly and friendly relations between them. In accordance with the Joint Statement, the Chinese and Japanese Governments in subsequent years signed agreements on trade, aviation, navigation and fisheries and this

year signed a long-term trade agreement. Since the two Governments started talks on the treaty in accordance with the Joint Statement, the people of Japan and friendly Japanese personages inside and outside the government have made great efforts to promote its early conclusion. On their part, the Government and the people of China have always taken a forward-looking attitude and done their best towards the same end. This common wish of the Chinese and Japanese peoples has now come true. All the fundamental principles laid down in the Joint Statement are reaffirmed in the treaty. The treaty is a political summation of relations between the two countries up till now, and a new starting point for the development of good-neighbourly and friendly relations between the two countries.

The Chinese Government has always stood for the establishment and development of relations with all other countries on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. Despite differences in their social system, China and Japan can and should establish peaceful and friendly ties on the basis of the Five Principles — mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence. The treaty stipulates that China and Japan should establish "durable relations of peace and friendship" and that "in their mutual relations, all disputes shall be settled by peaceful means

without resorting to the use or threat of force." The establishment and development of durable relations of peace and co-operation between the two countries, with a combined population of nearly a thousand million, will be a powerful, positive factor for the maintenance of peace, security, stability and prosperity in the Asia-Pacific region.

At present, hegemonism is on the rampage in the world, carrying on aggression, interference, expansion and subversion everywhere. This is the harsh reality, an objective fact of the world situation at present. Wherever hegemonism raises its ugly head, peace and security are menaced and tranquillity is disturbed. Therefore, opposition to hegemonism is a major task in the work of defending peace and an important part of the treaty. The Government and the people of China, following the teaching of their great leader and teacher Chairman Mao on "never seeking hegemony," have repeatedly declared that China will never seek hegemony. China does not seek hegemony now, nor will it ever seek hegemony in the future even when its economy is more developed and the four modernizations are achieved. We are very happy to note that the principle of opposing hegemonism, which is in accord with the historical tide, finds expression in the treaty. The treaty stipulates: "The Contracting Parties declare that neither of them should seek hegemony in the Asia-Pacific region or in any other region and that each is opposed to efforts by any other country or group of countries to establish such hegemony." It is an innovation in international treaties that China and Japan undertake the commitment not to seek hegemony and explicitly write an "anti-hegemony" clause into the treaty. This conforms to the aspirations of the Chinese and Japanese peoples and all other peace-loving people of the world. The treaty is sure to have a far-reaching impact on international affairs.

The peoples of China and Japan are elated by the signing of the treaty. The people of the countries in the Asia-Pacific region are happy too. And so are all peace-loving countries and

people the world over. Only Soviet social-imperialism is not happy. Ever since the treaty negotiations began, the Soviet Union has taken a ludicrous attitude of hostility. Recently, it has churned out a spate of statements and speeches shamelessly attacking and slandering China's foreign policy, while using pressure of all sorts, threats and blackmail against Japan. The development of friendly relations between China and Japan and the signing of the treaty seem to have put a thorn in the flesh of the Soviet Union. It flies into a rage at a mere mention of the word "anti-hegemony," which says a lot for its pique and wickedness. But the tide of Sino-Japanese friendship will flow on; it will not be stemmed by the Soviet Union. The signing of the treaty proclaims the ignominious bankruptcy of the Soviet social-imperialist plot to interfere and sabotage.

China and Japan are neighbours, joined by a strip of water. Friendly contacts between the two peoples go back to ancient times. The wars between China and Japan during half a century from the end of the 19th century had caused the Chinese people great sufferings. The Japanese people had suffered much, too. But that was merely an interregnum in the 2,000-year history of contacts between the two countries. The Chinese people's great leader Chairman Mao Tsetung and beloved Premier Chou En-lai held great hopes for Sino-Japanese friendship and made painstaking efforts for its development. The treaty marks a new stage in the friendly relations between the two countries and will open up broader prospects for furthering and promoting their friendship and co-operation. Both the Chinese nation and the Japanese nation are great nations. The peoples of the two countries are both industrious and courageous. We hope, and we believe, that in times to come the peoples of China and Japan will be able to co-operate still better and through repeated efforts overcome all interference and obstruction so that they can remain friends for all generations to come.

(August 14)

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

by "Renmin Ribao" Special Commentator

This concludes the article which deals comprehensively with the principle "to each according to his work." The first part appeared in our issue No. 31, 1978. — Ed.

(2) Different Forms of Payment Under the Principle

The principle "to each according to his work" is put into effect through definite forms of payment for work done. In China's socialist economy at its present stage of development, the chief forms are wages (based on timework or piecework), work-points, bonuses and subsidies (mainly extra allowances for jobs requiring higher labour intensity and performed under harsh working conditions). As regards the wage system, we must apply the principle of payment primarily on a time-rate basis with piecework playing a secondary role, and with additional bonuses. In socialist labour emulation, moral encouragement and material reward must go hand in hand, with emphasis on the former. This, in fact, is a specific form for promoting the communist attitude towards labour.

No Essential Difference

Timework, piecework and bonuses are the same in essence, for they all involve payment according to the amount of labour a labourer contributes to society, that is, according to the quantity and quality of labour. Time is the natural measure of labour, so the amount of labour is expressed in terms of the duration of labour. Time-rate wages are measured directly by the duration of labour and therefore paid according to work done in a certain period of time and up to a certain level in quality (there must be a standard of quality).

Wages based on piecework differ from those based on timework only in that the former is not measured directly by the duration of labour but by the quantity of products or work which is up to a certain level in quality (this is also necessary) and represents the crystallized labour of a certain period of time. As piecework wages are measured indirectly by the duration of labour, they constitute a variant form of time-rate wages. As for bonuses, they are, generally speaking, rewards for extra work done by labourers, that is, the amount of work above the average. In other words, they are a supplementary form of wages. Wages based on timework or piecework and bonuses all give expression to the principle of more pay for more work and less pay for less work. As mentioned in the first part of this article, they take into consideration the interest of the state and the collective before that of individuals. That is why there is no essential difference among them.

The main form of wages in China today is based on timework. For labourers doing the same kind of work and belonging to the same technical grade, wages reflect the average amount of labour they contribute, instead of their actual amount of labour, in a certain period of time. Hence the need to have other supplementary forms of payment. But since timework pay is the main form of wages in our country, we must properly apply it and prevent such things as less pay for more work and more pay for less work.

Piecework is characterized by the fact that it can fairly accurately mirror a labourer's actual amount of labour. Under the specific conditions in present-day China, piecework wages are suited to many kinds of work,

especially work involving physical strength such as loading, unloading and transport, for this method of payment is of greater advantage to raising labour productivity. Lenin once pointed out that the introduction of piecework wages is one of the "measures for raising . . . the productivity of labour" and that "every effort must be exerted for [it] . . . to be sustained." (*Six Theses on the Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Government.*) We have carried out experiments on piecework wages several times in the last two decades or so since the founding of New China. Practical experience has fully borne out that in China at its present stage of development payment on a time-rate basis with piecework playing a secondary role fits in with the objective requirements of socialist economic development.

Bonuses are characterized by the fact that they can fairly accurately reflect in good time actual changes in the amount of labour a labourer gives society. This form of payment, which is applied flexibly, makes up for the deficiencies of timework. Bonuses basically fall into two categories: One consists of rewards to labourers who have done extra work which directly adds to the wealth of society (such as increasing the quantity of products, improving the quality of products and economizing on raw and semi-finished materials and fuel) and the other rewards for labourers who have done extra work which helps create important favourable conditions for increasing social wealth (such as technical innovations, creations and inventions).

Chairman Mao said that in socialist society there must be material reward and moral encouragement. The latter includes medals of honour, citations, titles of merit and other commendations which are political honours held in respect by the people. The former consists of bonuses which represent a kind of real material benefits. Both are designed to reward labourers and workers who have directly or indirectly made outstanding contributions to augmenting the social wealth. As Chairman Mao said, the aim of these two measures is to "reward those who excel in production" (*Report of the Central Executive Committee and the People's Council of the Chinese Soviet Republic to the Second National Soviet*

Congress) and "through them to encourage and unite the masses." (*The Tasks for 1945.*)

A host of facts, past and present, prove that conscientious and rational application of this system of moral encouragement and material reward which costs the state and the collective nothing or very little will bring quick, enormous and sure results in raising the productive forces in industry and agriculture, improving the quality of products, lowering the cost of production, reducing accidents in production and strengthening labour discipline. As the advanced elements on the production front represent the direction in which the productive forces develop, the encouragement and reward given to them mean protecting and supporting the latest development of the productive forces. As a rule, the social productive forces grow through the constant emergence of advanced elements who outstrip the existing production level and create a new level. The proletariat represents the new productive forces and so it is its bounden duty to support and encourage the advanced elements on the production front.

In opposing the principle "to each according to his work," the "gang of four" made a special effort to attack piecework pay and bonuses, saying that with their introduction capitalist ideas of seeking fortune, fame and gain would spread beyond control. This is nothing but deceptive propaganda for demagogic effect. Everyone knows that the essence of capitalist ideas lies in trying to expropriate the fruits of other people's labour without compensation and feathering one's own nest at the expense of others. Bonuses, however, are payment for labour which comes within the scope of distribution according to work, and in reality the amount of bonuses received by the advanced elements on the production front is far below the value of the extra wealth they create for society. In this sense, the socialist bonus system itself embodies the principle of making moral encouragement primary and material reward secondary. Its essential aim is to encourage the advanced and inspire the labourers to foster the socialist idea and attitude towards labour characterized by consciously doing more work and making greater contributions to society. Correct application of the

bonus system within a certain limit has nothing in common with capitalist ideas.

Opposing Equalitarianism and Wide Disparity In Distribution

Timework and piecework pay and bonuses all acknowledge the necessary differences among labourers in their pay for work done. These differences mirror those of labour among labourers. So if we are to make these three forms of pay correctly embody the principle "to each according to his work," we must oppose two erroneous tendencies in distribution — equalitarianism and a wide wage spread. The former entails obliterating the necessary differences in pay and the latter allows for greater differences in pay than what is warranted by the differences in labour. Both tendencies undermine and jeopardize the principle "to each according to his work." That is why Chairman Mao said that our formulation was to oppose both equalitarianism and excessive disparity.

Equalitarianism originates with small-scale production; it is a petty-bourgeois utopian socialist idea which differs fundamentally from the socialist idea of the proletariat. Speaking at the First All-Union Conference of Stakhanovites, Stalin said: "Some people think that Socialism can be consolidated by a certain equalization of people's material conditions, based on a poor man's standard of living. That is not true. That is a petty-bourgeois conception of Socialism."

Ours is a country where the petty bourgeoisie once existed on a wide scale and over a long period, and the idea of equalitarianism is thus deep-rooted and exerts a big influence to this day. Precisely because of this, Chairman Mao, while leading the revolution and construction in China, always attached great importance to opposing equalitarianism. Whenever he talked about the question of distribution according to work, he enjoined us to pay particular attention to overcoming the tendency of equalitarianism. In his book *Economic and Financial Problems* written in 1942, he pointed out: "The equalitarian wage system obliterates the difference between skilled and unskilled labour and also the difference between those who are diligent and those who are lazy, thus dampening labour enthusiasm."

In March 1959 Chairman Mao once again sharply criticized the equalitarian tendency with regard to distribution when he said: The tendency of equalitarianism means denying that there should be differences of income among production brigades and individuals. This, in effect, negates the socialist principle "to each according to his work" and more pay for more work. The Revised Draft of the Working Regulations for Rural People's Communes drawn up under the personal guidance of Chairman Mao in 1962 stipulated explicitly: "The production team must see to it that the principle 'to each according to his work' and more pay for more work is applied conscientiously and equalitarianism in distribution among commune members avoided."

Countering Chairman Mao's consistent teachings, the "gang of four" used petty-bourgeois ideas to fan up an equalitarian trend of thought and undermine distribution according to work. As a result, with regard to the pay in some enterprises and units, no distinction is made between those who work and those who don't, between those who do more work and those who do less and between those who do a good job and those who do a poor one; nor between those who work underground and those who work on the surface, those who work under conditions of high temperature and those who work under conditions of normal temperature and between those at the front line of production and those at other posts; nor between heavy and light jobs and between complex and simple labour; nor between a higher and a lower level of skills and between big and little contributions. All this encourages people to remain backward rather than make progress, to be lazy rather than diligent, to live off socialism and go in for capitalism rather than strive for socialism. This seriously dampened the masses' revolutionary enthusiasm, hampered the development of production and adversely affected the ideological and political qualities and the sense of organization and discipline of labourers on the various fronts.

Chairman Mao made it clear to us that "such thinking [absolute equalitarianism] is reactionary, backward and retrogressive in nature. We must criticize it." (*Speech at a Conference of Cadres in the Shanxi-Suiyuan*

Liberated Area.) Being unable to create new social productive forces independently, the petty bourgeoisie does not represent the advanced relations of production and it often seeks to equally distribute the available social wealth. This can only lead to disruption and backsliding of the social productive forces and therefore is bound to go bankrupt.

On the other hand, we must oppose a wide disparity in distribution, for it undermines rather than follows the principle "to each according to his work." If resolute measures are not taken to rectify and prevent it, it would give rise to a high-salaried stratum and new bourgeois elements. A wide wage spread detrimental to the principle "to each according to his work" was arbitrarily described by the "gang of four" as an outcome of the principle itself and they passed themselves off as opponents of a wide wage spread. In fact, it is none other than this scum of society who worked overtime to effect a wide wage spread. While agitating for equalitarianism among the masses, they surreptitiously spared no effort to requisition state funds and, in violation of state financial and economic regulations and the financial system, freely appropriated state property for their own use or seized it outright. Their life-style was one of extreme luxury and dissipation.

To thoroughly eliminate the pernicious influence of the gang, we must wage a resolute and relentless struggle against all those who abuse their powers to commit crimes such as illegal expropriation of the fruits of the people's labour, embezzlement, theft, speculation and violations of the socialist legal system and socialist financial and economic regulations.

(3) A Few Points for Attention In Implementing the Principle

"To each according to his work" is a fundamental principle of distribution throughout the historical period of socialism. But with the growth of the economy the actual application of this principle may be subject to changes of one kind or another at different stages of development of socialism. Engels put it well when he said that "after all, the method of distribution essentially depends on *how much*



there is to distribute, and that this must surely change with the progress of production and social organization." (*Engels to C. Schmidt.*) Such being the case, on the basis of this fundamental principle, there must be specific policies suited to specific economic conditions and also sound methods of work to correctly implement these policies.

Through practice over the last two decades and more after the founding of the People's Republic, our Party has gained rich experience, both positive and negative, in implementing the principle of distribution according to work. With this experience in mind, what are the points for attention if we are to carry out this principle still better throughout the country?

Put Proletarian Politics in Command

As classes and class struggle still exist in socialist society, the ideology of the bourgeoisie and other exploiting classes will continue to exert widespread influence on the labouring masses. Should we fail to guide the labouring people to free themselves from the shackles of this influence, some people would interpret the principle "to each according to his work" from the angle of old ideas, putting wages and bonuses above everything else, always thinking of personal loss and gain to the extent that they would "work according to pay" and calculating "whether one has not worked half an hour more than somebody else, whether one is not getting less pay than somebody else." (*Lenin: The State and Revolution.*) It is, therefore, imperative to persist in putting politics in command and step up political and ideological work among the labouring masses. It is also necessary to educate them to foster the communist attitude towards labour, always

give first place to the interest of the state and the collective and earnestly ensure top quality, high efficiency and low consumption in productive labour, and to heighten resistance to all bourgeois ideas of benefiting oneself at the expense of others and public interests. Only thus can we ensure the thorough implementation of the principle "to each according to his work" as required by the task of continuing the revolution.

Needless to say, emphasis on putting politics in command and doing political and ideological work well means persistently imbuing the labouring masses with "the socialist spirit which postulates the principle of integrating collective interest with individual interest as the criterion for judging all words and deeds" (Mao Tsetung: *Editor's Notes From "Socialist Uprise in China's Countryside"*), so that they will consciously integrate individual interest with collective interest, and immediate interest with long-term interest. But this does not in the least negate the importance of the people's material interest. Proletarian politics is a concentrated expression of the fundamental economic interests of the proletariat and there is, in fact, no such thing as politics detached from economic interests.

In the last analysis, our aim in doing in-depth and painstaking political and ideological work in the course of carrying out the principle "to each according to his work" is to enhance the labouring masses' political consciousness and thus ensure the correct implementation of this principle ideologically and politically. In other words, it is to ensure that the labourers work hard and contribute more to socialism and that those who do more work really get more pay, those who do less get less and those who do not work get no pay, all for the purpose of truly encouraging the advanced, educating the less advanced, repudiating the unsavoury practice of going after unearned income and making a clear distinction between reward and penalty in matters of distribution.

To achieve this, it is necessary to correct the tendency of replacing distribution according to work with political and ideological criteria, that is, in handling matters concerning distribution, taking into consideration only how a labourer does politically while paying no attention to how he works. This gives rise to two

questions: one is whether labour or politics should be the standard for distributing consumer goods among individuals in socialist society; and the other — what after all is meant by doing well politically? Since the socialist principle of distribution is "to each according to his work," wage raises and promotions must basically use labour, not political showing, as a standard, that is, the quantity and quality of labour a labourer contributes to society. Otherwise, it is distribution according to political showing rather than work. Marx wrote in *Critique of the Gotha Programme*: Distribution according to work in socialist society "consists in the fact that measurement is made with an *equal standard*, labour." "It recognizes no class differences, because everyone is only a worker like everyone else."

Nevertheless, as mentioned above, classes and class struggle still exist in our socialist society today and this is different from the first phase of communist society where classes are already eliminated as Marx envisaged. For this reason, when it comes to wage raises and promotions, we should take into consideration how a labourer does politically on major issues in addition to using labour as a standard. We must never fail to do so, but the question lies in how we should evaluate a labourer's major political showing. Whether it is good or not depends on the fundamental stand he takes towards revolution and counter-revolution, an important aspect of which is whether he works hard and makes greater contributions to socialism.

For a person to give a good account of himself in labour and make big contributions does not mean unconditionally that he is sound politically. But one who gives a good account of himself politically cannot fail to be a good labourer making big contributions, unless he is physically handicapped. In a socialist country like ours, how can a labourer who is sound politically not work hard and make as great a contribution as possible to building socialism? As regards some labourers who have worked well but have made serious mistakes of one kind or another politically (really serious mistakes), we must take into consideration their political showing as such while correctly evaluating the work they have done, when it comes to wage raises and promotions. This way of doing things helps

educate them and the masses and raise the labourers' political consciousness.

Reforming the Current Wage System In a Planned Way

Reforming the wage system now in effect is an important task for implementing the principle "to each according to his work." Generally speaking, our wage system basically conforms to this principle and some of its basic stipulations have proved effective. This has been borne out by the past 20-odd years' experience. Nevertheless the system as practised has many imperfect and irrational aspects. Many stipulations must be restored and better carried out, such as determining wages according to a worker's skill and contributions; paying wages primarily on a time-rate basis with piece-work playing a secondary role, and with additional bonuses; and technical checkups, fixing grades and promotion. They were seriously sabotaged by the "gang of four" in the past, and in some places they existed only in name and not in reality.

As to the imperfect and irrational aspects, they must be reformed. For instance, the wage scale may not be confined to eight grades, persons with outstanding achievements need not necessarily climb the wage ladder rung by rung when their wages are being decided on or when they are to be promoted, and the wage spread may be readjusted rationally. Appropriate reforms should also be introduced in certain aspects of the bonus system, while at the same time, guarding against the tendency of some people who try to resolve every problem by means of bonuses.

In reforming the wage system, we follow the general guiding concept that socialist wages must embody the principle "to each according to his work." The key to carrying out this guiding concept lies, first of all, in bringing into full play socialist democracy and following the mass line. Leading cadres at various levels, those of the departments in charge of labour and wages in particular, must go among the masses, ask for their opinions and look into their practical problems in production and daily life. Then, on the basis of investigation and study, they should sum up the experiences gained in the past and go on to work out plans which must take overall consideration and make proper

arrangements. These plans must be first implemented on an experimental basis in certain units before they are formally enforced. When doing investigation among the masses, one must not proceed according to preconceived ideas; still less would it do for a few persons to shut themselves up in a room and think out plans for a wage reform. Plans worked out in such a way could only be products of subjectivism divorced from the masses.

A correct knowledge of the relationship between wages and the division of labour among labourers is essential to the reform of the wage system. Since wages are a form of payment for labour, differences in wages can only be a reflection of differences in the labour performed.

Then what is the relationship between the differences in wages and the division of labour among labourers? Usually, wages vary in different trades, professions and kinds of work. So it appears as if differences in wages arise from differences in trades, professions and kinds of work. Actually this is not the case. Differences in labourers' wages are not determined by trades, professions or kinds of work but by differences in average labour complexity, dexterity, intensity and degree of safety in these fields. If in all these aspects the labour in different trades, professions and kinds of work is alike, then the wages of the workers engaging in such labour should be the same. Therefore, we can only take the labour performed by labourers as the standards of wages without considering their trades, professions or kinds of work.

In a modern economy, the division of labour in production and the division of work into different trades and professions tend to be more and more minute, and various kinds of work become increasingly highly specialized. In this situation, if the standards of wages are decided in accordance with different trades, professions or different kinds of work, not only will they fail to embody the principle "to each according to his work," but they will certainly become complicated and confused. Our current wage system has defects in this respect, and we must earnestly draw useful lessons from this so that we will be able to work out simple, unified wage standards conforming to the principle "to each according to his work."

Although the average labour complexity differs from one kind of trade, profession or work to another, it does not mean that the labour of all the workers in the fields requiring less complex skill is at a low level. As a matter of fact, the performance of some of them can be much higher than the average level of labour of their trade, profession or special kind of work, and, moreover, their labour may even reach or surpass the average level of labour of the more complex trades, professions or kinds of work.

Take primary school teachers for instance. Generally, the average level of their labour is lower than that of middle school teachers. But some primary school teachers love their profession, have worked hard and devotedly for decades, have accumulated rich experiences, and are familiar with child psychology, good at making complicated things simple and adept at imparting knowledge to their pupils, thus making special contributions to the motherland in bringing up the next generation. The level of their labour is not lower than that of middle school teachers.

Every trade has its masters. There are such "masters" among primary school teachers as well as among labourers in other fields such as workers in the service trades, cooks and cleaners. In accordance with the principle "to each according to his work," workers who have performed special deeds should receive comparatively high pay commensurate with their labour.

Taking Into Account the Interests of the State, the Collective and the Individual

To constantly increase the working people's wages on the basis of the developing socialist economy is one of the concrete measures for considering the interests of the state, the collective and the individual, and is also a basic policy of our wage system. This basic policy is not the product of anybody's wish or will, but is determined by the objective law of development of the socialist economy. Constant increase in the working people's wages and continuous enlargement of consumption are not only the direct objectives of socialist production but also necessary conditions for expanded reproduction.

Production, distribution, exchange and consumption are the four closely connected links in the general process of social production

and when any one of these links is badly affected, the general process will suffer too. If working people's wages do not increase with the development of production, it indicates that something is wrong with the link of distribution. And this will directly affect exchange and consumption and, in consequence, affect expanded reproduction. Production can be continually boosted only when the working people's wages continue to rise with the expansion of production, their purchasing power uninterrupted increases, their material and cultural life steadily improves and their labour skill shows constant enhancement. The rising wages of the working people and their improved material and cultural life are important signs indicating that the socialist economy has expanded.

In the years when Lin Piao and the "gang of four" ran amuck, the working people in our country could not get the regular wage increases. Why not? The reason is precisely that the national economy stagnated for a long time as a result of their sabotaging activities. Now the Party Central Committee has decided that the policy of increasing wages regularly should be restored. As our national economy develops and labour productivity increases, our working people's wages will rise gradually. It should be noted that even if the wages of the working masses are raised, their pay is still low. Our low-wage policy is a long-term policy which



we will follow in the course of building socialism. Ours is an economically backward country, and in order to speed up economic development it is necessary to accumulate as much as possible within the permissible limits. So the low-wage policy is in conformity with the long-term interests of the entire Chinese people and therefore enjoys their support.

To take into account the interests of the state, the collective and the individual, we must constantly study the proportion between accumulation and consumption and make rational adjustments.

"To each according to his work" refers to the distribution of consumer goods among individuals after various deductions from the total social products are made. The magnitude of these deductions has a direct bearing on the amount to be distributed among individuals according to their work. If too great a portion is deducted, so that accumulation is excessive, and the part left for distribution becomes too small, it is bound to have an adverse effect on the labouring masses' enthusiasm for production, restrict the expansion of the domestic market, and hamper the growth of production, with the result that not more but less accumulation will be possible. This is also true conversely. Therefore deductions must be reasonable, and the proportion between accumulation and consumption must be appropriate.

Raising the Level of Economic Management

Socialist economic management should bring into full play the superiority of the socialist system, organize the productive forces scientifically, make the most rational arrangement of production, distribution, exchange and consumption and ensure the most effective use of manpower and materials so as to continually raise labour productivity and achieve the greatest economic results.

The management of the socialist economy must keep up with socialist economic development and must have a complete set of management systems and methods which conform to the laws of economic development. Methods adopted for managing small production cannot be applied to modern socialist production, nor can the economy be managed in the same way that political, military and cultural affairs are

handled. Socialist economic management is a new branch of science. It is necessary for the leading cadres of the Party at all levels and particularly cadres doing economic work to learn and master this science as soon as possible. In his *On the Ten Major Relationships*, Chairman Mao called on as early as 1956 all the comrades in the Party to learn socialist economic management and learn from foreign countries all that is scientific in their economic management. In the last 20 years or so, we have learnt a lot, accumulated a rich fund of experience and established a set of management systems and methods basically suited to the conditions in China.

But taken as a whole, our management is still very backward, low in efficiency, and, what is more, it was in a state of serious confusion due to sabotage by the "gang of four." However, modernization of industry and agriculture urgently calls for modern management, thus intensifying the contradiction between the backward management and the expanding economy. To solve the contradiction quickly, one of the pressing tasks facing us now is to reinstitute all the management systems and methods that have proved effective in practice and make great efforts to learn what we do not yet know about modern management so as to greatly enhance our level of economic management.

The economic managerial level directly affects the implementation of the principle "to each according to his work." Since the principle requires that consumer goods should be distributed among the working people according to the amount of labour they supply, there must be a scientific calculation of and strict checkup on the amount and quality of labour, and to do this it needs strict management of production quotas as well as strict planning and financial systems. This is necessary for timework or piecework wages and bonuses. With confusion in management, with no rationally fixed personnel or production quotas and without strict systems in regard to the responsibilities of various work posts, without technical checkups, inspection of quality of products, planning and financing, there will be no way of prescribing and calculating the amount and quality of labour and no way of ensuring a given amount of pay for a given amount of labour. And the distribution according

to work with labour as its measurement will be deprived of its foundation.

Under these circumstances, although nominally wage-earners are paid on the basis of time or piecework with bonuses, there will give rise to such things as equalitarianism, less work with more pay, more work with less pay, and even pay for no work done and work done without pay. Consequently, "to each according to his work" will exist only in name and not in reality.

Therefore, constantly raising the level of economic management is essential to applying the principle "to each according to his work." A strict system to check up the work of the managerial personnel and other cadres should also be established and rewards and penalties should be given with discrimination. This is important to the raising of our economic managerial level and the all-round application of distribution according to work. Moreover the system itself embodies this kind of distribution. Those who do a good job and those who render bad service should be paid differently after their work is carefully examined. Cadres with outstanding achievements may be promoted by more than one grade while those who have had no success for several years and have caused losses to the state and the people, if not due to irresistible objective causes, should be removed from their posts.

The Party Central Committee has decided that enterprises which have fulfilled in an all-round way the eight economic and technical targets should take an appropriate portion of their profits to be used for collective welfare. This is a reward given by the state to the workers and staff members of these enterprises. This is also of great significance for further improving management as well as the state of affairs in the enterprise as a whole.

It should be noted that there are some enterprises where, as a result of bad management, output is low, quality of products poor, costs are high, waste is serious, losses are huge, and accidents occur from time to time. Yet, in face of this grave situation, some persons responsible for these enterprises remain indifferent and behave as though there wasn't a thing wrong. They collect their pay and have three meals a day as usual, as if they had no respon-

sibility at all to the state and the people. A situation like this is certainly impermissible in our socialist country. If merits are not rewarded and wrongs not penalized, how can the people be encouraged to advance and how can the four modernizations be brought about?

It should also be pointed out that, as a result of the "gang of four's" undermining the Party's policies, gross violations of policy and transgressions of law and discipline still exist in the work of economic management. In agriculture, for instance, some counties and people's communes freely ask for manpower, money, material and grain from the production brigades and teams; some communes and production brigades and teams do not fix quotas for farm work, nor do they practise the work-point system or carry out the policy of equal pay for equal work irrespective of sex. In these units democracy in production and financial affairs is neglected, erroneous directives are issued in respect to production, exchange and distribution, and squandering of public wealth, even embezzlement and theft, go unchecked. Similar cases also exist in various state enterprises. All these seriously obstruct implementation of the principle "to each according to his work," the development of production and improvement of the people's livelihood. All these detrimental things must be rectified resolutely, completely and speedily.

Lenin often said that "a policy based on principle is the only correct policy." (J.V. Stalin, *Lenin*.) "To each according to his work" is such a policy. All the comrades in the Party must act in accordance with the strategic decision of the Party Central Committee to publicize in a big way this socialist principle and resolutely put it into effect, launch socialist labour emulation campaigns and bring about a new upsurge in socialist construction. This is one of the most important tasks for speeding up the development of industrial and agricultural production and making China a modern, powerful socialist country by the end of the century.

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Interview With Artists of the Tibetan Song and Dance Troupe

We are publishing here this interview by our staff reporter on the eve of the troupe's departure for North European countries with a view to giving friends abroad some idea about Tibetan music and dance. — Ed.

Reporter: Would you tell us something about your troupe?

Chiangtsunlopu (Tibetan, leader of the troupe): We have a company of singers, a dance ensemble, a band playing Chinese national musical instruments and a Western-style orchestra. The 40-odd people on the present tour are only part of our troupe.

Singing and dancing comes natural to the Tibetan people and they are good at it. Up until 1951, the year of the peaceful liberation of Tibet, however, except for a few folk artists we had no professional artists of our own. This troupe was brought together soon after the founding of the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region in 1956 and reflects the concern shown by the Party and state for developing the culture of the national minorities. The overwhelming majority of the members are Tibetans, while a few are Hans, Lopas, Huis and Mongolians. Our main work is to collect, revise, compose and stage Tibetan songs and dances.

In Tibet, there are now altogether 11 professional literary and art organizations plus several hundred more amateur performing groups made up of peasants and herdsmen.

Reporter: What's your plan of activities for the North European tour?

Troupe leader: Apart from performing Tibetan folk music and dances, we also wish to learn

from our fellow artists there and from the people in general. Our aim is to promote cultural exchange, and to increase friendship and understanding between peoples.

Reporter: What sort of items are there in your programme?

Tsetan Drolma (a Tibetan woman, deputy leader of the troupe): Art itself, shall I say, is a mirror of life. As you may know, in the last two decades or so, Tibet has experienced a leap from the feudal serf system to socialism. The serfs of yesterday have become masters of their own destiny. Many of our items reflect this tremendous change in their lives from various different angles.

Pasangtzujen (Tibetan, leader of the dance ensemble): One of the dances in which I take part is called *Harvest Night*, describing a joyous scene in a Tibetan village after the *chingko* barley (main Tibetan food grain) has been gathered in. This item first appeared in 1959, the year when the Dalai clique's rebellion* was quelled. For the first time, a million serfs who had been enslaved for generations and led lives like beasts of burden or worse, received the fruits of labour that rightly belonged to them. On the stage you will see life-like scenes of how this was actually celebrated that very year with the liberated serfs singing and dancing to their

* Scrapping the Agreement on Measures for the Peaceful Liberation of Tibet signed in 1951 between the Tibetan local authorities and the Central People's Government, the former Tibetan local government and the reactionary clique of the upper social strata with Dalai as their ringleader started an armed rebellion in March 1959. With help from Tibetan people of all walks of life, the People's Liberation Army speedily put down the rebellion.



Tsetan Drolma.

hearts' content, holding high mugs of new wine in their hands.

Another dance item, entitled *On the Threshing-Ground*, was created in 1974. This was the year in which we Tibetans succeeded for the first time in growing winter wheat and getting high yields in many places some 4,000 metres above sea level which have a cold climate. After that Tibet no longer had to ship in food grains from other parts of the country.

Oh yes, there is also a duet, about a father and his daughter on an excursion to liberated Lhasa. They sing praises of what they see — the newly built power station, the network of electric wires, factories, and cadres and peasants working together in the fields. The scenes and the people are all new to them, and their reactions are hilarious.

Troupe leader: Pasangtzujuen is one of the fine dancers of our troupe and the principal dancer in two of our tour items. He is also one of the troupe's choreographers. And Tsaichen, she is another outstanding dancer of our troupe, the principal dancer in *On the Threshing-Ground*. In this performance, and another one *Washing Clothes*, she is just wonderful!

Tsaichen (a Tibetan woman): Ah, *Washing Clothes*! You'll see for yourself how the Tibetan people get along with the Liberation Army. In fact, this is a general theme in most of the Tibetan literary and art works today, because

these army men have been close to the working people of Tibet in every field of endeavour — in overthrowing the serf system and in building roads, bridges, industrial plants and farmland water conservancy projects. They are dear to the Tibetan working people.

In this dance, you'll see a pageant of young girls carrying buckets on their backs to fetch water from a river where a P.L.A. squad leader is washing clothes for his comrades. These girls want to lend a hand but the squad leader politely refuses their offer. Suddenly one of the girls hurts her foot. The squad leader insists on taking her to a doctor. The other girls seize this opportunity to wash all the clothes, but when they turn around they find their water buckets missing. The squad leader happened to learn that the girl with the injured foot is kidding him, so he manages to take away the buckets unnoticed and fetches water for them. This comic item with rich national flavour is very popular in Tibet and elsewhere in the country.

Tsetan Drolma: We also have many other items showing the joy of the people after liberation, the great vigour of our peasants and herdsmen, the happiness of our young men and women and their ideals. One of the songs runs like this: "We sang in the past as we do now, but then our tears of bitterness flowed like a river. Slaves of yesterday have become masters, who can match our happiness now?" In short, our programme includes items representing various forms of folk music and dances from every part of Tibet.

Reporter: Can you tell me something about the distinctive artistic features of Tibetan songs and dances?

Pasangtzujuen: Well, there are at least several dozen different kinds of traditional Tibetan dances and they usually are accompanied by singing.

You will see a kind of tap-dance popular in Lhasa, round dances enjoyed by countryfolk in southern Tibet, and folk dances from other parts of the region too. Some are very sentimental and elegant, some vigorous and unrestrained, some with a variety of movements, and some very difficult to perform, at once very agile and graceful. One of the dances we adapted

from a certain folk dance with the male dancers ringing bronze bells in their right hands and the female ones beating drums. Their changing and lively rhythms plus the dancers' rapid pirouettes all create a warm and joyous atmosphere of prosperity in the countryside and highlight our people's vivaciousness.

Of course we don't simply copy every detail of these traditional dances. We have made an effort to refine them and develop them into something new so that they can depict the everyday life of today still better. For instance, some of the old folk dances, though fine and graceful, are somewhat languid in their movements and steps. They are fairly restrained, which in some cases renders them simple and monotonous. This is because dances of the old days are to some extent an artistic expression of the miserable lives of the serfs. So we took over the best parts of these dances; the other parts, we rearranged or did over.

There is a dance in which young girls try to express the happiness of their lives. For this,

An Excursion to New Lhasa.



Washing Clothes.



Tzutan.

we designed sweeping movements of their long sleeves. Choreography for two of the dancers involves mimicking peafowls drinking water; this suggests the idea that life is just as beautiful and iridescent as the flaring tail feathers of the peacock.

Tzutan (Tibetan, flute soloist): Among the people of my nationality, singing is just as popular as dancing. The words of our folk songs are brief but lyrical, their melodies, flowing and pleasant. Most of our singers have their own individual singing styles that produce especially pleasing effects.

Singing accompanied by a six-stringed instrument is a traditional form of musical performance in Tibet. This instrument is called the *chamunieh*, which in Tibetan means "pleasant sound." It is made of wood, shaped like a split gourd, and covered with a sheepskin. When

On the Threshing-Ground, Tsaichen is second on the left.



plucked it gives a very melodious sound. It is featured in an item specially written for friends abroad. The players pluck the strings and sing, meanwhile doing a tap-dance to their own accompaniment, in expression of their warm-hearted, friendly feelings for the foreign audience.

Reporter: Could you people tell me something about yourselves? For example, how did you happen to become members of this troupe?

Tsetan Drolma: I used to sing on the mountain-side when I was about 13 or 14 herding sheep for a serf-owner. I gave vent to sorrow over the sufferings of the Tibetan people. For instance, one of the songs says: "Let the whole mountain turn into butter, but only aristocrats can enjoy it. Suppose the river flows with milk, for us, there's not a mouthful."

After liberation I wanted to join a local group of performing artists and was admitted. In 1958 I was sent to study voice at the Shanghai Conservatory under expert tutorship. My teacher was a music professor of Han nationality who had been a researcher in the music of minority peoples, folk music and local operas. Over a period of time, with her help I gradually mastered the scientific techniques of vocal art while retaining my original style of singing. I finished my studies there in 1964 and joined the troupe the same year.

Troupe leader: Comrade Tsetan is an accomplished singer. She is also a deputy head of the Cultural Bureau of the Tibet Autonomous Region. Early this year she attended as a deputy the Fifth National People's Congress, the highest organ of state power, and was elected a Member of its Standing Committee. This is her 11th overseas performance tour.

Pasangtzujeu: I was born in an impoverished serf family 34 years ago. My father worked for an aristocrat as a stone-cutter and stone mason. My mother's job was dyeing and weaving a kind of apron worn by Tibetan women. They were often required to do corvee for the aristocrats in addition to paying heavy taxes. The stone house we lived in was owned by a lamasery and the rent was fabulously high.

At seven I left home and became a seasonal worker. Later, at nine, I became a houseboy and served several estate owners in the ensuing years. I was insulted and beaten up as often as not. I couldn't put up with this and escaped several times. Finally, in 1956, I approached an artists' group near by and asked to be admitted. My request was granted! I was 12 at the time.

Like a bird out of a cage I started my new work. I was free at last! What is more, I began to feel the warmth of the revolutionary ranks. The group was made up of Liberation Army-men, and some other literary and art workers, both Han and Tibetan. They took me under their wing and made a big fuss of me. As for living expenses, I no longer had to worry. It was there I started learning how to read and write.

I began training to become a dancer. I liked it a lot and studied very hard. That year in the summer nine other child performers and I went on stage in Lhasa, and at the end of the year we went to perform in Peking. We were beside ourselves with excitement over our first visit to the capital!

One day Chairman Mao came to see our performance; he said that our dancing in praise of the new life of the Tibetan children was highly successful. We went mad with joy.

Harvest Night, Pasangtzujeu on the left.



Spring is here on the plateau.



Later ten of us were sent to study at the performing arts department under the Central Institute for Nationalities and five years later after graduation I came to join this troupe.

Tsaichen: I come from an aristocratic family in Shigatse. I too have been taken good care of by the state since I was a child. I can feel the warmth of the Party's policy towards nationalities and its united front policy*.

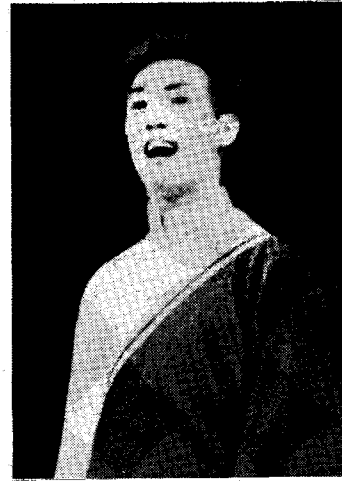
I came to Peking with my mother in 1954 when I was seven. She was then a member of a visiting delegation which included patriotic people like her. After the visit, at my own request, I was admitted to the same performing arts department. Like the other students there I was looked after well. After seven years of strict training I became a professional dancer.

In all these years, the troupe I belong to has been giving regular performances in Lhasa and other cities, and besides, goes to the countryside, the pastoral areas or frontier regions every year. Close ties with workers, peasants and soldiers have made it possible for us to relate to them emotionally and this has given me greater powers of expression in dancing. I must say that my life as an artist is really a happy one.

Chang Liu-chu (Han, tenor): I was a student of the Shanghai Conservatory majoring in voice. Upon my graduation in 1960, the conservatory asked me if I would agree to go to Tibet where educated people were needed in all fields. I reminded myself that to a young person, all four points of the compass were the same, as an old saying has it. So I said all right.

I started out. On the way I got mountain sick and had to be hospitalized. Once when I was beginning to feel better I heard some people singing. I was struck with admiration. They

* After the signing of the Agreement on Measures for the Peaceful Liberation of Tibet in 1951 between the Central People's Government and the Tibetan local government, the Chinese Communist Party implemented a united front policy in Tibet for the purpose of arousing the enthusiasm of all positive factors and isolating the enemy who constituted a small handful. All who opposed imperialism, loved the country and supported the agreement, including members of the feudal aristocracy, the upper religious hierarchy and serf-owners, were to be united with.



Chang Liu-chu.

were peasants working in the field near by. I was enthralled even before my musical career in Tibet had started. And to this day this singing of theirs still rings in my ears.

Since coming to this troupe I have been deeply absorbed in studying Tibetan folk songs.

Here is truly a "sea of songs and dances." Wherever there are people working, they are heard singing — singing on the mountains, on the grasslands, at drinking bouts, in the fields, when weaving the traditional Tibetan woollen cloth, while building houses — just everywhere. All kinds of folk songs fill the air when people are doing different kinds of work.

I have come to know my Tibetan compatriots better through songs and have decided to devote myself to Tibetan literature and art. I like to chat with old folk artists in Lhasa, and have learnt a lot from them. I always have a good time at the traditional Tibetan festivals and join them in their singing and celebrating.

I have studied the Tibetan language and Tibetan local operas as planned and have also learnt some of the folk dances. All this is a big help to me in my efforts to master the style of Tibetan folk singing, and at the same time has brought out more power of expression in my own singing. My plan for the future is to improve my technique in vocal art, and study the style and distinctive features of Tibetan folk music so that I can serve the Tibetan people still better.

China Seeks Settlement Through Consultation of Question of Chinese Nationals in Viet Nam

— Speech by Chung Hsi-tung, leader of Chinese Government Delegation, at First Session of China-Viet Nam Talks on Question of Chinese Nationals

• An agreement in principle was reached between the Chinese and Vietnamese Parties in 1955 on the question of Chinese residents in Viet Nam. What is at issue is that since Viet Nam won nationwide liberation it has departed from this agreement.

• China hopes to settle the dispute through consultation. This will be in Viet Nam's interest and in China's interest, and it will please the people the world over.

IN accordance with the agreement between the Government of China and the Government of Viet Nam, we are starting today the negotiations between the two Governments on the question of Chinese nationals residing in Viet Nam.

China and Viet Nam are linked by common mountains and rivers. For several thousand years, our two peoples have on the whole been close as brothers and kinsmen, learning from each other, supporting each other and carrying on a continual friendly exchange. In the last century or so, both our peoples suffered from colonial rule and imperialist aggression and oppression, and they were closely united by a common lot and shared fighting goals. Early in this century when darkness reigned in our two countries, revolutionaries of the two countries sought truth in Marxism together like comrades and brothers sharing weal and woe. Whether in waging revolutionary wars against colonial rule and imperialist aggression and for national independence and the people's liberation, or in carrying on postwar reconstruction, the Chinese and Vietnamese peoples shed blood

and sweat together and encouraged and supported each other. When Viet Nam was fighting its war of resistance against U.S. aggression and for national salvation, the Chinese people's great leader Chairman Mao Tsetung solemnly declared: "The 700 million Chinese people provide a powerful backing for the Vietnamese people; the vast expanse of China's territory is their reliable rear area." The Vietnamese people's great leader President Ho Chi Minh warmly extolled the great friendship between the two countries and peoples in the moving line: "Profound is the friendship between China and Viet Nam, who are both brothers and comrades." The fraternal friendship and militant solidarity between the two peoples forged and nurtured personally by Chairman Mao Tsetung and President Ho Chi Minh have stood the rigorous test posed by the flames of arduous and protracted revolutionary war and struck roots in the hearts of the two peoples. To continue to uphold this revolutionary friendship and solidarity is the common desire of the two peoples and accords with their fundamental interests. Therefore, the Chinese Government and people will, as always, treasure and protect this friendship and solidarity and will make unremitting efforts towards this end. That the Chinese Government Delegation has now come to Hanoi to discuss with the Vietnamese Government Delegation the question of Chinese nationals residing in Viet Nam is another important step taken by the Chinese side with a view to upholding this friendship.

In recent years, owing to reasons not arising from our side, China-Viet Nam relations and the traditional friendship between the two

China-Viet Nam Talks on Chinese Nationals

CHINA and Viet Nam held talks at vice-foreign minister level in Hanoi on August 8 on the question of Chinese residents in Viet Nam, according to an agreement reached by the two Governments.

Vietnamese Vice-Foreign Minister and leader of the Vietnamese Government Delegation Hoang Bich Son chaired the first session. He also spoke first.

This was followed by a speech by Vice-Foreign Minister and leader of the Chinese Government Delegation Chung Hsi-tung. Then, Hoang Bich Son spoke again and denied that the Vietnamese side had changed its previous position on the question of Chinese residents in Viet Nam. He refused to admit that Chinese residents were expelled by Viet Nam and said that he will comment in detail in the next session.

Chung Hsi-tung then told his counterpart: "I've made my point clear in my speech. It may very well be summed up thus: A review of the present and recollections of the past fill us with painful feelings. But painful feelings cannot solve anything. Therefore, we'll have to seek ways and means of settling the differences which have already arisen."

peoples have been gravely impaired. Even the question of Chinese residents has now become an issue between the two countries. This is something we deplore.

But it is our view that ways should be found to close the chasm now that it has appeared, and that the dispute should be settled at an early date now that it has begun. This will be in Viet Nam's interest and in China's interest, and it will please the peoples of the world. We have come to Hanoi precisely for the purpose of upholding the friendship between

our peoples and seeking a settlement of the dispute.

China Consistently Observes Agreement Between Chinese and Vietnamese Parties

The Chinese Government's policy on the question of Chinese nationals residing abroad is clear and consistent, namely, it favours and encourages them to adopt the nationality of their country of residence on a voluntary basis but, at the same time, it is opposed to the practice of forcing them to change their nationality. All those who have voluntarily adopted or have acquired the nationality of their country of residence forfeit automatically their Chinese nationality. In the case of people who elect to retain their Chinese nationality, we enjoin them to abide by the laws of their country of residence, respect the customs and habits of the local people and live in amity with them. The Chinese Government is duty-bound to protect their proper rights and interests, and it is hoped that the countries concerned will also guarantee these rights and interests.

Owing to historical reasons, there are over 1 million Chinese nationals living in north and south Viet Nam. In 1955, in the spirit of proletarian internationalism and in keeping with China's consistent policy on the question of Chinese nationals residing abroad, the Chinese Communist Party exchanged views with the Vietnam Workers' Party on such questions as the nationality and the rights and duties of the Chinese residing in Viet Nam, and an agreement in principle was reached after repeated consultations. The two sides acknowledged that the Chinese residents in north Viet Nam, on condition of their enjoying equal rights as the Vietnamese and after being given sustained and patient persuasion and ideological education, may gradually become citizens of Viet Nam on a voluntary basis. As to the question of Chinese residents in south Viet Nam, that was to be resolved through consultations between the two countries after the liberation of south Viet Nam.

The 1955 agreement gave expression to China's consistent stand of favouring and encouraging Chinese nationals living abroad to adopt the nationality of their country of residence on a voluntary basis and opposing the

practice of forcing them to **change their nationality**. It showed the sincere desire of the Chinese side to enhance the fraternal friendship between the Chinese and Vietnamese peoples and its active support of and complete trust in the Vietnamese side.

In implementing the agreement between the two Parties, the Chinese side has, over the last two decades and more, made a tremendous effort and taken a series of important measures to help in many ways the Vietnamese Government in guiding the overseas Chinese on to the course of adopting Vietnamese nationality on a voluntary basis. For instance, leadership over the organizations, schools and newspapers run by the Chinese residents in north Viet Nam were turned over to the Vietnamese side; Chinese residents wishing to return to China to visit their relatives should first apply with the Vietnamese side before approaching the Chinese Embassy for approval and issuance of certificates, etc. Whenever our Party and state leaders visited Viet Nam they would invariably meet with representatives of the Chinese residents, encouraging them through patient persuasion and ideological work to adopt Vietnamese nationality on a voluntary basis. All this is very clear to the Vietnamese Government and proves that the Chinese side has been sincere and consistent in implementing the agreement between the two Parties. It is very much our hope that more and more Chinese residents in Viet Nam will adopt Vietnamese nationality and make a positive contribution, along with the Vietnamese people, to Viet Nam's revolution and construction, and help to make Viet Nam strong and prosperous economically and culturally. In the case of those who have retained their Chinese nationality, we have always enjoined them to abide by Vietnamese laws, respect the customs and habits of the local people, live in amity with them and serve as a bridge in promoting friendship between the Chinese and Vietnamese peoples. The masses of Chinese nationals residing in Viet Nam have done so over the years, and this is gratifying to us.

Agreement Implementation Basically Good Before Viet Nam's Nationwide Liberation

We were gratified too by the fact that, for quite a long time, the Vietnamese Party and

Government had also implemented this agreement in earnest. It was the consistent position of President Ho Chi Minh that Chinese residents should adopt Vietnamese nationality only on a voluntary basis, and this position had been endorsed and supported by the Vietnamese Party and Government. In order gradually to guide the Chinese residents on to the course of adopting Vietnamese nationality on a voluntary basis, the Vietnamese Party repeatedly stressed in its documents that "the adoption of Vietnamese nationality by Chinese should be a purely voluntary decision, and there should be no coercion whatsoever," and that "those who are not yet willing to adopt Vietnamese nationality are still allowed all rights and may not be discriminated against. It is absolutely impermissible to use harsh orders to compel them or slight them." It was further affirmed that politically Chinese residents in Viet Nam would enjoy the same rights and have the same duties as the Vietnamese, that economically they would enjoy the freedom of engaging in lawful industrial and commercial undertakings, that culturally they would enjoy the freedom of running schools and papers and that their ways and customs would be respected. Undoubtedly, this stand taken by the Vietnamese side at the time was entirely correct.

Regarding Chinese residents in south Viet Nam, the reactionary Ngo Dinh Diem regime promulgated decrees in August 1956 compelling them to renounce their Chinese nationality and adopt Vietnamese nationality. In May 1957, the Commission of Overseas Chinese Affairs of the People's Republic of China issued a statement which strongly denounced and gravely protested this arbitrary measure taken by the reactionary authorities in south Viet Nam to forcibly change the nationality of the Chinese residents. The Democratic Republic of Viet Nam endorsed and supported this just Chinese stand at that time. *Nhan Dan*, organ of the Workers' Party of Viet Nam, published an article saying that "the action of the Ngo Dinh Diem clique to compel Chinese residents in south Viet Nam to adopt Vietnamese nationality is a dictatorial and fascist act in serious contravention of international law." In its policy statements and other relevant documents published in 1960, 1964, 1965 and 1968, the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation laid down that

"all decrees and measures of the U.S.-puppet regime regarding Chinese residents shall be abrogated," and that "Chinese residents have the freedom and right to choose their nationality." Undoubtedly, this stand of the Vietnamese side at that time was also entirely correct.

Thanks to the consultations and co-operation between the Chinese and Vietnamese sides, the implementation of the agreement between the two Parties was in the main good up till the end of Viet Nam's war of resistance against U.S. aggression and for national salvation in 1975. It had been our hope that following the nationwide liberation of Viet Nam, the principles in the agreement between the two Parties would be implemented with greater success, that all objectives envisaged therein could be attained more quickly, and that the question of Chinese residents in south Viet Nam could be settled smoothly through consultations.

Viet Nam Has Changed Its Policy Towards Chinese Residents

Contrary to our expectations, however, the Vietnamese side gradually departed from the 1955 agreement between the Chinese and Vietnamese Parties after the liberation of the whole country. Regarding the Chinese residents in south Viet Nam, the Vietnamese side, backtracking from its correct and publicly announced stand and without consulting the Chinese side, made public a decision in February 1976, compelling all Chinese residents in south Viet Nam to register under the nationality illegally imposed upon them during the rule of Ngo Dinh Diem and flagrantly enforced all kinds of harsh restrictions on those Chinese residents who elected to retain their Chinese nationality, ostracizing and persecuting them.

Regarding Chinese residents in north Viet Nam, the Vietnamese side likewise ceased to honour the provision in the agreement between the two Parties in 1955 that Chinese residents should enjoy the same rights and have the same duties as Vietnamese citizens, but instead discriminated against, ostracized and persecuted them. Many were deprived of the right to employment and education, sacked without just cause, and had their residence registration cancelled and food rations stopped. Even

those who had adopted Vietnamese nationality suffered a similar fate. And even persons who had joined the Workers' Party of Viet Nam and enlisted in your army in the early years and who had contributed to Viet Nam's revolution and construction were expelled from the Party and the ranks of cadres under a host of pretexts. Starting early in 1977, the Vietnamese side took the further step of pushing a policy of "purifying the border areas" in the provinces adjacent to China, a policy directed against China, and started in a planned way to expel back to China groups of Chinese residents as well as border inhabitants who had moved from China to settle down in Viet Nam a long time ago.

In view of the fact that the actions of the Vietnamese side in dealing with the Chinese residents departed from the 1955 agreement and proceeding from its consistent stand of upholding the traditional friendship between the two countries, the Chinese side made the well-intentioned proposal for holding confidential consultations in the hope that a timely solution could be found. In his talks with a Vietnamese leader in June 1977, a Chinese leader had pointed out sincerely that, in accordance with the 1955 agreement between the two Parties, the gradual adoption of Vietnamese nationality by Chinese residents in Viet Nam could only take place on a voluntary basis, and that forcible naturalization should be avoided. For a long time in the past, this question was handled in a rather satisfactory way because the two sides consulted and co-operated with each other. But after the liberation of south Viet Nam, the Vietnamese side resorted to forcible measures to effect the naturalization of Chinese residents there, and, in the case of those who elected to retain their Chinese nationality, the Vietnamese side took such measures as the levying of exorbitant taxes and was even prepared to deprive them of the right of continued residence in Viet Nam. This ran counter to the long-standing practice of the two countries working in co-operation and was, moreover, a violation of the agreement between the two Parties on gradually effecting the naturalization of Chinese residents in Viet Nam through education. The Chinese leader went on to point out that all countries were obliged to protect the proper rights and inter-

ests. of their nationals residing abroad. The Chinese side was put in a difficult position because the Vietnamese side, without previous consultation, unilaterally took measures to effect the forcible naturalization of Chinese residents in Viet Nam. The Chinese leader went on to say in all candour to the Vietnamese leader that the Chinese side would very much like to see the adoption of Vietnamese nationality by Chinese residents there, and that he said this in all honesty. On that occasion, the Vietnamese leader stated that the 1955 agreement between the two Parties was most reasonable and that the best thing to do would be to revert to that agreement.

Subsequent developments show, however, that the Vietnamese side had no intention of putting into effect what its leader said in China. In fact, the Vietnamese side went farther down the road of violating the agreement between the two Parties. Not only did the Vietnamese side expel Chinese border inhabitants and Chinese nationals living in its border regions, but it gradually extended this to Chinese residents in all parts of Viet Nam, persecuting and expelling them en masse and making it impossible for tens of thousands of Chinese residents to stay on and make a living in Viet Nam.

In recent years, the Chinese side has all along exercised maximum restraint in regard to these actions of the Vietnamese side in the hope that the latter would stop such erroneous practices detrimental to the traditional friendship between the Chinese and Vietnamese peoples, and it has repeatedly tried to dissuade the Vietnamese side from such actions in confidential representations. After the talks between the Chinese leader and the leader of the Vietnamese Government in June 1977, the departments in charge of foreign affairs under the revolutionary committees of Kwangsi Chuang Autonomous Region and Yunnan Province took up on many occasions with Viet Nam's Consulates-General in Nanning and Kunming from October 1977 to March 1978 the matter of the Vietnamese side's expelling border inhabitants and Chinese residents into Chinese territory and expressed the hope that the Vietnamese side would take immediate measures to prevent the recurrence of similar

incidents. Meanwhile, the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs also made several representations to the Vietnamese Embassy in China conveying the sincere request that the Vietnamese side value the friendship between China and Viet Nam and stop its unfriendly practice. When the Vietnamese side redoubled its efforts to expel border inhabitants and Chinese residents in April this year, the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs again made representations to the Vietnamese Embassy in China to dissuade the Vietnamese Government from such practice.

It is disappointing that these efforts of the Chinese side failed completely to elicit due response from the Vietnamese side. Contrary to our hopes, the Vietnamese side escalated their ostracism of Chinese residents, and the expulsion of Chinese residents grew in magnitude, with as many as four or five thousand Chinese residents being driven back in a single day on some occasions. So far, a total of more than 160,000 Chinese residents have been driven back to China. Confronted with this situation, the Chinese side had to take emergency measures and surmount numerous difficulties to make necessary provisions in their behalf. It is evident that, by its action, the Vietnamese side has not only afflicted great sufferings upon these Chinese residents but also created great difficulties for the Chinese side.

It can thus be seen that the Chinese residents in Viet Nam who have been compelled to return to China cannot at all be held responsible either for the current sad plight of the masses of Chinese residents in Viet Nam or for the fact that the question of the Chinese residents has become a serious issue between China and Viet Nam, for they are innocent victims, and even less can the responsibility for this state of affairs be placed on the Chinese side. The countercharges made by the Vietnamese side to cover up the truth of its massive persecution and expulsion of Chinese residents and the various flimsy allegations which it has levelled against China will prove to be futile.

Events show that the reason why the China-Viet Nam dispute on the question of Chinese residents has attracted world attention and why it has been aggravated to the present

extent can be found entirely in the fact that after the liberation of the whole of its country, the Vietnamese side departed from the 1955 agreement between the two Parties and changed its policy with regard to the Chinese nationals residing in Viet Nam. This act of the Vietnamese side has damaged the fraternal ties between the Chinese residents and the Vietnamese people and badly hurt the friendly feelings between the two peoples. It has deeply pained the Chinese people.

Owing to historical reasons, there are Chinese nationals or citizens of Chinese origin living in many countries of the world. Many of these countries differ from China both in ideology and social system. China is a socialist country and has advocated and pursued the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence in its external relations. We have always enjoined Chinese nationals residing abroad not to get involved in the politics of their country of residence. We do not permit nor will we try to use Chinese nationals and foreign citizens of Chinese origin to interfere in the internal affairs of other countries or do anything against the government of their country of residence. This holds true not only in China's relations with other countries, but all the more so with regard to Viet Nam, which has a profound traditional friendship with China. This is a fact which everyone can see.

Most Urgent to Stop Persecuting and Expelling Chinese Residents

It is much against our wish to see the present grave state of affairs when Viet Nam persecutes and expels Chinese nationals and damages the traditional friendship between the two peoples. We call on the Vietnamese Government to return to the principles embodied in the agreement between the two Parties and desist from actions which grieve friends but gladden enemies. At present, a matter of utmost urgency is to stop in practice the persecution and expulsion of Chinese residents. We believe that if the Vietnamese side should do so, the masses of Chinese residents would not willingly forsake a land in which they have lived for many generations, for they highly cherish their profound friendship with the Vietnamese people forged in the course of common struggles.

We hereby reiterate that China's policy towards its nationals residing abroad, including those residing in Viet Nam, remains unchanged. We still encourage the voluntary adoption of Vietnamese nationality by Chinese nationals residing in Viet Nam. The Chinese Government will, as before, faithfully honour the 1955 agreement between the Chinese and Vietnamese Parties. In keeping with the spirit of the principles embodied in that agreement, we are ready to join the Vietnamese Government Delegation in studying and seeking ways of settling the question of Chinese nationals residing in Viet Nam. We hope that the Vietnamese Government will keep to its long-time practice in the past of really letting the Chinese nationals and people of Chinese origin residing in north Viet Nam enjoy the same rights and have the same duties as Vietnamese citizens, so that they may voluntarily and without apprehensions become Vietnamese citizens and be loyal to Viet Nam and the Vietnamese people. As regards the Chinese residents in south Viet Nam, we hope that the Chinese and Vietnamese sides will both adhere to their previous shared position of not endorsing any of the arbitrary, unreasonable and fascist acts of the reactionary Ngo Dinh Diem regime against Chinese residents and, on this basis, undertake friendly consultations to seek a reasonable settlement of the question of Chinese residents in south Viet Nam, also in the spirit of the 1955 agreement between the two Parties.

The Chinese Government and people have always cherished the friendship and solidarity between the Chinese and Vietnamese peoples. Friendship and solidarity between China and Viet Nam and between the two peoples is in the interest of both of them, whereas a split and antagonism hurts their interests. It is impermissible to let the dispute between China and Viet Nam on the question of Chinese residents continue to harm our relations and erode the traditional friendship of our two peoples. Our two Governments were able in the last 20 years and more to consult and co-operate with each other on the question of Chinese residents and to implement the 1955 agreement between the two Parties to the benefit of both our peoples and enhancement of our solidarity and friendly relations. Why

is it not possible for us today to continue to implement the principles of the 1955 agreement between the two Parties and settle our differences on the question of Chinese residents through consultations on an equal footing?

It is our belief that so long as the two sides deem it important to uphold the

friendship between the Chinese and Vietnamese peoples and entertain the genuine desire of settling the question before us, the current negotiations between the two Governments will surely achieve satisfactory results.

(Subheads by "Peking Review")



"Theory and Politics" (Argentine)

Current International Situation

An editorial entitled "On the International Situation" was published in No. 20 (November 1977 — January 1978) of "Theory and Politics," central theoretical organ of the Argentine Revolutionary Communist Party. Excerpts from the article follow. Subheads are ours. — Ed.

UNDoubtedly the questions crucial to all aspects of the present world situation are: Is the policy of the superpowers, the Soviet Union in particular, one of peace or war? Is the world situation characterized by the "trend towards detente" as social-imperialist propagandists repeatedly claim or by an unavoidable trend towards a new world war brought on by the escalating contention between the two imperialist powers, the Soviet Union and the United States, for world hegemony?

Facts prove beyond dispute that the two superpowers, the Soviet Union especially, are intensifying their war preparations and ceaselessly stockpiling and modernizing their weapons. How can people believe that such a desperate contention to gain the upper hand in military offensive is aimed at peace? If peace is safeguarded by the balance of terror as fashionable analysts assert, why are the superpowers, Russia in particular, trying so

desperately to upset whatever balance may exist in certain military spheres, with one attempting to surpass the other?

Contention for World Hegemony

The goal of Soviet global strategy is to weaken the United States and destroy its position of hegemony. Europe has become the focus of contention owing to its highly developed industry and finance.

For this purpose the Soviet Union has first of all strengthened its control over Eastern Europe, in order to turn it into a forward position for a planned attack on Western Europe. Besides, it is not only striving in a thousand and one ways to control the waters off Northern Europe, but is also intensifying its expansion in the regions of Southern Europe and the Mediterranean.

To gain control over the Middle East, the Soviet Union has sabotaged unity between Arab countries and done everything to maintain the situation of "no war, no peace." Military interference in Angola, conspiracy to subvert Zaire, provocation and infiltration in the Red Sea coastal countries and manipulation of the struggle for liberation by the people in southern Africa — all these Soviet moves are aimed at controlling Europe. If the Soviet Union controls the Cape of Good Hope, it can cut off the supply-line for 80 per cent of the petroleum needed by Western Europe.

Soviet infiltration in Latin America, especially in Argentina and other countries in the southern part of South America, is aimed at seizing complete control of the Southern Atlantic, and supplements its imperialist actions in Africa.

Russia is intensifying its control over the seas to gain superiority over the American navy. For this purpose, it is continuously enlarging its fleets so that its warships can ply all the seas and increase the pressure for acquiring new bases.

In Asia, the Soviet Union is still occupying northern territories of Japan and deploying a million troops on the border of China. It is directing its spearhead at both the United States and Japan, and posing a serious threat to the security of China. Any advance in Soviet drive for world hegemony will certainly impair the fundamental interests of the United States. Therefore, the United States has readjusted its relations with Western Europe and Japan in the hope of gaining the initiative in Latin America and the Middle East and of laying hands on Eastern Europe. The contention between the Soviet Union and the United States cannot but eventually lead to the outbreak of a third world war.

A trend of thought intended to make people believe that war will not break out at all has emerged. Its purpose is to benumb the people, disarm them ideologically and create confusions and splits. Those who are exposing the danger of war and war preparations are denounced as warmongers. The Russians have formally declared that "detente is irreversible."

Imperialism Is the Source of War

Khrushchov and Brezhnev have picked up Kautsky's revisionist theory to prove that war can be avoided. People have come to see clearly that the Soviet revisionists are using this theory as a smokescreen to cover up their social-imperialist policy of war.

The struggle against those variants of modern revisionism who are attempting to sneak into the ranks of Marxist-Leninists is a component part of the struggle for forming a broad international united front against the superpowers, the social-imperialists in particular. These variants of revisionism, while dressing themselves up as "Leftists," have in fact taken up Kautsky's theory about super-imperialism and the possibility of avoiding war. According to the theory, the relations between the Soviet Union and the United States are marked mainly by reaching of agreements, and not by contention.

Imperialism is the source of war and the eve of the proletarian social revolution. Today, the factors for war are increasing, as are those for revolution. War is a tremendous disaster for the people, but their revolutionary struggle against imperialism will in the end eliminate imperialism and war. The contention between the two superpowers will inevitably lead to a third world war, but this will not save the imperialist system.

As a result of its weak national economy, the frenzied arms race will certainly further deepen the internal and external contradictions of the Soviet Union, and make it turn more to war of aggression for a solution. On the one hand, there is the danger that Soviet social-imperialism will unleash a third world war and, on the other hand, it has inherent weaknesses. Thus, instead of saving it from its collapse, war will hasten its doom.

Superpowers and the Third World

To carry out their global strategies in contending for world hegemony, the two superpowers must sow discord among the second and the third world countries and peoples and undermine their unity.

The social-imperialists style themselves as the "natural ally" of the third world; actually, behind this mask, they attempt to replace the old colonialists in the areas where struggles for liberation have been won or are developing.

It is no accident that the imperialists hate the third world. The solidarity among the third world countries and peoples — Asian, African, Latin American and other oppressed or developing countries and their peoples — and their joint struggles have dealt heavy blows at the superpowers.

People's China, a bulwark of world proletarian revolution and anti-imperialist struggle for liberation, has further consolidated the dictatorship of the proletariat. China is marching forward on the road of carrying socialist revolution through to the end in all realms while it is preparing to cope with aggression by social-imperialism and imperialism. People's China is the basic force of the third world and a defender of its unity.

The two basic trends combating imperialism at present, that is, the movement of the prole-

tarian socialist revolution and the national-liberation movement, have converged on the largest scale in the third world. The third world is the main force against the two superpowers.

In the struggle against Soviet social-imperialism and U.S. imperialism, the people of the third and second world countries and the proletariat and people of other strata in the first world countries get united and strive to unite with the second world countries. The working class in all countries forms the force at the core in the international united front against the superpowers.

Western Europe, Japan and some other countries, suffering from aggression, bullying, control and interference by the superpowers on the one hand and exploiting the third world countries on the other, form the second world. It is very important to unite the second world countries, or at least neutralize them. This is to concentrate the forces to hit hard at a handful — the two superpowers — and defeat them one by one. Besides, the contradictions between the two superpowers, that is, the contradictions be-

tween the first world countries, must be utilized to concentrate blows on the more dangerous of the two enemies, social-imperialism.

The theory of the three worlds set forth by Chairman Mao Tsetung has concretely answered the fundamental question of revolution posed by the concrete conditions of today — who are enemies and who are friends. It is a class theory, a scientific and Marxist-Leninist theory.

Those variants of revisionism who have masqueraded as “Leftists” and attempted to sneak into the ranks of Marxist-Leninists have taken up Kautsky’s theory of “super-imperialism” and wantonly attacked Comrade Mao Tsetung’s theory of the three worlds. Objectively, their attack is a component part of the global strategy of social-imperialism, because Brezhnev and his like are attempting in every way to isolate People’s China and all Marxist-Leninists, to engage in obdurate infiltrations in the third world countries and peoples, and sabotage step by step the unity of the second world countries.

Explanatory Notes to Volume V of “Selected Works of Mao Tsetung” (15)



The National Conference of the Communist Party of China

(See p. 154, Vol. V, Eng. Ed.)

This conference was held in Peking from March 21 to 31, 1955 and attended by 62 Members and Alternate Members of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and 257 representatives elected by the Party organizations throughout the country. They discussed and adopted a resolution on the draft First Five-Year Plan for the Development of the National Economy; discussed and adopted a resolution on the anti-Party alliance of Kao Kang and Jao Shu-shih and decided to expel Kao

Kang, ringleader of the anti-Party alliance and an unrepentant renegade, and Jao Shu-shih, the other chieftain of the anti-Party alliance, from the Party and deprive them of all their posts inside and outside the Party; and adopted a resolution on establishing central and local control commissions and set up the Central Control Commission.

The anti-Party alliance of Kao Kang and Jao Shu-shih

(See p. 154.)

Kao Kang was a bourgeois careerist and conspirator who sneaked into the Chinese Communist Party. “Since 1949, Kao Kang has

engaged in conspiratorial activities aimed at seizing the leadership in the Party and state. In northeast China and other places he spread many rumours slandering the Party Central Committee and glorifying himself, sowed discord among comrades, incited resentment against leading comrades of the Party Central Committee, and engaged in splitting activities against the Party in the course of which he formed an anti-Party faction. This anti-Party faction of Kao Kang opposed the policies of the Party Central Committee in its work in northeast China, played down the role of the Party, undermined the Party's unity and unification and made the northeast area as Kao Kang's independent kingdom." (Quoted from "Resolution on the Anti-Party Alliance of Kao Kang and Jao Shu-shih.")

Jao Shu-shih was the chief co-conspirator in Kao Kang's anti-Party activities and, as evidence gained later through investigation showed, a renegade and a counter-revolutionary. "In the ten years from 1943 to 1953, Jao Shu-shih tried many times to seize power by resorting to despicable means of deception. When he worked in east China he did his utmost to carry out Right deviationist policies in both cities and countryside aimed at capitulating to the capitalists, landlords and rich peasants and went against the Central Committee's policies for suppression of counter-revolutionaries in order to protect the counter-revolutionaries."

Kao Kang and Jao Shu-shih formed their anti-Party alliance soon after they were transferred to work in the central organs in 1953 and carried out frenzied activities to split the Party in an attempt to usurp Party and state leadership. "The characteristic of the anti-Party alliance of Kao Kang and Jao Shu-shih is that they have never openly put forward any programme to oppose the Party Central Committee in any Party organization or at any Party meeting or before the public. Their only programme was to seize supreme power in the Party and state by conspiracy." "Emerging in the Party in the present special situation of the class struggle, they are an unprincipled conspiratorial clique whose aim is to try to usurp leadership in the Party and state," and "they

have, in fact, become agents of the bourgeoisie in our Party." After their anti-Party machinations were discerned by Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee, the Seventh Central Committee of the Party convened its fourth plenary session in February 1954 to expose and struggle against them. After the session, Kao Kang committed suicide, thus betraying the Party, while Jao Shu-shih continued his attack against the Party. The National Conference of the Communist Party of China in March 1955 adopted a resolution to expel Kao Kang and Jao Shu-shih from the Party and deprive them of all their posts inside and outside the Party, thus smashing the Kao-Jao anti-Party alliance.

The Eighth National Congress of the Party

(See p. 169.)

The Eighth National Congress of the Communist Party of China was held in Peking from September 15 to 27, 1956. Attending the Congress were 1,026 delegates and 107 alternate delegates representing altogether 10.73 million Party members. The Congress affirmed the correctness of the line followed by the Central Committee of the Party since the Seventh National Congress of the Party, summed up the experiences in this historical period and put forward the task of uniting the whole Party and all the forces, both at home and abroad, that could be united with to transform China into a great socialist country. Chairman Mao delivered the opening speech. After hearing the political report of the Seventh Central Committee of the Communist Party of China to the Eighth National Congress, the report by Comrade Teng Hsiao-ping on the revision of the Constitution of the Party and the report by Comrade Chou En-lai on proposals in regard to the Second Five-Year Plan for the Development of the National Economy, the Congress passed resolutions for approval of these reports and adopted the Constitution of the Communist Party of China. The Congress elected the Eighth Central Committee of the Party headed by Chairman Mao.

(To be continued.)

ROUND THE WORLD

SOVIET-U.S. ROW

Why So Much Fuss?

It surprises no one that the Soviet Union and the United States find bones to pick with each other every now and then.

In mid-July, President Carter decided to cancel an application for sale of a computer system to TASS, the official Soviet news agency. The President also decided that future sales of all oil drilling equipment to the Soviet Union require a Commerce Department license. Moscow jumped on these decisions, accusing the United States of following a "cold war" game-plan and pursuing a policy of deliberately aggravating its relationship with the Soviet Union.

This row over trade transactions between the U.S. and U.S.S.R. is another episode in the worsening relations between the two superpowers. The Soviet Union appears to be on the offensive at every turn, while the United States beats one retreat after another, a situation that naturally has aroused ever stronger reactions in the United States. The pressure of events has compelled Washington to warn the Soviet Union of its military buildup and stepped-up expansionist

activities abroad. The Soviet Union, however, has not budged an inch. Instead, it has come up with a barrage to charge the United States with creating tension between the two countries.

What is worth noting is that Moscow has directed its propaganda offensive at what it calls "enemies of detente" and "the hard-liners" in the United States, namely, the forces that are opposed to appeasement. It has also tried its utmost to curry favour with the forces of appeasement in that country, in an effort to make the United States adopt a policy suited to Soviet needs.

Moscow has also taken a stick-and-carrot approach to Carter's speeches. U.S. public opinion finds Carter's words sometimes "tough" and sometimes "soft," and this seems to have given the Soviet Union openings to exploit. Carter's speeches, says the Soviet weekly *New Times*, include strong views and "the more sober note" as well, and it has not bothered to refrain from asking the U.S. President to be more precise.

Since the rivalry between the two countries is inevitable, it is impossible for them to maintain stability in their relations. In

the past few months, Moscow again has vigorously carried out subversive and infiltrating activities in the east coast of the Red Sea, South Asia and South-east Asia. This fact shows that the glib talk by some Americans about easing the differences between the two countries will only further whet the Kremlin's appetite.

NORWAY

Threatened by the Soviet Union

Soviet vessels made at least eight intrusions into northern Norwegian waters in less than a month from June 27 to July 23, laying instruments and cables and conducting exercises. One Soviet vessel even sailed into a military area within the four-mile limit.

The Soviet ambassador to the country was twice summoned by Norwegian Foreign Minister Knut Frydenlund who made known to him Norway's grave concern over the Soviet violations. These Soviet actions, Norwegian officials pointed out, were part of Moscow's "carefully planned policy." It was out-and-out "gunboat diplomacy."

The Norwegian journal *Arbeiderbladet* wrote in its July 21 editorial that Norway should tolerate no Soviet violation of its territorial sea and it must

keep closer patrol guard along its northern coasts.

Last month, the Soviet press lashed out at Norway for inviting the Inspector-General of the Bundeswehr to tour Norway. This was construed as a betrayal of "mutual trust." One may well ask: Why should Norway be condemned as having committed a monstrous crime just because it had invited a foreign visitor while the Soviet Defence Minister and other high-ranking officials could go to the German Democratic Republic to "inspect" combat forces and organize military exercises?

What is more serious, the Soviet Union has been increasing its military buildup in its northern area abutting on Norway and other Nordic countries. Large bases for land, air and naval forces have been built on the Kola Peninsula. The presence of Soviet North and Baltic Fleets in the North European waters poses a threat to Norway, too. As a matter of fact, Soviet military threat hangs over the Nordic peoples like the sword of Damocles. Soviet planes often penetrate deep into Denmark's territorial air while its "trawlers" prowl in Swedish waters.

There is at present a theory about the Soviet Union shifting its strategic focus from Europe to the Pacific. It has not a leg to stand on. If by nothing else, it is repudiated by the fact that Soviet vessels are con-

stantly intruding into Norwegian waters, and so on.

"WEEKLY REVIEW" (KENYA)

Two Kinds of Aid

China's eight principles guiding economic and technical aid to other countries as announced by the late Premier Chou En-lai during his visit to Africa in 1964 were favourably commented on in a recent article in Kenya's *Weekly Review*, while the Soviet Union came under fire for pushing political domination, economic exploitation and military aggression in Africa under the pretext of "assistance."

"Chinese aid," the article notes, "is based on 'equality and mutual benefit'" and "China would co-operate economically with other developing countries so that they would 'free themselves from colonial control' and strengthen the anti-imperialist forces in the world."

"China always 'respects the sovereignty of the recipient countries' and 'never asks for any privileges or attaches any conditions,'" the article continues. "China would provide interest-free or low-interest loans to aid the developing countries and would co-operate to lighten their financial burdens." "The Chinese would 'help them embark step by step on the road of self-reliance.'"

"Chinese experts," the article points out, "would provide full technical training to the workers in the recipient country so that the completed project

could be operated efficiently. In the long run, this training alone would provide more economic advantages than the project itself." "At the same time," it says, "Chinese experts were to be provided with the same living standards available to the local people of the same position."

Contrasting this to the way Soviet aid is provided, the article points out, "Russian technicians arrogantly demand enormous salaries, first-class air conditioned houses, servants, big motor-cars and imported food and drink." "Their aid includes minimum technical training for the local workers," it reveals. "They keep secret their blueprints and plans, and they refuse to permit anyone but their own technicians to operate—and in some cases, even to see—the more complicated machinery."

"What the Russians demand in return for their aid amounts to exploitation and diminished independence," the article declares. "The terms of most Soviet loans are as bad as those made by the worst of the exploiting European colonialists," and "the Russians make little effort to hide the fact that they want an aided country to come economically and politically under their control."

The article stresses, "the Russians provide a negative object lesson that shows Africa clearly the foreign allies who can be trusted." The article ends on this note: The Chinese "will find that they have many African friends who will co-operate closely on the basis of 'equality and mutual benefit.'"

ON THE HOME FRONT

Building More Industrial Projects

ONE hundred and twenty large-scale key projects will be completed in the coming 8 years as envisaged in the 10-year plan for the development of China's national economy (1976-85). Construction of some of these projects is in full swing while preparations for the building of others are under way.

The Paoshan General Iron and Steel Plant in Shanghai is one of these projects. Large numbers of workers there are busy building roads, a water-supply system, a power-house, temporary shelters and living quarters.

Total investment in China's capital construction in the first six months is 44 per cent more than that of the same period in 1977, and is an all-time high for the corresponding period of the past seven years. In the first half of this year a number of large and medium-sized projects were completed and put into operation, thereby expanding China's petroleum, coal, metallurgical, power, chemical and light industries as well as transport and communications.

In the petroleum industry, 65 per cent of the 1978 target for drilling footage was fulfilled in the first six months of this year. Some 500 new oil wells were put into operation and eight pipelines with a total length of 1,500 kilometres laid. In the power industry, a number of large generating sets were commissioned and the

construction of some key power stations has been stepped up.

China has built six big chemical fertilizer plants in the last few years. Another four, now being operated on a trial basis, will be commissioned this year.

In the first half of this year, many big cities quickened the pace of building water-supply systems, housing estates, schools and projects related to science and technology.

Ministers Work at Grass-Roots Units

TWENTY-FOUR ministers, vice-ministers and directors of bureaus of industry and communications under the State Council have recently gone to the grass-roots units to help a number of major enterprises learn from Taching, the national pace-setter in industry.

More than 2,000 cadres from ten ministries and bureaus have gone to work alongside the rank and file at blast furnaces, in coal pits, at railways stations, on docks and in workshops. They have gone to the workers' living quarters and canteens to talk with the workers, get first-hand knowledge of the situation and help solve problems.

It was in mid-May that the first group of cadres went to the grass-roots units including big iron and steel complexes, collieries, power plants, motor vehicle and tractor plants, chemical works, oil refineries, textile mills, railway bureaus and telecommunications administrations.

Vice-Minister Li Kuei-sheng of the Ministry of Coal Industry has gone down to the work-face many times since he arrived in early June at the Fuhsin Coal Mining Administration, a major coal centre in northeast China's Liaoning Province. In order to get a detailed, on-the-spot look at the production front and check the quality of engineering and safety measures, the vice-minister, now in his 60s, stooped to reach a work-face which is less than a metre high.

Vice-Minister of Railways Kuo Wei-cheng went to the Chengchow Railway Bureau to hold a discussion meeting with about 100 local cadres and workers. Finding that safety measures were the weak points in this bureau, he lost no time in helping them work out concrete measures for improving them.

Vice-Ministers Hu Ming and Hao Chien-hsiu (formerly a woman worker) of Textile Industry went to Shanghai where, together with leading members of the city's textile industry bureau, they discussed the ways and means of solving the problems of cloth shrinkage and changing of shapes of knitted goods in the second half of 1978.

Other leading cadres who have gone to the grass-roots units include Minister of Communications Yeh Fei and vice-ministers from the ministries of petroleum and metallurgical industries as well as water conservancy and power.

The practice of more and more high-ranking cadres going to grass-roots units and maintaining close ties with the workers is a new phenomenon which has emerged since the downfall of the "gang of four."

CULTURE AND SCIENCE

Actress Yang Chiu-ling

In less than six months Yang Chiu-ling played the lead in two full-length Peking operas. Her superb handling of the acting of both characters as well as the singing was a complete success on the stage.

Yang comes from a worker's family. She made her debut in the 50s after eight years' training at the China Opera School in Peking. She soon came to the fore as one of the most promising young Peking opera talents after she had acted in some historical operas and pieces on contemporary themes.

Then in the 60s, Chiang Ching, piqued at the failure to whip Yang Chiu-ling into line,



Yang Chiu-ling in *The Red Lantern Society*.

stridently ordered her to "quit the stage once and for all." The actress was practically denied opportunity to perform for well over a decade. Only after Chiang Ching and her tyrannical setup of followers in the cultural field were downed was Yang's talent brought into full play.

Women Generals of the Yang Family. This historical Peking opera is about a patriotic heroine, Mu Kuei-ying. Nineteen years ago Yang Chiu-ling captivated audiences both at home and abroad when she first played the female lead of the opera. It was restaged recently with Yang still in the same role.

The life of the heroine is not without its ups and downs. The Yang family is in the midst of a banquet celebrating the 50th birthday of her husband — Marshal Yang Tsun-pao, who is on a military expedition far away — when news reaches her that the marshal has died for the country. The wife is instantly plunged into deep sorrow. But she does not want to spoil the joyous mood of the family banquet. With forced smile she puts on a flower-bedecked hair ornament for the celebration. Overcoming as best she can her pangs of grief, she drinks some wine. In this scene, Yang Chiu-ling's acting and singing expertly convey the changing emotions in the heroine's heart.

In the latter half of the opera, the curtain lifts on a scene in which Mu Kuei-ying, her 8-year-old son and a dozen or so other lady generals of the Yangs, including the aunts of the marshal and his uncles' widows — all of them well versed in military arts — set off to repulse the enemy invading the border region. Commander-in-chief of the army is the marshal's 100-year-old grandmother. Mu Kuei-ying is made commander of the advance-guards.

Combining superb acrobatics with dancing in the finishing episodes Yang Chiu-ling ably projects the image of a Mu Kuei-ying at once brave and steadfast. One is struck by the improved skill and maturity of the actress as compared with a decade or so ago.

The Red Lantern Society. This historical opera by Yang Chiu-ling, 41, and her colleagues of the China Peking Opera Theatre is about a women's military organization born amidst the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal Yi Ho Tuan Movement which broke out in 1900. Yang plays Lin Hei-niang, leader of the society. Lin is a poverty-stricken street-singer's daughter who, together with a group of young women, rises in arms when the motherland faces danger of partition by imperialist powers. They deal heavy blows at the aggressor troops.

The last episode depicts the insurgents under siege during a

battle to defend Tientsin. Lin Hei-niang is seriously wounded. But she stands fast together with some of her aged volunteers to cover their comrades-in-arms attempting a breakthrough. They fight valiantly to the last drop of their blood. The actresses portray the heroic mettle of these heroines with outstanding singing and acting.

Audio-Visual Aids in Education

China is making use of films, TV, video recorders, slides, broadcasting and tape-recorders in education. With these aids, the teacher can bring objective phenomena into the classroom to enrich the perceptual knowledge of the students and help them get a better grasp of abstract concepts and theories and remember them. Teachers with rich experience in passing on the knowledge of a particular subject can meet greater numbers of students through audio-visual aids.

The use of such teaching aids, already existing in languages, medicine and physical culture, has been extended in the colleges to natural science and engineering in the past year. Primary and middle schools are adopting them experimentally.

Audio-visual aids are also used in public education. The Ministry of Education and the Central Broadcasting Administration jointly sponsor TV lectures in elementary mathematics, physics, chemistry and for-



Children's performance at a Shanghai summer camp: An excursion into outer space with the legendary Monkey King.

eign languages in Peking. These are relayed to 24 provinces throughout the country and welcomed by workers, peasants, cadres, teachers and students everywhere.

Shanghai has recently set up a spare-time TV college with courses in medicine, mathematics, physics, chemistry and Chinese language and literature. Students learn mainly from TV lectures. The majority of teachers come from the regular institutions of higher learning in the city, and there are also some middle school teachers on the faculty who have rich classroom experience. The enrolment exceeds 11,000 for the current semester.

Aviation Summer Camp

A three-week national aviation summer camp for middle school students is being run at the Peking Aeronautical Engineering Institute. Starting in early August, it is attend-

ed by 300 students selected from all parts of the country, including Taiwan compatriots and minority nationality students.

The activities of the camp cover a wide variety, including reports by noted P.L.A. combat heroes and aviation specialists, visits to the Peking Aeronautical Engineering Institute and an airport, plane rides, watching parachuting and gliding demonstrations, parachute-jumping from towers and making model planes.

The camp is one of the many summer activities arranged for students of middle and primary schools. Teenagers of Peking, Shanghai, Tsinan, Kwangchow and other places also participated in camping, target practice, mountain climbing, swimming, visits and sightseeing. They listened to reports on fine revolutionary traditions and attended get-togethers organized for young people and scientists.

BOOKS ON MODERN CHINESE HISTORY

The Opium War

The Opium War (1840-42), provoked by Britain, was the first of a series of wars of aggression launched by the capitalist countries against China. After this war, China gradually became a semi-colonial and semi-feudal country. This book gives a concise account of the war and the Chinese people's heroic resistance against foreign invaders.

Available in English, German and Esperanto.

The Taiping Revolution

The Taiping Revolution was a peasant uprising in the mid-19th century. This book tells how the uprising took place and recounts the Chinese people's indomitable spirit in fighting the feudal ruling class of the Ching Dynasty and imperialism.

Available in Arabic, English, French and German.

The Reform Movement of 1898

The Reform Movement of 1898 was carried out by China's bourgeois reformists. This book gives an account of its historical background, development and ultimate failure.

Available in Arabic, English and German.

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