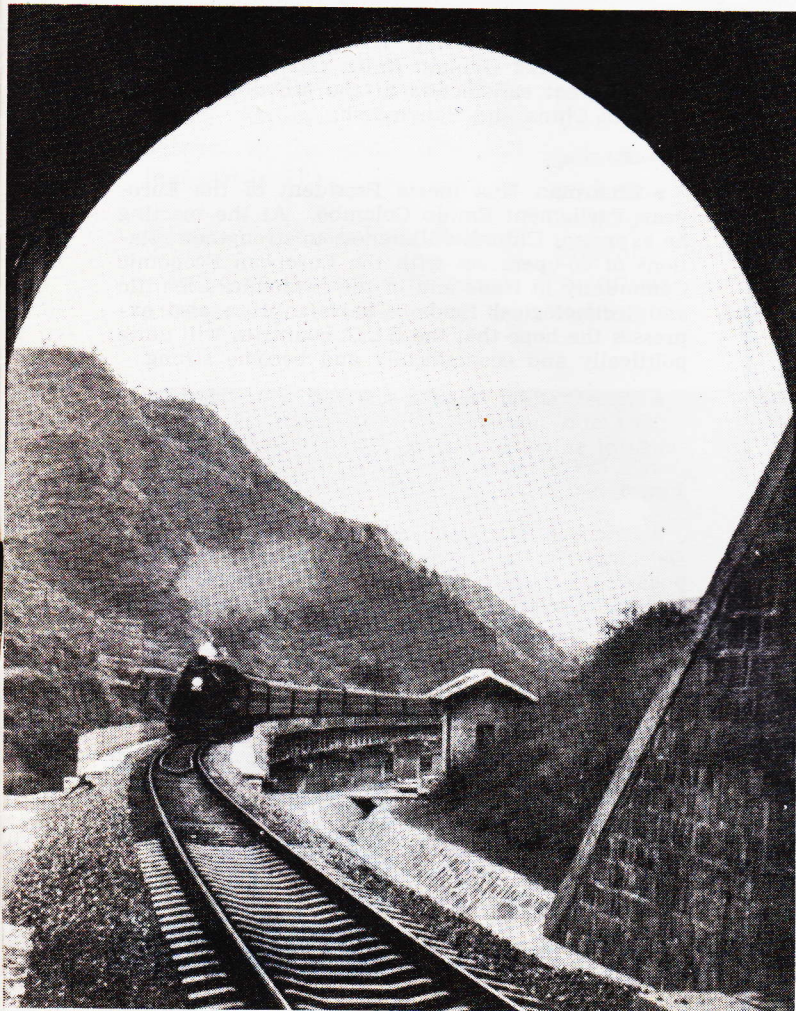


# BEIJING REVIEW

- Aggressor's Neck in the Noose
- China's Socialist Legal System:  
Prospect and Retrospect



# BEIJING REVIEW

北京周報

Vol. 22, No. 2

January 12, 1979

## CONTENTS

CHRONICLE 2

EVENTS & TRENDS 3

Resolute Support for Kampuchea  
Deng Xiaoping Meets American Journalists  
Carrying Out Premier Zhou's Behests  
For the Return of Taiwan  
Vietnamese Provocations Continue  
1978 Grain and Coal Output  
A New North-South Railway Line  
Carry on the Struggle for People's Democracy  
Special Funds for Factories

## ARTICLES & DOCUMENTS

Statement of Government of P.R.C.  
(January 7, 1979) 11  
Aggressor's Neck in the Noose — *Renmin Ribao* Commentator 12  
Press Conference in Beijing: Samdech Norodom Sihanouk Denounces Viet Nam's Aggression 13  
Vice-Premier Deng Xiaoping Interviewed by U.S. Newsmen 16  
Tian An Men Poems 19  
The 8th Asian Games at Bangkok — Our Correspondent Zheng Fangkun 21

## SPECIAL FEATURE

Prospect and Retrospect: China's Socialist Legal System 25  
Judicial Organs and Judicial Procedure in China — Xing Zhong 30  
Active Judicial Circles 34

ROUND THE WORLD 36

ON THE HOME FRONT 38

COVER: (Left) A train passing through the Malateng tunnel on the newly built Zhicheng-Liuzhou Railway. (For details see p. 8.) (Right) Kailuan miners extracting quality coal.

Published every Friday by BEIJING REVIEW,  
Beijing (37), China  
Post Office Registration No. 2-922

# CHRONICLE

Jan. 2

• Vice-Premier Deng Xiaoping (Teng Hsiao-ping) meets a delegation of the Banking, Finance and Urban Affairs Committee of the U.S. House of Representatives. At the meeting Vice-Premier Deng points out that normalization of Sino-U.S. relations is of great importance to the development of bilateral relations and to peace and stability in the Asia-Pacific region and the rest of the world.

Deng Xiaoping stresses that the return of Taiwan to the motherland and the reunification of the country is China's internal affair and that a realistic attitude is being adopted to solve the Taiwan question.

• Speaking at a tea party given by the All-China Federation of Literary and Art Circles, Hu Yaobang, Member of the Political Bureau, Secretary-General, and Director of the Propaganda Department of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, calls on Chinese writers and artists to create their best works in praise of China's march towards the four modernizations.

Jan. 3

• At a meeting with the Delegation of the Bangladesh-China Friendship Association led by its President Mirza Ghulam Hafiz, Chairman Hua expresses great satisfaction at the growing relations between China and Bangladesh.

Jan. 5

• Chairman Hua meets President of the European Parliament Emilio Colombo. At the meeting he expresses China's willingness to strengthen relations of co-operation with the European Economic Community in trade and in the economic, scientific and technological fields. Chairman Hua also expresses the hope that the E.E.C. countries will unite politically and economically and become strong.

• Vice-Premier Deng meets with American journalists and answers their questions on a wide range of subjects. (See p. 16.)

Jan. 6

• Samdech Norodom Sihanouk and the Senior Delegation of the Government of Democratic Kampuchea led by him arrives in Beijing on their way to New York to attend the U.N. Security Council meeting and bring charges against Viet Nam's invasion of Democratic Kampuchea.

Jan. 7

• The Chinese Government issues a statement denouncing Viet Nam's aggressive war against Democratic Kampuchea and supporting the Kampuchean people in carrying the war in defence of their nation through to the end.





## Resolute Support for Kampuchea

VIET NAM has since December 25 last year launched a new war of aggression against Democratic Kampuchea with more than a dozen divisions supported by military aircraft, tanks and artillery. Upholding proletarian internationalism, China has expressed firm support for Kampuchea.

On January 7, the Chinese Government issued a statement expressing concern for the grave situation confronting Kampuchea and support for Kampuchea's demand that the Security Council hold an emergency meeting and that the United Nations intervene. The statement said: "We firmly support the Kampuchean people in their effort to fight their sacred national war of self-defence to the end." (For full text see p. 11.)

### Samdech Sihanouk in Beijing

Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, a respected old friend of the

Chinese people, Princess Monique Sihanouk and the Senior Delegation of the Government of Democratic Kampuchea led by him arrived in Beijing on January 6 to a very warm welcome. The delegation was on its way to New York to attend the United Nations Security Council meeting and bring charges against Viet Nam for its invasion of Kampuchea. Samdech Penn Nouth and Madame Penn Nouth arrived by the same plane.

During his meeting with Samdech Sihanouk, Chairman Hua declared that the Chinese Government and people firmly support the Government and people of Democratic Kampuchea in their struggle against Vietnamese aggression. He pointed out that the Kampuchean people, though confronted with difficulties at present, would certainly be victorious because they were fighting a war of national

self-defence against aggression and justice was on their side. He also wished Samdech Sihanouk success in his struggle against Vietnamese aggression at the scheduled United Nations Security Council meeting.

At the banquet in honour of Samdech Sihanouk, Vice-Premier Deng Xiaoping pointed out: "Viet Nam has become the Cuba of Asia or the agent of Soviet social-imperialism in the Far East. The Vietnamese authorities have wild ambitions. Having brought Laos under their control by force of arms, they try with Soviet backing to annex Kampuchea and build a colonial empire called the 'Indochinese federation' which will be under their complete domination. To meet the needs of the Soviet hegemonists, they would then proceed to expand into Southeast Asia and realize their fond dream of regional hegemony."

Deng Xiaoping said that the Vietnamese authorities' wild ambitions have increasingly heightened the vigilance of the countries and people in the Asia-Pacific region. The sympathies of these countries and people are with Kampuchea, and it is their hope that Kampuchea will defeat the Soviet-Vietnamese aggressors.

Vice-Premier Deng expressed the confidence that under the leadership of the Communist Party of Kampuchea, the Kampuchean armymen and people will surely defeat the aggressors through sustained struggle and people's war.

Samdech Sihanouk said in his speech that "the people of Kampuchea will never submit to the criminal aggression by the Vietnamese expansionists and annexationists, the Soviet hege-



Vice-Premier Deng Xiaoping welcomes Samdech Sihanouk at Beijing Airport.

monists and the Warsaw military alliance." "We Kampuchean people," he added, "are waging a protracted people's war to defend our motherland. We will rely on our own efforts and we are fully confident that our just cause will be victorious. Under the leadership of the Communist Party of Kampuchea and its leader, His Excellency Secretary Pol Pot, we Kampuchean people won great victories in the 1970-75 national-liberation war."

Vice-Premier Deng paid tribute to Samdech Sihanouk and Samdech Penn Nouth, saying that they are statesmen known the world over and outstanding patriots who have made illustrious contributions to Kampuchea's cause of national liberation. At this banquet of reunion of old friends, the band played *Remembrance of China*, a song composed several years ago by Samdech Sihanouk, adding to the friendly atmosphere that prevailed in the banquet hall.

On January 8, Samdech Sihanouk gave a press conference in Beijing (see p. 13).

## Deng Xiaoping Meets American Journalists

On January 5, Vice-Premier Deng Xiaoping gave an interview in Beijing to 27 American journalists who were on a visit to report on the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and the United States. In answering their questions, the Vice-Premier said:

- We will take a variety of measures to discuss with the Taiwan authorities and particularly with Mr. Chiang Ching-kuo the question of the reunification of the motherland. The publication of the Message

to Compatriots in Taiwan on January 1 this year is the first step towards this end.

- All people in the world concerned with international peace, security and stability should support Kampuchea in its struggle against Vietnamese aggression.

We have been giving the Kampuchean people all kinds of material assistance. They don't need any advisers from us because they have their own rich experience.

- The establishment of diplomatic relations between China and the United States has opened broad vistas for friendly interchange between the two peoples in various fields.

The Vice-Premier answered a number of other questions put to him by the American journalists. (For details, see p. 16.)

## Carrying Out Premier Zhou's Behests

January 8 was the third anniversary of Premier Zhou Enlai's death. That day, thousands upon thousands of people in Beijing went to Tian An Men Square and placed wreaths honouring his memory at the foot of the Monument to the Heroes of the People. The ribbons on the wreaths were inscribed these words: "Premier Zhou will always live in our hearts!" "Carry out Premier Zhou's behests and speed up the four modernizations!" To mark the occasion, *Selected Tian An Men Poems* and *Selected Tian An Men Elegies* (Vol. 1) were published and put on sale throughout the country.

The poems and prose writings are selected from tens of

thousands of anonymous works which appeared in Beijing's Tian An Men Square in April 1976. They express the people's love for the late Premier and their wrath at the "gang of four's" fascist rule.

The revolutionary mass movement that took place in Tian An Men Square in 1976 was branded a "counter-revolutionary incident" by the gang. Towards the end of last year, however, the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua announced that what had happened in Tian An Men Square in 1976 was completely revolutionary. All those who had been persecuted for their action have now been rehabilitated. The poems and elegies which have become very popular among the masses have been edited and published with the titles of the two books written by Chairman Hua Guofeng and Vice-Chairman Ye Jianying.

The whole nation has shifted the focus of its work on to modernization this year. The publication of these selections is timely for they express the firm determination of the Chinese people to carry out Premier Zhou's behests and turn their motherland into a powerful, modern socialist country by the end of this century.

Why do the people love and respect their late Premier? These two selections provide the best answer. Premier Zhou made outstanding contributions to the nation, and his sterling qualities as a proletarian revolutionary are a great inspiration to the Chinese people. He correctly implemented Chairman Mao's revolutionary line all his life, and he put forward the magnificent plan of modernization and worked for its



realization until he breathed his last.

At the Third National People's Congress in 1964, Premier Zhou called for concerted efforts to make China a powerful socialist state with modern agriculture, industry, national defence and science and technology in a not too long historical period of time.

Ten years later, in view of the havoc wreaked by the "gang of four" who spread pseudo-socialism and flaunted poverty and ignorance, Premier Zhou who was then seriously ill again spoke of this plan at the Fourth National People's Congress in 1975 and called for its realization by the end of this century.

Today, at long last, Premier Zhou's behests are being carried out and gradually turned into reality.

In commemoration of the third anniversary of Premier Zhou's death, people across the land paid tribute to his memory in diverse forms.

- On January 8 alone, 360,000 copies of books in commemoration of Premier Zhou were sold at the capital's bookstores. Apart from the two above-

mentioned selections, a large pictorial, a large album and a selection of Premier Zhou's poems were also on sale. Another book containing memoirs on the historic Xian Incident of 1936 was published, praising Comrade Zhou Enlai for his tremendous contributions in peacefully settling the incident according to the decision of the Party Central

Committee and Chairman Mao through arduous and complex struggles. That year Chiang Kai-shek was arrested by two patriotic generals in the northwestern city of Xian for not resisting Japanese aggression. Comrade Zhou Enlai was sent to Xian and succeeded in bringing about a peaceful settlement which led to the second co-operation between the Kuomintang and the Chinese Communist Party. As a result of this incident, Chiang Kai-shek had to stop the civil war and join efforts with the Communist Party to resist the Japanese invaders.

- Beijing put up a photo exhibition entitled "The Premier Works for the People, the People Love the Premier," showing his revolutionary activities in various periods and the events that took place in Tian An Men Square.

- A modern play, *The Xian Incident*, was staged. Projected on the stage were the artistic images of Comrade Zhou Enlai and Comrades Mao Zedong and Zhu De, as well as those of Chiang Kai-shek and important members of his clique.

## For the Return of Taiwan

Since the publication on New Year's Day of the Message to Compatriots in Taiwan by the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, which is the supreme state organ of China, people from various circles have expressed their wholehearted support for it. (For full text of the message, see our last issue.)

On the question of the return of Taiwan and the reunification of the motherland, the message stressed that the status quo on Taiwan and the opinions of people of all walks of life there would be respected, and that reasonable policies and measures would be adopted so as not to cause any loss to the people there. The message proposed holding discussions with the Taiwan authorities to end the military confrontation and establishing transport and postal services and carrying out trade and other interchanges between Taiwan and the mainland of the motherland.

**Taiwan Compatriots' Demand.** Cai Xiao, a leading member of the Taiwan League, said in Beijing: "Our forefathers went to Taiwan from Fujian and Guangdong Provinces and joined the compatriots of Gao-shan nationality there in opening up and developing this part of our motherland." The people in Taiwan love the motherland, he added. The message of the N.P.C. Standing Committee has given them hope, confidence and strength.

Lin Liyun, Vice-Chairman of the National Women's Federation, said that the message gave expression to the aspirations of the entire Chinese people, including those in Taiwan. She hoped that the Taiwan au-

thorities would make a clear assessment of the situation, go with the trend and make contribution to bringing about the early return of Taiwan to the motherland.

Liao Qiuzhong, a Taiwan compatriot who has just returned from the United States, was impressed by the eagerness of the people on the mainland to know what is going on in Taiwan. On New Year's Eve, they watched the film *Taiwan Landscapes* on television. He expressed the hope that the Taiwan authorities would without prejudice show documentaries about the mainland so as to enhance mutual understanding and bring about the early reunion of the people on both sides of the Taiwan Straits.

**Former K.M.T. Officials' Views.** Liu Fei, who represented the Kuomintang in the peace negotiations with the Communist Party on the eve of country-wide liberation, noted that an excellent situation now prevails in the motherland. It is high time, he declared, for Taiwan to return to the embrace of the motherland. Now in his eighties, this former senior Kuomintang official expressed his readiness to fly to Taipei to discuss the reunification of the motherland if the Taipei authorities would allow him to do so.

Former K.M.T. general Du Yuming said that whoever contributes to the reunification of the motherland will always be remembered by the people no matter what he did in the past.

Another high-ranking officer Dong Qiwu stressed that the consistent policy of the Chinese Communist Party is: "All patriots belong to one big family." "Since I crossed over

to the people's side 30 years ago," he said, "I have received great care both in my everyday life and in work." He said that there are quite a number of far-sighted people in Taiwan and that the Taiwan authorities should make contributions to effecting the early return of Taiwan to the motherland in the interests of the state and the nation, for that's the way to show their patriotism.

At a discussion meeting held by members of two civil aviation companies of the Kuomintang who had crossed over in 1949, they unanimously endorsed the message and pledged to do their part to help start an airline between Taiwan and the mainland.

**Intellectuals, Industrialists and Businessmen Appeal.** The famous writer Shen Yanbing, biologist Tong Dizhou and other noted scholars had this to say about the message: We intellectuals always love our motherland. We are willing to work together with our counterparts in Taiwan to help realize the reunification of our country, for this is an obligation we must not shirk.

Hu Ziang and Rong Yiren from the industrial and commercial circles said that their friends in Taiwan are patriotic like their fellow-countrymen. They expressed the hope that these industrialists and businessmen would play their part in bringing about at an early date trade and economic exchanges between the mainland and Taiwan. This, they declared, will be a concrete step towards the reunification of the motherland.

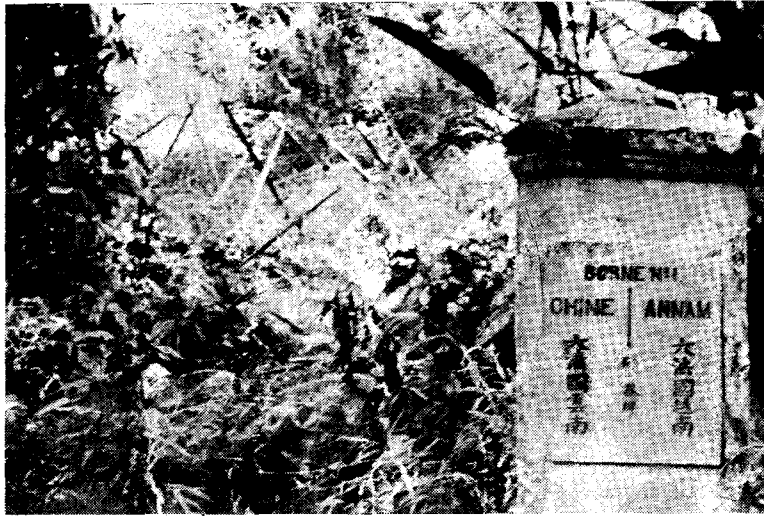
**Welcome Dalai Home.** Speaking in support of the message, Pan-chen Erdeni Chuji-Geltsen,

Member of the Standing Committee of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference which is a united front organization, said that Dalai and other Tibetan compatriots abroad should have a clear understanding of the present situation and return to the motherland. He added: "If you Dalai are really concerned about the happiness of the Tibetan people, you should not have any doubt whatsoever. I can assure you that the Tibetan people are now living a life far happier than in the old days. The Party's policy remains the same, namely, all patriots belong to one big family. None of you will have to account for what you did in the past and you will be awarded if you perform meritorious service. If you come back, proper arrangements will be made for you."

## Vietnamese Provocations Continue

The Hanoi authorities are continuing their intrusions into Chinese territory and provoking incidents along the Sino-Vietnamese border despite repeated warnings from the Chinese Government.

The Chinese people in the frontier regions of the Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region and Yunnan Province used to enjoy a peaceful life. Today, however, one bloody incident follows another day after day, and trigger-happy armed Vietnamese personnel intrude into Chinese territory and kill people at random. In Guangxi, for example, Chinese fishermen off Baisuyan Island were gunned down and farmers of the Longbang Commune were shot at when they were harvesting



Bamboo stakes planted by armed Vietnamese personnel in China's Gufeng area of Hekou county, which is on the Chinese side of the border marker No. 1 in the Yunnan section of the Sino-Vietnamese border.

wheat. Chinese frontier guards on patrol were ambushed on many occasions. The Vietnamese authorities have often sent their armed patrols across the frontier to "nibble at" Chinese territory; the Punian Ridge and Puyingding area near You Yi Guan in Pingxiang city — both inside Guangxi — are still in Vietnamese hands.

In addition, there have been numerous cases of reconnoitring by armed Vietnamese plainclothesmen and sabotage activities such as laying mines and planting bamboo stakes inside Chinese territory. In the past month or so, there were in Guangxi alone more than 500 instances of intrusion by armed Vietnamese personnel and over 20 Chinese people and frontier guards were killed or wounded.

The Hanoi authorities also resort to armed force to drive their own inhabitants across the border into China. This step to "purify" the Vietnamese border areas was obviously aimed at preparation for war. From December 13 to 22,

altogether some 7,000 residents were transported to the Sino-Vietnamese frontier under the armed escort of Vietnamese security forces and then driven en masse across the border into China. Against this, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs lodged a strong protest on January 5.

## 1978 Grain and Coal Output

Figures showing the results of China's 1978 production plans were made public recently. These include the output of grain, coal and other major items.

**Grain.** Total output was close to 295 million tons, or 10 million tons more than that of 1977. Output of cotton, oil-bearing crops, sugar-yielding crops, jute, ambary hemp, silk cocoons, tea and cured tobacco and the number of pigs had also increased.

Most crops, however, registered only small increases

and did not meet the targets set by the state.

This was mainly due to the prolonged drought which was one of the worst since 1949. Discharge on the middle and lower reaches of the Changjiang (Yangtze) River was over one-third less than usual and that on the middle reaches of the Huaihe River, a major waterway in the north, was the lowest in the 30-year hydrological record of New China.

Another reason was that work in some areas leaves much to be desired. In some places, the confusion created by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" in the people's minds has not been cleared up and the rural economic policies which previously proved to be effective but were later thrown overboard have not been completely restored. The production team's authority over management, for instance, has to be reaffirmed and the principle of distribution according to work has to be carried out strictly among the commune members. In addition, the style of work of a few rural cadres is not democratic enough. All this has affected the peasants' initiative and enthusiasm for production.

**Coal.** China produced more than 600 million tons of coal last year, an increase of 50 million tons over 1977 which registered a similar increase over 1976. The state plan for dressed coal used in the iron and steel industry was overfulfilled by 6.5 million tons, or 8.49 million tons higher than the 1977 total.

China abounds in coal. Though verified deposits top the world, the amount extract-



Rich soybean harvest at a state farm in Heilongjiang Province.

ed is negligible. The coal industry has been fast developing over the years, but there is still a long way to go to meet the ever-growing needs of the national economy.

Industrial production in 1978 outstripped that of any year after the start of the Cultural Revolution in 1966. Apart from coal, important industrial goods did well to meet state plans. For example, steel output exceeded 30 million tons and chemical fertilizer 48 million tons, an increase of more than 10 million tons over 1977; cement met its annual plan of 54 million tons 49 days ahead of schedule. State plans were also fulfilled or overfulfilled in crude oil, electricity, railway transport, chemicals, machinery, building materials, consumer goods and textiles.

## A New North-South Railway Line

Another north-south trunk railway line was completed and opened to traffic a short time ago.

Running parallel to the Beijing-Guangzhou line, it is 885 kilometres long, extending from Zhicheng in central China's Hubei Province to Liuzhou in south China's Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region. It is linked with the Hunan-Guangxi and Guizhou-Guangxi railway lines to the south and with the Jiaozuo-Zhicheng railway line and the Taiyuan-Jiaozuo line to the north, the latter nearing completion. This has further improved China's railway transport which is developing apace.

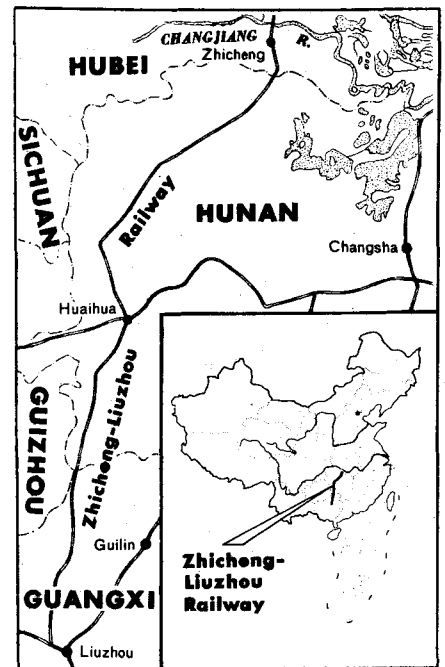
Construction of this new line started in 1970. Since it passes through difficult terrain, it entails huge and hazardous engineering work, involving some 105 million cubic metres of earth and stone work. Bridges and tunnels totalling 222 kilometres (172 kilometres being tunnels) account for more than one-fourth of the entire length. In many sections, the bridges adjoin the tunnels, and some stations are built right on the bridges or in the tunnels.

Many of China's minority nationalities live along the line,

including the Tujias, Miaos, Dongs and Zhuangs, in addition to the Hans. With the new railway running through the hilly areas in western Hunan Province, three-fourths of the counties there can now be reached by train. This makes it possible for the people in these remote areas to ship out timber and native produce in exchange for farm machinery, chemical fertilizer, industrial equipment and consumer goods.

In the 73 years from 1876 when the first railway line, which was a very short one, was built in China to the founding of the People's Republic in 1949, only 21,000 kilometres of railways were built. In the 30 post-liberation years, however, dozens of trunk lines have been completed, and the mileage now open to traffic is more than twice the figure at the time of liberation.

Though we have made some achievements, the railways we have at present still fall far short of the needs for bringing





about modernization in a vast country like China. Work is being stepped up on many new lines including the 870-kilometre-long line from Beijing to Jilin Province in the northeast, the railway from east China's Anhui Province to central China's Jiangxi Province, the Qinghai-Xizang railway and another one across the southern part of the Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region.

## Carry on the Struggle for People's Democracy

The struggle for people's democracy does not end with the establishment of the socialist system. The Party must lead the masses to continue the struggle to win and safeguard democracy. These are the most valuable lessons to be drawn from the 1976 Tian An Men incident.

The foregoing viewpoints were advanced in the article "Long Live the People" by *Renmin Ribao's* Special Commentator on December 21.

In early April 1976, millions of people went to Tian An Men Square to honour the memory of Premier Zhou Enlai who had just passed away and at the same time denounce the "gang of four" who still held important posts in the central authorities. This mass movement, however, was ruthlessly suppressed by the gang. Today, with full consideration for the facts, the Party Central Committee announced that what had happened in Tian An Men Square was revolutionary action on the part of the masses. While this gladdened the people of the whole country, they began to ponder and discuss

what they should learn from all this.

The *Renmin Ribao* article tried to do just that. It spoke highly of the Tian An Men incident, to begin with, describing it as "a milestone in Chinese history." While analysing the historical and class background of the incident, it noted that the main purpose of people going to Tian An Men Square that year was to mourn the death of the late Premier Zhou and give vent to their hatred for the "gang of four." In fact, the incident gave expression to the "life-and-death struggle between the Party and the people on the one hand and the 'gang of four' on the other. It was a struggle between revolution and counter-revolution, between brightness and darkness, between scientific socialism and feudal socialism, a struggle that would decide China's future and destiny."

This movement was suppressed. Why? How can we prevent a repetition of this historical tragedy? The crux of the matter, the article pointed out, lies in the need to uphold democratic centralism and the need for the masses to really become masters of the country. If the people could elect government leaders of their own choice and place these leaders under their supervision, political swindlers like the "gang of four" would not be able to hold such high posts for so long, push people around and commit outrageous atrocities. If the people could exercise the democratic rights guaranteed by the Constitution, that gang would surely not be able to use counter-revolutionary violence against the people and cause bloodshed on Tian An Men Square.

Why is it still necessary to carry on the struggle for democracy in a socialist country where the people should be their own masters? This is because, the article pointed out, remnants of feudalism and forces for the restoration of capitalism still exist in our socialist society, and there are reactionary forces represented by Lin Biao and the "gang of four." Moreover, China today is still "a workers' state with a bureaucratic twist to it," as Lenin put it. In these circumstances, the people's hard-won democratic rights are from time to time encroached upon, and there is even the danger of losing them again altogether. Thus, to fight for and safeguard democracy is a long-term and important task of the whole Party and the whole nation. "The road of the development of socialism," the article went on to say, "is not a straight path strewn with roses, but one overgrown with brambles. To fight for and defend democracy, sometimes great sacrifices have to be made."

**Party Leadership Indispensable.** Because of its complexity, the article added, the struggle to defend people's democracy must be carried out under the Party's leadership. Only thus can it achieve success. The reason is simple. Forces antagonistic to socialism often worm their way into the Party and state organs of the proletarian dictatorship and seize a portion of Party and state power. Without the collective leadership of the Party and without protection from the state, it would be difficult for the masses to defeat these hostile forces through spontaneous struggles. Besides, there are all kinds of non-proletarian

thinking among the masses, such as deviations from the Party's unified leadership, anarchism and ultra-democratic tendencies, all of which will lead to defeat.

**Masses' Demands for Democracy.** What should be our attitude towards the demands of the masses? The article noted that the Party Central Committee's decision announcing that the Tian An Men incident was completely revolutionary received the wholehearted support of the people. Big-character posters were put up and discussion meetings were held, supporting the decision and voicing their demands for democracy and their urgent wish to speed up the four modernizations. This is an indication of the people's concern for the affairs of the state, their high level of political consciousness and their ability to distinguish right from wrong. They will never allow bad elements to take advantage of any opportunity to make trouble. The people's opinions should be carefully considered and analysed, and we must be good at adopting their correct ideas. As for the incorrect ones, we should make explanations so as to educate and bring round those concerned. In the case of ideological problems, the only way to solve them is persuasion, not coercion. This is the way to give correct Party leadership to the people's continued struggle for democracy, enabling it to move ahead on the right track and at the same time letting the people speak out boldly.

The article said: "Some comrades panicked when they saw an upsurge of democratic spirit on the part of the people, and they try by various means to dampen it or even suppress it, thereby pitting themselves against the masses. This is in complete contravention of fundamental Marxist principles as well as our Party's basic stand, and is therefore utterly wrong."

The article concluded by quoting Comrade Mao Zedong's words "Long Live the People," underscoring the concept that the people are the masters of their country and the makers of history.

### **Special Funds for Factories**

State-owned enterprises fulfilling production plans and meeting major economic requirements are entitled, starting from last year, to special funds for improving collective welfare and awarding outstanding workers.

This is a new measure taken by the Ministry of Finance and was announced by the State Council as a directive towards the end of last year. According to the stipulations, any enterprise which fulfils contracts and meets the eight major economic requirements for quantity, quality, variety, consumption of raw and semi-finished materials, fuel and electricity, labour productivity, production cost and profits is entitled to such special funds which amount to 5 per cent of the total wages of its workers and

staff, and enterprises that fulfil contracts but meet only four of the eight economic requirements get only 3 per cent. Enterprises which fail to reach the set targets get nothing.

Departments in charge of various branches of industry may draw 5 to 15 per cent of the overfulfilled part of the total annual net profits turned in by the enterprises under their administration as special funds which are used mainly as awards to those enterprises which have done exceptionally well in production and made greater contributions to the state. Collective welfare in these enterprises will, of course, be above the average.

In a recent commentary, *Renmin Ribao* pointed out that this new measure effectively integrates the interests of the state and the enterprises with those of the workers and facilitates the implementation of the principles of distribution according to work and more pay for more work. It will do much to speed up the four modernizations.

Use of these funds, the commentary noted, must be put under the supervision of the masses and is subject to approval by the congress of workers and staff. At present, the greater part of them goes to building new houses for the workers.



# Statement of Government of P.R.C.

January 7, 1979

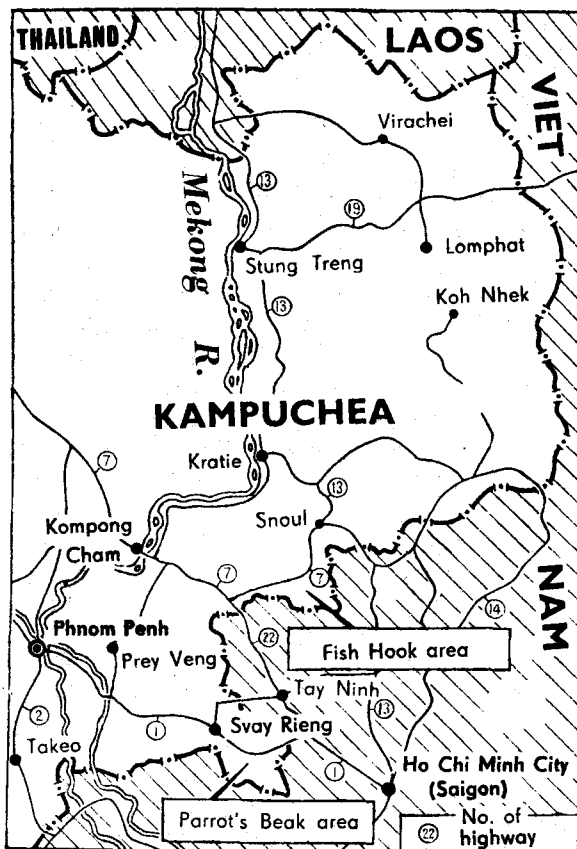
**R**ECENTLY, the reactionary authorities of Viet Nam have brazenly dispatched a dozen or so divisions, supported by many planes, tanks and guns, to wage a new massive war of aggression against Democratic Kampuchea and occupied a large part of its territory. Viet Nam has carried out indiscriminate bombings and engaged in burning, killing and pillage in Kampuchea, causing very serious damage and loss of life and property to the Kampuchean people. The Vietnamese aggressors have committed towering crimes. This is a flagrant act of armed aggression against Kampuchea by the Vietnamese hegemonists. It is a grave provocation to the countries in Southeast Asia, the Asia-Pacific region and all the world, and also to peace-loving people all over the world.

As is known to all, it is to serve the Soviet Union in its expansionist strategic plan that the

Vietnamese authorities have invaded Kampuchea so recklessly. Viet Nam's attempt to annex Kampuchea by force and set up an "Indo-chinese federation" under its control is a major step in pushing its own regional hegemony and an important part of the Soviet drive for hegemony in Asia and the Far East. If Viet Nam's aggressive ambition should be fulfilled, not only would the Indochinese peoples be subjected to enslavement and all Southeast Asian countries faced with direct threat from the Soviet Union and Viet Nam, but the Soviet Union would be enabled to link up its drive for hegemony in the Pacific with that in the Indian Ocean, thus seriously endangering the peace, security and stability of the Asia-Pacific region and the world as a whole.

At present, all Kampuchean army men and people are rallied closely round the Government of Democratic Kampuchea and putting up a heroic and tenacious fight to defend their national independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity against their common enemy, the Vietnamese invaders. The Kampuchean people's just struggle has won the sympathy and support of all justice-upholding countries and people in Asia and the world. History shows that all aggressors eventually get the opposite of what they want and end up in ignominious failure. An aggressor's day of ascendancy is the beginning of his defeat.

The Chinese Government and people are very much concerned about the grave situation Kampuchea faces. We have always supported the Kampuchean Government and people in their just struggle against aggression. We resolutely support the just position of the Government of Democratic Kampuchea expressed in its January 2 statement and its reasonable demand for an emergency meeting of the Security Council and for United Nations intervention. We firmly support the Kampuchean people in their effort to fight their sacred national war of self-defence to the end. We hope that all the countries and people interested in peace and stability in Southeast Asia, Asia and the world will take every possible measure to stop the Vietnamese authorities' savage aggression against a sovereign state.



# Aggressor's Neck in the Noose

by "Renmin Ribao" Commentator

WITH the support of Soviet social-imperialism, the Vietnamese authorities have flagrantly unleashed a large-scale war of aggression against Kampuchea and occupied Phnom Penh, capital of Democratic Kampuchea, on January 7. The Kampuchean Revolutionary Army and people are actively waging a people's war against aggression throughout the country after withdrawing from Phnom Penh.

The development of the war situation in Kampuchea is another eloquent proof that the war between the Vietnamese authorities and Kampuchea is due definitely not to border disputes between Viet Nam and Kampuchea but to the Vietnamese authorities' unbridled ambition to dominate Southeast Asia and their deliberate attempt to overthrow the legal government of Democratic Kampuchea, annex Kampuchea and incorporate it into a "Indochinese federation" they scheme to rig up. It is clear to all that this is a war between the aggressor and the fighter against aggression. The occupation of Phnom Penh is no "victory" for the Vietnamese authorities, but a major political defeat. By supporting the Vietnamese authorities in this savage and despicable war of aggression with munitions, money, material and propaganda, the Soviet Union has fully given the lie to its vaunted desire for "peace" and "independence" in the Southeast Asian countries and fully laid bare its vicious features as big-power hegemonism using the Vietnamese authorities as a pawn for expansion in Southeast Asia.

The occupation of Phnom Penh by the Vietnamese aggressor troops does not show that the Vietnamese aggressor is strong. On the contrary, it shows that the Vietnamese authorities, beset with difficulties at home and abroad and extremely isolated because of their aggression against Kampuchea and their anti-China activities, are trying to reverse a situation very unfavourable to them by means of a rapid military occupation of Phnom Penh in defiance of universal condemnation. The capture of Phnom Penh reflects the psychology of this gang of regional hegemonists. They are gamblers who are outwardly strong but inwardly weak.

The capture of Phnom Penh by Viet Nam does not mean the end but the beginning of war. Phnom Penh is the capital of Democratic Kampuchea. Its occupation will only be one more

burden to Viet Nam, for the Kampuchean people can still fight the aggressor in vast areas. In a weak nation's war against aggression, what counts is not the seizure or loss of a city but the power of the whole people who, being the victim of aggression and mobilized and united in their profound hatred for the enemy, unfold an extensive people's war to wipe out the effective strength of the aggressor in a protracted war of resistance. The many small victories gained by the people will add up to larger victories until final victory is won. This is exactly what the Kampuchean people did in their struggle against imperialism and its lackeys, and they have much experience in this respect. The Kampuchean people are dauntless. So long as they enhance their great national unity, unite with all patriotic forces, mobilize every positive factor, make use of every favourable condition and wage a flexible people's war on their own territory to fight against this Vietnamese war of aggression, the aggressor will be encircled, pinned down, battered from all sides and defeated completely. In unleashing its war of aggression against Kampuchea, Hanoi was sticking its head into a noose. In seizing Phnom Penh, it has fastened this noose around its own neck. The day will come when the people of Kampuchea will tighten this noose and defeat the Vietnamese aggressor.

The seizure of Phnom Penh by the Vietnamese aggressor has enabled the people of the world, especially the people of Southeast Asia, to see clearly that the Vietnamese authorities and their behind-the-scenes boss, the Soviet Union, are unscrupulous hoodlums. The Chinese people and the Kampuchean people are close comrades-in-arms in the struggle against hegemonism. We shall, as always, resolutely support the Kampuchean people's struggle against aggression. Out of their deep sympathy with the Kampuchean people, the victim of aggression, and of their profound indignation at the Vietnamese aggressor, the people of Southeast Asia and the rest of the world will also support the Kampuchean people's just struggle and make common efforts to check the aggression and expansion of Vietnamese regional hegemonism and Soviet big-nation hegemonism.

(January 9, 1979)



# Samdech Norodom Sihanouk Denounces Viet Nam's Aggression

SAMDECH Norodom Sihanouk, who stopped over in Beijing on his way to the United Nations Security Council as Head of the Democratic Kampuchean Delegation, said at the press conference he gave on January 8 that the Kampucheans will fight to the bitter end against Hitlerite Vietnamese aggression, despite the fall of Phnom Penh.

He said he had received news earlier that morning that all the leaders of the present Kampuchean Government "are safe and in good shape, and are leading the national resistance somewhere in Kampuchea against the Hitlerite Vietnamese aggressors." He was convinced they would carry the resistance to the bitter end. "We have many patriots in Kampuchea who are courageous fighters," he added.

The press conference held in the Great Hall of the People was attended by more than a hundred Chinese and foreign journalists including the American journalists who were here to cover the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and the United States, newsmen and television crews from Britain and Japan, and journalists from France and a host of other countries.

Replying to questions posed by the press, Samdech Norodom Sihanouk said that the present situation in Kampuchea is reminiscent of that in France in 1940 when Hitler's aggressor troops occupied Paris and General de Gaulle was forced to lead the national resistance movement in London before the Hitler forces were defeated in 1945 and France regained her independence.

Samdech Sihanouk was convinced that history will repeat itself and Kampuchea is bound to triumph over the enemy in the national resistance movement.

## **The U.N. Should Force Viet Nam To Pull Out of Kampuchea**

Samdech Norodom Sihanouk said that the United Nations should condemn Viet Nam's

naked aggression against Kampuchea and force it to pull out of Kampuchea. If Viet Nam failed to do so, the United Nations should expel Viet Nam from the world organization.

Answering a question, he said: "You have a very clear, very ominous example of naked aggression from one country against another without any justification."

"Before launching the war, the Vietnamese pretended that we Kampucheans used to send troops into Viet Nam to kill Vietnamese people, burn houses and rape beautiful Vietnamese women. Yes, they are beautiful, but we Kampucheans have our own beautiful women, and we don't have to go to Viet Nam to rape," he retorted.

He added: The Russians and the members of the Warsaw Pact and the Vietnamese themselves tell the world and the United Nations that "it is not a question of Vietnamese aggression against Kampuchea but simply a civil war, simply a struggle between the Pol Pot regime and the Kampuchean people who suffered under the regime."

"But, it is not true," Samdech Sihanouk said. "The press in all countries of the world and everybody know that without the Vietnamese the so-called 'national united front of national salvation of Kampuchea' cannot do anything against us, against our country, against our national independence. They cannot turn Kampuchea into a colony of Viet Nam."

He said: "The Vietnamese are responsible for the aggression against Kampuchea, for the conquest of Kampuchea. Pol Pot is strong, or at least he was strong. Who are the leaders of the so-called front? They are perfectly unknown to the Kampuchean people. Who is Heng Samrin? I don't know him. Even the Vietnamese confess that the so-called front was founded one month ago. How can you have such a terrible army, with big artillery, in only one month? You must be good mathematicians to be able to use such guns."

Samdech Norodom Sihanouk stated: "It is a case of Vietnamese aggression against Kampuchea. So it is the duty of the United Nations, if it is faithful to the U.N. Charter, to open a full debate on the Kampuchean question, to condemn Viet Nam and force Viet Nam to evacuate completely from Kampuchea, leaving the Kampuchians to solve their problems without any foreign interference." If Viet Nam refused, the United Nations should expel Viet Nam from the world organization, he added.

### **Non-Aligned Countries Should Condemn Vietnamese Aggression**

Samdech Sihanouk called on non-aligned countries to condemn Viet Nam for its aggression against Democratic Kampuchea and to help Kampuchea win back her independence and territorial integrity.

Replying to a question, Samdech Sihanouk said: "My country is aggressed by Viet Nam without any justification. The Vietnamese are not non-aligned, they must be expelled from the non-aligned family since they are in fact a military ally of the U.S.S.R. and the Warsaw Pact.

"Can the Vietnamese say they are non-aligned when they do not respect the principle of non-alignment and independence? They are a satellite state of Russia, a member of the Russian military organization aggressing or threatening many countries including some in Africa."

He stressed: "The non-aligned countries must first, condemn Viet Nam for its aggression; second, expel Viet Nam from the non-aligned movement; and third, find out some means to help Kampuchea to win back her independence and territorial integrity."

### **Soviet Union Strongly Involved in Vietnamese Aggression**

Samdech Sihanouk accused the Soviet Union of being strongly involved in preparing and launching Viet Nam's aggression against Kampuchea.

He said: "The U.S.S.R. and Viet Nam had prepared the aggression against Kampuchea together when they signed their bilateral pact. Recently in Moscow, they had studied the

planning for the present aggression, invasion, occupation and colonialization of our country."

He went on: "For many months, Russia has been sending every day ships, planes, etc., transporting weapons, every type of weapon, military equipment to Viet Nam, and also sophisticated planes, not only Mig-19s but Mig-21s."

He said he was well informed by listening to radios all over the world every day. There were reports about the movement of weapons and tanks along the Hanoi-Saigon highway, he added. "The Vietnamese are poor, desperately poor, they have no rice to eat. They went to Japan, Asian countries and many other countries to beg for money, rice and everything. They accepted everything, even a piece of bread and an egg for breakfast. How could they possibly have such tanks and weapons?"

He stated: "The U.S.S.R. is with Viet Nam in such a fashion. They are strongly involved in preparing and launching the war of aggression against Kampuchea."

### **Impact of Soviet-Backed Vietnamese Aggression**

Samdech Sihanouk warned that the Soviet-supported Vietnamese aggression will move to Thailand, Singapore, Malaysia and the whole Southeast Asia, after swallowing Kampuchea. And if Vietnamese hegemonism achieved its designs of aggression in Kampuchea and Southeast Asia, then the equilibrium of power in the world would be in favour of the Soviet bloc.

Answering questions, Samdech Sihanouk recalled how Hitler in his heyday occupied and colonized Austria, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and many other countries, even a part of the Soviet Union, and grew more and more greedy before his downfall.

"How can you be sure that the Vietnamese and Russians will be satisfied with the swallowing of Kampuchea! As the French saying goes: The more one eats, the better one's appetite. After swallowing Kampuchea, the appetite of the Russians, the Warsaw Pact and the Vietnamese will grow. They will threaten Thailand, and after swallowing Thailand, they will swallow Singapore and Malaysia as this is in the interest of Vietnamese imperialism and colonialism. I cannot predict any swallowing

of Indonesia and the Philippines as they are just island countries. But as far as the countries like Singapore, Malaysia and Thailand are concerned, I am sure they will swallow these countries. Not immediately, but sooner or later they will do it because it is in the interests of Russian hegemonism and the aspiration of the Vietnamese hegemonism."

He continued: "The Vietnamese do not respect the national sovereignty of Laos. And Laos is weak with a small population and is a poor country; it cannot do much to safeguard its national sovereignty.

"So you see it is very dangerous for Southeast Asia to let Viet Nam stay in Kampuchea and continue to occupy her, because Kampuchea will serve as a strong base for the Vietnamese, with the Russians behind them, to launch attacks against the countries in Southeast Asia. So the equilibrium of power in the world will be changed in favour of the Russian bloc. And then there will be the danger of a direct threat to the United States and the rest of the world."

### **His Mission to U.N.**

Samdech Sihanouk said his forthcoming trip to the United Nations was requested by Mr. Pol Pot, "who is our national leader, to represent him at the United Nations.

"I have accepted. Why? Because he is a patriot and he signifies the legal status of our state, Democratic Kampuchea."

He said: "I promise Pol Pot that I will always be willing to serve my country. I will not attack Pol Pot, I will support Pol Pot. He symbolizes my country. I will support his regime. I will continue to support his policy for national independence."

He added: "His external policy is good. His determination to defend the territorial integrity, national dignity and national independence is good. I will continue to support him. People do support him."

"We will fight to the end, we will not capitulate," he stressed.

### **Domestic Situation in Kampuchea**

Answering questions on Kampuchea's domestic situation posed by foreign journalists, Samdech Norodom Sihanouk said he personally did not agree with some internal policies of the

Pol Pot government, but he stressed that a more urgent problem now was the Vietnamese aggression against Kampuchea, "a problem very important for the stability and peace for the world as a whole, not only for Asia but for everybody.

"So we have put aside the question of human rights. We should be altogether to work for peace and stability for mankind, and we unite our efforts in order to avoid the defeat of the Kampuchea independence by Vietnamese and Soviet aggressive advancement. We must stop them."

He added: "First we should re-establish the independence and sovereignty of Kampuchea, re-establish or restore peace in Southeast Asia, in Indochina, and have peace and stability in the rest of the world."

Samdech Sihanouk said he supported the policy of Pol Pot in defence of Kampuchean national independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity. "Pol Pot is symbolic of the legitimate status of Kampuchea," he added.

He pointed out that U.S. President Carter himself had finally decided to support the Pol Pot government. "He supports the independence of Kampuchea in order not to let the Soviet Union and Viet Nam to go further to insult Southeast Asia, to threaten the ASEAN countries, Australia and New Zealand, to threaten Europe and the rest of the world, and in particular the United States."

Answering questions about life in Kampuchea, Samdech Sihanouk recalled his five or six tours in the last three years of the countryside in the company of President Khieu Samphan. He said: "I have been able to visit some provinces along the Big Lake. The people there work very hard. They are not unhappy. On the contrary, they smile. I hear songs, not love songs, but revolutionary songs. These songs are not so bad. The children play and freely eat bananas in the gardens of their co-operatives. The food in the co-operatives are not bad, though not as good as mine. The dining rooms are clean and the cooking is good. The people are not skinny. They are well fed. The life there is good, really good.

"The rich are not so rich and the poor not so poor as before. This is a unification of the society and a social justice, and the majority of the people of Kampuchea like it."

# Vice-Premier Deng Xiaoping Interviewed by U.S. Newsmen

---

**V**ICE-PREMIER Deng Xiaoping on January 5 gave an interview in Beijing to 27 American journalists who were visiting the capital to report on the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and the United States. They represented U.S. news agencies, journals and broadcasting and TV corporations. The Vice-Premier answered their questions as follows:

**Deng Xiaoping:** First of all, I would like to express my welcome to the American friends from journalistic circles who have come to visit us on the occasion of the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and the United States. The establishment of diplomatic relations between China and the United States opens wide vistas for friendly interchanges between the two peoples in various spheres.

Allow me to take this opportunity to express, through you, my good wishes to the American people. Your coming specially to cover this event will help enhance the mutual understanding between the two peoples and your reports will play a good role in this respect. It is a great pleasure for me to meet with you before my visit to the United States.

Now I would like to answer your questions on the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and the United States.

**John Roderick of Associated Press:** Mr. Vice-Premier and Mr. Huang Hua, on behalf of the American press corps here, I want to thank you for giving us your time in your very busy schedule, and I want to observe that although we are many here now there were only three nearly eight years ago when the American Ping Pong Team came to China and Premier Zhou Enlai promised an increased exchange of journalists between our two countries. So here

I want to thank you for the developments that shall take place in this new year. My question is: You invited Senator Barry Goldwater the other day to come to visit you in China to discuss the reunification of China, that is, the question of Taiwan. Since you did not have a published reply from him, would it be your understanding that you will be willing to meet with him in Washington to discuss this question on your forthcoming trip?

**Deng:** No, I will not talk with him in Washington. If the opportunity arises of meeting him there, I will extend a personal invitation to him to come to Beijing and discuss this question. The main point is, we hope Mr. Goldwater will get to know about China.

**Robert Crabbe of United Press International:** Mr. Vice-Premier, in the course of China's modernization, it seems you need to buy extensive technical services from the United States of America, Western Europe and Japan. In the case of Japan, it is understood that you will pay for these with shipments of coal, oil and other raw materials to the Japanese. But in the case of America, how do you plan to finance these extensive purchases of American technology such as those from United States Steel and Bethlehem Steel. Is it by bank loans or do you plan to sell America raw materials?

**Deng:** In the course of our drive for the four modernizations, we are prepared to cooperate with countries that are developed in science, technology, industry and agriculture. The forms of such co-operation may be quite varied. These could include bank loans, compensatory trade and other forms. We have held for some time that in many areas the United States occupies a leading position. We invite



the United States to join in the competition along with Western Europe and Japan. We feel that especially after the establishment of diplomatic relations between our two countries there is broad scope for development in this field.

I would like to add that before the normalization of relations, we had pointed out that since relations had not yet been normalized this sort of relationship was hampered. Now with the establishment of diplomatic relations this hindrance has been removed.

**Mr. Laurie of American Broadcasting Corporation:** Mr. Vice-Premier, this is our first television interview. We hope there will be more opportunities to continue this tradition that we are establishing here. On the question of Taiwan, you have said a number of times that that issue is an internal matter. But there are a number of areas of concern here in Asia that the use of military force might be a destabilizing influence in Asia. What is the Chinese position on the use of force and what sort of timetable would you say applies to this situation?

**Deng:** As we have stated on many occasions, the return of Taiwan to the embrace of the motherland and completing the process of reunifying the country is entirely an internal Chinese affair. It is on this basis that we achieved the normalization of relations with the United States. When the agreement was reached between the two countries, President Carter indicated the wish that the solution of the Taiwan question be accomplished through peaceful means. We have taken notice of this wish. At the same time, we make clear that the solution of this question is China's internal affairs. Of course, we shall strive to solve this question by peaceful means. But whether or not this can be done is a very complex question. We cannot commit ourselves to use no other than peaceful means to achieve the reunification of the motherland. We cannot tie our hands on this matter. If we tied our hands, we would obstruct the realization of the good intention to solve the matter peacefully. As to the question of a timetable, we Chinese are very patient people.

**Bernard Kalb of CBS News:** Mr. Vice-Premier, when the Chinese made their decision to normalize relations with the United States, what role was played by the Chinese perception of Soviet intentions towards China?

**Deng:** In reaching agreements on the establishment of diplomatic relations, both sides

approached this question from a global viewpoint. Of course the Soviet Union is not pleased with what happened. If we tried to please the Soviets with everything, then nothing could be accomplished.

**Jack Reynolds of NBC:** Mr. Vice-Premier, there is a great deal of concern in the United States these days about what's going on in Indochina, and with the new relationships between the People's Republic of China and the United States there is some concern about what China's role and what China's position will be in the conflict between Viet Nam and Cambodia. Can you tell us anything about that?

**Deng:** It is not only the Chinese people who feel concerned about this question. In fact, all peace-loving peoples throughout the world are very much concerned about this situation. For the flagrant large-scale aggression against Kampuchea by the Vietnamese is not an isolated event but part of the global strategy of great power hegemonism. Its impact is definitely not limited to Viet Nam and Kampuchea, nor even to the Asian and Pacific region. It has an impact on the world situation as a whole. That's why all people in the world concerned with international peace, security and stability should be very much concerned with developments there. Justice is on the side of Kampuchea. Kampuchea should be supported in its struggle against Vietnamese aggression. Kampuchea has raised this matter officially before the U.N. Security Council, asking it to intervene. We support this act taken by the Kampuchean Government. We hold that the U.N. should concern itself with this question. It has been our consistent stand to support Kampuchea against Vietnamese hegemonism and against Vietnamese aggression. While attacking Kampuchea, the Vietnamese constantly commit provocations against China in an attempt to realize the strategic designs of great power hegemonism. It is a matter of course that we are more concerned than other countries about this situation.

**Wayne Corey of the Voice of America:** Mr. Vice-Premier, in referring to the possibility of United Nations intervention in Cambodia, what kind of intervention would China like to see?

**Deng:** At least they should make clear their position in terms of moral support. Of course we know that it is impossible to restrain hegemonism, big or small, simply by some sort of resolution or document. But these have some effect anyway.



Vice-Premier Deng Xiaoping with American journalists in Beijing.

States, we made it clear on many occasions that while our systems are different and we have differences on many fundamental principles, there is much in common between us on matters of global strategy and on political questions. You will recall that in the Shanghai Communique issued between China and the United States in 1972, in the China-Japan Treaty of Peace and Friendship, and in the re-

cent Joint Communique on the Establishment of Diplomatic Relations Between China and the United States, the anti-hegemonic principle has been specially included. This is our greatest common point politically. What is there for the Russians to complain about? All they have to do is to stop practising hegemonism.

**Jay Mathews of *Washington Post*:** Mr. Vice-Premier, following up an earlier question on the difficulties that the Cambodians are suffering in the battle against Viet Nam, does China plan to send to Cambodia more arms, or advisers or any other concrete form of assistance to help Cambodia?

**Deng:** We have been giving the Kampucheans all kinds of material assistance. But they don't need any advisers from us because they have their own rich experience.

**Frank Ching of *Asian Wall Street Journal*:** Mr. Vice-Premier, now that the relations between China and the United States have been normalized, is China interested in purchasing American weapons? And if so, what types?

**Deng:** We would like to absorb all things advanced. But so far as we know, the United States does not have any intention to this effect.

**Michael Parks of *Baltimore Sun*:** Mr. Vice-Premier, you are going to the United States at the end of this month, could you tell us what you expect from that trip particularly in terms of political and economic agreements?

**Deng:** This trip of mine to the United States is something I have been looking forward to for at least several years. My purpose in going to the United States is to learn about the United States, learn everything that is advanced

(Continued on p. 24.)

Beijing Review, No. 2

**Marsh Clark of *Time* magazine:** Mr. Vice-Premier, this question is asked on behalf of myself and James Pringle of *Newsweek* magazine. President Carter in the United States has expressed deep concern about human rights around the world. The United States Congress has imposed conditions on our trade with other countries, trade which we hope to develop with China, based on the human rights record, especially the right of free emigration from a country involved. What will be China's policy in this regard?

**Deng:** We don't have this question of emigration. The problem we are facing now is that the Vietnamese have driven out large numbers of Chinese residents and Vietnamese citizens of Chinese descent. Domestically, when the "gang of four" ran rampant in China, democracy was impaired to some extent. Since the smashing of the "gang of four," we have been rectifying this situation. It is our policy to bring democracy into full play. Our principle is one of democratic centralism. As for the question of human rights raised by the United States, I hope that we will not discuss it, because each has his own interpretation of the question.

**Fox Butterfield of *New York Times*:** Mr. Vice-Premier, the Soviet Union has accused China, Japan and the United States of now forming a so-called triple-alliance. To what extent do you envision in fact that the three countries may co-ordinate their policies?

**Deng:** There is no question of alliance. I think it is true of China, the United States and Japan that each approaches various international issues in the light of its own interests. For instance, before the normalization of relations between China and the United

---

---

# Tian An Men Poems

**S**ELECTED *Tian An Men Poems*, a collection of poems written by the people in blood and tears, with love for the late Premier Zhou Enlai (Chou En-lai) and hatred for the "gang of four," has come off the press early this month in commemoration of the third anniversary of the death of Premier Zhou.

China is a land of poets. The names of great poets it has brought forth are legion. There have appeared in the history of Chinese literature a number of influential poetry movements, but none can compare with that on Tian An Men Square, where hundreds of thousands of people converged in early April 1976 to express their sentiments and speak out their minds with poems and songs which were quickly relayed to other parts of the country. That mammoth movement was indeed without precedent.

**In Memory of Premier Zhou.** The poems pay tribute to the late Premier who will live for ever in the hearts of the Chinese people. The following oft-quoted lines describe the people's love for him:

*The people love their Premier  
Who shared their weal and woe;  
The people's Premier loved his people  
Whose hearts beat with his as one.*

Another poem to the same effect reads in part as follows:

*Countless people seek fame and honour,  
But real honour belongs to  
He who wins nationwide praise.  
Countless people seek to become immortal,  
But only he who lives in the people's  
hearts  
Is truly immortal.*

**Angry Protests.** The angry protests in Tian An Men Square sounded the knell of the "gang of four." They drummed up mass sup-

port — a most important condition — for the smashing of the gang.

A young worker called Wang Lishan from Shanxi Province wrote the following poem which was very popular among the people and was therefore earmarked by the "gang of four" as "counter-revolutionary case No. 001." Thanks to the masses who protected him, Wang remained "undetected" until after the gang's downfall. The poem reads:

*Devils howl as we pour out our grief,  
We weep but the wolves and hyenas laugh.  
We shed our tears and blood for the hero,  
Raising our brows, we unsheathe our  
swords.*

There were many elegiac verses dedicated to Premier Zhou. Workers and staff members of Factory 109 under the Chinese Academy of Sciences wrote one of theirs on four large tablets. Defying persecution by the "gang of four," four workers carried these tablets and marched at the head of a long procession, passing through the capital's main thoroughfares. When they reached Tian An Men Square, they placed at the foot of the Monument to the Heroes of the People the four tablets bearing these eye-catching lines:

*Red hearts have brought forth fruits of  
victory,  
With our blood we water the flower of  
revolution.  
If the demons should spit poison and fire,  
There'll be people who'll vanquish these  
monsters.*

There were also poems using homonyms to scorn the "gang of four" of Wang Hongwen, Zhang Chunqiao, Jiang Qing and Yao Wen-yuan. One of these poems has these words: Over River Huangpu is a bridge which is rotten and tottering. Shall we demolish or burn it down? Here "Huang" sounds like

"Wang" and refers to Wang Hongwen. River is "jiang" in Chinese, referring of course to Jiang Qing. Bridge, which is "qiao" in Chinese, refers to Zhang Chunqiao. The Chinese character for tottering is "yao" which is homonymous with Yao Wenyuan's surname. The writer of the poem is one of the faculty members of the Chinese language teaching group of the Peking No. 2 Foreign Languages Institute, who collected and edited the *Selected Tian An Men Poems* and published it under the collective pen-name Tong Huaizhou (meaning everyone cherishes the memory of Zhou Enlai).

**Oration.** On the morning of April 4, 1976, Li Tiehua of the Shoudu Iron and Steel Company made a speech at the square. More and more people gathered round him to hear his speech and Li had to repeat what he had said four times. To keep him away from harm, the people on the square who had never met him before helped him change his clothes and disguise himself, and close to 200 people volunteered to escort him safely home. Protected by the masses and his Party branch, Li escaped arrest and imprisonment by the "gang of four." The speech which was tape-recorded reads in part as follows:

Premier Zhou, we have come as your own children to pay our respects to you.

You were loyal to the Party, dauntless in the face of the enemy and kind to the people . . . and you dedicated your whole life to the lofty cause of China's revolution and construction.

You worked so hard, and you were weighed down by work to death. (At this point, both the orator and the audience began to sob, and the cry "Immortal glory to the Premier!" echoed through the square.)

We find in you all the fine qualities known to mankind. . . . You don't need any praise, you don't need any monument, for your contributions to the Chinese nation and your memory will be cherished by the Chinese people in their hearts for ever and ever.

Comrades, we are aware that there is a handful of people directing their attacks against Premier Zhou. We can never tolerate this! (The crowd shouted: Down with whoever opposes Premier Zhou!) . . . Today, thousands upon thousands of people, among them are workers, peasants and soldiers, have swarmed to this place, Tian An Men Square. This is a clear indication of popular sentiments! (Shouting of slogans.)

Comrades! Comrades of the People's Liberation Army! Comrades of the working class and peasantry! The struggle is acute and complicated. We must be firm in our determination and confidence that we will overthrow those careerists and conspirators! (Shouting of slogans: Down with the careerists! Down with the conspirators! Defend Premier Zhou to the death! Defend the Party Central Committee!)

**Carrying Out His Behests.** In mortal fear of the increasing number of wreaths sent to Tian An Men Square to honour the memory of Premier Zhou, the "gang of four" ordered their men to remove wreaths every day after midnight. Infuriated by the gang's contemptible action against the people, workers of the Beijing Heavy-Duty Electric Motor Plant made three huge bar-steel wreaths, took them in a truck to the square and detailed their mates to guard them at night. On one of these four-metre-high wreaths was written this poem:

*The Premier loved his people,  
The people love their Premier.  
Spring, summer, autumn and winter,  
We think of our Premier the year round.  
The four modernizations  
Will be accomplished in two stages.\*  
The day when his behests come true,  
The nation'll greet him with libation.*

\* On Chairman Mao's instructions, Premier Zhou announced at the Fourth National People's Congress in 1975 the plan to accomplish in two stages the modernization of China's agriculture, industry, national defence and science and technology before the end of the century.



# The 8th Asian Games at Bangkok

by Our Correspondent Zheng Fangkun



THE Main Stadium of Bangkok's National Sports Complex last December 20 was packed with 80,000 people waiting under the tropical sun hours before the closing ceremony of the 12-day 8th Asian Games was due to begin. The football final between the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and south Korea ended in a goalless draw as dusk fell and with it the sustained excitement and keyed-up emotions of the athletes, referees and spectators.

All of a sudden, booms shattered the evening calm as multicoloured fireworks and flares lit up the stadium in the night sky. The Asiad flame which had been burning throughout the 12 days on the altar high above the stadium gradually flickered out. As the strains of *Auld Lang Syne* struck up, the more than 2,800 sportsmen from 25 Asian countries and regions lined up on the stadium ground exchanged souvenirs and words of farewell, promising to meet again four years later at the 9th Asian Games in New Delhi.

Meanwhile, the lights on the second floor of the stadium building blazed on at the press centre as correspondents filed the final results. Following is a brief sum-up of the competitions:

In the swimming, shooting, track and field and weightlifting events, a total of 66 Asian records were broken.

Two Chinese girls had surpassed the world's best in points for the women's platform diving event and six Chinese men and women divers triumphed by bettering the Olympic marks for the men's platform diving and the men's and women's springboard diving.

## Unprecedented Success

It was the third time that Thailand hosted the Asian Games. The two previous occasions (the 5th and 6th) had also been held from December 9 to 20, which is the best time of the year in Bangkok. To genial and hospitable Bangkok, however, there was something new and interesting about the 8th Asiad. The number of participating countries and regions and

sportsmen was unprecedented. Qatar, Syria, Bangladesh, Saudi Arabia, Lebanon and the United Arab Emirates were represented for the first time at the games and the People's Republic of China and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea were participating in the Asian Games in the Thai capital for the first time.

This biggest sports meet in the history of the Asian Games turned Bangkok's residents into avid sports fans. The main stadiums and grounds were always filled to capacity. Gate takings for the first three days far surpassed the total gate takings for either of the two previous games in Bangkok. The demand for tickets was such that prices had to go up once in the 12 days. For example, 6,000 wanted admission into a gymnasium which could hold only 4,000. Stands and even the aisles were packed while thousands who could not squeeze in had to be content with watching the contests on television outside the gates.

Most of the games' competitions took place at the National Sports Complex and the Hua Mark Sports Complex where at the entrance stalls were set up to sell soft drinks, souvenirs and other knickknacks bearing the emblem of the 8th Asian Games — sunhats, T-shirts, badges, commemoration coins, etc. The stalls were a big attraction and business was brisk. One felt an "Asiad fever" in Bangkok, and perhaps that's what made all so amiable at the games.

The high standards reached in gymnastics, track and field, and swimming by not a few but more countries kept the "Asiad fever" in Bangkok at a high point.

**Gymnastics.** Competitions in the gymnastic events were held in the first three days. On the opening day, the Chinese gymnasts did well, winning gold medals for the men's team event and the men's individual all-round contest as well as a silver medal and a bronze medal to

have the five-star red flag hoisted four times in the gymnasium. Japan finished three points behind China to take the silver medal.

During the three days of the competitions, the Chinese men and women gymnasts carried off 10 of the 14 gold medals, a feat which surprised many people. For in past Asian Games, particularly at the 7th in 1974, it was Japan that almost made a clean sweep of the gold medals.

The Chinese women's team averaged 16 years old, the youngest being only 14. The chief referee Kiyoko Ono of Japan spoke highly of them: "The Chinese girls have combined and executed all the extremely difficult routines in their exercises and their skill almost matches that of Nadia Comaneci's perfect 10 score."

### New Talents

**Track and Field.** With 397 competitors (285 men and 112 women) from 22 countries and regions participating, it was one of the biggest track and field meets in Asia.

An outstanding feature was a great number of new talents who made their mark at the meet. The Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Malaysia, Indonesia, the Philippines and Syria which had not a single track and field gold medal to their credit at previous Asian Games carried off at least one this time. India collected eight golds, double that at the last games. Japan with 10 equalled its number at the 7th games, coming second after China's 12.

The host country Thailand took four golds, twice the number it garnered at the last games.

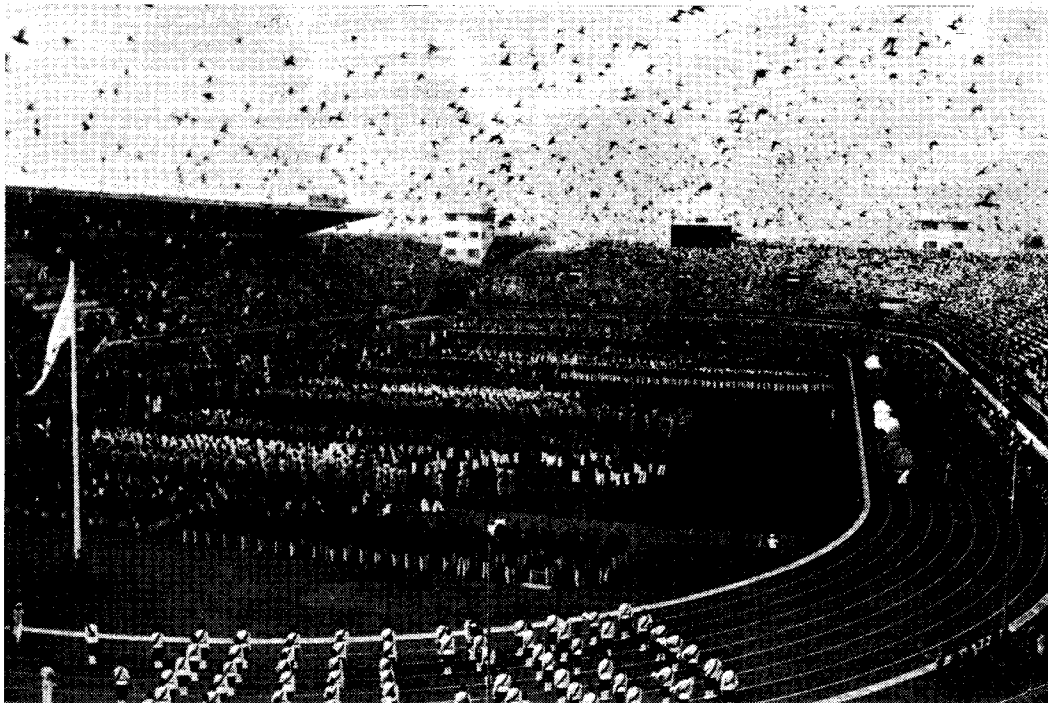
The prowess of its athletes delighted the spectators. When the Thai sprinters finished first in the men's 4 × 100-metre relay, the whole stadium burst into tumultuous applause for a long time.

People were glad to see so many youngsters at the track and field events giving a good account of themselves. D.P.R.K.'s 19-year-old Kim Ok Sun who started training only two years ago won the women's 1,500 metres and the 3,000 metres, breaking Asiad's 1,500-metre record to boot. China's Zheng Dazhen who became the games' women's high jump champion had only taken part in two international contests previously. In 1977 at the University Games in Italy she barely managed 1.65 metres but a year later at the China-Japan friendship track and field competition she cleared 1.83 metres to place second. In the Asian Games she soared over 1.88 metres.

"Seeing these new stars gives me greater confidence in the development of track and field in Asia," said Prida Rodphothong, the games' track event referee.

**Swimming.** Japan continued to dominate the swimming events, winning 25 of the 29 gold medals. However, other countries were coming up fast and this was another new feature of the games.

In winning the women's 200 metres freestyle, Thailand's Rachaniwan Bullakul shattered the Japanese swimmers' monopoly of this event since its introduction to the Asian Games in 1958. Junie Sny Poh Leng won the



The opening ceremony.

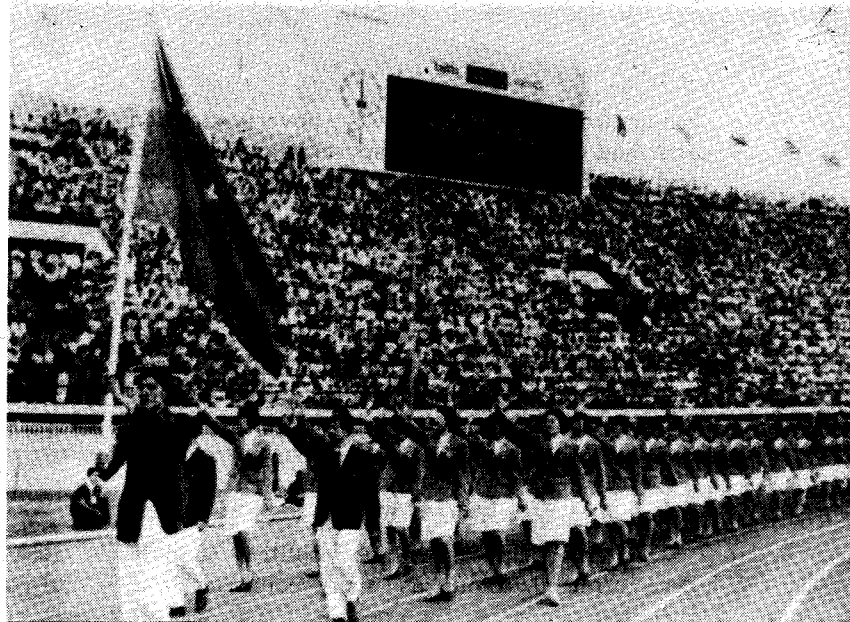
women's 400 and 800 metres freestyle for Singapore. The successes of these two girls sent boisterous cheers round the spectator's stands for it was the first time women swimmers of Thailand and Singapore won gold medals since their countries' participation in the Asian Games. Both girls were 14-year-olds and the Thai press hailed them as young heroines challenging Japan's monopoly position in the swimming pool.

Diving competitions provided another highlight of the water sports. China's 16-year-old Chen Xiaoxia's performance in the women's platform diving event captivated both spectators and judges alike. Her extremely difficult dive of one-and-a-half forward somersault with a 360-degree body turn was so well executed that a Japanese judge gladly awarded her the unprecedented perfect 10-point score. Her total of 477.42 points surpassed the world's highest mark made by Irina Kalinina of the Soviet Union in West Berlin in 1978 by a cool 64.71 points.

### Big Gap

Table tennis, field hockey, badminton, diving and gymnastics at the games reached world levels, but other events fell short. Take track and field as an example. Although there was a marked improvement in some events, the results were nowhere near the world records—the best throw for the men's javelin was 1.5 metres short of the world record and the men's 10,000 metres was well behind, slower by 3 minutes. In football and basketball, there is much that Asia must do to catch up with the world's best.

There was much talk at the games about narrowing the gap. It was generally conceded that while Asian sportsmen were outstandingly agile, they lacked stamina and speed. In a certain sense, sports competition involves a contest in scientific sports research and a country's economic strength and development. To train top-notch athletes one must take into account the science of nutrition, a scientific approach to training methods and modernization of sports equipment. Today, the developed countries have at their disposal many scientific sports research departments but such is beyond the reach of many Asian countries, for the time being at least. The fact that athletes of some Southeast



The Chinese sports delegation.

Asian countries were sent to Western countries for intense training shortly before the Asian Games shows that they lack the necessary facilities at home. In China's case, methods of training football, basketball and volleyball players are still the outmoded ways typical of the 50s, so naturally it cannot hope to produce satisfactory results.

This state of affairs is the legacy of history. Apart from Japan, most of the Asian countries had for long remained in a colonial, semi-colonial, dependent status. They were backward

---

#### Medals Won by Countries and Regions At 8th Asian Games

Country or region	Gold	Silver	Bronze
Japan	74	64	51
China	56	60	51
Democratic People's Republic of Korea	21	15	22
South Korea	20	22	30
Thailand	11	12	19
India	11	11	5
Indonesia	7	8	18
Pakistan	4	4	11
Philippines	4	4	6
Iraq	3	7	9
Lebanon	3	2	1
Singapore	2	1	4
Malaysia	2	1	3
Syria	2	0	1
Mongolia	1	3	5
Burma	0	3	4
Xianggang (Hongkong)	0	2	3
Sri Lanka	0	0	2
Kuwait	0	0	1

---

economically, their people were poverty-stricken and had poor physique, sports was neglected and skills in competitive sports lagged behind. Old China was then known as the "sick man of the East." With the exception of Japan, only four Asian countries, India, the Philippines, China and Afghanistan, were represented at the world Olympic Games before 1936. The total number of competitors from these four countries was 189. Less than 1 per cent of the athletes at those Olympics came from the vast Asian region.

### Ever Onward

After World War II, the political map of Asia changed colour as many countries won their independence. The people of Asia wish to unite and quickly change the backward face of Asia politically, economically, and not least in

the sphere of sports. The Asian Games is a result of Asian unity. Its motto "Ever Onward" reflects the aspirations and determination of a continent. A cradle of human civilization, Asia is a vast region with a huge population. Through the joint efforts of the people of all Asian countries, Asia is poised to catch up with the world's best, sports included.

The growth of the Asian Games is proof. While only 11 countries and regions went to the 1st Asian Games in New Delhi in 1951, at the 8th Asian Games 25 took part and the number of competitors rose from 1951's 500 to more than 2,800. Sports events increased from 1951's six to today's 19. Improved standards of competition and records were also very much in evidence in Bangkok. These are indications that the Asian countries are making progress in both prosperity and unity.

---

(Continued from p. 18.)

in that country and exchange views with U.S. statesmen, especially with President Carter, on all questions of mutual interest. Therefore I shall be going there with great pleasure.

**Linda Mathews of Los Angeles Times:** Mr. Vice-Premier, you said the Chinese people are prepared to be patient on the question of reunification with Taiwan, can you tell us what efforts, if any, are being made to seek a rapprochement between Beijing and the authorities of Taiwan? And whether you expect Taiwan to be reunited with the mainland in your lifetime?

**Deng:** The Standing Committee of the National People's Congress issued the Message to Compatriots in Taiwan on January 1 this year. This is the first step that we have taken. We will be taking a variety of measures to discuss with the Taiwan authorities and particularly with Mr. Chiang Ching-kuo the question of the reunification of the motherland. Personally I hope that this goal can be achieved this year. As far as my health is concerned, I can live at least for another ten years, but that would be too far off.

**Marsh Clark of Time magazine:** Mr. Vice-Premier, what do you see as the role and activities of the American press in the People's Republic of China once we are established here? We hope to establish here in the near future.

**Deng:** It is our sincere hope that the American media will make many contributions to developing friendly co-operation between our two countries in a variety of ways and promoting friendship and contact between our two peoples. I would like to add that for a number of years the American press has done a great deal to further the normalization of relations between China and the United States and to enhance friendship between our two peoples. I would like to express my thanks to all our friends who have worked towards this end.

**John Roderick of AP:** Mr. Vice-Premier, it has been said that the last and most important problem before trade and commercial relationships can be established between our two countries remains that of claims made by the United States for territory and for assets taken at the end of the Chinese civil war and Chinese bank accounts frozen in the United States. Do you foresee that you may be able to come to grips with this problem in Washington this month and is a solution of it rather in prospect?

**Deng:** Your Treasury Secretary will be coming to China soon. He will take up this problem. I don't think this is a big problem. Thank you.

Present at the meeting were Chinese Foreign Minister Huang Hua and Adviser to the Chinese Foreign Ministry Pu Shouchang.



*Prospect and Retrospect***China's Socialist Legal System**

**H**OW to make the socialist legal system work as it should is a current topic of engrossing interest to the Chinese people. Two major policy statements on the subject made in 1956 and 1957 by the late Comrade Dong Biwu, former President of the Supreme People's Court, Vice-Chairman and Acting Chairman of the People's Republic of China, have been reprinted by the press. Recent addresses by President of the Supreme People's Court Jiang Hua, an October 1978 speech by Zhao Cangbi, Minister of Public Security and concurrently Vice-Director of the Political and Legal Commission of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, as well as a number of commentaries on the administration of justice in China have also appeared in the national dailies. These have stirred up a strong response from the masses. Following are some of the salient points:

**New Superseding the Old**

The Chinese Communist Party did a lot of effective and original work after the founding of the People's Republic to establish a socialist legal system. In the latter part of the 50s attention was directed particularly to strengthening this system.

**Old Legal System Demolished**

Pre-liberation China's legal system was a tool of a ruling minority to oppress and exploit the working people. In those days, the Chinese Communist Party led the people to demolish this system.

National liberation in 1949 swept away the old state organs and laws. In September that year, the Communist Party and the democratic parties jointly worked out a Common Programme to serve as the country's provisional constitution. With this document as the basis, a people's democratic legal system was set up following a 1952 movement to reform the judiciary.

**Mass Movements**

In the early years of the People's Republic, the Communist Party initiated several mass

movements on a nationwide scale. Direct mass action rather than the force of law fuelled these tempestuous revolutionary movements. The aim then was to break down the old, reactionary social order, and in its place establish a new, revolutionary order. Examples are the land reform movement of 1949-51 to overthrow the landlord class, the 1950 movement to suppress counter-revolutionaries and the 1952 *san fan*\* and *wu fan*\*\* movements against the bourgeoisie. These mass movements were absolutely necessary because the reactionary forces riding on the backs of the people were still very powerful when the old society was being superseded by the new.

The Chinese Party and government put forward a number of programmes and policies to guide these mass movements. Although not formally perfect laws, they functioned as such. Later, these were codified and finally became laws and decrees after examination and adoption by the legislative bodies following extensive discussions by the masses and trial implementation for a period of time. Thus, the Land Reform Law, the regulations governing the punishment of counter-revolutionaries and embezzlers, the Trade Union Law, the Marriage Law, the Labour Protection Law, the Law for National Regional Autonomy and other decrees and regulations were all drawn up on the basis of the experience gained in mass movements.

**New Legal System Established**

New China's first Constitution was promulgated in 1954. In the same year, five organic laws—organic laws of the National People's Congress, the State Council, the People's Courts, the People's Procuratorates and the local people's congresses and the local

\* *San fan* refers to the movement against the three evils—corruption, waste and bureaucracy—in Party and government organs as well as in state enterprises.

\*\* *Wu fan* refers to the movement against the five evils—bribery of government officials, tax evasion, theft of state property, cheating on government contracts and stealing economic information—all of which were widespread at the time among private industrial and commercial enterprises.



Beijing parade to celebrate the promulgation of the new Constitution.

people's councils (i.e., local governments) were drafted and adopted. Of these, the Organic Law of the People's Courts set up the judicial system and procedures, which played an important role in protecting the people and striking at their enemy.

Somewhere about 1,100 major laws, decrees, codes and regulations were passed in the decade after 1954 when the Constitution was promulgated. These helped push China's socialist revolution and construction forward.

Minister Zhao Cangbi recalled this piece of history to show that China's legal system grew out of the country's specific conditions. He noted that such innovations as a death sentence with a two-year reprieve and forced labour to see how the condemned convicts behave, a policy introduced by Chairman Mao, and the use of corrective labour to help criminals turn over a new leaf, have been favourably commented by jurists abroad.

### Need to Perfect the System

Of course, China's legal system was far from perfect. In his statements in 1956 and 1957, Comrade Dong Biwu singled out two shortcomings in the system. First, the laws were inadequate. Second, they were not always observed. There must be laws which people can go by, he declared, and, moreover, laws must be observed by all without exception. For this purpose, the judicial organs and system had to be strengthened.

While mass movements in the early post-liberation years were necessary, they must not be allowed to go on and on indefinitely, Comrade Dong Biwu noted. Eight years after the

founding of the People's Republic, the task of the state had changed from one of liberating the productive forces to one of protecting them and facilitating their growth. The legal system thus needed tightening up. "A state without a legal system is not a state in the full sense of the term," Comrade Dong Biwu declared.

Chairman Mao said specifically in 1962: "We can't do without laws. We must have a penal law and a civil law. Not only must laws and regulations be promulgated, but there must also be a compila-

tion of typical cases." So a penal law, a civil law and a law of criminal procedure were drafted that year. The following year, the draft penal law was distributed to the judicial departments throughout the country to solicit comments. This law had not yet been examined and adopted by the state legislative body but it was referred to by the courts in deciding cases and meting out punishment.

## A Period of Great Trials

The drive to tighten up and perfect the legal system was stopped dead in its tracks by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" when they held sway. People's democracy, citizens' rights, Party discipline and the law of the state were wantonly brushed aside.

### Judicial Organs Smashed

A serious setback was delivered to the socialist legal system by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" just as efforts were being made to improve it. The socialist legal system stood in their way to usurping Party and state power, so right at the start of the Great Cultural Revolution in 1966, they began dismantling the public security departments and the procuratorial organs and charged that the socialist legal system was "a shackle" and "a straight-jacket" holding back the mass movements. China's judicial organs were suspended.

Abusing the power they had usurped, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" began cracking down on large numbers of revolutionary cadres and people. They let loose hoodlums and thugs to smash, grab and loot, to break into, and

ransack homes, illegally detain people, set up kangaroo courts and torture innocent people to extort confessions. In places and units they controlled there was no freedom of person because socialist social order was non-existent.

### Feudal-Fascist Rule

In those days, declared a special commentator of the journal *Zhongguo Qingnian* (China Youth), anyone who dared show his disapproval of Lin Biao or the "gang of four" was immediately condemned and punished for committing a heinous crime. Anything that was regarded as a slight disrespect to them constituted a "counter-revolutionary crime." One Nanjing worker got five years merely because he inadvertently commented in public on Lin Biao's build. The whole thing was, of course, extremely absurd, but at least it was done with a semblance of "judicial proceedings," the special commentator added. At least, some sort of "reason" was given and it was known where the worker was imprisoned so members of his family could visit him occasionally. In many cases even a semblance of judicial proceedings was dispensed with. Personal property and personal freedom were wilfully encroached upon and safety of people's lives was not guaranteed. In short, wherever Lin Biao and the "gang of four" held sway, socialist democracy gave way to feudal despotism married to 20th-century fascism.

### Bitter Lessons

**This grim experience has compelled people to give serious thought to several basic questions. How could such a calamity occur and what are the lessons to be drawn?**

#### Why Could Lin Biao and the "Gang of Four" Do as They Liked?

An article in the journal *Zhongguo Qingnian* by two young women Lin Chun and Li Yinhe said that it was true that Lin Biao, the "gang of four" and their followers had concentrated in their hands amazingly great power, but against the rest of the nation, they were numerically only a tiny minority. Why was it that hundreds of millions of people could not avert this catastrophe by getting rid of them early in the struggle? The march of history or its stagnation cannot be put to the endeavours of individuals. It is unconvincing and certainly not historical materialism.

**I**n order to safeguard people's democracy, it is imperative to strengthen the socialist legal system so that democracy is systematized and written into law in such a way as to ensure the stability, continuity and full authority of this democratic system and these laws; there must be laws for people to follow, these laws must be observed, their enforcement must be strict and law breakers must be dealt with. From now on, legislative work should have an important place on the agenda of the National People's Congress and its Standing Committee. Procuratorial and judicial organizations must maintain their independence as is appropriate; they must faithfully abide by the laws, rules and regulations, serve the people's interests, keep to the facts, guarantee the equality of all people before the people's laws and deny anyone the privilege of being above the law.

—Communique of the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee of the Communist Party of China

History always leaves behind something instructive. We have paid dearly, but we have learnt important lessons which we did not understand before. We have come to see that as a phenomenon of history Lin Biao and the "gang of four" had deep-rooted social and political causes on Chinese soil. Yet the inadequacy of our laws, the lack of a sound legal system and the absence of efficient enforcement agencies to protect socialist democracy gave them a chance. Moreover, under the cloak of "Leftists," they freely used the name of the Communist Party and the proletarian dictatorship to deceive many innocent people, particularly the young and inexperienced, and inveigle them into committing disastrous excesses. At first it did not occur to Party members and the people in general that they should exercise supervision over them. When they did, they could do nothing to check this power wielding minority because there were no judicial means on hand to bring them to book. The democratic means the Party and the people could employ were very much weakened, too gravely impaired to be of any use, so that cabal of political careerists and conspirators for a while had the field to themselves. This is a grim and bitter lesson which the people will never forget. They must

## SPECIAL FEATURE

take up the weapons of socialist democracy and the legal system, hold firm to them and use them.

### Basic Rights Must Be Guaranteed

"Freedom of speech, press, assembly, association, political conviction, and religious belief and freedom of the person are the people's most important freedoms," Chairman Mao had said in 1945 in his *On Coalition Government*.

The reason why those who had spoken up against Lin Biao and the "gang of four" could be condemned as counter-revolutionaries was that the people were not in a position to safeguard their right to free speech, and also the fact that there was no law providing scientific, clear-cut stipulations as to what constitutes a counter-revolutionary crime. This applied to many other things as well. As the people could not safeguard their right of a free press, the "gang of four" were at will to monopolize and manipulate the newspapers and practically make all means of mass communication toe their line. And because the people could not safeguard their freedom of assembly, the "gang of four" could wantonly proscribe all meetings, parades and demonstrations against them on the charge that these were "counter-revolutionary." This was why they could, and did, crack down on the demonstrators in Beijing's Tian An Men Square, in Nanjing as well as in other parts of the country. As the people could not safeguard their freedom of association, the "gang of four" freely branded many mass organizations as "reactionary organizations." As the people could not safeguard their freedom of political conviction, the "gang of four" were given a free hand to imprison those who thought for themselves and upheld truth. As the people could not safeguard their freedom of the person, the "gang of four" set up kangaroo courts and slaughtered innocent people at will.

We must have these basic rights, said the article in *Zhongguo Qingnian*. There must be a legal system and its genuine enforcement. These are convictions gained at the cost of our people's blood and lives, the article declared.

### Beware of Pseudo-Left Careerists

An article by *Renmin Ribao* Special Commentator dealt with this question from the angle of the political-line struggle and came to the following conclusion.

Distortion of the Marxist theory of state by revisionists to undermine the dictatorship of the proletariat takes two forms, the article noted.

Distortion from the Right extends democracy to all members of society and abolishes dictatorship over the class enemies despite the existence of classes and class struggle. This is known as the theory of "the state of the whole people." Khrushchovian revisionists used this theory to transform the Soviet proletarian dictatorship into a bourgeois dictatorship.

Distortion from the ultra-Left assumes the form of strident advocacy for strengthening the dictatorship over the bourgeoisie, which actually means extending and imposing a dictatorship over Party members and the people in general and trampling underfoot inner-Party democracy and people's democracy. This is known as the theory of "all-round dictatorship," concocted and practised by Lin Biao and the "gang of four."

The dictatorship of the proletariat, properly understood, must embrace two aspects: Extensive democracy for the people on the one hand and dictatorship over a handful of reactionaries on the other. To negate one or the other aspect is to negate the idea of such a dictatorship as a whole.

As the Chinese Communist Party had exposed and denounced Khrushchov's theory with some thoroughness, its members and the Chinese people in general were aware of and vigilant against this form of revisionism from the Right. However, many comrades were unable to discern revisionism in an ultra-Left form.

Therefore, throughout the historical period of the proletarian dictatorship in our country, while watching out for the revisionists from the Right, we must specially keep a wary eye on the revisionists from the "Left" (pseudo-Left but genuine Right), who would undermine the proletarian dictatorship by negating people's democracy.

### Eliminate Feudal Autocratic Ideology

As many commentaries pointed out, in China's long history of feudal rule the landlord class had mastery of the country through setting up a centralized state. In the period from the Opium War of 1840 through to the collapse of the Chiang Kai-shek regime in 1949, China

developed into a semi-feudal and semi-colonial country, but the feudal autocratic political system and ideology continued to be the political and spiritual props of old China. The influence of feudal autocracy could be felt in almost every aspect of social life and feudal ideology permeated all social strata. In short, pre-liberation China had no democratic traditions to speak of and, in this respect, China was more backward than Russia before its October Revolution.

A tradition of proletarian democracy was gradually built up in the decades of arduous struggle carried on by the Chinese Communist Party led by Comrade Mao Zedong. However, sabotage by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" in the past years managed to resuscitate the old ideology and feudal autocratic traditions. Thus in-depth criticism of the ideology of feudal autocracy to eradicate its influence remains a major task on the ideological front today and for many years to come.

### **Building the Socialist Economy Must Be Speeded Up**

Some of the commentaries gave an economic analysis of the problem. A small-producers' economy, they pointed out, predominated in pre-liberation China and this kept the country backward economically and culturally. And although the national economy developed rapidly after liberation, large-scale production has yet to completely replace small production, remnants of which can be found everywhere in the country. This state of affairs is, economically, fertile soil for the ideology of feudal autocracy and the psychology and habits of the small producers to survive and persist. To root out the ideology of small production and remnants of feudal autocracy and to bring socialist democracy into full play, it is essential to speed up the growth of a modern socialist economy.

### **New Beginnings**

Much has been done to restore and strengthen the socialist legal system since the fall of the "gang of four." While a host of problems remain, confidence in the future is growing.

### **Set Things Right**

The Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party headed by Chairman Hua attaches great importance to the socialist legal

system. The Fifth National People's Congress, held in February-March 1978, adopted and promulgated a new Constitution as the fundamental law of the state.

In his report to the Congress, Chairman Hua declared: "It is essential to strengthen the socialist legal system if we are to bring about great order across the land. Our laws protect the people's interests. Basing ourselves on the new Constitution which is to be discussed and adopted at this session, we should draw on our 28 years of experience with the dictatorship of the proletariat, give a ready ear to the opinions of the masses and gradually make and perfect our socialist laws. We should give wide publicity to the significance of cultivating a sense of respect for socialist laws. Cadres should be law-abiding, as should the masses and indeed everyone."

The Party Central Committee has taken effective measures in the last two years to redress all the outrageous miscarriages of justice perpetrated by Lin Biao, the "gang of four," and their followers. The papers published many commentaries emphasizing the need to seek truth from facts and correct mistakes whenever discovered. President of the Supreme People's Court Jiang Hua in recent speeches has stressed time and again that this was "a major task, at present a task of utmost importance, for the people's courts at all levels." "If wrongs are not redressed," he said, "it would be a continued violation of the rights of citizens. This is impermissible, either by Party discipline or by state laws." Instead of continuing the vile practice of papering over wrongs — as was done when the "gang of four" had the press in their pocket — the press nowadays makes a point of exposing violations of state laws and Party discipline, particularly in cases where the rights and interests of the people have been infringed upon by leading cadres. The opinion-moulders today are doing a responsible job.

### **More Legislative Work**

At a discussion sponsored by the Political and Legal Commission of the Party Central Committee, Vice-Director Zhao Cangbi underlined the need to write new laws, decrees and rules and regulations in accordance with the new Constitution. The Constitution can be fully implemented and socialist democracy guaranteed, he said, only when there is a complete system of socialist laws. The strengthening of the socialist legal system should include

better legislative and judicial work and stricter observance of the law. At present, the emphasis must be on making laws, so people will have laws to abide by, the Vice-Director said.

Some 30 codes and regulations need to be revised or drafted right away. For example, the penal code must be finalized so the courts will have a criterion to go by. Then, there is the civil code, to protect the economic and other interests of the people.

Special committees are being set up to draft a penal law, a civil law and a law of criminal procedure to be submitted to the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress for examination, adoption and promulgation.

Development of the productive forces in China will necessitate major changes in the relations of production as well as in the superstructure, of which laws, decrees and rules and regulations form an important component. To this end, various laws and regulations on economic work, including those for the people's communes and factories, fulfilment of contracts, protection of forests, grasslands and the environment, will be drafted and gradually perfected. Judicial organs will be established to arbitrate disputes and lawsuits between enterprises.

In the next few months, a number of laws and regulations are going to be revised or drafted. After that, on the strength of this experience, there will be a two- or three-year programme for all-round review of the existing laws and regulations, and new laws and regulations drafted if necessary.

**Bright Prospects**

From the discussions in the press and what one hears among neighbours, it is quite clear that the people, who have suffered much at the hands of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," very much want a sound and working socialist legal system. The Party and the government know what the people want and are responsibly taking active and effective measures in that direction. And this, of course, is winning the hearts of the people.

The smashing of the "gang of four" is of momentous significance as the epoch-making liberation of 1949. With the ouster of that gang, China enters a new historical period. Socialist democracy and the socialist legal system have had a rough time in the past, but the outlook today is bright. There is every hope to expect by the end of the century a powerful, socialist China, highly democratic politically and highly modernized economically.

# Judicial Organs and Judicial Procedure in China

by Xing Zhong



*Readers have written to ask about China's present judicial organs, judicial procedure and penalties. The following is a sketch of basic facts by Xing Zhong, a jurist. — Ed.*

## I. Judicial Organs

**Organization.** The judicial organs of China consist of people's courts, people's procurators and the public security departments.

People's courts are of four levels (see chart):

the Supreme People's Court of the People's Republic of China is the highest judicial organ in the country:

the higher people's courts of the provinces (or their equivalents — the autonomous regions and municipalities directly under the Central Government);

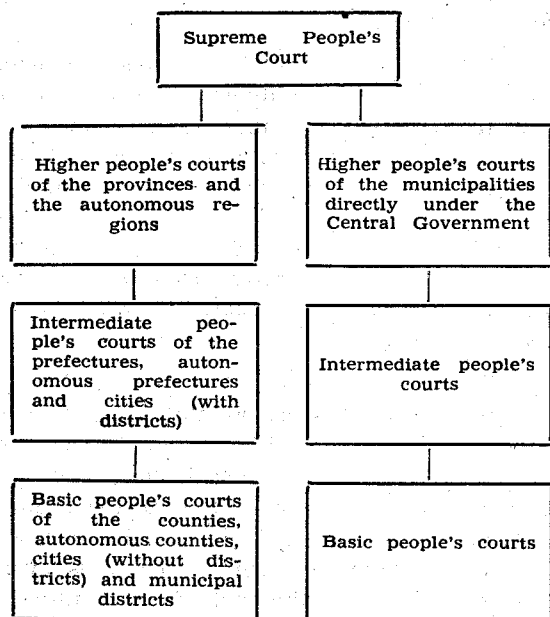
the intermediate people's courts of the prefectures, autonomous prefectures, cities directly under the provinces and municipalities directly under the Central Government;

the basic people's courts of the counties and autonomous counties (or their equivalents — cities and municipal districts).

There are also special people's courts (at present mainly military courts).



The people's procuratorates consist of the Supreme People's Procuratorate of the People's Republic of China, local people's procuratorates at various levels, special people's procuratorates (at present mainly military procuratorates).



Local people's procuratorates at various levels consist of:

the people's procuratorates of the provinces, autonomous regions and municipalities directly under the Central Government;

the people's procuratorates of the autonomous prefectures and cities, and the branch people's procuratorates of the provinces, autonomous regions and municipalities under the Central Government set up when necessary;

the people's procuratorates of the counties (or their equivalents — cities and municipal districts).

The public security departments consist of the Ministry of Public Security of the People's Republic of China and the local public security bureaux at various levels.

**Functions and Relationships.** The courts, the procuratorates and the public security departments are organs which administer justice and uphold the law. Each has its own functions, and they complement and restrict each other. In criminal procedure, the functions of each are as follows:

The public security department investigates criminal cases, detains suspects, makes arrests and carries out the judgements of the court.

The procuratorate is an organ exercising procuratorial authority. It examines and decides whether to approve or not to approve a request for arrest made by a public security department. It also examines charges brought up by a public security department which has completed investigations, and decides whether it is necessary to hold the accused to criminal responsibility and bring the case before a court. The chief procurator, or any procurator designated by him, attends the trial in the capacity of a state prosecutor to indict the accused and to see that the judicial process conforms to the law.

The court is the organ for conducting trials. It decides through court proceedings whether the accused is guilty or innocent, and, after guilt is established, metes out punishment to the offender.

**Complement and Restriction.** There is a system of complement and restriction between the public security department, the procuratorate and the court. For instance, all cases which the procuratorate has decided to prosecute must be tried by a people's court. The presence of the chief procurator (or a procurator) is required in court to sustain the prosecution of the case. If the evidence submitted by the procuratorate is considered insufficient by the court, the latter may return the case to the procuratorate for substantiation. The procuratorate has the right to lodge a protest against court decisions if it considers the verdict returned improper.

## II. Judicial Procedure

**Criminal Procedure.** There are generally five stages:

1) The registry of a case: A case is registered when the public security department, the court, and the procuratorate, having examined the material denouncing a crime or presented by those who surrender themselves to the law, consider that a criminal act has been committed and that it is necessary to hold the accused to criminal responsibility.

2) Investigation: The public security department conducts investigations, collects evidence and, should the case hold the accused to criminal responsibility, drafts a "memorandum of indictment." This memorandum, together

A 22-year-old woman named Yuan working in a post office in Beijing had stolen parcels and embezzled funds amounting to 2,000 yuan between 1975 and August 1977. She pleaded guilty before the Beijing Intermediate People's Court and was sentenced to three years of imprisonment.



Wang Chen, prosecutor, reading out the charges.



Confronting the accused with material evidence.

with all relevant material, is then submitted to the procuratorate for examination.

3) **Indictment:** The procuratorate examines the material submitted by the public security department and, on finding the facts of the crime clear and the evidence beyond doubt and sufficient for holding the accused to criminal responsibility, files an indictment against the defendant. The case is then held over for trial by the court.

4) **Trial:** The trial proceeds in two stages — first instance and second instance. The first instance is generally administered by a collegiate bench of a judge and two people's assessors, and the case is heard in public. The court tries the case and gives its verdict in the presence of the parties concerned and the chief procurator (or a procurator).

The Constitution provides that the people's courts apply the system whereby representatives of the masses participate as people's assessors in administering justice. People's assessors are generally elected when people's deputies are elected at the basic level, and may also be invited by the court on a provisional basis. In court proceedings, the people's assessors have the same rights as the judge.

The second instance (or appellate instance) is conducted by a higher court which reviews the verdict of the court of the first instance if a party concerned appeals or the procuratorate protests against the verdict. The court of second instance hands down the final decision and is the court of last instance.

The law stipulates that if a party concerned contests the court's decision of first instance, he may file an appeal to the court at the next higher level within ten days after receipt of

the written verdict. If the procuratorate finds the verdict improper, it also has the right to lodge a protest with the court at the next higher level.

5) **Execution of the judgement:** After a judgement becomes legally effective, the court sends a notice of execution to the public security department, which shall carry it out.

**Judicial Supervision.** This is a special judicial procedure. The president of the court and the court and the procuratorate at a higher level have the right to rectify errors in a verdict in accordance with the proceedings governing judicial supervision, if they find the verdict of the court to be definitely in error, even after it has become legally effective (the same proceedings apply also to civil cases).

**Review of Death Sentences.** This is a special supervision proceedings for death sentences. If a court at the basic or intermediate level hands down a death sentence, it should submit the sentence to a higher court or the Supreme People's Court for re-examination and approval before execution, whether the defendant appeals or not.

**Civil Procedure.** There are likewise generally five stages:

1) **Bringing of suit to court and the court's cognizance of the case:** Any person whose rights have been infringed upon or who is involved in a dispute with others, may bring a suit to the court. The court takes cognizance of the case if it deems the suit acceptable.

2) **Preparation for the trial:** The court conducts investigations and gathers evidence related to the case as well as decides on when and where the case will be tried.



Yang Chunxi, lawyer for the defendant.



Xu Hanzhong, witness.



From left to right: Xie Jialin, judge, Yang Lanying and Li Jixun, people's assessors.

3) Trial by the court: Having heard the plaintiff, the defendant and the witnesses, the court with all the facts in hand proceeds to effect a conciliation between the parties or to adjudicate the case.

4) Appeal: Within ten days after receipt of the verdict, if a party contests the judgement of a court, he may apply to the people's court at the next higher level for re-examination. Trial by the higher court on the case is of second instance. There is no appeal against the verdict of the second instance.

5) Execution: Marshals of the court carry out orders of conciliation or verdicts.

#### Policies for Handling Civil Cases

Civil suits are generally disputes among the people. Hence, the court follows the principle "conciliation in most cases." That is to say, the court relies on the local masses to check on all relevant facts. On this basis and in compliance with relevant laws of the state, it resorts to persuasion and formulates as best as it can a mode of conciliation acceptable to both parties, and thus reduces to a minimum the necessity of pronouncing verdicts that are compulsory on the litigants. This principle is of significance in strengthening unity among the people and promoting voluntary observance of socialist law on the part of the citizens.

### III. Penalties

#### Kinds of Penalties

Principal penalties applied in China include: detention (generally less than six months),



Passing sentence.

supervision (generally not less than six months and not more than three years), imprisonment for a definite period (generally not less than six months and not more than 15 years), life imprisonment and the death penalty.

Detention, imprisonment for a definite period and life imprisonment are all penalties which involve deprivation of freedom. The sentence may in accordance with the legal procedure be commuted in consideration of a convict's good behaviour while serving his term.

Supervision. The criminal is not put under incarceration, but is subject to certain restrictions (for example, he may not change his residence or travel) and is deprived of political rights (such as the right to vote and to stand for election). After the court pronounces the sen-

tence, he is placed under the supervision of the public security department or the people at his place of work.

Death sentence and death sentence with a reprieve. In China, death sentences are passed with extreme care and only on rare occasions. The principle is: The death penalty is pronounced only when absolutely necessary, and the fewer the better. Therefore, we put into practice the system of "death sentence with a reprieve." This means that offenders whose crime calls for capital punishment but who are not bitterly hated by the people or who have done grave but not extremely grave harm to the national interests and the people's interests, are "given death sentences, but granted a two-year reprieve and subjected to forced labour to see how they behave." This allows convicts a last chance to repent and reform themselves. If they sincerely do so during this two-year period, their sentences are commuted on expiration of the period of reprieve, to life imprisonment or imprisonment for a definite period. Experience shows that reformatory education in prison does enable the overwhelming majority of the "suspension-of-death" convicts to repent and earn a commuted sentence.

Accessory penalties include fines, deprivation of political rights and forfeiture of property.

Foreign nationals who have violated Chinese laws may be deported.

### Policies Towards Criminals

Punishment tempered by leniency, and integration of reform through labour with ideological education are the policies adopted towards criminals in China.

Punishment tempered by leniency means that all criminals must be punished in accordance with law, but punishment varies according to the severity of the crime and the attitude of the criminals. Those criminals who confess to their crimes and show repentance or who have rendered meritorious service (such as helping to resolve major cases) are given lenient treatment. Punishment does not always have to be severe but depends on the gravity of the crime as well as the attitude of the criminal. Nor is leniency equated with simple remission. Leniency means that sentences which a criminal originally merits can be reduced or remitted.

The policy of integration of reform through labour with ideological education means that while convicts physically able to work must be compelled to take part in productive labour, they should at the same time be given full and meticulous ideological and political education, so that they will be reformed and turned into law-abiding citizens who can earn a living by themselves. Compulsory labour is only a means; it is introduced solely to help rehabilitate the criminals. Experience shows that this policy has been effective in helping many criminals turn over a new leaf and become useful citizens.

## Active Judicial Circles

**M**EMBERS of the Chinese judicial world are very active today, and this has been reflected in the national press. Their numerous contributions to newspapers and magazines make deep forages into formerly "forbidden zones" — tabu topics only a few years ago. At the forum on democracy and the socialist legal system held in late October last year by the Law Institute of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, the discussions were wide-ranging and very animated.

### All Citizens Equal Before the Law

"In administering and applying the law, state organs must regard all citizens as equals," said

the young jurist Li Buyun and some of his colleagues. This was an important issue raised at the forum.

The Organic Law of the People's Courts promulgated in 1954, they recalled, had decreed: In judicial proceedings in the people's courts, the law applies equally to all citizens, irrespective of their nationality, education, property state or length of residence. For a long time afterwards, however, this necessary and correct stipulation was said to be indistinguishable from the bourgeois concept that "All men are equal before the law." "It lacked a class point of view" and was announcing that revolutionaries and

counter-revolutionaries "are equal," certain people charged.

Jurists at the forum held that "All men are equal before the law" advanced by the bourgeoisie had played a certain revolutionary role in overthrowing feudal autocracy. Feudal law was avowedly for upholding a hierarchical form of society and its prerogatives for the ruling class.

The various bourgeois legal systems are based on the inequality of property. While they proclaim that all citizens have the right to vote, this right is conditional on the length of residence, education, property qualifications and so on, which immediately makes it impossible for the labouring people to enjoy actual equality with the bourgeoisie.

The equality the proletariat demands is the equality resulting from the ultimate abolition of classes. Socialist law, therefore, neither recognizes any class prerogatives nor tolerates any restrictions imposed by ownership of property and so on. It demands that all citizens are equal before the law in the true sense of the term. When we declare that all citizens are equal before the law, it is from the juridical point of view, that is, the law applies equally to all citizens. Legislatively, there is no stipulation that all citizens are equal; instead, the people must be distinguished from the class enemy. In this respect, upwards of 95 per cent of the population are considered as equals, but as treasonable and counter-revolutionary activities must be suppressed, so as far as traitors, counter-revolutionaries, newborn bourgeois elements and other bad elements are concerned, there is no equality for them with the people, but suppression of their sabotage activities. These provisions in the Constitution reflect the will of the proletariat and manifest the class nature of the law.

Juristically speaking, however, citizens are equal in the application of the law. Although unreformed landlords, rich peasants, reactionary capitalists and other class enemies are deprived, according to the law, of such political rights as to vote and stand for election, they are entitled to the same rights and performance of the same duties as the other citizens provided they do not offend against the law. These rights and duties include: their freedom of person and their homes are inviolable, they have the right to work and the right to rest and they must abide by the Constitution and the law, take care of and protect public property and observe

labour discipline. If they have acquitted themselves well after remoulding and education, their designations as landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries or bad elements are removed and they are restored all rights previously deprived. On the other hand, law-breakers among the people will be punished according to the law.

The Constitution and the law can be strictly implemented, Li Buyun and his colleagues maintained, only when the state organs exercise and apply the law equally to all citizens. This is entirely in the interests of the proletariat, they said.

### Suggestions

The legal system must be tightened up to ensure stability and unity inside the country and the attainment of the four modernizations. This was the common wish expressed at the forum presided over by the noted woman jurist Han Youtong. Vice-President of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences Yu Guangyuan and all the 160 other scholars and jurists at the forum, in the course of lively discussions, had many suggestions to offer to bring this about. Some of their suggestions were:

— Bring out a criminal law, a law of criminal procedure and a civil law as soon as possible; enact and gradually perfect various economic regulations including those for the people's communes, factories, labour, finance and protection of the environment and set up arbitration bodies to settle economic disputes and handle lawsuits.

— Draw up and improve various rules and regulations used in international intercourse such as those relating to the sea, contracts, patents and trade marks, and set up relevant judicial organs.

— In view of what Lin Biao and the "gang of four" did to the legal system, criminal acts so odious to the masses, such as making arrests and searches without warrants, setting up kangaroo courts, using coercion to extort confessions, bringing false charges, giving false evidence, must be strictly prohibited when administering justice. Violators in the future will be severely dealt with.

— Strengthen the various bodies concerned with the legal system: re-establish the Bureau of Legal Affairs under the State Council and the Ministry of Justice, set up an institute of jurists and rehabilitate the lawyers' association and the jurisprudence publishing house.

## SOUTHEAST ASIA

### Against Vietnamese Aggression

Public opinion in Southeast Asia in recent days has firmed against Viet Nam for its barbarous aggression against Kampuchea with the abetment of the Soviet Union and is for the Southeast Asian countries heightening vigilance and strengthening co-operation to check Vietnamese aggression and expansion.

The Thai newspaper *Sing Sian Yit Pao* said in its January 6 editorial that Vietnamese aggression against Kampuchea "was planned by the expansionists behind the scenes. It is not only aimed at conquering Khmer but controlling the whole Southeast Asia."

The *Thai Siang Yit Pao* said in an article on January 5: "What will become of Viet Nam if it occupies Phnom Penh and does conquer the whole of Kampuchea? It will definitely find itself estranged from all peace-loving and stability-desiring

countries in the world and more deeply isolated. The Kampuchean people will rise and wage a guerrilla war to harass the aggressors. The Vietnamese will be mired down in protracted, futile fighting and finally fold up."

The *Indonesia Times* said that only the ignorant believe Viet Nam's assertion that the fighting inside Kampuchea (against the legal government) was started by the so-called "national united front for national salvation."

Newspapers in Singapore and Malaysia all stressed greater co-operation among the ASEAN countries and vigilance against Viet Nam stepping up its aggression.

The Singaporean paper *Nanyang Siang Pau* was worried by the prospect of "a long period of turmoil in Kampuchea under Vietnamese control," and said that this would be a threat to the ASEAN countries. Every country should stand ready at all times to defend itself unhesitatingly, it added.

Thai Prime Minister Kriangsak Chomanan on January 6 in an interview with the press said that his country was concerned about the independence and freedom of Asian countries, particularly in Kampuchea, where a grave event has occurred. The tragedy which has happened in Kampuchea, he said, should be solved through negotiations by peaceful means. It should not be solved by means of the gun. He expressed the belief that the United Nations would not turn a blind eye to this.

Referring to the situation in Southeast Asia, Philippine Foreign Secretary Carlos P.

Romulo recently said: "ASEAN must devote greater care to Soviet activities in the region."

## JAPAN-U.S.S.R.

### Japanese Islands Are Not Soviet Stones

Any territorial problem between the Soviet Union and Japan simply did not exist, Soviet Ambassador to Japan D. Polyansky told Japanese correspondents. He also said that the Soviet Union was not prepared to give even one stone to anybody, let alone islands. And when Secretary of the C.P.S.U. Central Committee Mikhail A. Suslov met the 6th Japanese Socialist Party Mission led by its chairman Ichio Asukata, he declared that "the new territorial claim from Japan is tantamount to the demand to release war monsters." Suslov was, in fact, telling the Japanese to shut up, or else he'll kick their teeth in. The Soviet hegemomists cannot be accused of trying to hide their fangs.

Everyone knows that ownership of these northern islands of Japan which the Soviet Union has occupied for some 33 years has yet to be settled.

The first point of the joint communique signed by Japanese Prime Minister Tanaka and Brezhnev in October 1973 declared that the two sides would make contributions to the unsettled problems remaining after World War II including the territorial issue between the two countries and the Soviet supremo never denied that any differences over the territorial issue existed.

Why is the Soviet Union today refusing to recognize that the four northern islands belong to Japan, and even deny-



A puppet's puppet.

by Wang Cian



ing that a territorial problem exists between the two countries? The answer can only be that Moscow's hegemonic ambition has increased and its appetite for annexation grown larger.

The Soviet Union plans to keep Japan's northern territories, but that is impossible. The Japanese people want their northern territories returned and this demand was expressed resolutely in various ways last year. Their confidence and determination grow with time.

### ZIMBABWEAN GUERRILLAS Fresh Victories

From September to November last year, Zimbabwean guerrillas killed a total of 475 Rhodesian soldiers, shot down 15 aircraft and blew up 38 military vehicles. On December 11, they attacked the oil tanks in Salisbury and burnt up 78 million litres of oil products worth 20 million U.S. dollars. Not long ago, a Zimbabwe African National Union leader announced that the patriotic armed forces had established semi-liberated areas in eastern, northeastern and southeastern Zimbabwe.

In the first half of last year, Zimbabwean guerrillas launched several hundred assaults or ambushes against the enemy camps, posts and patrols, wiping out more than 1,600 enemy effectives, destroying vehicles, planes and military installations.

With the powerful support of the African frontline countries, Zimbabwean guerrillas have dealt a heavy blow at the Smith regime, now in a last-ditch struggle to shore up its rickety structure by combining deception with repression and redoubling its efforts to invade African frontline countries. From the end of November to

early December last year, the Smith regime called out planes to raid Mozambique's Gaza, Tete and Sofala Provinces, inflicting death on innocent Mozambique residents and Zimbabwean refugees. Following its air raids of Zambia in October and November last year, the aircraft of the Smith regime on December 20 bombed Zambia.

A Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesman on January 2 pointed out that the Chinese Government and people pledge their firm support to the Zimbabwean people's just struggle to win national independence as well as the struggle waged by Mozambique, Zambia, Botswana and other African frontline countries to beat back the Smith regime's armed provocations.

### U.S.S.R.-U.S.A.

#### Recrimination Over SALT

Moscow and Washington traded charges over the failure to arrive at a SALT agreement during three days of talks in Geneva in December 1978.

Quoting U.S. circles, AP reported on December 28 that the Soviet Union demanded at the last minute for a ban on multiple warheads on U.S. cruise missiles and restrictions on U.S. long-range pilotless reconnaissance planes. *The New York Times* said that on the morning of December 23, Gromyko suddenly refused to make any accommodation on issues which the United States thought were rather inconsequential. The atmosphere of the talks changed and this precluded an early conclusion of the agreement.

Reacting promptly to the U.S. press comments, a *Pravda* commentary of December 26 declared that "it was not at all the Soviet stand that ought to be blamed that the SALT II

talks were still uncompleted." It charged *The New York Times* and other journals with publicizing "rumours" and "misinformation" and making "a deliberate effort to distort the essence of the Soviet stand." A TASS commentary released on the same day asserted that "the causes of the delay in reaching an agreement should be looked for in the United States."

Both the Soviet Union and the United States, however, have expressed their desire to have the accord as quickly as possible. As press circles pointed out, each of the two sides had planned to have the SALT II accord finalized which would set limits to the other party while developing its own nuclear weapons. "To the United States and the Soviet Union, the present talks are only a diplomatic way of limiting the arsenal of the other party," said an article in the January issue of the French magazine *Science et Vie*.

The article concluded with this warning: "To the Americans, facts are what count. At the present rate of increase, by 1985, the Soviet Union will have gained an advantage of 7:1 in 'transportable megaton missiles' and an advantage of 5:1 in transport capability." "The most important thing is that the Soviet Union can use the 5,000 nuclear missiles and the 820 intercontinental ballistic missiles which will be retained in 1985 to destroy two-thirds of the U.S. minuteman missiles in their silos in 'the first blow' of a surprise attack."

An article in Belgium's *Le Soir* pointed out on December 28 that the U.S.-U.S.S.R. SALT accord will not achieve a lessening in the arms race, but will rather achieve the opposite. "Neither the U.S. nor the Soviet Union will give up in the arms race," said the article.

## ● *China's Tourist Service*

More than 100,000 tourists visited China last year. This is a three-fold-plus increase compared with that of 1977, and is the total for the previous 14 years. This does not include 400,000 compatriots from Xianggang (Hongkong), Aomen (Macao) and Taiwan and foreigners of Chinese extract who came to visit relatives.

Various steps have been taken to boost China's infant tourist industry since the beginning of 1978. For instance, some 100



Enjoying a drink at the foot of the Great Wall.



Not missing a good shot even in a carriage.

cities and places including those of historical interest have been thrown open to foreign tourists, custom formalities simplified and new hotels in more than 30 cities built or are planned. Transport services have been improved, e.g., special trains now run between Beijing, the capital, and the Great Wall and there are now more buses and cars for tourists. The state has also signed agreements of co-operation on tourism with a number of countries.

Negotiations are now going on with foreign businessmen to use foreign funds to build hotels. Hunting, skiing, mountaineering and other outdoor sports activities will be included in the list of tourist activities for 1979. In pastoral areas, foreign visitors will be able to stay in herdsmen's felt tents.

The young industry is growing, attracting visitors from all over the world, and many problems and shortcomings remain to be overcome, such as inadequate or poor facilities, management and transport services and the lack of qualified interpreters. But every effort is being made to overcome these, and fast.

## ● *Workers Elect Their Shop Cadres*

Beijing Foreign Languages Printing House workers who print foreign language books and magazines, including this weekly, for the first time elected by secret ballot their own workshop cadres.

Elections were first tried out in the composers' shop. The operative word was democracy.

Prior to this, the printing house Party committee had called many kinds of meetings to hear what the workers had to say. The list of candidates was finalized after nominations by the workers, consultations among their representatives, discussions by all workers and further consultations among the representatives.

The candidates were picked for their technical expertise, organizing ability, fair dealing, initiative at work and concern for fellow workers. The director and two deputy directors elected were two former deputy directors and a statistician.

Then directors and deputy directors of six other shops, and section and group heads of all workshops were elected.

Formerly, these cadres, as in all other factories, were appointed.

Comrade Deng Xiaoping on behalf of the Party Central Committee had announced at the Ninth National Trade Union Congress last October that all factory workshop directors, section and group leaders would be elected by workers themselves. Like the printing house, many factories have held similar elections and others are about to. This is a step towards more democratic management in factories as well as a practical exercise of democratic rights by the workers.

## ● *Dai Birong—A Heroine*

Most people in Zhuzhou, a city in Hunan Province on the Beijing-Guangzhou line, know

Comrade Dai Birong. She was the girl heroine who saved the lives of three children on September 14, 1967 when she was only ten. In getting the younger children safely out of the path of an oncoming train she had lost her left arm and leg.

Despite her handicap, however, Dai Birong went on to finish senior middle school and has even taught herself to knit, wash clothes, cook and move around by herself.

The state ensures this heroine an adequate livelihood but she refused to stay idly at home and found herself a job, after much pleading, as a gate-keeper with the Zhuzhou railway sub-bureau. Besides her normal duties she also sorts and delivers the mail and newspapers to her colleagues on all four floors of the sub-bureau's building.

She well remembers that day in late September 1969 when she was in Beijing attending the National Day celebrations. She had met Chairman Mao and Premier Zhou. The Premier had spoken encouragingly to her and had taken her up in his arms and together had had a photo taken. That meeting has been a constant source of courage for her, helping her overcome difficulties other young people would never meet up with.

### ● ***Loafer's Wage Docked***

What does China do with people in an enterprise who won't do a decent day's work? First they are given a good talking to. If they don't improve, then they are criticized. If they still refuse to mend their ways after repeated efforts at

persuasion and education, their wages are reduced.

Bao Xiang was a dispatcher at the Changchun Railway Station in the northeast. He was so slack and indolent that after three years he could not even read signals properly. In July last year, he got five marks out of a hundred in a technical examination he sat, so he was suspended and told to go over what he had been taught during his apprenticeship. During this period his wage was cut by 30 per cent.

Bao Xiang then began to show an interest in his job. With the help of fellow workers he improved, and four months later he passed the examination and was put back to work on full pay.

China today is taking steps to decide wages according to competence instead of seniority, in compliance with the socialist principle of "from each according to his ability, to each according to his work." A young worker on passing the appropriate examinations can be promoted even before his apprenticeship ends.

### ● ***The Northernmost Town in China***

Mohe on the banks of the Heilong River is in Huma County, Heilongjiang Province. This northernmost town of China has about a thousand inhabitants.

It is about 53 degrees North and 123 degrees East and winter there lasts more than eight months. There is still some snow in May but leaves begin to turn brown and start to wither in August. Spring comes suddenly and in no time, everything is green. Summer

daylight is long and there is almost no night.

The inhabitants of Mohe did not farm in the past. In winter they were lumberjacks and hunters and in summer they fished. Only in recent years have they begun to use the 60 frostless days to grow wheat and soybeans on land they reclaimed from the marshes. They grow more than they need. The town now has a power plant, a farm tool workshop, a department store, a school and a hospital.

Until some years ago, even in winter a trip to Harbin, the provincial capital, took more than a fortnight by horse-drawn sledge south down the frozen Heilong River to Aihui and then going on by bus and train. Now there is a highway from Mohe to Aihui.

### ● ***Hainan-Xisha Shipping Service***

There is now a shipping service between Hainan Island and Xisha Islands, south China. The 2,000-ton passenger-cargo *Qiongsa* making the 13-hour voyage from Qinglan port on Hainan to Yongxing port in the Xisha Islands was built by the Guangzhou Shipyard.



# SELECTED WORKS OF

---

# MAO ZEDONG

---

## (Mao Tsetung)

### Volumes I-V

Volume I contains 17 articles written in the First Revolutionary Civil War Period (1924-27) and the Second Revolutionary Civil War Period (1927-37).

Volume II contains 40 articles covering the period from the outbreak of the War of Resistance Against Japan in July 1937 to the repulsing of Chiang Kai-shek's second anti-Communist onslaught in May 1941.

Volume III contains 31 articles covering the period from March 1941 to August 1945 when final victory was won in the War of Resistance Against Japan.

Volume IV contains 70 articles written in the Third Revolutionary Civil War Period (August 1945-September 1949).

*Volumes I-IV are available in Arabic, Burmese, English, French, German, Hindi, Indonesian, Italian, Japanese, Korean, Persian, Portuguese, Russian, Spanish, Thai, Urdu, Vietnamese and Esperanto.*

Volume V contains 70 articles covering the period from September 1949 to 1957.

*Available in English, French, German, Japanese, Russian and Spanish.*

Published by: **FOREIGN LANGUAGES PRESS**, Peking, China

Distributed by: **GUOZI SHUDIAN** (China Publications Centre), Peking, China

*Order from your local dealer or write direct to*

**GUOZI SHUDIAN** P.O. Box 399, Peking, China

---