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- Proletarian Democracy and Proletarian Dictatorship in China
- On the Vietnamese Authorities' Rejection Of Negotiations



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CHRONICLE

Feb. 19

Vice-Premier Deng Xiaoping meets O.A.S. Secretary-General Alejandro Orfila. China is willing to develop relations with the Latin American states, says Vice-Premier Deng.

Feb. 21

Premier Hua Guofeng meets the Delegation of the Executive Council of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Vojvodina, Yugoslavia, led by Nikola Kmezc, Chairman of the Council. At the meeting, Premier Hua expressed the wish for more and better economic co-operation and trade relations between China and Yugoslavia.

Feb. 22

Premier Hua sends a message to John Compton, Premier of St. Lucia, greeting the independence of St. Lucia and his assuming the premiership.

Feb. 23

The sixth meeting of the Standing Committee of the Fifth National People's Congress closes. Among other decisions the meeting approved were: the setting up of the State Agricultural Commission, the Ministry of Forestry, the Ministry of Agricultural Machinery; renaming the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry the Ministry of Agriculture; separating the Ministry of Water Conservancy and Power into the Ministry of Power Industry and the Ministry of Water Conservancy. The meeting approved a number of appointments and removals, including responsible personnel of government departments and ambassadors to foreign countries. It also approved the appointment of a Deputy Secretary-General of the N.P.C. Standing Committee, a Vice-President of the Supreme People's Court and a Deputy Chief Procurator of the Supreme People's Procuratorate.

Feb. 24

At the meeting with President Roy Jenkins of the Commission of the European Communities, Premier Hua says that China hopes to see a united and strong Europe while European friends hope China will become prosperous and powerful. This is our common point of departure in developing relations between China and the European Communities, says the Premier. Vice-Premier Deng Xiaoping met President Jenkins the previous day. Minister of Foreign Trade Li Qiang held talks with him on promoting economic and technical co-operation between China and the European Communities.



Speeding the Work of Law-Making

The work of improving the socialist legal system is now high on the agenda of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, China's highest organ of state power.

In an interview with Xinhua correspondents last month, N.P.C. Standing Committee Chairman Ye Jianying said: "The Standing Committee has started organizing the departments concerned to study the drafting or revision, as the case may be, of criminal law, criminal procedure, civil law, marriage law and economic and other laws and regulations. These will be submitted to the National People's Congress or its Standing Committee for deliberation according to legislative procedures. The aim is to build up China's legal system as quickly as possible so that there are laws for the people to follow, that there are laws which must be observed and strictly enforced, and that law breakers are adequately dealt with."

The plenary session of the Party Central Committee held in December last year decided to take major political and economic measures to speed up the four modernizations. One of these is to improve the legal system to protect people's democracy and to have democracy systematized and written into law.

Ye Jianying recalled that Lin Biao and the "gang of four" took advantage of our incomplete legal system to enforce a

fascist dictatorship and to arrest people as they pleased. This, he declared, was a lesson to us that a country must have its laws and a perfect legal system.

Ye Jianying elaborated on what he considered necessary for making the legal system perfect:

- There must be stability and continuity of the laws, rules and regulations. Since they represent the supreme interests of socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat, everyone must abide by them and implement them.

- They must have full authority. Revisions can be made only through legal procedures, independent of the personal will of any leader.

- The procuratorial organizations and the courts must faithfully serve the people's interests, abide by the laws, rules and regulations, keep to facts and maintain their independence as required.

- There must be fearless procurators and judges who are ready to sacrifice their lives to uphold the dignity of the legal system.

- It is essential to guarantee the equality of all the people before their own laws and to deny anyone the privilege of being above the law.

Speaking of the relationship between democracy and the legal system, Ye Jianying stressed the need to give full scope to democracy throughout the Party and the nation and protect the people's right to supervise and criticize the leadership.

Chairman Ye pointed out: "Proletarian democracy is the most extensive and genuine democracy in human history, because it exercises dictatorship only over the hostile elements of the exploiting classes, guarantees everyone else the fullest democratic rights ever known, and provides material guarantees for the masses of the people, who account for the overwhelming majority of the population, to enjoy democracy. Democracy in the capitalist countries, however, is but fictitious for the proletariat and other working people in some of the most essential aspects." "Lin Biao and the 'gang of four' created confusion on the question of democracy," Chairman Ye added. "Their aim was not to oppose bourgeois democracy as they claimed, but to deprive the proletariat and other working people of their democratic rights and trample underfoot the Party's democratic centralism. We must never again be deceived by such feudal fascists."

Committee for Legal System Set Up. The N.P.C. Standing Committee recently held its sixth session to hear an explanation by Vice-Chairman Ulanhu on establishing the Committee for the Legal System under the N.P.C. Standing Committee. This was followed by the adoption of a resolution on setting up this committee and appointing its members. Peng Zhen, who was Member of the Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee and Mayor of Beijing before the start of the Cultural Revolution in 1966, has been appointed the committee's chairman, and Hu

Qiaomu, President of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, and nine others have been appointed its vice-chairmen. They will work together with 69 members of the committee to help the N.P.C. Standing Committee with the work of strengthening the legal system.

At this session, the N.P.C. Standing Committee heard an explanation by Minister of Public Security Zhao Cangbi on revising the "Regulations of the People's Republic of China Governing the Arrest and Detention of Persons Accused of Crimes." The said regulations which were later adopted lay down in explicit terms the conditions necessary for making arrests and the scope, conditions and duration with regard to the detention of persons accused of crimes.

The session also approved in principle the "Forestry Law of the People's Republic of China (Draft)" and decided to make March 12 the nation's Tree-Planting Day.

Protecting the Forests

The State Council recently issued a directive on protecting the forests. The main points are:

— State and collective ownership of the forests must be safeguarded. No organization or individual is allowed to seize state-owned forests or fell trees there under any pretext whatsoever; forests that have been illegally seized must be returned before a fixed date.

— Collectively owned forests must not be turned over to the individuals. Wanton felling of trees and destruction of forests

for land reclamation or side-line production are strictly forbidden.

— Natural preservation regions marked off by the state must be strictly protected. Hunting of rare animals and felling of precious trees under state protection are prohibited.

In recent years, owing to the anarchism fanned up by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," state laws and decrees were trampled underfoot and forest resources suffered heavy losses from the irresponsible destruction. This was particularly so in northwest, northeast, north and central China, with serious consequences to ecological equilibrium together with a decline in farm production and animal husbandry. The State Council's directive was aimed at remedying this situation.

China used to be a forest-rich country. But the ravages of war, the levelling of huge tracts of forests for land reclamation, imperialist plunder and irrational felling over the years gradually depleted China of forest areas, so much so that land covered with trees made

up only 5 per cent of the country's total area at the time of liberation in 1949. Large-scale afforestation over the last two decades and more has increased the figure to about 12 per cent, but most of the trees planted are still young. Compared with most other countries where more than 30 per cent of the land are covered with forests, China is lagging far, far behind, with a much lower per-capita forest acreage than the world's average.

The state has called on the people throughout the country to plant trees wherever possible. One of the most important measures to be taken is to build a network of windbreaks covering more than 5 million hectares extending from the northwest to north and northeast China — a vast region where sandstorms are frequent and soil erosion and water losses are serious. By 1985 there will be a "green great wall" stretching across the northern parts of the country. The headquarters in charge of this work has been set up, with the saplings ready for planting this year.



Aerial seeding.

Let Some Peasants Become Well-Off First

How to make our socialist countryside flourish? This is a major question now under discussion among Chinese rural workers. Most people maintain that it is advisable to encourage some communes and brigades to become well-off first and let their members get a higher-than-average income so as to stimulate the peasants' initiative. Some people, however, are afraid that this may lead to "polarization" among the peasants, that some will become richer and richer while others poorer and poorer.

For many years, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" equated getting rich with capitalism and spread the fallacy that "becoming rich means turning revisionist." Influenced by this ultra-"Left" trend of thought, some leading comrades in charge of rural work imposed restrictions of one kind or another on developing a diversified economy by well-off communes and brigades and on engaging in household side-line occupations by their members. Some leading comrades arbitrarily ruled that the peasants' income must be kept below a certain level. This absolute equalitarian way of doing things dampened the enthusiasm of the rural cadres and peasants and impeded the development of farm production.

What happened in the Huangcheng Commune in Changdao County, Shandong Province, illustrates the harm done by such fallacious practice. In 1970, the commune did well in developing a diversified economy and its members' annual income increased to 203 yuan



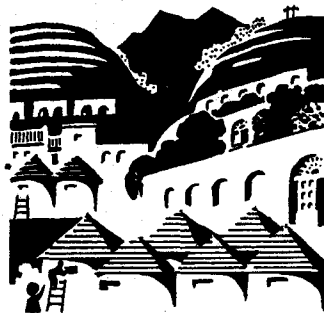
Year-end distribution in a production brigade in Zhejiang Province.

on the average, which was much higher than that of nearby communes and brigades. Some people there began to have misgivings that this would lead to "polarization" if no restrictions were imposed. Without any consideration for the consequences, the county authorities stipulated that however great the amount of increase in farm output might be, the commune members' income must not be raised and that income from the increased amount must be set aside as public accumulation fund. This seemed to have halted the "sharp rise" in the peasants' income, but the adverse effects were too obvious. No distinction was made between those who worked and those who didn't, between those who did more work and those who did less and between those who did a good job and those who did shoddy work. The result: output plummeted and the commune's income dropped; in 1976 it was 150,000 yuan less than in 1970.

After the downfall of the "gang of four" in October 1976,

the commune abolished the restrictions and stressed once again the principle of more pay for more work. This sparked the commune members' enthusiasm for collective production which increased in no time. Last year their average income rose to 256 yuan.

Did this lead to "polarization"? No. According to Marxism, "polarization" means this: In capitalist society where private ownership of the means of production prevails, a few people get rich and amass a fortune by exploiting others while many who are exploited by others become poorer and poorer, and the gap between the rich and the poor becomes wider and wider with the passage of time. This is not the



case with the Huangcheng Commune; its becoming well-off and the improvement of its members' living standard are based on the public ownership of the means of production. There is no exploitation of others' labour. They rely on their own labour and receive what is due to them from the collective income. Compared with the peasants elsewhere, they are better-off, but this can in no way lead to "polarization" as is the case under capitalism.

As to the question of "restricting bourgeois right" and reducing and eliminating differences, the "gang of four" created confusion in people's minds both theoretically and in practical work. By criticizing the gang's ultra-"Left" nonsense, people have gradually come to a clear and common understanding.

The aim of allowing the peasants to get different incomes is not to enlarge the differences but to gradually narrow them. There are two ways to achieve this. One is to go backward as the "gang of four" advertised, that is, using restrictive methods to check the advance of well-off communes and brigades. But this will not reduce the difference between those who are well-off and those who are not, and even if such difference is reduced, the result will be "common poverty" instead of common prosperity. The other way is to go forward, that is, acknowledging the difference, opposing absolute equalitarianism and allowing and encouraging members of some advanced units with higher collective incomes to earn more and have a higher living standard so as to inspire the less advanced to

follow their example. Of course, efforts must be made to help the poor brigades to catch up with the well-off ones and organize the latter to aid the former whose progress will, in turn, encourage the well-off brigades to move further ahead. Thus through emulation, all will advance along the socialist road towards common prosperity and the difference between them will be reduced step by step.

Broom Making and Economics

This is the title of a news report in *Renmin Ribao* describing the growth and decline of the major side-line occupation of making brooms in Leting County, Hebei Province. Commonplace as the subject is, it tells us that great harm can be done to production if management is carried out according to the "will of the superiors" and administrative orders instead of the economic laws. Significantly, this is an important question now under discussion in China's economic circles.

Broom making dates back several hundred years in Leting, with many peasant families engaged in the work. The brooms made here from the spikes of a kind of glutinous sorghum are durable and soft and find quick sales at home and abroad.

Three million brooms were made in Leting in 1957, bringing in an income of 900,000 yuan for the peasants. In one of the production brigades known as the "home of brooms," the average annual income from this side-line occupation for each household was four to five hundred yuan, the highest being eight to nine hundred yuan.

In recent years, however, there was a sharp decline in broom output and only 60,000 were produced in 1977. Why? The main reasons are:

First, the county department in charge of farm production overstressed the cultivation of food crops and, in total disregard of local conditions, issued administrative orders to drastically reduce the acreage under glutinous sorghum. Adding insult to injury, followers of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," deeply influenced by the ultra-"Left" trend of thought, labelled the peasants' side-line occupations as a "tail of capitalism" which should be "cut off." In these circumstances, the peasants could not plant glutinous sorghum, nor could they buy sorghum spikes from other counties to make brooms, in which they are so dexterous.

Second, the county commercial department in charge of purchasing farm and side-line products also abused its power, recklessly issuing administrative orders without the least regard for economic results. Exercising exclusive control over raw materials and processing work, it brought a number of peasants together in a so-called "side-line occupation centre" to make brooms. Since the pay for such work was low, there was a lack of enthusiasm and efficiency on the part of the peasants. And as the peasants had no access to the raw materials, they could no longer make use of their spare-time in the evenings to make brooms. The result was a sharp drop in broom output and in the peasants' income and, of course, a loss to the state.

In an editor's note accompanying this report, *Renmin*

Ribao pointed out: "Side-line occupations are an important branch of farm production. Leading cadres at all levels in the countryside should energetically promote them, learn to do things according to economic laws and apply proper economic methods to management. The 'will of the superiors' and administrative orders must be thrown overboard. The peasants should be allowed to engage in any household side-line occupations they like in their off-hours free from interference. In this way their initiative will be brought into full play."

Commemorating Einstein

March 14 will be the centenary of the birth of Albert Einstein, the eminent scientist who formulated the theory of relativity. To mark the occasion, activities in diverse forms have been organized in China. A translation of selected excerpts from Einstein's works, speeches and statements as well as memoirs, articles and comments by scholars of different countries has just come off the press.

At a commemorative meeting in Beijing on February 20, some 1,000 participants from the capital's scientific circles heard detailed reports of Einstein's life and achievements by Zhou Peiyuan, Vice-President of the Chinese Academy of Sciences and noted theoretical physicist, and Yu Guangyuan, Vice-President of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences and Vice-Chairman of the State Commission for Science and Technology.

While honouring the memory of Einstein, one cannot but recall with indignation how the "gang of four," which once held

sway, humiliated and slandered this most influential scientist of the 20th century who was also a man of integrity deeply concerned with the cause of human progress. This gang of maniacs did not want science, culture and scientists, still less basic sciences and foreign scientists. If they could have their way, society would slide back to the age of obscurantism. The fact that the 100th birthday of Einstein is commemorated today represents a resounding victory over the "gang of four" and demonstrates that the Chinese people set great store by the treasures of science and culture common to mankind.

Showing respect for outstanding scientists has been a fine tradition of Chinese revolutionaries. In the 40s when war was still raging, the Chinese Communists marked the 300th birthday of Newton in Yanan. A commemorative meeting was held for Copernicus the year before last. It is a continuation of this tradition that we pay

tribute to Einstein at a time when we are on the new Long March towards modernization. When the Chinese young people read in the newspapers Einstein's letter to posterity 5,000 years hence, which was unearthed on the outskirts of New York, they were greatly inspired and determined to work hard for a bright future.

The Chinese people and scientists will never forget how Einstein showed deep concern for the suffering of China's labouring people and placed high hopes on our nation which has a long history of civilization. In the 30s, Einstein appealed to the world to stop Japanese aggression against China and voiced solidarity with the seven public figures in China who were persecuted by the reactionary regime for advocating resistance to Japanese aggression. Einstein's moral strength and scientific questing spirit are a source of inspiration to the Chinese people today.



Meeting in commemoration of Einstein.

Proletarian Democracy and Proletarian Dictatorship in China

A year has passed since the proclamation of China's new Constitution. This fundamental law adopted by the Fifth National People's Congress at its First Session on March 5, 1978, sets forth that China is a state of the dictatorship of the proletariat; at the same time, it stresses giving full play to socialist democracy.

What is the relationship between dictatorship and democracy? What basic rights do Chinese citizens enjoy according to the provisions of the Constitution? How about the enforcement of these rights?

The following questions and answers and reports give our readers some basic facts.

Nature of the State

Question: What kind of state is China?

Answer: The nature of a state is determined by the class character of its political power, i.e., the status of the various social classes in a state and their relations. Whether declared openly or not, whether recognized or not, every state is ruled by a certain class.

China's new Constitution proclaims: "The People's Republic of China is a socialist state of the dictatorship of the proletariat led by the working class and based on the alliance of workers and peasants." This provision is in sharp contrast to the 1977 constitution of the Soviet revisionist renegade clique in which with the name "state of the entire people," the Brezhnev clique covers up the essence of the state in the Soviet Union today—a state of the dictatorship of the bureaucrat-monopoly capitalist class.

The dictatorship of the proletariat is the quintessence of Marxism-Leninism. Chairman Mao Zedong said in explicit terms on the eve

of the founding of the People's Republic: "To sum up our experience and concentrate it into one point, it is: the people's democratic dictatorship under the leadership of the working class (through the Communist Party) and based upon the alliance of workers and peasants. This dictatorship must unite as one with the international revolutionary forces. This is our formula, our principal experience, our main programme." (*On the People's Democratic Dictatorship*, 1949.) The essence of the people's democratic dictatorship which Chairman Mao referred to here is the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Q.: What does the dictatorship of the proletariat mean?

A.: It is a new-type state system, implying both proletarian dictatorship and proletarian democracy.

Proletarian dictatorship has two meanings: democracy (people's democracy or socialist democracy) for the proletariat and other sections of the people; dictatorship over members of the exploiting classes who resist socialism. The scope of the people is rather extensive. As Chairman Mao pointed out long ago, workers, peasants, urban petty-bourgeois elements, patriotic intellectuals, patriotic capitalists and other patriotic democrats come within the category of the people.

Proletarian democracy is the broadest and the most practical democracy in human history. Like proletarian dictatorship, it is also a component part of our state system. To practise democracy means, fundamentally, adhering to the proletarian state system. Hence the extensive democratic rights ensured to the people in our Constitution. Article 17 points out: "The state adheres to the principle of socialist democracy, and ensures to the people the right to participate in the management of state affairs and of all economic and cultural undertakings, and the right to supervise the organs of state and their personnel." The dictatorship of the

For Your Reference

China's New Constitution

THE Constitution of the People's Republic of China adopted in March last year by the Fifth National People's Congress at its first session is the country's third constitution since liberation. It was worked out on the basis of the previous two constitutions adopted in 1954 and 1975 and in the light of new experience and new circumstances.

This Constitution is a summary of the experience newly gained in the struggle against the "gang of four" and is designed to meet the needs of the new period in revolution and construction. The Chinese people call it "the general rule for bringing order to the country in the new period."

There was an acute and complicated struggle in China after the convocation of the Fourth National People's Congress in 1975 and it culminated in the smashing of the "gang of four" in October 1976. This victory marked the conclusion of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China and ushered in a new phase in the development of China's socialist revolution and construction.

The new Constitution guarantees that China advances along the socialist road. In its first chapter, General Principles, it stipulates, among other things, that China is a socialist state of the dictatorship of the proletariat led by the working class and based on the alliance of workers and peasants, that the Party is the core of leadership of the whole Chinese people and the state's guiding ideology is Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, that the state protects and develops the socialist economic basis of the public ownership of

the means of production and that the people are the masters of the country and all power in the People's Republic of China belongs to the people.

The new Constitution guarantees the realization of the general task for the whole nation in the new period, which is: Make China into a powerful socialist country with modern agriculture, industry, national defence and science and technology within this century.

In accordance with this immense task, the new Constitution includes specific stipulations for consolidating the socialist economic foundation and developing the productive forces at high speed (Articles 5-11, General Principles). Emphasis is on the high-speed development of science, education and other cultural undertakings (Articles 12-14). Some of these stipulations were not written into the 1975 constitution or were not given enough prominence then.

The Constitution is a clear-cut manifestation of Chairman Mao's consistent concept to give extensive democracy to the masses while exercising dictatorship over a handful of class enemies.

A new article in the General Principles decrees: The state adheres to the principle of socialist democracy (Article 17). Some of the provisions set strict demands on state organ personnel so as to prevent them from becoming bureaucrats riding roughshod over the people (Articles 15 and 16). Citizens' basic rights and duties are given more prominence in Chapter Three. The chapter "The Structure of the State" prescribes the duties of the people's procuratorates and the people's courts and lays down principles such as that public security organs, procuratorial organs and people's courts complement and restrict each other.

proletariat cannot be consolidated without a democratic system like the above-mentioned.

Q.: How does the working class exercise leadership over the state?

A.: China's working class exercises leadership over the state through its vanguard organization — the Communist Party of China. This is

because the Party is composed of the advanced elements of the proletariat. Its guiding ideology, programme, line, organizational principle and work style embody in a concentrated way the characteristics of the working class and reflect the will and basic interests of the working class.



Q.: Why must the dictatorship of the proletariat be based on the alliance of workers and peasants?

A.: The alliance of workers and peasants is a revolutionary alliance between the working class and the peasants led by the political party of the former.

In China, peasants comprise the vast majority of the total population. During the period of new-democratic revolution, Chairman Mao pointed out that the basic question of the Chinese revolution was the peasant question, and that the peasantry was the main force of the Chinese revolution. During the period of socialist revolution, Chairman Mao again pointed out: "How our peasants fare has a most important bearing on the development of our economy and the consolidation of our state power." (*On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People*, 1957.) Only by forming a consolidated alliance with the peasants can China's working class exercise leadership over the state and fulfil its historical mission. And the peasants can win complete liberation only by placing themselves under the leadership of the working class. The prolonged history of China's revolution has fully testified to this.

Q.: Is it right to say that the dictatorship of the proletariat means only "suppression"?

A.: No. This is a misunderstanding. The dictatorship of the proletariat has the function of suppression, but it only suppresses traitors and counter-revolutionaries and bad elements who have done serious damage to the people's interests. Under no circumstances should it suppress the broad masses, and it should ensure to them the extensive democratic rights as provided by the Constitution. Even those landlords and rich peasants who have been deprived of political rights, in part or entirely,

and who have not yet been reformed, are provided by the state with the opportunity to earn a living so that they may be reformed through labour and become law-abiding citizens supporting themselves by their own labour. Those who have been reformed may be granted citizenship rights on the basis of public appraisal and approval by a revolutionary committee at the county level.

Recently, the C.P.C. Central Committee has decided to remove the designations of most of the landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries and bad elements who have been reformed, and give them citizenship rights. They are to be called commune members or workers according to their occupations. This decision is being carried out throughout the country. (See *Beijing Review*, No. 7, 1979.)

Q.: What are the functions and aim of the dictatorship of the proletariat?

A.: The dictatorship of the proletariat has two main functions. Its first function is to suppress, within the country, members of the exploiting classes who resist socialism. To maintain public order and safeguard the interests of the people, it is necessary to exercise dictatorship as well over thieves, swindlers, murderers, arsonists and other scoundrels who seriously disrupt public order.

The second function of this dictatorship is to protect our country from subversion and possible aggression by external enemies.

The aim of this dictatorship in our country is to protect China from external aggression, ensure the smooth progress of socialist revolution and construction, protect our people so that they can devote themselves to peaceful labour, and effectively promote and organize the rapid development of the social productive forces.

Q.: Are newborn bourgeois elements targets of dictatorship?

A.: A provision regarding the punishment of newborn bourgeois elements has been added in China's new Constitution. This results from experience gained by our Party in struggling against the "gang of four" anti-Party clique.

Newborn bourgeois elements refer to those elements newly emerged in socialist society who resist socialist revolution, disrupt socialist construction, gravely undermine socialist public ownership, and appropriate social property. Though not numerous, they also belong to those

of the exploiting classes who resist socialism. It is therefore imperative to exercise dictatorship over them.

Fundamental Rights of Citizens

Q.: What are the rights enjoyed by Chinese citizens?

A.: Our people enjoy full democratic rights. As stipulated in the new Constitution, they are as follows:

1) Politically, the right to take part in state management. All citizens who have reached the age of 18 have the right to vote and to stand for election, irrespective of nationality, colour, property, educational level, term of residence or sex. For instance, all of China's 54 minority nationalities has their Deputies to the Fifth National People's Congress that held its first session last year. Over 90 per cent of the Deputies are working people and 21 per cent women. All the Deputies are elected by secret ballot after democratic consultation.

Citizens have the right to supervise the deputies to the people's congresses whom they have elected, and the government functionaries. They have the right to lodge complaints against any person working in an organ of state, enterprise or institution, for transgression of law or neglect of duty. They have the right to appeal against any infringements of their rights.

In social activities, citizens enjoy freedom of speech, correspondence, the press, assembly, association, procession, demonstration, and the freedom to strike; they have the right to "speak out freely, air their views fully, hold great

debates and write big-character posters" as in the Great Cultural Revolution.

The new Constitution also stipulates: Citizens enjoy freedom to believe in religion and freedom not to believe in religion and to propagate atheism.

2) Economically, citizens have the right to work and to rest. Working people have the right to material assistance in old age, and in case of illness or disability.

3) In culture, education and scientific research, citizens have the right to education and freedom to carry on scientific research, cultural and artistic creation and other cultural activities.

Women enjoy equal rights with men in all spheres of political, economic, cultural, social and family life. Men and women enjoy equal pay for equal work.

Q.: How do you guarantee the exercise of citizens' rights as stipulated in the Constitution?

A.: The following measures have been taken to guarantee the exercise of citizens' rights:

1) Supervision by the people's congresses and people's organizations. One of the major functions and powers of the National People's Congress is "to supervise the enforcement of the Constitution and the law." Local people's congresses at various levels have the functions and powers of ensuring the enforcement of the Constitution and safeguarding the rights of citizens in their respective administrative areas. People's organizations, such as trade unions, the Communist Youth League, the women's federations and the poor and lower-middle peasants' associations also have a role to play in supervising the enforcement of the Constitution. For example, the charter of the National Women's Federation adopted on September 17 last year explicitly declared that one of its tasks was to "educate women to observe and safeguard the new Constitution and supervise its enforcement."

2) People's direct supervision over the state organs and their personnel. The Constitution stipulates that the personnel of state organs must heed the opinions of the people, wholeheartedly serve the people and accept supervision by the masses. It also stipulates that no one should suppress or retaliate against citizens who lodge complaints or appeals. If this should happen, the former are subject to punishment.



SPECIAL FEATURE

To facilitate citizens' exercise of their right to supervision and to express their views, Party and government organizations at various levels have special offices to answer letters from the people or to receive visitors. Similar offices have been set up in *Renmin Ribao* and other Party newspapers.

Citizens may write directly to Party Central Committee leaders. Not long ago, some people in Shaanxi Province's Zhidan County, an old revolutionary base area, wrote to the Central Committee leaders exposing how the people's democratic rights were infringed upon by local cadres. The central leading comrades soon instructed the provincial leadership to solve this problem, at the same time pointing out: "No one is allowed to retaliate against the writers of the letter under whatever pretext." Shaanxi Province's leading organ has already sent capable cadres to Zhidan County to help solve the problem.

3) Material guarantee. In addition to the rights enjoyed by citizens, the new Constitution stipulates that material guarantees should be provided so as to ensure these rights. For instance, the Constitution stipulates that the state provides employment in accordance with the principle of overall consideration, and, on the basis of increased production, the state gradually increases payment for labour, improves working conditions, strengthens labour protection and expands collective welfare.

Working people have the right to material assistance in old age and other cases. The state will gradually expand social insurance, social assistance, free medical care, co-operative medical service and others.

4) Take a direct part in democratic management. The system of people taking part in democratic management is carried out in grass-roots units such as factories, villages and P.L.A. companies. In factories and mining enterprises, the system of leading comrades taking part in productive labour and workers taking part in management is practised. In some factories, schools and research institutes, grass-roots leaders have recently been elected by the rank and file instead of being appointed by the leadership at the higher level as was done in the past.

In the rural people's communes, a system of democratic management is put into effect whereby the commune members have a say in working out production plans, distributing collective income and making welfare arrangements.

In the P.L.A. companies, the "three democracies" that proved effective in wartime are still practised. These refer to political democracy, economic democracy in managing the livelihood of the fighters in the company, and military democracy which ensures the rank and file to voice their opinions regarding combat or military training.

Setting Things to Rights

UNDER the state system of proletarian democracy, the people are the masters of the country and enjoy full democratic rights. But in the decade when Lin Biao and the "gang of four" held sway, China's socialist legal system was seriously undermined and people's democratic rights were trampled upon at will.

The situation has undergone a tremendous change since the gang's downfall. This is elaborated as follows:

Rehabilitation

Lin Biao and the "gang of four" enforced a fascist dictatorship, and many innocent people were persecuted on false charges.

In the last two years, the central and local authorities have made great efforts to redress false charges, correct wrong judgements and rehabilitate victims of frame-ups. Large numbers of innocent people have been exonerated.

The reversal of the verdict against the Tian An Men Incident by the Beijing municipal Party committee with the approval of the Party Central Committee is a case in point. On November 15, 1978, the Beijing municipal Party committee announced: The mass actions honouring the memory of Premier Zhou Enlai and denouncing the "gang of four" at Tian An Men Square during the *Qing Ming* Festival in April 1976 were completely revolutionary. All those comrades who were persecuted in connection



Five of many young people, persecuted in connection with the Tian An Men Incident, revisit the Square after they were exonerated.

with the incident should be rehabilitated and exonerated.

The incident was branded as "counter-revolutionary" more than two years ago. Upwards of 300 people were arrested as "counter-revolutionaries" and many more were investigated.

Street Big-Character Posters

Big-character posters are a means for the Chinese people to exercise their democratic rights. After the fall of the gang, many such posters written by the people were put up time and again in Beijing's streets. While concerning themselves with and discussing state affairs, some people have also been expressing their political views in big-character posters since November. The Chinese people are widely using this weapon of socialist democracy. A lively political situation has begun to emerge in China.

What is the Government's attitude towards these big-character posters? In his meeting with Japanese friends towards the end of last November, Vice-Premier Deng Xiaoping pointed out: The masses putting up big-character posters is a normal thing and is allowed by our Constitution. Of course, not all the opinions of the masses are carefully thought out, nor can we demand that they be entirely correct.

The attitude of the Party and Government towards incorrect opinions and unreasonable demands is neither one of suppression nor one of irresponsible laissez-faire, but is one of active guidance, that is, using Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought to educate and persuade the masses to exercise their democratic rights properly.

As for the tiny handful of trouble-makers, it is necessary to criticize and stop them and mete out due punishment to individuals who, after being educated and criticized, still refuse to mend their ways, and violate the law.

Active Public Opinion

The "Readers' Letters" columns in national and local newspapers were very lively last year. Letters carried in these columns exposed and criticized problems in connection with leaders at various levels, commented on shortcomings in various fields of work, pointed out the need to implement fully Party policies and so on. Readers' letters were often accompanied by the editorial departments' notes which clearly came out in support of the readers' correct opinions. People not only like reading newspapers but hold lively discussions over issues raised by readers' letters in the newspapers. The press has played a big role in bringing about the lively political situation in China today.

Renmin Ribao, organ of the Party Central Committee and a paper with the largest circulation in China, always takes the lead in this respect. It has not only published vast numbers of readers' letters, but has also carried many reports and commentaries and repeatedly stressed the need to safeguard the people's democratic rights.

An editorial published in the paper not long ago was representative. It pointed out: "The four modernizations will necessarily be accompanied by the enforcement of political democracy." "The fact that the people dare to express their views on Party and state affairs and raise their criticisms and suggestions shows their

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soaring political enthusiasm and the normalization of the country's democratic life. It is a good thing, not a bad thing." "To a ruling revolutionary party, it should not be afraid of differing opinions, for they are very useful. What is really to be afraid of is its failure to hear dissident voices. That the people dare to speak up and are allowed to do so is a demonstration of our strength and our confidence. Fearing the people speaking up is actually a sign of weakness and neurasthenia."

Public Trial Restored

Great importance has been attached to restoring and perfecting the socialist legal system and much has been done in this regard over last year (see our issue No. 2, 1979, "Prospect and Retrospect: China's Socialist Legal System"). One important aspect is the restoration of open trials. The people's courts in Shenyang city alone have publicly tried nearly 1,000 cases.

Many instances have been reported in the newspapers. For instance, on December 22 last year, the Beijing Intermediate People's Court publicly tried a case of theft, with more than 500 people attending the trial. Present at the court were a judge, two people's assessors, a prosecutor (procurator of the Beijing Municipal Procuratorate) and two lawyers for the accused. The accused was a worker of the Institute of Computing Technology Under the Chinese Academy of Sciences.

The trial began with the judge announcing to the defendant: According to state laws, you have the right to defend yourself, and the right to ask the court to change its members, if you consider that anyone of them has an interest in the case and therefore cannot deal with it fairly. You have the right to express your opinion before the sentence is pronounced.

After the prosecutor read out the indictment, the judge questioned the accused and summoned two witnesses to the court. Then the prosecutor and the lawyers presented their views and the accused expressed his opinion.

In the short recess, the judge and assessors discussed the case. Then the court resumed and the judge announced that the accused was found guilty and given two years' imprisonment. He also said that the accused had the right to appeal to the court at the next higher level, the Beijing Higher People's Court, within ten days after receipt of the written verdict.

Following the trial, president of the Beijing Intermediate People's Court Xue Guanghua said to the correspondent: It is stipulated in our

Constitution that the cases are heard in public. As the trials are held under the supervision of the people, their democratic rights can be better safeguarded.

Electing Grass-Roots Cadres

In his speech at the Ninth National Trade Union Congress last October, Comrade Deng Xiaoping announced a decision which was warmly welcomed by the masses. He said: Workshop directors, section chiefs and group heads in every enterprise must in the future be elected by workers of the unit. Many enterprises have done so and some universities and scientific research institutes have also begun to do the same.

A dispatch from Yunnan Province in China's southwest frontier last month has aroused widespread interest among the people because it reflects the growing democratic atmosphere in the factories.

The conference of workers' and staff members' representatives at the Yunnan Motorcycle Plant has worked out certain regulations for electing workshop directors and group heads. To fully guarantee the workers exercising their democratic rights, the regulations prescribe the use of secret ballot in nominating candidates and electing cadres. A worker or staff member can recommend himself to be the candidate, too. The tenure of office is two years.

Dong Zhixin (36 years old with 18 years of work experience behind him) campaigned for the directorship of the mould workshop. The workers nominated nine candidates by secret ballot and Dong Zhixin was one of the two candidates who got the most votes.

When election day came, the workers surrounded these two candidates, asking them to



give a "campaign speech." When it came to Dong Zhixin's turn, the workers bombarded him with questions, which he answered one by one.

Question: When anyone is elected workshop director or group head, he is given an extra allowance. What is your motive for campaigning so energetically?

Answer: I do that not for the extra allowance, but to shoulder heavy tasks and do my part in bringing about modernization.

Q. You are an ordinary worker, how can you do a good job as a workshop director?

A. I am determined, under the leadership of the plant Party committee, to run the workshop well, rationally arrange the labour force and properly organize the workers' technological studies. While performing my duty, I will modestly listen to and accept the workers' opinions and suggestions.

Q. What if there is no progress in your work?

A. During my term of office, if there are no marked improvements in the management of the

workshop and if its economic and technological targets are not met, then the plant shall take back the full sum of the allowances I have received. If serious damage is caused to the interests of the state and the masses, I am willing to bear the responsibility. I intend to hold democratic meetings twice a month in which everybody is encouraged to air his views fully and see if I am misusing my power. After a period of time, if you find that I am incompetent, you can replace me by someone else at any time. But I am confident of my ability to do my work well and live up to your expectations.

Most of the 42 workers and staff members in the workshop were highly satisfied with Dong's "campaign speech." Thirty-eight voted for him. The plant director immediately declared the election results valid and pinned on him a huge red flower. The workshop burst into applause and firecrackers were let off.

Dong has been doing a fine job since becoming workshop director.

Big-Character Poster Authors "Li Yi Zhe" Exonerated

THEIR grave concern of several years' standing gave way to deep relief when people heard that the unfounded charges against the "Li Yi Zhe" big-character poster were at long last withdrawn and the authors of this poster exonerated at a mass rally held on February 6 by the Guangdong provincial Party committee.

The poster in question headlined "On Socialist Democracy and Legal System" appeared on November 10, 1974 on a wall in downtown Guangzhou. It was signed "Li Yi Zhe," which was the pseudonym of Li Zhengtian (a student of the Guangdong Academy of Fine Arts), Chen Yiyang (a Guangzhou No. 17 Middle School student) and Wang Xizhe (a young worker of the Guangdong Aquatic Products Plant). Guo Hongzhi, a Party member who is a cadre

working with the Guangdong People's Broadcasting Station, had helped in drafting and revising the poster. The poster caused a big stir in Guangdong Province and other parts of the country. It was also talked about abroad. The authors, though young and inexperienced, were much admired for the deep concern they showed for state affairs and the way they pondered over and raised questions in search of truth.

Under the complicated situation of the struggle obtaining then, the provincial Party committee wrongly announced that this poster was "reactionary" and organized large-scale criticisms of it. "Li Yi Zhe" became known as a "counter-revolutionary clique" and its members were sent to gaol. Even in prison, however, the three young heroes refused to

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knuckle under. They firmly held that what they had said in the poster was basically correct and true to Marxism-Leninism.

Only after the "gang of four" was toppled was it possible for the provincial Party committee to reconsider its verdicts on "Li Yi Zhe" in the spirit of seeking truth from facts. Careful studies of the case went on for six months. During this period, Xi Zhongxun, first secretary of the provincial Party committee, cordially talked with the three youths on several occasions. He affirmed their poster while patiently pointing out to them the weaknesses of some of their viewpoints.

A provincial Party committee decision was read out at the rally: First, "Li Yi Zhe" was not a counter-revolutionary clique, nor was the big-character poster reactionary; second, all those involved in this case should be exonerated and reinstated; ... and last but not least, the provincial Party committee itself should be held responsible for the mistakes committed in handling the case and therefore should make a self-criticism.

Addressing the meeting, Wu Nansheng, secretary of the provincial Party committee, said that the questions raised and answered in the poster concerning democracy and the legal system were correct in many ways. He urged all present to emancipate their minds and speak out so as to bring about a lively political situation conducive to hastening the realization of the four modernizations.

A lively atmosphere pervaded the rally. Amidst resounding applause, Li Zhengtian and Wang Xizhe took the floor, followed by representatives of those who had been wrongly incriminated in the case. Their speeches were full of gratitude for the solicitude of the Party and for the people who had supported and encouraged them. In his speech, Wang Xizhe refuted the slander that the Chinese people's surging democratic spirit was a "drive for Western democracy" and repudiated the charge that people like him were "dissidents of the Communist Party." He declared: The democracy we want is socialist democracy based on a socialist economy; we are political confederates of the

Chinese Communist Party, champions of scientific socialism.

Safeguarding Socialist Democracy

by Du Jian, a faculty member of the Central Academy of Fine Arts

Along with its report on the reversal of the verdict on the "Li Yi Zhe" big-character poster, "Zhongguo Qingnian Bao" the same day published, in its "Readers' Forum" column, an article entitled "Safeguarding Socialist Democracy." An abridged translation of it follows.
— Ed.

THE authors of the wallposter "On Socialist Democracy and Legal System" were entirely strangers to us. But even in Beijing, we felt the impact of this poster. A hand-written copy of it reached us after a tortuous course and no sooner had we finished reading it than we came to the conclusion that it was, indeed, a precious piece of revolutionary writing.

The authors were inexperienced young people four years ago. It was only natural that their views on many major problems in the political life of our country were, sometimes, not very comprehensive and not entirely correct. What impressed us most, however, was their superb ability in driving home to the people the essence of those problems — they had really hit the nail on the head. A brief review of the salient points of the poster, which first appeared in 1974 on a wall in Guangzhou, shows clearly its great political significance.

First, the poster was the first to openly criticize the modern superstitions concocted by Lin Biao and the "gang of four." These political swindlers had raucously chanted that "a genius appears once several hundred or several thousand years," that "one must have boundless veneration for the genius," "be absolutely loyal to the 'genius'" and "follow the genius' will to the letter" and that "whoever opposes the genius is doomed." It was precisely this hotch-

potch of absurdities, the poster said, that made up the ideological and political line of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," who were out to impose their feudal, fascist dictatorship on the people.

Second, it was the first to sound the alarm that "the major danger facing the proletarian dictatorship is the possibility of a feudal, fascist autocracy." The authors declared: "The struggle against feudalism remains an important part in our continued revolution."

Third, the poster denounced the crimes committed by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" in wilfully attacking and persecuting veteran cadres. Angrily it asked: "Can't the frame-ups and false charges brought by Lin Biao and company against thousands upon thousands of cadres from the central down to the grass roots be reversed? Shouldn't the numerous long-tested veteran cadres who, for all their mistakes, are loyal to the Party, be reinstated?"

Fourth, the poster correctly stated: The reason why the "gang of four" did not allow the people to criticize Lin Biao's "Leftism" but, instead, advocated criticizing what they called the latter's "Rightism" was that Lin Biao and the "gang of four" were both dyed-in-the-wool ultra-Leftists. "They were both essentially the same," it added.

Fifth, the poster pointed out that the post-1972 "battle against restoration" was, in reality, "an effort to preserve Lin Biao's setup under the signboard of opposing 'restoration.'" "It was farcical," the poster said, "that while they were trying desperately to drag the chariot of history back, they were labelling the revolutionary forces opposing their restorationist efforts as 'champions of restoration' and 'adorers of the old order.'"

Sixth, the poster insisted that the principle of "from each according to his ability, to each according to his work" should be adhered to. It pointed out: "Under the slogan of so-called 'communism,' workers, peasants and other labouring people were being denied many of their reasonable economic benefits. For many years, there was no wage increase for workers and even bonuses, which helped augment their incomes, were cancelled. While the peasants paid tax in kind and met state purchasing quotas for

grain, they also had to deliver, without recompense, more grain to prove their 'loyalty.' Their interests were worst impaired in the movement to do away with the so-called "remnants of private ownership [such as household side-line occupations and small plots at the peasants' own disposal — Tr.]" "Political sloganeering," the authors continued, "profits only the lazybones; it makes the diligent and the industrious suffer. By contrast, the principle of "from each according to his ability, to each according to his work" with proletarian politics in command protects and brings into full play the masses' enthusiasm for socialism. To implement this principle in real earnest is the most effective way to restrict those seeking prerogatives..."

Seventh, with the fascist rule imposed by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" in mind, the authors took the lead in China in declaring that the most urgent and important thing to do at present was to solve the problems relating to democracy and the legal system. This statement, which is the crux of the "Li Yi Zhe" big-character poster, has now become a topic of engrossing interest to the Chinese people.

The three young people presented the foregoing viewpoints openly and incisively at a time when Lin Biao's line was yet to be criticized and the "gang of four" was still riding high. For this they deserve the admiration lavished on them by the people. Their poster challenging Lin Biao and the all-powerful gang was permeated with their loyalty to Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, their high sense of responsibility to the revolution, their serious attitude towards theoretical work and their indomitable fighting spirit. Though the challenge came from three unknown youngsters, it struck terror into the hearts of the "gang of four."

The struggle that arose in 1974 was not accidental. The disasters brought about by Lin Biao and the gang awakened the people. Many youngsters who had ardently thrown themselves into the Great Cultural Revolution quickly emerged politically mature through their own practice and Marxist study. Once they saw clearly the trend of history, they immediately opened fire against their enemy — Lin Biao and the "gang of four." Standing prominently among them were the authors of the "Li Yi Zhe" big-character poster, which heralded the coming battle of the masses against the "gang of four."

On the Vietnamese Authorities' Rejection of Negotiations

Renmin Ribao editorial

WITH a view to defending the frontiers of our motherland and checking the unbridled Vietnamese incursions into our territories, the Chinese frontier troops have been compelled to launch a counterattack in self-defence against the Vietnamese aggressor troops. At the same time, the Chinese Government has once again proposed that both China and Viet Nam speedily hold negotiations by representatives at an appropriate level at any place to discuss the restoration of peace and tranquillity along the border areas of the two countries and go a step further to solve the disputes over the border and territorial problems. This proposal clearly testifies to China's sincerity in seeking for a peaceful solution to the disputes. However, at a press conference held in Hanoi on February 21, Vietnamese Vice-Foreign Minister Nguyen Co Thach flatly turned down China's reasonable proposal, saying that Viet Nam "will by no means accept negotiations." This attitude of the Vietnamese authorities shows that they are clinging to a reactionary policy of opposing and antagonizing China, and that they are determined to continue to make armed provocations and create tension in China's border areas for a long time to come.

The Chinese and Vietnamese peoples had lived in friendship over a long period and the Sino-Vietnamese boundary used to be a friendly boundary. The over-1,300-kilometre land boundary between China and Viet Nam is a delimited one recognized by both sides. But the Vietnamese authorities, out of their national expansionist ambition, have deliberately engaged in disruptive activities along friendly boundary. In the past few years, they have made incessant armed provocations along the border areas, encroaching upon Chinese territory. Such activities had increased year by year and had become ever more serious. The Vietnamese

authorities carried out armed provocations and incursions along the border areas on 121 occasions in 1974, 439 occasions in 1975, 986 occasions in 1976, 752 occasions in 1977; the number increased sharply to 1,108 occasions in 1978, and 129 occasions in the first one and a half months in 1979. That is to say, the Vietnamese authorities created 3,535 armed provocations on the Chinese border from 1974 to mid-February this year. The frequent provocations and invasions engineered by the Vietnamese authorities have caused heavy losses in life and property to the army-men and inhabitants in China's border areas and forced China to counterattack in self-defence so as to defend its frontier region and the people's security, safeguard our sovereignty and territorial integrity and ensure the success of our country's socialist modernization. Though we were forced to take this action as a last resort, we still stand for negotiations with the Vietnamese authorities to seek a peaceful and tranquil boundary. We have remained unswerving in this stand.

At present, the great majority of the countries of the world, as well as public opinion, have appealed to China and Viet Nam to put an end to their border conflict through peaceful negotiations. This aspiration for maintaining world peace and upholding the principles governing international relations conforms to the consistent stand of the Chinese Government. In order to realize their ambitions for hegemony, the Soviet authorities are doing their best to add fuel to the fire by instigating the Vietnamese authorities not to enter into negotiations. The Soviet action has not only impaired the interests of the Chinese and Vietnamese peoples, but also posed a threat to peace and stability in the Asian and Pacific region.

At the time when the Chinese frontier forces began to counterattack the Vietnamese

aggressors, the Chinese Government solemnly declared: We don't want a single inch of Vietnamese soil. After hitting back at the aggressors as far as is necessary, our frontier forces will turn to guard strictly the frontier of our motherland. We mean what we say. We sincerely hope that the Vietnamese authorities have a clear appraisal of the situation, treasure

the interest of the Vietnamese people and the friendship between the Chinese and Vietnamese peoples, and accept the reasonable proposal to hold talks speedily. The border conflict between China and Viet Nam can only be settled through negotiations between the two sides. There is no other way.

(February 27)

U.N. Security Council Meeting

Chinese Representative Chen Chu's Speech

Exposes Viet Nam's Soviet-backed provocations and attacks against China on its north and its armed aggression against Kampuchea on its west; and demands that Vietnamese aggression against Kampuchea and armed provocations against China be stopped.

THE United Nations Security Council met on the evening of February 23 to consider "the situation in Southeast Asia and its implications for international peace and security." At the meeting Chinese Permanent Representative to the United Nations Chen Chu said: Last January, at the request of Democratic Kampuchea, the Security Council held urgent meetings to consider the grave situation of Viet Nam's armed aggression against Kampuchea with Soviet support. At the meetings, all the representatives who spoke, except for the Soviet Union and a handful of its followers, strongly condemned Viet Nam's serious crimes of flagrant armed aggression against Democratic Kampuchea, sternly refuted the absurd argument of a so-called "civil war in Kampuchea" invented by Viet Nam to cover up its armed aggression against Kampuchea, pointed out the absolute inviolability of the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Democratic Kampuchea, and called on the Vietnamese authorities to put an immediate end to the aggression and withdraw all their aggressor forces from Democratic Kampuchea without any delay. All

the non-aligned members of the Council co-sponsored a draft resolution to this effect. As a result of the veto arbitrarily used by the Soviet representative, this draft that had won the overwhelming majority of 13 votes was not adopted. Consequently, the Security Council was rendered impotent vis-a-vis the extremely grave situation of Viet Nam's undisguised armed invasion and military occupation of Democratic Kampuchea, a sovereign state and member of the United Nations.

Viet Nam Steps Up Aggression. Thereafter, the Vietnamese authorities have felt emboldened and continued to expand their aggression against Democratic Kampuchea under the full backing of the Soviet Union. The Vietnamese aggressor forces have occupied large tracts of Kampuchean territory and they raped, burned, killed and committed all sorts of crimes wherever they went. With their homes burned and destroyed, the Kampuchean people have been plunged into misery and suffering, and even the women and children have not been spared.

The Vietnamese authorities' flagrant and large-scale bloody slaughter of Kampuchean soldiers and civilians who are resisting them constitute a gross violation of the U.N. Charter and of the elementary norms of international law, seriously threatening the peace and security of various countries in Southeast Asia, of the Asia-Pacific region and of the world as a whole. This is an insolent challenge to humanity's cause of peace and justice, to the Security

Council and to the entire membership of the United Nations. All this has aroused the utmost indignation of the people of the world and of those countries and people that uphold justice. In the face of such grave crimes of aggression committed by the Vietnamese aggressors, what should be the course of action for the Security Council and the United Nations which bear the primary responsibility of maintaining international peace and security? This is an extremely serious test. We hold that the Security Council would be seriously remiss in its duties should it fail to continue its consideration of this matter and adopt measures in earnest. Therefore, the Chinese Delegation firmly supports the just demand of the Government of Democratic Kampuchea to hold an urgent meeting of the Council and to continue the consideration of Viet Nam's aggression against Democratic Kampuchea. In our view, the Security Council should take swift and effective measures to halt the Vietnamese authorities' armed invasion of Democratic Kampuchea and put an immediate end to their military occupation of Kampuchea.

Viet Nam's Expansionist Ambition. Chen Chu pointed out that it has been the long-premeditated plans of the Vietnamese authorities to annex Democratic Kampuchea. Their military aggression against Democratic Kampuchea is an important step in their efforts to establish an "Indochina federation" and in their quest for regional hegemonism. The so-called "treaty of peace and friendship" signed by Pham Van Dong and Viet Nam's puppet in Kampuchea is precisely a further exposure of Viet Nam's ambition to bring Kampuchea formally into its "Indochina federation" and to use it as a stepping-stone for expansion towards other countries in Southeast Asia. It is because of the aid and abetment of the Soviet hegemonists that the Vietnamese authorities have become so reckless and frenzied in pushing external expansion and regional hegemonism. The Soviet Union wants to control Southeast Asia through Viet Nam.

Chen Chu said that the Chinese Delegation entirely supports the four-point appeal contained in the letter issued on February 12, 1979 by Khieu Samphan, President of the Presidium of Democratic Kampuchea, to all heads of state and government. The Chinese Delegation maintains that the Security Council should take immediate action in accordance with the four-point appeal to sternly condemn the Vietnamese authorities' crimes of aggression and demand an immediate end to their military actions of

aggression against Democratic Kampuchea and withdraw forthwith all their military forces from Kampuchean territory.

Two Different Questions in Nature. Referring to the question of the Sino-Vietnamese border conflict which is the sole making of the Vietnamese authorities, Chen Chu stressed first of all that Viet Nam's massive armed aggression and military occupation of Democratic Kampuchea is a question entirely different in nature from China's being compelled to make limited counterattack in self-defence of China's frontier as a result of the wanton provocation of border conflicts on the Sino-Vietnamese border by the Vietnamese authorities. The former, namely, the Vietnamese aggression against Kampuchea constitutes a gross violation of the United Nations Charter and norms of international law and poses a serious threat to international peace and security. The latter, namely, China's self-defensive counterattack, however, is a necessary action of self-defence taken by any sovereign state in accordance with Article 51 of the U.N. Charter. Any attempt to confuse the two and treat them equally only serves to confound right and wrong and condone the real aggressors, and is therefore impermissible.

Chen Chu then presented the true picture of how Viet Nam wantonly provoked the conflicts along the Sino-Vietnamese border and expounded China's position and views on the relevant questions. He said the present grave situation on the Sino-Vietnamese border is wholly the making of the Vietnamese authorities.

The Vietnamese Authorities Have Regarded China as the Main Obstacle to Their Pursuit of Expansionism. Chen Chu noted that the acts of aggression on the part of the Vietnamese authorities have been long premeditated. Following the ending of the anti-U.S. war and the realization of unification, Viet Nam quickly embarked on the path of aggression and expansion abroad. First, it placed Laos under its control; then it launched a massive war of aggression against its one-time ally Kampuchea, occupying the capital of Kampuchea, Phnom Penh, and large tracts of other territories, in an attempt to realize its wild ambition of a "greater Indochina federation." At present, Vietnamese aggressor forces are expanding the flames of war to the Kampuchean-Thai border, thus greatly menacing the peace and security of Southeast Asia and the Pacific region as a whole and subjecting the countries and peoples in this region to the

threats of Soviet and Vietnamese hegemonism. It is only natural that the Vietnamese authorities have been opposed by the Chinese Government and people for committing external aggression in such an unscrupulous way. The Vietnamese authorities have regarded China as the main obstacle to their pursuit of expansionism. They have regarded China as their "No. 1 enemy," whom they piously called "comrade and brother" previously, thereby showing their bad faith. As a result, while waging a massive armed invasion of Kampuchea, they have become more and more rampant by repeatedly provoking and escalating border conflicts. Their frenzied acts of aggression have been aimed at inciting military conflicts on the southern border of China, intensifying tension and sabotaging China's programme of socialist modernization. The facts show that Viet Nam's invasion and harassment of Chinese border areas are closely linked with its acts of aggression and expansion against its neighbours in Indochina and other parts of Southeast Asia. The Vietnamese authorities are the root cause of the grave situation prevailing over the Sino-Vietnamese border.

Greater and Lesser Hegemonists Are Working Hand in Glove. He went on to say that in order to cover up their features of regional hegemonism and evade their criminal responsibility for their armed provocations and attacks on China, the Vietnamese authorities have cynically capitalized on the question of a so-called "small nation" and "big power," trying to confuse the public by disguising themselves as a "victim" with the status of a "small nation." The Vietnamese authorities think that, as long as Viet Nam claims to be a "small nation," sympathy will naturally go to it irrespective of what evil it has done. Whether or not a nation has ambitious designs, whether or not it is carrying out aggression and expansion, depends not on its size but on its political line and foreign policy. While history has seen instances of a big power committing aggression against and bullying a small nation, there is no lack of instances of a big nation being the victim of aggression and bullied by a small one. Is it not true that the small island state Cuba, hiring itself out to Soviet social-imperialism, has dispatched tens of thousands of mercenary troops across the ocean to become the hatchetmen of the U.S.S.R.? Viet Nam is following its footsteps and has even excelled it. In order to realize its ambition of dominating Indochina and Southeast Asia, Viet Nam is bullying all its neighbours,

whether big or small. Today, Viet Nam is bullying China in the north and invading Kampuchea in the west. Is this not a most powerful rebuttal of its false accusation against China?

He stated that it is by no means accidental that Viet Nam's acts of aggression have all long been backed and abetted by the Soviet Union. Viet Nam's aggressive and expansionist activities abroad and armed incursions into China have suited very well the needs of Soviet greater hegemonism. The Soviet Union uses Viet Nam as a pawn and accomplice in establishing its spheres of influence and carrying out aggression and expansion in Southeast Asia and Asia as a whole. With the backing of the Soviet Union, Viet Nam wants to form the so-called "Indochina federation," become its master and dominate the whole of Southeast Asia through the use of force. The Soviet Union and Viet Nam, the greater and lesser hegemonists, working hand in glove with each other, are the root cause of the threat to peace and tranquillity in the Asia-Pacific region.

China Has Been Forced to Counterattack in Self-Defence. Chen Chu said that over the past two years and faced with the continued armed provocations and acts of hostility by the Vietnamese authorities, the Chinese Government and people, treasuring the friendship between the Chinese and Vietnamese peoples, have always exercised the maximum restraint and forbearance and given repeated advice and warnings to the Vietnamese authorities against their incessant armed provocations and hostilities along the Chinese border so as to avoid aggravation of the situation. That was why in spite of the Vietnamese side's arrogant resort to the use of force along the Chinese border, the Chinese frontier troops and civilians, witnessing the killing and wounding of their kith and kin, have strictly observed orders for a long time and refrained from shooting or fighting back. In a spirit of conciliation, they hoped the Vietnamese authorities will repent and mend their ways. We have always stood for the reasonable settlement of disputes between states through negotiations on an equal footing and in adherence to the purposes of the United Nations and the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence without resort to force. But, as the Chinese saying goes, "The tree may prefer calm but the wind will not subside." With Soviet support, the Vietnamese authorities have felt emboldened and mistaken the

Chinese restraint and desire for peace as a sign of weakness, turning a deaf ear to the mild advice and warnings of the Chinese side. Instead, they have gone from bad to worse, asked for a yard after getting an inch and wantonly escalated their acts of armed aggression in the Chinese border areas. The facts show that in dealing with the Vietnamese aggressors, conciliation and forbearance no longer work. The Vietnamese authorities have gone too far in bullying others. Driven beyond forbearance, Chinese frontier troops have been forced to rise in limited counterattack in defence of our own border.

U.N. Members Have the Right of Self-Defence.

Chen Chu pointed out that Article 51 of the United Nations Charter stipulates that members have the inherent right of self-defence if an armed attack occurs against a member of the United Nations. The counterattack made by the Chinese frontier troops who are driven beyond forbearance is in full accord with the principles of the U.N. Charter, and is a just action. This is also an action which any sovereign state will be forced to take in similar circumstances.

He said that the Chinese Government and people have been consistently guided by the principle that "we will not attack unless we are attacked; if we are attacked, we will certainly counterattack." The Chinese people ardently love peace. We want to build up our country and need a peaceful international environment. We do not want to resort to armed force. We do not want a single inch of Vietnamese territory, but neither will we tolerate wanton incursions into Chinese territory. All we want is a peaceful and stable border. After counterattacking the Vietnamese aggressors as they deserve, the Chinese frontier troops will return and strictly keep to defending the border of their own country.

He continued that sharing the same border river, the peoples of China and Viet Nam have gone through thick and thin. In their long revolutionary struggles, the Chinese and Vietnamese peoples, sympathizing with and supporting each other, have forged a profound friendship. The Chinese Government and people, under the leadership of Chairman Mao Zedong and Premier Zhou Enlai, have made world-known national sacrifices for the liberation of the Vietnamese people, and after the war, they have actively assisted the Vietnamese

people in their national reconstruction and rehabilitation. Unfortunately the profound friendship forged by the peoples of China and Viet Nam through their long revolutionary struggles has now been wilfully undermined by the Vietnamese authorities. This pains the Chinese people profoundly. However, the Chinese Government and people still treasure and uphold the friendship between the peoples of China and Viet Nam. They have done so and will continue to do so in future. The Chinese Government appeals to the Vietnamese authorities to treasure the friendship between the peoples of China and Viet Nam, stop on the precipice, retract from the wrong path and do not go any farther.

China Treasures the Friendship Between the Peoples of China and Viet Nam and Proposes Again to Hold Negotiations.

He said that the purpose of the United Nations is to maintain international peace and security. Faced with the grave situation of threat to and destruction of peace and security caused by Viet Nam's acts of aggression, the Security Council has the unshirkable responsibility to condemn sternly the acts of aggression committed by the Vietnamese authorities, call upon them to stop at once their armed incursions, provocations, attacks and sabotage in the Chinese border areas, withdraw all their armed personnel from the Chinese territory and respect for ever China's sovereignty and territorial integrity.

He reiterated that the Chinese Government has always stood for a fair and reasonable settlement of the disputes between the two countries through peaceful negotiations. Past negotiations have all failed because of lack of good faith on the Vietnamese side. The Chinese Government now proposes again that the two sides speedily hold negotiations at any mutually agreed place between representatives of an appropriate level to discuss the restoration of peace and tranquillity along the border between the two countries and proceed to settle the disputes concerning the boundary and territory. The Chinese Government is prepared to enter into concrete negotiations on any constructive measures that can ensure peace and tranquillity along the border between the two countries.

He concluded that the above position of the Chinese Government is entirely reasonable. We believe China's position will enjoy the sympathy and support of all the countries and people who love peace and uphold justice.

Vietnamese Armed Provocations in China's Border Areas

While flagrantly pushing an anti-China and anti-Chinese policy, the Vietnamese authorities have in the past two years incessantly carried out serious armed provocations and hostile actions along China's border areas. In the past six months alone, the Vietnamese have made armed provocations on more than 700 occasions and have encroached upon Chinese territory in over 160 places. They have killed or wounded over 300 frontier guards and inhabitants, and every Chinese county along the Sino-Vietnamese boundary has suffered from their provocations and intrusions. For our readers' reference we cite here some of these provocations. The facts listed below are quite incomplete but enough to show that the Vietnamese authorities have become more and more unscrupulous in their provocations and that they have provoked military conflicts and heightened tension along China's southern border. — Ed.

• **August 10, 1978** Vietnamese armed security personnel intruded into the Tongziwan (Tung Tze Wan) area of Funing County, Yunnan Province, and beat up some members of Tianpeng People's Commune when they were going to the fields to work.

• **August 25** Hundreds of Vietnamese troops and policemen were called out to expel Chinese nationals stranded on the Vietnamese side of the border near Youyiguan (Yu Yi Kuan). Dozens of Chinese were killed or wounded. These Vietnamese troops also intruded into China's territory and injured more than a dozen Chinese personnel who were on duty at the Chinese border checkpoint. Chinese Vice-Foreign Minister Zhang Haifeng summoned Vietnamese Ambassador Nguyen Trong Vinh and lodged a strong protest with him over this incident.

• **August 28 and 30** Vietnamese troops and police intruded into China's territory near Youyiguan and stabbed some Chinese border inhabitants.

• **September 18** The Chinese Foreign Ministry sent a note to the Vietnamese

Embassy in China which stated that the Vietnamese authorities had recently sent large numbers of armed personnel and militiamen across the Sino-Vietnamese boundary to provoke incidents against Chinese frontier guards and border inhabitants. They set up barbed wire entanglements, dug trenches and erected barricades in many places on the Chinese side of the Sino-Vietnamese boundary. These actions, the note said, were a serious encroachment upon Chinese territorial integrity and sovereignty. Having listed numerous facts, the note pointed out that the Vietnamese authorities would be held responsible for the consequences arising from the Vietnamese encroachment upon Chinese territorial integrity and sovereignty.

• **October 2 and 27** Vietnamese armed personnel twice intruded into Tianpeng People's Commune in Funing County of Yunnan Province to interfere in the commune members' normal production activities. They beat up and injured 31 commune members, 10 of them seriously.

• **October 26** The Chinese Foreign Ministry sent a note to the Vietnamese Embassy in China protesting the repeated dispatch of Vietnamese armed personnel and militiamen across the Sino-Vietnamese boundary to carry out provocations against the Chinese frontier guards and border inhabitants since mid-September and even to fire at or beat up Chinese personnel. In addition, the note said, Viet Nam had been putting up barbed wire entanglements, erecting barricades, digging trenches, planting mines and setting up bamboo spikes in many areas of China's Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region. The mines caused heavy casualties among Chinese border inhabitants.

• **November 1** More than 60 Vietnamese armed security personnel and militiamen intruded into the Tinghao Hill area in Jingxi County of Guangxi to cause trouble and carry out provocations. The intruders launched a surprise attack from four hiding places with machine-guns, submachine-guns and rifles



Chinese frontier troops on top of China's Tinghao Hill in Jingxi County, Guangxi. The hill was recovered from the Vietnamese aggressors.

against Chinese inhabitants and militiamen there. The casualties among commune members included 6 dead and 12 wounded. Six others were kidnapped.

• **November 13** Xinhua reported that Vietnamese armed security personnel and militiamen continued to invade Guangxi. They forcibly occupied farmlands, prevented the peasants from reaping late rice and other crops, and took away their farm produce and livestock. At the same time, they set up barbed wire entanglements, dug trenches, laid mines and erected bamboo spikes, thus preventing Chinese frontier guards from carrying out their normal patrol.

• **November 27** Xinhua reported that since the beginning of October, the Vietnamese authorities repeatedly sent armed security personnel and militiamen into Yunnan, making provocations and wounding a number of Chinese inhabitants working in the fields.

• **December 9** Chinese fishing boats were attacked by Vietnamese in waters off Baisuyan (Paisuyen) Island, Dongxin County, Guangxi. One Chinese fisherman was killed and 2 others were wounded.

• **December 13** The Chinese Foreign Ministry sent a note to the Vietnamese Embassy in China strongly protesting the Vietnamese authorities' repeated encroachments upon China's territory and their wanton shootings in Beibu Gulf and on the Chinese side of the Sino-Vietnamese border, in which Chinese civilians were killed or wounded. On the same day, Vietnamese armed personnel occupied three heights in the Liaohang area of Ningming County, Guangxi, shelling a Chinese

border post and seriously wounding a member of a Chinese patrol.

• **December 20** According to Xinhua, between August 25 and December 15, Vietnamese armed personnel had invaded Chinese territory in some 100 places in Guangxi, setting up barbed wire entanglements, planting mines, digging trenches, nibbling away at Chinese territory. A total of more than 2,000 Vietnamese armed personnel invaded Guangxi and provoked over 200 border incidents. They bombarded Chinese frontier posts. They fired at Chinese border in-

habitants, killing 9 and seriously wounding 29 others.

• **December 23** Dozens of Vietnamese armed personnel intruded into the vicinity of Pingerguan, Guangxi, to open fire upon Chinese militiamen and inhabitants, killing or wounding 9 of them.

• **December 23, 1978 — January 15, 1979** Vietnamese armed personnel intruded into Chinese territory in 13 different places along the Sino-Vietnamese border. They unscrupulously opened fire, killing 4 Chinese frontier guards and wounding 4 others. At the same time, they unprovokedly fired upon Chinese inhabitants and villages in 32 places along the border, posing a serious threat to the production, lives and security of the local inhabitants. In its January 18 note to the Vietnamese Embassy in China, the Chinese Foreign Ministry pointed out: "If the Vietnamese authorities ignore the warnings of the Chinese Government and continue to make military provocations along the Sino-Vietnamese border, the Vietnamese Government must be held responsible for all the consequences arising therefrom."

• **January 20, 1979** Xinhua reported that Vietnamese armed personnel had frequently fired upon a number of border villages in Jingxi County of Guangxi.

• **January 27** Vietnamese armed personnel on various occasions intruded into the border areas of Yunnan and Guangxi and opened fire on Chinese troops and civilians.

• **January 28** According to Xinhua, during the Spring Festival holidays, Vietnamese

armed personnel had repeatedly fired on and shelled China's Yunnan and Guangxi border areas, preventing local inhabitants from celebrating the occasion.

- **February 1** Vietnamese armed personnel repeatedly intruded into China's border areas in Yunnan and Guangxi. They killed 8 border inhabitants and frontier guards and wounded 16 others from January 29 to February 1.

- **February 2** Vietnamese armed personnel killed 4 Chinese frontier guards and wounded 7 others in Yunnan and Guangxi.

- **February 5** Xinhua said that in the past few days, the Vietnamese authorities repeatedly dispatched armed personnel to carry out military provocations in China's border areas of Yunnan and Guangxi. The intruders fired at Chinese inhabitants, who were working in the fields, and planted mines on Chinese territory, killing 2 Chinese militiamen, wounding 2 others and beating up a Chinese inhabitant.

- **February 7** Xinhua dispatch: Vietnamese armed personnel recently killed 4 Chinese army men and civilians and wounded 5 others in China's border areas of Yunnan and Guangxi.

- **February 10** The Chinese Foreign Ministry sent a note to the Vietnamese Embassy in China stating that from January 15 to February 7 more than 70 Chinese frontier guards and border inhabitants had been killed or wounded by the Vietnamese side.

- **February 11** According to Xinhua, Vietnamese armed personnel recently made a

number of military provocations in China's border areas. Five Chinese frontier guards were killed and 12 others wounded.

- **February 12** Train 8704 and train 2992 running from Hekou to Kaiyuan, Yunnan, on different occasions came under heavy rifle and submachine-gun fire from Vietnamese armed troops at a point 2.5 kilometres away from Hekou. The trains were seriously damaged.

- **February 13** Vietnamese armed personnel, reported Xinhua, repeatedly intruded into China's Yunnan Province and planted mines there. Incomplete statistics show that 22 Chinese inhabitants and frontier guards were killed and 20 others wounded from the beginning of the year to February 13 in Yunnan Province alone.

- **February 15** Three Chinese frontier guards were killed or wounded by mines planted by Vietnamese armed personnel in Ningming County of Guangxi. On the same day they also fired on and shelled the Chinese side of the East No. 48 Marker in Ningming County. The firing and shelling lasted for hours. Thus the farm production in the border areas of Guangxi was seriously sabotaged.

- **February 16** The Chinese Foreign Ministry sent a note to the Vietnamese Embassy in China strongly protesting against the Vietnamese authorities' dispatch of armed personnel to encroach upon China's territory and create new grave incidents of bloodshed. The note warned the Vietnamese authorities that they should bear full responsibility for all the consequences arising therefrom.

Left: A stretcher team of militiamen in Jingxi County backing Chinese frontier forces in their counterattack. Right: Chinese commune members of Jingxi County, Guangxi, leave their shelters in the hills for spring ploughing after Chinese frontier forces start counterattacking Vietnamese aggressors.



"VIETNAMESE-KAMPUCHEAN TREATY"

A Hoax

Though Pham Van Dong's visit to Phnom Penh was announced soon after the Vietnamese aggressors occupied the Kampuchean capital, it did not take place until over a month later as determined resistance by the Kampuchean army and people made Phnom Penh and its environs unsafe for the Vietnamese invaders.

This shows that the puppet regime propped up by Vietnamese tanks, guns and bayonets, cannot last a single day without the "protection" of Vietnamese troops.

The whole world is greatly incensed by and strongly condemns the Vietnamese authorities' flagrant invasion of Kampuchea, and resolutely demands that the Vietnamese authorities immediately withdraw their troops from Kampuchea.

The so-called "treaty of peace, friendship and co-operation" between Viet Nam and its Kampuchean puppets, which was signed on February 18 by Pham Van Dong during his hurried visit to Phnom Penh, is

nothing but a clumsy Vietnamese trick to deceive world public opinion and legalize its annexation of Kampuchea and the stationing there of its aggressor troops.

The Vietnamese authorities imagine that with this "treaty" they can whitewash their invasion and occupation of vast areas of Kampuchea and their slaughter of Kampuchean people who are heroically fighting against them as an "effective measure" taken to carry out their pledge of jointly combating alleged "imperialist and international reactionary forces." Under the same pretext the Vietnamese authorities are able to station their troops permanently in Kampuchea and, whenever necessary, will send more troops to ensure their occupation of Kampuchea. The so-called "treaty" which the Vietnamese authorities cooked up and had the Kampuchean puppets sign is nothing but a confession of the Vietnamese authorities' attempt to perpetuate their occupation of Kampuchea.

By enabling the Vietnamese authorities to formally incorporate Kampuchea into their

"Indochina federation," the "treaty" also reveals the Vietnamese authorities' regional-hegemonist ambitions. It is to be recalled that in 1977, the Vietnamese authorities compelled Laos to sign a so-called "friendship and co-operation treaty" with them which established a "special relationship" allowing them to have the right of stationing tens of thousands of troops in Laos, and actually control Laos. Now, Viet Nam has set up a similar "special relationship" with the Kampuchean puppets. Under the signboard of "solidarity of the three countries," the "Indochina federation," which the Vietnamese regional hegemonists have dreamt of for years, is being knocked together and this will bring much trouble in Southeast Asia.

However, the Kampuchean people alone are the real masters of their country's destiny. Holding high the banner of a national, democratic, and patriotic united front, the Kampuchean people are fighting hard to drive the Vietnamese aggressors out of their country. The heroic Kampuchean people will never regard their indenture as legal. The Democratic Kampuchean Government on February 19 issued a statement "resolutely opposing and rejecting all treaties or agreements the Le Duan-Pham Van Dong clique concludes on Kampuchea."

The Vietnamese authorities think that they can bind Kampuchea to their war chariot rolling through Southeast Asia with this treaty of enslavement. But as a matter of fact the puppets are a heavy burden to the Vietnamese authorities. For Viet Nam is being forced to



The Vietnamese "road to socialism."

by Qin Zhe

sink large quantities of its manpower and materials into the boundless ocean of the Kampuchean people's war. Kampuchea will become a bottomless pit siphoning off Viet Nam's strength. History will testify that the Vietnamese authorities, instead of being crowned with laurels as the chief of the "Indochina federation," will be disgraced as aggressors.

WORLD OIL

In Short Supply

Oil production in the 1960s went up an average annual 10 per cent. But in 1977, the annual growth rate was 4.2 per cent, producing only 3,056 million tons, or only 0.2 per cent over that of 1976. In addition, oil export from Iran, second only to Saudi Arabia, stopped. This adds to the already strained contradiction between demand and supply and gravely affects consumer countries.

Many countries have taken measures to cope. Japan launched an energy conservation drive last January. British Petroleum has slashed deliveries by 45 per cent. Some U.S. companies have announced curtailing supply to the market. Denmark has raised oil prices 10 per cent and Sweden 8 per cent.

Normally, Iran produces an average of 6 million barrels of oil every day and exports 5 million barrels daily. Its oil production, however, plummeted last October and two months later Iran decided to suspend exports. Current daily oil output in Iran is 0.7 million barrels, enough only to meet domestic consumption. The international oil market is thus short of 3 million barrels a day whereas before the Iranian cutoff it had a surplus of 2 million barrels every day.

Saudi Arabia for a time upped its daily oil output from 8.5 million barrels to 10.5 million barrels, partly meeting the shortage in the oil market, but recently, the Saudi Government announced that production would level off at 9.5 million barrels a day in the first quarter this year. This hardly makes up the international oil market shortage.

The dim oil prospects have the Western oil consumers worried. U.S. Energy Secretary James R. Schlesinger testified not long ago that if Iran's oil cutoff remains through June, it could bring about a worldwide oil shortage as serious as the 1973-74 oil embargo.

ZIMBABWE

Determined to Foil Bogus Elections

The Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe announced that it would intensify its fighting in order to disrupt the bogus elections scheduled for this April 20 by the Smith regime.

On January 30 the Rhodesian racist regime held a referendum for the whites on a draft constitution which the regime had rigged up last September 30. According to the results released, 71 per cent of the whites voted and 84 per cent of them approved. This was another step taken by the Smith regime after its "internal settlement" met with strong opposition from the Zimbabwean people. The next step will be the bogus election on April 20.

Although Smith claimed that the referendum was a "success," the Western press said that Smith would not be able to attain world recognition of his "would-be" government. The draft constitution provides for maintaining white rule; whites

will continue to control the army, the police and the judicial department in the would-be government. Smith asserted that political power would be transferred from his minority rule to the black majority rule. But, to all intents and purposes, he will still maintain the white minority racist rule under the cover of majority rule.

The Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe has solemnly declared that this referendum cannot alter the Patriotic Front's stand to step up its war of liberation. The Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army (ZANLA) has spread its activities to all parts of the countryside and is now also operating in the urban areas. ZANLA fighters attacked the largest power station in Salisbury in the past week and also attacked the Salisbury international airport with mortar fire.

CHAD

Ceasefire Agreement

A ceasefire agreement was signed in N'Djamena between the rival forces supporting Chadian President Felix Malloum and Prime Minister Hissene Habre after a week-long armed conflict.

Under the agreement, the ceasefire should be immediate and permanent, and the rival forces will remain in the areas they now occupy without reinforcing them and a committee made up of one representative from each side and two French nationals will be formed to monitor the ceasefire. The agreement will remain in force until President Felix Malloum and Prime Minister Hissene Habre sign a reconciliation accord.

The armed conflict erupted in N'Djamena on February 12.

ON THE HOME FRONT

● **Guilin Deals With Pollution**

Three factories in Guilin, world famous for its scenery, have been ordered to suspend operation and another to close down because they were polluting the environment. The order was one of the steps taken at a meeting convened recently by the State Council on prevention and control of pollution in Guilin.

Guilin is renowned for its dramatic landscape of karst formations, clear rivers, magnificent caves and clean air. In the past few years, however, industrial wastes have badly polluted the Lijiang River, some of the rock formations on the hills have turned white and many trees have withered. The levels of harmful chemicals such as phenol, arsenic, chloride and cyanide in the river have risen beyond stringent state-stipulated margins.

Formerly, one cormorant could catch five kilogrammes of fish every day in the Lijiang River and a fishing team, 50 kilogrammes. But now three out of the four fishing teams in a small town close to Guilin have had to turn to other occupations, and cormorant deaths have been reported.

Industrial pollution is causing a production brigade on Guilin's outskirts to lose 150 tons of rice every year. Four workers said in their letter to a newspaper: "In recent years, the incidence of respiratory troubles, headaches, acute and chronic eye problems and dermatitis have increased among workers and their families."

The meeting also laid down some principles to fight pollu-

tion in Guilin. All factories causing pollution in the area, including those along both banks of the Lijiang River from Guilin to Yangshuo, must bring the harm under control within a specified time. If necessary, they must stop production. Factories which cannot bring down pollution to acceptable limits must be removed or be converted. No new plant or plant expansion will be allowed in the future without the approval of the autonomous region authorities.

Along with the ongoing effort to fight and control pollution, plans are underway to build more tourist hotels and to improve the city environment and housing for Guilin residents.

Guilin city is now organizing a drive to eliminate industrial pollutants.

● **Electrified Railways**

The work on the electrification of the Chengdu-Chongqing Railway in southwest China's Sichuan Province is moving ahead.

This railway across the Sichuan Basin is 505 kilometres

long and electrification of the 122-kilometre section between Chengdu and Ziyang has been basically completed. When the entire line is electrified by 1981, increased tractive power and speed of locomotives will double its freight tonnage.

The Chengdu-Chongqing Railway, the first one in Sichuan Province, was completed and opened to traffic in 1952 and is a part of the network in southwest China. It is linked with Shaanxi, Guizhou, Yunnan and Hubei Provinces by the Baoji-Chengdu, Chongqing-Guiyang, Chengdu-Kunming and Chongqing-Xiangfan Railways respectively.

The Chengdu-Chongqing line is one of four railways currently being electrified in China. The other three are the Chongqing-Xiangfan Railway, the western section (from Baoji in Shaanxi to Lanzhou in Gansu) of the Lanzhou-Lianyungang Railway and the railway between Shijiazhuang in Hebei and Taiyuan in Shanxi.

China's first electrified railway, the Baoji-Chengdu Railway, was completed in 1975 and the second, the Yangpingguan-Ankang Railway, in 1977.

Women engine drivers aboard their locomotive.





LITERATURE

More Journals Resume Publication

China's garden of socialist art and literature has always been guided by Chairman Mao's principle "let a hundred flowers blossom." Yet all these "flowers" faded during the some ten-year reign of cultural despotism by Lin Biao and the "gang of four." The newly published issues of the revived journals are giving liveliness to the garden once again.

Shouhuo (Harvest), a literary bimonthly, resumed publication in February 1979 in Shanghai after being suspended for 13 years. It is still its old self — diversified subject-matters and style. The first issue following resumption carried a long novel, a film script, essays and memoirs. The novel is Volume Three of *Morning in Shanghai* by Zhou Erfu about the transformation of capitalists in China. The first two volumes of the novel were published in the 50s and the 60s separately and were condemned as poisonous weeds by the "gang of four." The film script *Hurricane Song* by veteran dramatist Chen Baichen is about how the Empress Lu was prevented from usurping state power in the Han Dynasty over 2,000 years ago. In the 40s, the dramatist wrote a satirical comedy *Promotion* exposing the

dark side of the then Chinese society, and in the 50s *True Features of the Paper Tiger* which denounces the imperialists.

The issue also carries a foreword by Mao Dun entitled "Bai Juyi and Poets of His Times" to Rewi Alley's English translation of selected poems by the great poet Bai Juyi (772-846 A.D.), and a commentary by critic Chen Huangmei on Chinese short-story writing in 1977 and 1978. Memoirs on creative work by noted writer Ba Jin and the late Lao She are also in this issue.

The widely circulated monthly *Dazhong Dianying* (Popular Cinema), the bimonthly *Dianying Yishu* (Cinematographic Art) and the bimonthly *Dianying Jishu* (Cinematographic Technique) will reappear soon. Together with the two newly published journals in Beijing and Shanghai which mainly carry film scripts, these magazines will promote the flourishing of cinema. The screen had suffered seriously during the ten-year reign by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," so cinema workers are now eager to change the situation and meet the demand of movie fans.

Renmin Xiju (People's Theatre) will soon come off the press with a new look. It will include comments, reports of events and trends and experience of creative work in this field. It will also have space devoted to discussions of artistic questions in the creation of dramas. Scripts of plays and libretti will be published by another monthly *Juben* (Plays). Since the downfall of the "gang of four," modern drama

was the first artistic branch to come back to life. Around 200 pieces of full-length and short plays have been staged in the past two years. Traditional local operas, numbering several hundred, have also gained a new life. In the last two months Beijing audiences were really delighted to find programmes of *chuanju* opera, *jiju* opera, Beijing opera, *pingju* opera, Shaoxing opera and others.

Minjian Wenxue (Folk Literature) compiled by the Chinese Folk Literature and Art Association has also appeared again. The first issue of the magazine carries a preface by Zhou Yang, Vice-President of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, to *Selection of Chinese Ballads*, legends about the late Marshal Chen Yi as well as political jokes about the "gang of four."

PHILOSOPHY

Nanjing Holds Forum On Atheism

Chinese philosophers should propagate atheism, uphold dialectical materialism and strive to eliminate the pernicious influence of the modern theology propagated by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" in the name of revolutionary leaders and Marxism.

This is the consensus of scholars from 30 units in various parts of China gathered at a forum on atheism sponsored in Nanjing not long ago by the Institute of World Religions of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences and the philosophy department of Nanjing Univer-

sity. It was decided at the forum to set up the Chinese Atheists' Association.

These scholars at the forum held that theology and feudal superstition still exist in China, just as various religions are still having a hold over a vast population in the world.

According to the Party's policy on religions, the people enjoy freedom to believe in religion and freedom not to believe in religion and to propagate atheism. But Lin Biao and the "gang of four" did all they could to wreck the smooth working of this policy. Taking advantage of feudal, superstitious ideas in some people's minds, they trafficked their hotchpotch of religious absurdities and fouled up the political life of China. They deified revolutionary leaders, distorted Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought into a theological dogma and used this to shackle people's minds and stem the advance of the socialist cause.

The study of the history of atheism in China, the forum pointed out, is aimed at summing up the historical experience in the struggle of atheism versus theism, promoting atheistic study and propaganda, eliminating remnants of feudalism and helping spread and develop science and technology. Studying the history of atheism in China will help research into the history of Chinese philosophy, the history of peasant wars and other subjects.

Participants at the forum said that to do a good job of studying Chinese atheism, it was necessary to study Marxist atheism and to come to understand the atheistic concepts of the Han and minority nationalities and relevant historical data.

They also suggested that the history of atheism in foreign countries be studied so that, through comparison, the salient features of Chinese atheism could be defined. In evaluating historical figures, they said, one must proceed from the historical conditions, use the concept of one dividing into two and avoid oversimplification.

REVOLUTIONARY PHOTO

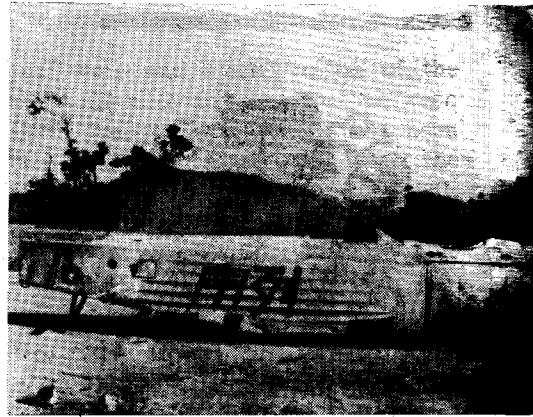
First Aeroplane of Chinese Red Army

A photo of the Chinese Red Army's first aeroplane is now on exhibition in the Military Museum of the Chinese People's Revolution in Beijing. This Kuomintang *Junker* trainer was captured in 1931 by the peasant Red Guards with spears and swords when it used up its fuel and made an emergency landing in the Dabie Mountain base area, Henan Province.

In those years, the poorly equipped revolutionary forces were scattered in remote villages in the base areas.

The pilot later joined the revolution, convinced of its righteousness through discussions with Xu Xiangqian (the present National Defence Minister), then a Red Army commander. Two red stars were painted on the wings of the plane, which had been renamed *Lenin*. Two airfields were built and fuel was brought in from Wuhan.

It was used to fly reconnaissance missions over the enemy-occupied areas, distribute leaflets and make "demonstration"



Fuselage of the "Lenin."

flights to awe the Kuomintang. Once during a battle in which the Red Army wiped out 10,000 enemy troops, *Lenin* bombed the Kuomintang headquarters with enemy bombs hanging from its wings.

In July 1932 the main force of the Red Army was transferred out of the area and *Lenin*, having completed its mission, was dismantled and buried.

NATURAL SCIENCE

Sterilizing Pine Caterpillars

Scientists in China are working on an alternate method of depriving insect pests of the power of procreation.

Tests on the pine caterpillar with a chemical called Thiotepa have proved encouraging. This caterpillar is a menace to the pine forests of south China, as a hundred or so are enough to defoliate and destroy a 10-year-old pine tree within two weeks.

Scientists found that if male pine caterpillar moths come into contact with Thiotepa and then mate, the eggs produced are all infertile. But how to get these males into contact with this chemical? Scientists use the "mating secretion"

which female moths exuded from the milky white glands in their abdomen tips to attract males during the mating season. An infinitesimal amount of this secretion is enough to attract male moths from a hundred metres away.

This secretion is being successfully extracted from female

moths. Traps with this secretion and the chemical sterilant are put in the pine forests to lure the unwary male moths which later become impotent.

But recently, a better and simpler method has been found. Researchers have developed a synthetic "mating secretion" which is being sprayed over the

forests during the mating season to confuse and make the male moths seek in vain the females. The frustrated pests miss the mating period so that infertile eggs are spawned. Similar methods have been successfully used abroad in controlling certain insect pests over large areas.

On the Stage and Screen

The Third Series of Items selected from all parts of the country for the national theatrical festival to mark the 30th anniversary of the founding of New China. This festival, which started in January, will continue to the eve of the National Day (October 1). Items included in the third series are:

- *March East! March East!*, a play about the redoubtable Marshal Chen Yi, statesman, poet, Vice-Premier and Minister of Foreign Affairs, who died in 1972. This is one of many new plays portraying revolutionaries of the older generation such as Mao Zedong, Zhou Enlai, Zhu De and Chen Yi based on actual events in recent history. Chen Yi is shown here fighting the Kuomintang reactionaries in the 1930s.

- *Spring Comes to People's Hearts*, a seven-act comedy about a labour emulation campaign on a train. When the "gang of four" was around, comedies were banned because they caused laughter and were therefore regarded as "not serious politically."

- *The Other Side*, about African people coming to see the perfidy of the Soviet Union, the self-styled friend. The first Chinese play in a decade about people of another country. It marks another step forward towards greater diversity of subject-matter.

- *Cai Wenji*, a *kunqu* opera based on the play by the late Guo Moruo. Cai Wenji was a woman historian and poetess of old.

- *She Married Her Elder Sister's Fiancee*. The younger sister marries the good, honest, upright but poor man whom her elder sister looks down on and refuses to marry. This is a Shandong Province *luju* opera, one of China's most popular local opera forms. The story comes from an ancient collection of stories *Strange Stories From a Chinese Studio*. Feudal dress in the original story such as the fatalistic conception has been sifted out.

On Screen

Films banned for many years by the "gang of four" now reshown include:

- *Daji and Her Father*. Daji is a Han girl living among the Yi

nationality. The film tells of her joys and sorrows, separations and reunions with her father.

- *Uprising on the "Changhong."* Underground Communist Party members aboard the KMT ship help the sailors launch an uprising on the eve of Shanghai's liberation in 1949.

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Repertoire of the Beijing Opera Theatre of Beijing. The 15 masterpieces staged by this well-staffed theatre in the last two weeks include: the historical play *Hai Rui Dismissed From Office*, *The White Snake* — a folk tale on the loyalty of love, *The Monkey Subdues the White-Bone Spirit*, and *Mu Guiying Takes Command* — a story about a patriotic woman general.



A scene from *The Other Side*.

"THREE GOLDEN CUPS"

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