

# PEKING REVIEW

24

June 16, 1978

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京  
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報

**Chairman Hua's Speech at  
All-Army Political Work  
Conference**

**Foreign Ministry Statement on Expulsion  
Of Chinese Residents by Viet Nam**

*Who Should Disarm First?*

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北京周報

BEIJING ZHOUBAO

Vol. 21, No. 24

June 16, 1978

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

## CONTENTS

<b>THE WEEK</b>	<b>3</b>
All-Army Political Work Conference	
Rwandan President Visits China	
Chairman Hua Meets Burmese Military Delegation	
Vice-Premier Ku Mu Ends Visit to Western Europe	
Writers and Artists Meet	
<b>ARTICLES AND DOCUMENTS</b>	
Chairman Hua's Speech at All-Army Political Work Conference — May 29, 1978	6
Statement of Chinese Foreign Ministry on Expulsion of Chinese Residents by Viet Nam — June 9, 1978	13
Lies Cannot Cover Up Facts — <i>Renmin Ribao</i> Commentator	17
U.N. Special Session: Chinese Delegation's Working Paper on Disarmament	22
Report From the U.N.: Who Should Disarm First? — Hsinhua Correspondents	25
Chinese Press Survey:	
Minister of Culture on Literary and Art Policies	27
Socialist Legal System Must Not Be Played Around With	28
<b>ROUND THE WORLD</b>	<b>29</b>
Five Countries: Against Soviet Expansion in Africa	
Africa: Fighting Hegemonism	
Prague: Silent Revolt	
<b>ON THE HOME FRONT</b>	<b>31</b>
Peking's Ancient Parks Renovated	

## All-Army Political Work Conference

How should the Chinese People's Liberation Army carry forward its fine traditions in doing political work and improve its combat capability under the new historical conditions? This was the central issue on the agenda of the All-Army Political Work Conference held in Peking from April 27 to June 6.

Chairman Hua Kuo-feng and Vice-Chairmen Yeh Chien-ying and Teng Hsiao-ping attended and spoke at two sessions of this conference of historic importance. (For full text of Chairman Hua's speech see p. 6. Vice-Chairmen Yeh's and Teng's speeches will appear in our next issue.)

Chairman Hua called on the whole army to strengthen its political work and speed up the revolutionization and modernization of the army, increase its combat capability and do its part in fulfilling the general tasks of the new period.

Reviewing the historical experience gained by the army over the past half-century, Vice-Chairman Yeh pointed out that political work is the lifeblood of our army.

In his speech, Vice-Chairman Teng expounded Chairman Mao's concept of seeking the truth from facts. He stressed: We must at no time violate the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. But we must proceed from

reality, integrate theory with practice, sum up past experiences, analyse the new historical conditions, and put forward new problems, tasks and policies.

The conference was presided over by Wei Kuo-ching, Member of the Political Bureau of the C.P.C. Central Committee and Director of the P.L.A. General Political Department. In his report entitled "Carry Forward the Fine Traditions in Political Work and Improve Our Army's Combat Strength in the New Historical Conditions," he dwelt with emphasis on the following six points: 1. Carry the struggle to expose and criticize the "gang of four" through to the end; 2. earnestly select and train successors in the revolutionary cause; 3. firmly grasp class struggle in the ideological sphere; 4. integrate political work with education, military training and other work; 5. cultivate the style of plain living and arduous struggle; and 6. institute a system of checking one's work and maintain strict discipline.

The conference discussed and prepared three draft documents, the Resolution on Strengthening Political Work, the Regulations for Political Work and the Regulations for Cadres in the Service and adopted a circular on convening an all-army conference for outstanding representatives in learning from Lei Feng, the Hard-Boned Sixth Company and the First Flight Division of the Air Force.

The late Comrade Lei Feng was a young P.L.A. fighter imbued with communist ideas. The Sixth Company has been commended because its members have given a good account of themselves politically, ideologically, and in military training, observing discipline and keeping to a good style of work. The First Flight Division is one of several model divisions which have distinguished themselves in implementing Chairman Mao's line in army building. A movement to learn from them is now in full swing in P.L.A. units.

## Rwandan President Visits China

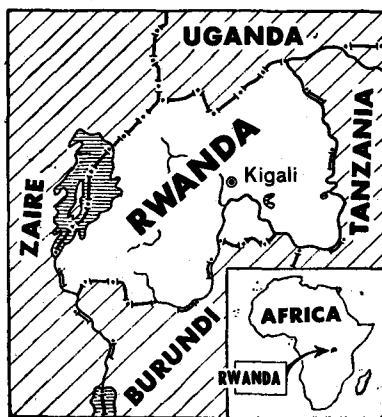
Major General Juvenal Habyalimana, President of the Republic of Rwanda and President-Founder of the National Revolutionary Movement for Development of Rwanda, Mme. Habyalimana and their party arrived in Peking on June 8 for a visit to China at the invitation of the Chinese Government. Coming from a landlocked country in central Africa with a population of 4.5 million people, the President was accorded a warm welcome by Chairman Hua Kuo-feng and Vice-Premier Teng Hsiao-ping at the airport.

Vice-Premier Teng on June 8 hosted a grand banquet given by the State Council in honour of the distinguished guests. In his speech at the banquet, he spoke of the present-day situa-

tion in Africa. Over the past year and more, he said, Africa has become a hot spot in the two superpowers' strategic plans for dominating the world. In an effort to create trouble everywhere, he noted, the late-coming superpower, in particular, has continually dispatched mercenaries to Africa to kindle flames of war in various places, throwing Africa into unprecedented turmoil.

The Vice-Premier said that the Chinese Government and people firmly support the African people in their just cause of unity against hegemonism, imperialism and colonialism; and Zaire and the other third world countries in their just struggles.

In his speech at the banquet, President Habyalimana stressed the unity between African and other third world countries. He expressed the conviction that no weapons could overcome such a unity. He condemned imperialism, colonialism and racism for their interference in African affairs and voiced support for those who fight to assure their dignity, well-being and freedom.



A sketch map by Shih I-tü

On June 10, Chairman Hua met with President Habyalimana. The Chairman also dwelt on the African situation. He pointed out: "The African people have stood up, and they want to build their own countries. But hegemonism and imperialism are trying in a thousand and one ways to carry out sabotage. To serve their purposes of aggression and contention, the two hegemonic powers meddle in African affairs and split the unity of the African countries. Africa should guard against hegemonism. The affairs of Africa should be managed by the African people themselves. In Africa, countries want independence, nations want liberation and the people want revolution — no reactionary force whatsoever can stem the trend."

The Rwandan President said that the co-operation between Rwanda and China was highly effective and the relations between the two countries were excellent. "The talks between us were a complete success," he said.

An agreement on economic and technical co-operation between China and Rwanda was signed in Peking on June 10.

### Chairman Hua Meets Burmese Military Delegation

Chairman Hua Kuo-feng on June 7 met the Burmese military delegation led by General Kyaw Htin, Minister of National Defence and Chief of the General Staff.

Chairman Hua said: "Sino-Burmese relations have been developing very well. President U Ne Win has visited China on many occasions, and our Premier Chou En-lai also paid many visits to Burma. Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress Teng Ying-chao last year and Vice-Premier Teng Hsiao-ping early this year visited your country." Chairman Hua added that General Kyaw Htin's current visit would surely make new contributions to furthering the mutual understanding and friendship between the two peoples and their armed forces.

### Vice-Premier Ku Mu Ends Visit to Western Europe

Vice-Premier Ku Mu visited five West European countries from May 2 to June 7. The first lap of itinerary was France (see *Peking Review*, No. 20).

Later, Ku Mu and his party visited Switzerland, Belgium (including E.E.C. Headquarters), Denmark and West Germany. They were accorded a warm reception by government leaders and the people of these countries.

In Berne, Ku Mu called on President Willi Ritschard of the Swiss Federal Council.

In Brussels, he held talks with Belgian Prime Minister Leo Tindemans and was received by H.M. King Baudouin. He also called on Roy Jenkins, President of the Commission of the European Communities.

In Copenhagen, Ku Mu called on Danish Prime Minister Anker Joergensen, and was received

by Queen Margrethe II and Prince Henrik.

In Bonn, President Walter Scheel and Chancellor Helmut Schmidt received Ku Mu on separate occasions.

During his visit to these four European countries, Ku Mu said that the Chinese Government and people support the people of the West European countries in their endeavour to achieve unity. He expressed the hope that Europe would become united and strong. Europe would also like to see a strong and prosperous China, he said.

Vice-Premier Ku Mu also said that the Chinese people, while striving for the realization of the four modernizations by the end of the century, will keep to the principle of independence and self-reliance and at the same time expand their exchanges with other countries.

## Writers and Artists Meet

The All-China Federation of Literary and Art Circles, which had been forcibly suspended by the "gang of four" for 12 years, recently held an enlarged national committee meeting in Peking from May 27 to June 5. The meeting announced the resumption of activities of the federation and the various literary and art unions.

This was the first grand gathering of Chinese literary and art workers in more than ten years, attended by 300 representatives from various fields in all parts of the country, including writers, artists, musicians, theatrical, film and *chuyi* (balladry, story-telling

and comic dialogue) workers, choreographers and photographers. Filled with elation, they discussed the report "Strive for the Flourishing of Socialist Literary and Art Creations Under the Guidance of Chairman Mao's Revolutionary Line in Literature and Art" made by Huang Chen, Minister of Culture and Deputy Head of the Propaganda Department of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party. Participants in the meeting denounced the crimes of the "gang of four" in persecuting literary and art workers.

At the meeting, it was announced that the All-China Federation of Literature and Art Circles and the unions of Chinese writers, dramatists, musicians, film artists and dancers will formally resume activity. *Literary Gazette*, the national journal of literature and art, will resume publication immediately, while four other organizations (for fine arts, *chuyi*, folk literature and photography) will be reactivated as soon as possible.

The meeting also decided that the fourth national congress of the Chinese literary and art workers would be convened at an opportune time next year. Its aim will be to sum up the experience, both positive and negative, of the last 28 years, discuss the tasks and plans for literature and art in the new period of development of China's socialist revolution and construction, revise the constitutions of the federation and its affiliated unions, and elect their new leading bodies.

All the participants agreed when a writer of long standing

said that "creative efforts must be stepped up and writers should go down to the grass-roots units." They pledged to go among the masses in the factories, people's communes and other grass-roots units and do their best to create works serving the workers, peasants and soldiers and socialist revolution and construction.

## IN THE NEWS

- A military goodwill delegation of the People's Republic of China led by Yang Yung, Member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and Deputy Chief of the General Staff of the Chinese People's Liberation Army, left Peking on June 6 to visit Yugoslavia by invitation.

- Another Chinese military goodwill delegation led by Chang Ai-ping, Deputy Chief of the General Staff of the Chinese People's Liberation Army, on June 6 left Peking to visit Sweden and Italy by invitation.

- Vice-Premier Teng Hsiao-ping on June 5 met with a delegation of the Japan Broadcasting Corporation led by its president Tomokzo Sakamoto.

- Vice-Premier Teng Hsiao-ping on June 7 met with a journalist delegation from Thailand led by Pongsak Payakvichien, president of the Reporters Association of Thailand.

- Chairman Yeh Chien-ying of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress and Premier Hua Kuo-feng on June 11 sent a message to Ziaur Rahman congratulating him on his election as President of the People's Republic of Bangladesh.

# Chairman Hua's Speech at All-Army Political Work Conference

May 29, 1978



Comrades!

Our All-Army Political Work Conference has been highly successful.

This is the first such conference since our country entered the new period of development in socialist revolution and construction and since the new Military Commission of the Party Central Committee was elected at the Party's 11th National Congress.

Comrade Wei Kuo-ching made a report at the conference under the title "Carry Forward the Fine Traditions in Political Work and Improve Our Army's Combat Strength in the New Historical Conditions." Giving full scope to

democracy and relying on collective wisdom, the conference has prepared three draft documents, the Resolution on Strengthening Political Work, the Regulations for Political Work and the Regulations for Cadres in the Service. Comrade Kuo-ching's report and the draft documents are all good; they are sound rules and regulations for political work in the army. Given the principles and tasks set forth and decisions made by last year's meeting of the Military Commission on grasping the key link of class struggle to run the army well and getting prepared against war, plus the documents produced by this conference which are to be examined and promulgated by the Military Commission, our army has a fairly complete set of rules for all aspects of its work suited to the new historical conditions.

This conference has inherited and carried forward the fine traditions established and fostered by Chairman Mao in army political work and made an all-round summary of the experience, positive and negative, gained in this field during the struggle against Lin Piao and the "gang of four." It has also clearly put forward the orientation, tasks and methods for strengthening army political work in the new historical conditions. This will have a most important bearing on the whole army's effort to carry out further the line of the 11th Party Congress and the general task for the new period, to implement the principles and tasks laid down by the meeting of the Military Commission last year on grasping the key link of class struggle to run the army well and getting prepared against war, to speed the army's revolutionization and modernization and to raise its combat strength. At the same time, the conference will have a major effect on the effort which is being made on all other fronts of the

nation to learn from the Liberation Army and to strengthen ideological and political work.

Vice-Chairman Yeh and Vice-Chairman Teng are going to make important speeches at this conference. Now, I will make a few points concerning the strengthening of ideological and political work for the fulfilment of the general task in the new period.

Comrades!

The 11th National Congress of our Party has formulated the Party line for the new period of development in socialist revolution and construction. To carry it out, our Party put forward at the Fifth National People's Congress the general task for the new period, which is to persevere in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, carry forward the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment, and make China a great, powerful socialist country with modern agriculture, industry, national defence and science and technology by the end of the century. This general task is written into our country's new Constitution. We must carry out widespread propaganda and education among the people throughout the country, arousing and organizing them to carry it out. This forms the chief content of all our Party's ideological and political work in the new period.

Our country's socialist revolution and construction entered the new period of development with the victorious conclusion of the first Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. This cultural revolution, which lasted 11 years, was a great political revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. It was a continuation of the prolonged struggle waged by the Chinese Communist Party and the masses of revolutionary people under its leadership against the Kuomintang reactionaries, a continuation of the class struggle between the proletariat on the one hand and the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes on the other, and a continuation of the struggle between Marxism and revisionism. In these struggles, it was a decisive and historic battle. In this decisive battle, we successively shattered the three

bourgeois headquarters of Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and the "gang of four," and were victorious in these three major two-line struggles in the history of our Party. During the great struggle to smash the "gang of four," in particular, we got rid of the most dangerous enemies hidden in our Party, swept away and are still sweeping away the reactionary dregs of society that for a time ran wild. This enormously raised the level of political and ideological consciousness of the cadres and the masses and fired their enthusiasm for socialism, thus profoundly altering the balance of class forces in our country and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat as never before. This victory cleared away the biggest obstacle to the correct and all-round implementation of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line on all fronts and prepared the necessary and adequate conditions for achieving stability, unity and great order across the land, for ensuring a sustained rapid advance in the national economy and for carrying out the great plan made by Chairman Mao and Premier Chou En-lai in their lifetime for building a modern, powerful socialist country. The general task has been put forward according to these characteristics of the new period, answering the call of history and reflecting the aspirations of the people.

The general task our Party has set for the new period is based on Chairman Mao's theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. According to this theory, in socialist society there still exist contradictions between the relations of production and the productive forces and between the superstructure and the economic base and there are still classes, class contradictions and class struggle. We must correctly understand and handle these contradictions and, taking class struggle as the key link, continue the revolution in the superstructure so that it suits the economic base, continue the revolution in the relations of production so that they meet the needs of the development of the productive forces and, at the same time, we must put a great effort into technical innovations and technical revolution and speedily expand the productive forces so as to provide the socialist political and economic systems with an ever more powerful material



The squad which the model fighter Lei Feng served during his lifetime criticizing the "gang of four" at a meeting.

base and facilitate the increasing consolidation, perfection and development of the systems. We smashed the "gang of four," and for some time to come, we shall continue to expose and criticize in depth the gang's counter-revolutionary revisionist line and strike hard blows at the various reactionary social forces which formed the gang's social basis. All this is aimed at sweeping away the most reactionary, decadent economic base and superstructure which they represented, thus emancipating the productive forces. Without overthrowing the "gang of four," socialist modernization would be impossible, and without the four modernizations and the elimination of economic and technical backwardness, it would be impossible truly and effectively to overcome capitalism from within and resist possible social-imperialist and imperialist aggression from without, or truly to consolidate the socialist system and the dictatorship of the proletariat. Our process of socialist modernization will be a steady expansion of the productive forces coupled with a steady consolidation, perfection and development of the socialist relations of production and the superstructure. The four modernizations are inseparably connected with the continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. We must persist in continuing the revolution under the

dictatorship of the proletariat and place revolutionization in command of modernization.

During this new period of development, the principal contradiction in our country is still that between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, between the socialist road and the capitalist road. Some of the cases that come under this contradiction belong to the category of contradictions between ourselves and the enemy. But most of the cases belong to the category of contradictions among the people. Enemies who fight against socialism are always only a small handful, while the people who support and back socialism comprise over 95 per cent of the population. As the "gang of four" created chaos by reversing the position as between ourselves and the enemy, a very important problem in carrying out the general task for the new period is to distinguish strictly and handle correctly the two different types of contradictions, and especially to handle correctly the contradictions among the people. Our fundamental principle is to resolve contradictions between ourselves and the enemy by means of dictatorship and to resolve contradictions among the people by means of democracy. Of course we must firmly exercise dictatorship over those whom ironclad proof shows to be enemies. In the case of con-



traditions among the people, even where the contradictions are in nature those between the two classes and between the two roads, we can only resolve them by means of democracy, by means of persuasion and education, and not by means of dictatorship. Law violators among the people must also be brought to justice, but this is different in principle from dictatorship over the enemy. As for those contradictions among the people that are not in nature contradictions between the two classes and between the two roads, those for instance which often crop up in ways of thinking and methods of work under the common socialist orientation, they must all the more be resolved by the method of democracy. Resolving contradictions among the people by means of democracy, persuasion and education calls for strengthened ideological and political work, using proletarian ideology to



Commander of the "Hard-Boned Sixth Company" (right) and its fighters on the march.

overcome bourgeois ideology and all other exploiting-class ideology, bringing petty bourgeois ideas within the orbit of the proletariat and leading incorrect ways of thinking and methods of work to correct ones. This is another important part of the task of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. By doing this well, uniting all the forces that can be united, mobilizing all positive factors and as far as possible turning negative factors into positive ones, we shall greatly speed the building of a modern, powerful socialist country.

Comrades!

Our People's Liberation Army bears important, historical responsibilities in our country's new period of development in socialist revolution and construction. The general task set by our Party for the new period makes a series of new and more exacting demands on army building. The world's basic contradictions are steadily sharpening, the struggle for hegemony between the Soviet Union and the United States is growing fiercer and a war is bound to break out some day. The Soviet revisionists are not abandoning their ambition to subjugate China and they are our chief and most dangerous enemy. We must therefore grasp the key link of class struggle to run the army well, get pre-



An aircrew of the First Flight Division exercising with models.

pared against war, race against time and fight for speed, and step up our army's revolutionization and modernization. We must maintain a high degree of mental preparedness against war and be ready to deal with a possible surprise attack from the enemy.

Our People's Liberation Army is a people's army of a new type, founded and nurtured by Chairman Mao and the Chinese Communist Party. It is the staunch pillar of the dictatorship of the proletariat. In the prolonged and arduous struggles of over half a century, our army did great, historic deeds both in the democratic revolution and in the socialist revolution, winning the love and confidence of the whole Party and all the people. I have said at several meetings since the overthrow of the "gang of four": The fact that we have a People's Liberation Army loyal to the Party and the people is one essential reason why our Party was able to smash the gang at one stroke, keep nationwide stability in the struggle to expose and criticize the gang and carry out the strategic decision to grasp the key link of class struggle and bring about great order across the land.

Chairman Mao said: "The P.L.A. is a good army, and I like it very much." Our army is good because it was built according to Chairman Mao's line on army building and it has a system of revolutionary political work. The Kutien Meeting resolution personally drafted by Chairman Mao laid the foundation for our army's political work and completely differentiated our army from all armies of the old type. Our army has always been under the absolute leadership of our Party, firmly followed Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and firmly resisted the interference and sabotage of erroneous lines. No bourgeois careerists or conspirators can successfully control the army and seize its leadership. Didn't the Lin Piao anti-Party clique bluster about "commanding all" and "mobilizing all"? Yet they ended up commanding and mobilizing nothing. In preparing for a counter-revolutionary coup, the "gang of four" tried to attack and inveigle our army, but it all ended in the same way: they could neither overthrow nor pry away this army. They couldn't get even a single company to go with them. Facts have repeatedly proved that the system of political work initiated by Chairman Mao is indeed the

lifeblood of our army. The Chinese People's Liberation Army equipped with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought will always belong to the Party and the people. The foundation of our army's political work is unshakable.

Politics is the commander, the soul in everything. To achieve our country's socialist modernization, we must put revolutionization in command of modernization. This is all the more so with our army's modernization. Our army must speed the improvement of its weapons and equipment and raise its tactical and technical level. Otherwise, it cannot improve its combat strength. At the same time, we must realize that the question of primary importance is who hold the guns and at whom they are pointed. The army must have a firm and correct political orientation; the political demands on the army must be stricter and higher. If political work in the army were weakened, it would be impossible to maintain our Party's absolute leadership over the army, to preserve our army's proletarian nature, to ensure the implementation of the Party's line, principles and policies or to make full use of modern arms and equipment, even when we have them. When our army modernizes, it puts revolutionization in command over modernization, which is entirely different from the case of the troops of Soviet revisionism and U.S. imperialism. For us, really powerful combat effectiveness comes from a close integration of people who have a high level of proletarian consciousness with modern weapons and equipment.

Most fundamental in using revolutionization to command modernization is to restore and carry forward the fine traditions of the system of political work which Chairman Mao formulated for our army and to strengthen army political work under the new historical conditions. Political work is Party work and it means consolidating the Party's absolute leadership over the army, politically and organizationally leading and guaranteeing the implementation of the Party's line, principles and policies in the army, and improving the army's combat strength. The experience derived from the history of class struggle and the struggle between the two lines shows that when agents of the bourgeoisie want to sabotage our army,

they often first try to undermine its political work. This was so with Lin Piao and the "gang of four." They tried to use bourgeois politics to push aside proletarian politics and to corrupt the proletarian army with bourgeois ideas in an attempt to confuse our army, first of all politically and ideologically, and achieve their criminal aim of usurping the leadership of the army, state and Party. We must criticize in depth the criminal sabotage which Lin Piao and the "gang of four" perpetrated against our army's political work and eradicate their noxious influence. We must use Chairman Mao's thinking on army building to educate cadres and fighters, to handle correctly the relations between army and Party, between army and government, between army and civilians and between officers and men, to handle correctly the relations between higher and lower grades in the army, between political work in the army and its military, administrative and technical work, so as to bring out to the full the power of our army's political work.

Political organs and political work cadres at all levels bear a vital responsibility for strengthening political work. The political organs are the Party's working organs in the army and lead army political work. Under the leadership of the Party Central Committee and its Military Commission, the General Political Department is the supreme leading body administering Party work in the army and organizing the political work of the whole army. One insidious method which Lin Piao and the "gang of four" used to oppose the Party, disrupt the army and sabotage political work was to throw the political organs into confusion, paralyse the General Political Department, and repeatedly assault the political organs. This had serious consequences for the whole army. In view of this situation, the 1977 meeting of the Military Commission reasserted the importance of the political organs in our army and called for restoring, within three years or so, the functions, role and prestige of the political organs to the level they attained in the period of the revolutionary wars and then developing and enhancing their functions, role and prestige in the new conditions. Through a process of consolidation, we must do a good job in building up the political organs and a powerful contingent of political work cadres. We must improve our understand-

ing of political work, emancipate our minds, bestir ourselves and set about our work in full stride. We must raise the level of political work, improve its working method, get rid of formalism and do the work in a more down-to-earth, deep-going and painstaking way, so that it really permeates all aspects of the work of grasping the key link of class struggle to run the army well and getting prepared against war. Political work should be done not only by cadres in this field but by military and rear service cadres as well. It should be done by the cadres, and by the fighters as well. We must create a good atmosphere in which everyone in the army cares for and takes part in political work.

The key to strengthening political work is to strengthen the leading role of the Party committee. The principal leading comrades of a Party committee should personally attend to political work. It is necessary to enable the political commissars fully to play their role; the sabotage of Lin Piao and the "gang of four" has weakened the status and role of the political commissars and this must be quickly changed. Leading comrades in Party committees at all levels in the army, and the principal leading cadres in particular, should set an example in political work by conscientiously observing the basic principles of "practise Marxism, and not revisionism; unite, and don't split; be open and aboveboard, and don't intrigue and conspire," by grasping the key link of class struggle to run the army well and getting prepared against war, and by carrying forward the fine traditions of our Party and our army.

The comrades present and all the army's political work cadres should, firmly and confidently, restore the fine traditions of our army's political work quickly and to the full. They should, moreover, develop and advance them so as to make new contributions to improving the combat strength of the troops. Commanders and fighters throughout the army must hold high the great banner of Chairman Mao, unite closely round the Party Central Committee, deepen the mass movement to learn from Lei Feng, from the "Hard-Boned Sixth Company" and from the First Flight Division of the Air Force, learn from Taching, Tachai and the people of the whole country, further implement the fighting tasks of grasping the key link of class struggle to run the army well and of

getting prepared against war, speed the revolutionization and modernization of our army, and work hard to defend the motherland, liberate Taiwan and carry out the general task for the new period.

Comrades!

The carrying out of the general task for the new period requires that we greatly strengthen the great unity of the whole Party, the whole army and the Chinese people of all nationalities.

Chairman Mao once stressed the absolute necessity of strengthening two kinds of unity: "One is the internal unity of the Party and the other the unity of the Party and the people. These are two most valuable weapons for overcoming hardships, and all Party comrades must cherish them." In our struggle to carry out the general task for the new period, we face an external threat from social-imperialism and imperialism as well as complicated class struggle internally, in addition to the war with nature. We should cherish these two invaluable weapons all the more, give full play to their infinite power and ensure victory for our great and arduous cause.

After the overthrow of the "gang of four," stability and unity have prevailed in our country. This is a great victory. But we must not underestimate the grave harm and the noxious influence of Lin Piao and the "gang of four," who disrupted unity and created splits. We must thoroughly expose and criticize their crimes, eliminate their poisonous influence, develop the excellent situation characterized by stability and unity, and further strengthen the great unity of the whole Party, the whole army and the people of all nationalities in our country.

When we speak of unity, we mean unity under the great banner of Chairman Mao and on the basis of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. In half a century or so, the experience of countless revolutionary martyrs and hundreds of millions of revolutionary people in China and the experience of the international communist movement have repeatedly proved that the system of Mao Tsetung Thought is an inheritance from and development of Marxism-Leninism, a revolutionary science for the proletariat and incontrovertible truth. For a large country like ours with a population of 800 million and a large

Party like ours with over 35 million members, unity in thinking, policy, plan, command and action in the new period of development in socialist revolution and construction depends on a comprehensive and accurate understanding and application of Mao Tsetung Thought. The banner of Chairman Mao has been and will continue to be the banner under which we unite and fight to win victory. Lin Piao and the "gang of four" wilfully tampered with Mao Tsetung Thought, waving the banner of Chairman Mao as a cover for peddling their sinister counter-revolutionary revisionist wares. The Soviet revisionist renegade clique wildly attacks Mao Tsetung Thought in a vain attempt to make us discard the banner of Chairman Mao. We are determined to defend Mao Tsetung Thought and hold still higher the great banner of Chairman Mao.

Our Party is the core of unity among the people throughout the country. Our Party's leading cadres at various levels bear an especially important responsibility for strengthening the unity of the Party and the unity of the Party with the people. They should take the lead in emphasizing Party spirit, being mindful of the interests of the whole, giving full play to democracy and observing discipline. They should strictly guard against arrogance. More important than anything else is understanding, help and friendship between leading cadres and between higher and lower cadres based on Mao Tsetung Thought. As Chairman Mao taught us, our leading cadres at all levels must get united and by so doing unite the advanced elements and activists inside and outside the Party as well as the middle elements to lead the backward elements forward. In this way, the whole Party and all the people will be united. We can do our work well, surmount every difficulty and successfully build our country only by relying on this unity.

Our slogan remains: Study, study and study again; unite, unite and unite again. Unity is strength, unity means victory. Under the banner of Chairman Mao and under the leadership of the Party Central Committee, let us unite still more closely in the struggle to implement the line of the 11th Party Congress and accomplish the general task for the new period. Victory will surely be ours.

# Statement of Chinese Foreign Ministry on Expulsion Of Chinese Residents by Viet Nam

June 9, 1978

**I**N his statement on the question of the so-called "Hoa people in Viet Nam" of May 27, 1978, the spokesman of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam distorted the facts and made unfounded counter-charges in an attempt to put the blame for the expulsion of Chinese nationals on the Chinese side. With regard to this the Chinese Government cannot remain silent.

1. In his statement the spokesman of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Viet Nam tried, in effect, to deny the objective fact that there are large numbers of Chinese nationals residing in Viet Nam and wilfully distorted the agreement between the Chinese Communist Party and the Vietnamese Workers' Party on the question of Chinese residing in Viet Nam, attempting thereby to deceive public opinion and justify the Vietnamese policy of discrimination against, and ostracism, persecution and expulsion of, Chinese residents. This is obviously a futile attempt.

It is well known that there are one million and several hundred thousand Chinese residents in Viet Nam, the overwhelming majority of whom are working people and about 90 per cent of whom reside in south Viet Nam. In 1955 the Chinese and Vietnamese Parties exchanged views on the question of their nationality and their rights and duties. Subsequently, after repeated consultations the two sides acknowledged that the Chinese residing in north Viet Nam, on condition of their enjoying equal rights as the Vietnamese and after being given sustained and patient persuasion and ideological education, may by steps adopt Vietnamese nationality on a voluntary basis. As to the ques-

tion of the Chinese residing in south Viet Nam, that was to be resolved through consultations between the two countries after the liberation of south Viet Nam. These principles were put forward by the Chinese side out of the desire to deepen the fraternal friendship between the Chinese and Vietnamese peoples, and they are in accordance with China's consistent policy of encouraging overseas Chinese to choose, on a voluntary basis, the nationality of their country of residence, as well as with the general international rule against forcibly naturalizing foreign residents. At that time the Vietnamese Party and Government expressed approval and support for these principles and repeatedly stressed in their documents that "the adoption of Vietnamese nationality by Chinese should be a purely voluntary decision and there should be no coercion whatsoever," and that "those who are not yet willing to adopt Vietnamese nationality are still allowed all rights and may not be discriminated against. It is absolutely impermissible to use rash orders to compel them or to slight them." They also affirmed that politically the Chinese residing in Viet Nam would enjoy the same rights and have the same duties as the Vietnamese, that economically they would enjoy the freedom to engage in lawful industrial and commercial undertakings, that culturally they would enjoy the freedom to run schools and papers and that their ways and customs would be respected. In recent years, however, the Vietnamese Government, running counter to the agreement between the two Parties, has compelled Chinese residents to adopt Vietnamese nationality, zealously pursued a policy of discrimination against, and ostracism and persecution of Chinese residents and

seriously infringed on their legitimate rights and interests, making it difficult for the mass of Chinese residents to make a living, and has even expelled large numbers of them back to China.

In south Viet Nam, the Vietnamese Government, in contravention of its publicly stated position, has continued the practice of the reactionary Ngo Dinh Diem regime and used high-handed means against the Chinese residents. On August 21, 1956 the reactionary Ngo Dinh Diem regime promulgated a decree compelling the Chinese residents to renounce their Chinese nationality and adopt Vietnamese nationality. On April 17, 1957 the reactionary regime in south Viet Nam declared invalid the aliens identity cards of all Chinese residents. On May 20, 1957 the Commission of Overseas Chinese Affairs of the People's Republic of China issued a statement strongly condemning and protesting against the unreasonable practice of the reactionary regime in south Viet Nam of compelling Chinese residents to change their nationality. This just Chinese stand was at the time endorsed and supported by the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. *Nhan Dan*, organ of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Viet Nam, published articles denouncing the Ngo Dinh Diem clique for this illegal action. In its policy statements and other relevant documents published in 1960, 1964, 1965 and 1968, the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation laid down that "all decrees and measures of the U.S.-puppet regime regarding Chinese residents shall be abrogated," and that "Chinese residents have the freedom and right to choose their nationality." However, after the liberation of south Viet Nam, the Vietnamese Government abruptly changed its position and, in contravention of the spirit of the agreement between the two Parties, announced, without prior consultation with the Chinese Government, a decision before the general census in the south and the election of deputies to the National Assembly in February 1976, to the effect that Chinese residing in south Viet Nam must all register under the nationality imposed upon them during the rule of Ngo Dinh Diem. Subsequently, the Vietnamese Government openly placed all kinds of harsh restrictions on those Chinese residents who retained their Chinese nationality to ostracize and persecute them.

And now, the spokesman of the Vietnamese Ministry of Foreign Affairs has asserted that "back in 1956 almost all the Chinese residents in south Viet Nam adopted Vietnamese nationality. They are no longer Chinese nationals but Vietnamese of Chinese origin." In this way one million and several hundred thousand Chinese nationals in south Viet Nam are written off at one stroke. This is absolutely unacceptable to the Chinese Government.

Facts show that the Vietnamese side long ago thoroughly violated the agreement between the Chinese and Vietnamese Parties. Yet the spokesman of the Vietnamese Foreign Ministry now claims that the Vietnamese side "has constantly respected and strictly applied this agreement." This assertion is not convincing at all.

2. Resorting to sophistry and futile denials, the spokesman of the Vietnamese Foreign Ministry attributed the massive expulsion of Chinese residents to "information" spread by "certain bad elements among the Hoa people" and said that this was "a deliberate act." The way things developed fully shows that it is no other than Viet Nam itself that, out of its needs in domestic affairs and international relations, has adopted and systematically pursued a policy of discrimination, ostracism, persecution and expulsion of Chinese residents. This is a grave anti-China step taken by the Vietnamese side in a deliberate attempt to undermine Sino-Vietnamese relations.

Indeed, there have been circulating for some time in Viet Nam a number of calculated anti-China rumours to the effect that "China supports Kampuchea in opposing Viet Nam, war will break out between China and Viet Nam," etc. Not a few Vietnamese officials and public security personnel have used these rumours as a means to deceive and frighten Chinese residents into returning to China. In their unwarranted complaints and charges against China early this year, certain Vietnamese diplomats asserted that an "abnormal situation" had arisen along China's border, and that China was "calling for an attack on Viet Nam." The similarity between these allegations and the rumours floating around in Viet Nam could not possibly be a mere coincidence, but precisely shows that these rumours were deliberately fabricated and spread by the Vietnamese side.

The Vietnamese side started early in 1977 to push a policy of "purifying the border areas" in the provinces adjacent to China and expel back to China groups of border inhabitants who had moved from China to settle down in Viet Nam a long time ago. In October 1977 it began to expel Chinese residents in Hoang Lien Son, Lai Chau, Son La and other provinces in north-west Viet Nam. Then the measure gradually expanded into the massive expulsion of Chinese residents from various parts of north Viet Nam. The Chinese Government repeatedly tried to persuade the Vietnamese Government to uphold Sino-Vietnamese friendship by taking steps to halt the expulsion of Chinese residents. The Vietnamese side, however, turned a deaf ear and created on a nationwide scale even more serious incidents of ostracizing Chinese residents. Tens of thousands of Chinese were transported overland by the Vietnamese side to such places as Lao Cai, Dong Dang and Mong Cai along the Sino-Vietnamese border and then driven back to China, while a large number of others was forced to return in small boats across the sea. The numbers of expelled Chinese have increased daily over the past two months, from several hundred a day in early April to several thousand a day in late May, with their total exceeding 100,000 by the end of May.

It is impossible to enumerate all the persecution and maltreatment of the Chinese residents by the Vietnamese authorities. In early 1977, on the pretext of taking a general census, the Vietnamese side compelled Chinese residents to register as Vietnamese citizens. Many Chinese residents who retained Chinese nationality were then deprived of the right to employment and education. They were sacked without a just cause. Their residence registration was cancelled and their food ration stopped. The local Vietnamese authorities and public security personnel would intrude illegally at any time into their homes, ordering them to fill out the "Form of Voluntary Repatriation" and taking the opportunity to search their homes and practise extortion. Properties and possessions which many Chinese residents had accumulated through many years of hard work were illegally confiscated. Numerous families were displaced and deprived of a home. On their involuntary exodus they were subjected to all kinds of maltreatment and insult. Quite a number were

beaten up for no reason at all. Some were even shot at, wounded or killed by Vietnamese troops and police. The miseries suffered by the Chinese residents in Viet Nam were appalling and rarely seen in international relations.

As for the thousands of Vietnamese residents in China, the Chinese Government has never subjected them to any discrimination, but has always respected and protected their proper rights and interests. They enjoy the same rights as Chinese citizens in respect of work, education and medical care. They are given more favoured treatment than Chinese citizens in respect of the supply of necessities. This is a universally known fact which brooks no distortion.

3. The sharp increase in the number of Chinese expelled home due to aggravated discrimination against the Chinese residents by the Vietnamese side has suddenly created for China great financial and material difficulties and burdens. In line with its consistent policy of "protecting the interests of overseas Chinese and aiding returned Chinese," the Chinese Government needs to make prompt, adequate arrangements for the resettlement of the numerous Chinese expelled by Viet Nam. Therefore, it cannot but decide to cancel part of its complete-factory aid projects to Viet Nam so as to divert the funds and materials to making arrangements for the life and productive work of the returned Chinese. It is clear that the cancellation of a part of China's aid projects to Viet Nam is a necessary and involuntary emergency measure, it is purely a consequence of the Vietnamese policy of ostracizing the Chinese nationals.

In the past 30 years, in order to aid the Vietnamese people in their national-liberation struggle and economic construction, the Chinese people, despite their many difficulties, worked hard and practised frugality to provide Viet Nam with many-sided aid without any conditions attached, and even made great sacrifices to support the Vietnamese people in their revolutionary struggle. This is a universally recognized fact. The Chinese people have always considered this their bounden proletarian internationalist duty. The Chinese Communist Party, the Chinese Government and the Chinese people feel no qualms in this respect.



A great change took place in the situation of Viet Nam with the ending of the Viet Nam war in 1975. On the other hand, China has encountered tremendous difficulties because of the sabotage of the "gang of four" and as a result of repeated strong earthquakes and other serious natural disasters. Even in these circumstances China has continued to give many-sided aid to Viet Nam and undertake many aid projects to the best of its ability. Naturally, the annual sum of China's aid to Viet Nam in peace time showed a reduction as compared with the exceptional case in the war years, but the reason is not difficult to understand. The Chinese side repeatedly explained its own difficulties to the Vietnamese side in the hope that the latter would give a respite to the Chinese people. The late Premier Chou En-lai, during his serious illness, personally said to a Vietnamese leader: "During the war, when you were in the worst need, we took many things from our own army to give to you. We made very great efforts to help you. The sum of our aid to Viet Nam still ranks first among our aids to foreign countries. You should let us have a respite and regain strength." At that time Vietnamese leaders expressed understanding on many occasions. But now the Vietnamese side has seen fit to hurl vicious slanders and attacks at Chinese aid. The Chinese people are greatly pained and angered by such an action of returning evil for good.

4. In his statement, the spokesman of the Vietnamese Foreign Ministry proposed that the Vietnamese and Chinese sides "meet" to resolve their so-called "differences on the question of the Hoa people." We consider that in the present circumstances such a proposal was made purely out of propaganda needs.

The Chinese Government has always stood for the settlement of differences and disputes between states through consultation and negotiation. With respect to the Vietnamese side's ostracism, persecution and expulsion of Chinese residents, we have from the very beginning maintained that a timely solution to the problem should be sought through private consultation and we have made many efforts towards this end. The Chinese Government has made repeated representations through diplomatic channels, expressing the hope that the Vietnamese Government will take effective measures to stop

the persecution and expulsion of Chinese residents. But the Vietnamese side has persisted in its course and redoubled its efforts to expel Chinese residents, and thus aggravated the situation. Now, while continuing its expulsion of Chinese nationals, the Vietnamese authorities have proposed that a meeting be held to discuss the so-called "differences on the question of the Hoa people." Since the Vietnamese side denies the existence of any Chinese nationals in Viet Nam, it shows that its "proposal" is totally false and meaningless.

5. China and Viet Nam are linked by common mountains and rivers and the two peoples share weal and woe. In the long revolutionary struggles, the two peoples sympathized with and supported each other and formed a profound brotherhood and militant solidarity. It is in the fundamental interests of both the Chinese and Vietnamese peoples and it is the common desire of the two peoples to strengthen and develop steadily this revolutionary friendship and solidarity. The Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese Government and people have always valued highly this friendship and solidarity and made unremitting efforts in this connection. Though in recent years the Vietnamese side has taken a series of actions vitiating the relations between the two countries and a variety of anti-China steps, the Chinese side, mindful of the overall interest, has all along exercised self-restraint and tolerance and repeatedly expressed to Vietnamese leaders its sincere hope that the two sides would make joint efforts and take effective measures to uphold the traditional friendship between the two peoples. That the relations between the two countries should have deteriorated to such an extent is what we did not expect and what we do not want to see. The Chinese people have been and will remain devoted to consolidating and strengthening the friendship and solidarity between the Chinese and Vietnamese peoples. It is our hope that the Vietnamese side will do what it has declared, match its deeds with its words, truly value the traditional friendship and fundamental interests of the two peoples, stop forthwith its erroneous practice of ostracism, persecution and expulsion of overseas Chinese and refrain from any further acts detrimental to the friendship between the Chinese and Vietnamese peoples.



# Lies Cannot Cover Up Facts

by "Renmin Ribao" Commentator

THE Vietnamese authorities' ostracizing and persecuting Chinese nationals, which have been going on for some time, have shocked the Chinese people. They are greatly pained by the Vietnamese authorities' unbridled acts of trampling underfoot the profound friendship sealed between the peoples of China and Viet Nam during protracted revolutionary struggles, and extremely angered at the flood of anti-China slanders unleashed by the Vietnamese authorities.

The Vietnamese authorities early last year set about a purposeful and planned line of action in instructions to ostracize, persecute and expel large numbers of Chinese nationals in Viet Nam. The actions to drive out Chinese nationals have gone from bad to worse since last April. They have been escalated into a large-scale movement to ostracize and oppose the Chinese. By June 7, the number of victimized Chinese nationals who have been driven out by the Vietnamese authorities and have reached China exceeded 110,000. The Vietnamese authorities have at the same time used all mass media and every kind of sophistry and denial in arbitrarily distorting facts and fabricating lies to mislead world public opinion and have even tried to shift the responsibility on to the Chinese side.

But lies cannot cover up facts.

With regard to Chinese residing abroad, the Chinese Government has consistently favoured and encouraged their voluntarily choosing the nationality of their countries of residence and taken exception to the practice of compelling them to change their nationality; overseas Chinese who have voluntarily chosen

and acquired the nationality of their countries of residence automatically lose their Chinese nationality; those who keep their Chinese nationality are urged to obey the laws of their countries of residence, to respect the local people's customs and habits and to be on friendly terms with the people there; the Chinese Government has the duty to protect the legitimate rights and interests of overseas Chinese and also hopes that their countries of residence protect these legitimate rights and interests. This is the consistent principled stand of the Chinese Government on the question of overseas Chinese; Chinese nationals residing in Viet Nam are no exception.

In order to justify their ostracizing and persecuting Chinese nationals, the Vietnamese authorities have asserted that the two Parties of China and Viet Nam agreed through consultation in 1955 that "Chinese nationals in Viet Nam will be under the leadership of the Vietnamese Workers' Party and gradually be naturalized," as if China had taken a certain stand on the question of Chinese nationals in Viet Nam which was at variance with China's consistent stand. This is a sleight of hand aimed at deliberately distorting the content of the agreement between the two Parties of China and Viet Nam.

The facts are: In 1955, the two Parties of China and Viet Nam, as close fraternal Parties, acknowledged after consultation that Chinese residing in north Viet Nam on condition of their enjoying the same rights as the Vietnamese, and after being given sustained and patient persuasion and ideological education, may by steps adopt Vietnamese nationality voluntarily. These principles, which were agreed upon by

the Chinese and Vietnamese sides, fully conform to the consistent principled stand taken by the Chinese Government on the question of overseas Chinese. Now, proving unworthy of the trust and goodwill that the Chinese side reposed in the Vietnamese side, the Vietnamese authorities describe the Chinese nationals in north Viet Nam as in effect "having all become Vietnamese citizens," thus creating a false impression that the Chinese nationals in north Viet Nam have all become Vietnamese citizens automatically. They evade the principle of voluntary choice which must be followed in taking Vietnamese nationality. In doing this, the Vietnamese authorities are deliberately going back on their word and distorting the agreement between the Chinese and Vietnamese Parties.

What is still more absurd is that the Vietnamese authorities have gone so far as to assert that "back in 1956 almost all the Chinese residents in south Viet Nam adopted Vietnamese nationality. They are no longer Chinese nationals but Vietnamese of Chinese origin." This is unadulterated nonsense.

Everybody knows that south Viet Nam in 1955 was still under the rule of the Ngo Dinh Diem traitorous clique. The Chinese and Vietnamese Parties agreed then that the question of the Chinese residing in south Viet Nam was to be solved through consultations between the two sides after the liberation of south Viet Nam. In 1956 and 1957 the Ngo Dinh Diem traitorous clique repeatedly promulgated reactionary decrees compelling the Chinese residents in south Viet Nam to change their nationality. The Chinese side issued a statement in May 1957 strongly condemning and protesting against south Vietnamese authorities' practice of violating the principle of voluntary choice and unilaterally and unreasonably forcing Chinese residents to change their nationality, and expounding the principled stand of the Chinese Government on the question of the nationality of overseas Chinese. In the wake of the statement of the Chinese side, *Nhan Dan*, organ of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Viet Nam, carried a number of articles and news reports in May and June of 1957 supporting China's stand and strongly condemning the intrigues of the Ngo

Dinh Diem clique. From 1960 to 1968 the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation issued several proclamations announcing the abrogation of all decrees and measures by the puppet regime of south Viet Nam with regard to Chinese nationals and giving them the right of voluntary choice of nationality. The many declarations and guarantees previously given by the Vietnamese authorities for the reasonable solution of the question of Chinese residents in south Viet Nam are written down and recorded and can in no way be erased.

But the Vietnamese authorities now go so far as to declare to the whole world that the Ngo Dinh Diem traitorous clique's reactionary policy towards the Chinese residents is their own policy. They even proclaim that they have inherited all the reactionary policies and decrees of the south Vietnamese puppet regime to force the Chinese nationals to be naturalized and all the consequences that follow, thus casting all their own promises, declarations and guarantees to the winds. We may ask the Vietnamese authorities: What honour will you gain by putting yourselves on a par with the Ngo Dinh Diem clique? Such acts of perfidy on the part of the Vietnamese authorities, which are rarely seen in present-day international relations, and their vilification of the Chinese side as "distorting the Vietnamese government's policy towards Chinese in Viet Nam," are by no means open and aboveboard.

It is an indisputable fact that there are large numbers of Chinese nationals in both north and south Viet Nam. If the Vietnamese authorities abide by the principle agreed upon between the Chinese and Vietnamese Parties, the overseas Chinese question can be properly solved in both north and south Viet Nam. Although the Chinese side called this to their attention and made representations, the Vietnamese authorities, to serve their domestic and foreign policy needs, have intensified their acts of discriminating against and persecuting Chinese residents, depriving large numbers of Chinese residing in Viet Nam of their livelihood and even compelling them to return to China. All this has been deliberately brought about by the Vietnamese authorities.

Shirking their responsibility, the Vietnamese authorities allege that the exodus



**Victims reach Hokou, Yunnan Province. They wait anxiously for relatives still stranded in Viet Nam.**

of Chinese residents is caused by "rumours" spread by "certain bad elements among the Hoa people" and is "a deliberate act" and a "farce" "directed by the Chinese side." These are crude fabrications of the Vietnamese authorities.

During the years of arduous war in Viet Nam the masses of Chinese residents stood every severe test and went through thick and thin with the Vietnamese people without complaint and none wavered or asked to return to China. Why is it then that today, they can be frightened by certain "rumours" and return? How can such unreasonable arguments be convincing?

Furthermore, if there are such "rumours" floating around in Viet Nam as the Vietnamese authorities claim, why don't they explain the agreement between the Chinese and Vietnamese sides on the overseas Chinese question to the Chinese residents and give the lie to such "rumours" by treating the Chinese residents correctly and thereby stopping the circulation of such "rumours" and setting their minds at ease? Can it be that the Vietnamese authorities are unable to deal with so trifling a thing as "rumours"?

The facts are that large numbers of Chinese residents are leaving for China not because of "rumours" but because of the Vietnamese

authorities' set policy of ostracizing and opposing the Chinese. Rumours do exist, but the rumours were fabricated and spread by none other than the Vietnamese authorities themselves. According to revelations by expelled Chinese nationals who have reached China, there have been circulating in Viet Nam for some time quite a lot of calculated, anti-China rumours to the effect that "China supports Kampuchea in opposing Viet Nam," and that "war will break out between China and Viet Nam," etc. Not a few Vietnamese officials and public security personnel have used these rumours to intimidate or coerce Chinese residents into leaving for China. Ever since the outbreak of conflict on the border of Viet Nam and Kampuchea, some Vietnamese diplomatic officials have launched unjust accusations and attacks against China. They also say that an "abnormal situation" has arisen along the Sino-Vietnamese border and that China is "calling for an attack on Viet Nam." The Vietnamese mass media have stepped up their innuendoes against China to exacerbate Sino-Vietnamese relations. That all this echoes so well the rumours going around in Viet Nam fully shows that the rumours were deliberately concocted by the Vietnamese authorities.

The Vietnamese authorities insist that they "have not discriminated against the Chinese residents in the least" and that "compared with



Victims of persecution by Vietnamese authorities return to Hokuu.

the rights enjoyed by overseas Chinese living in other countries, nobody of Chinese descent anywhere enjoys more equal treatment than those in Viet Nam and the same rights." We would like to ask: If the conditions are as "wonderful" as you say, why have as many as over 100,000 Chinese residing in Viet Nam returned to China at the risk of their lives in so short a time? Is it because they are reluctant to enjoy the "preferential" treatment you have given them in the land where they have lived for so many years? It is known to all that since early last year the Vietnamese authorities have resorted to every trick to discriminate against and persecute Chinese nationals politically, economically and culturally, causing them great hardships and misery. They forced Chinese residents to register as Vietnamese nationals on the pretext of taking a general census. Many Chinese residents who insisted on keeping their Chinese nationality were deprived of the right to employment and education. They were sacked for no reason at all. Their residence registration was annulled and their food ration stopped. Local Vietnamese authorities and

public security personnel wilfully and illegally broke into their houses, ordering them to fill out the "Form of Voluntary Repatriation" and taking the opportunity to search and extort. Property accumulated through hard work over the years by the Chinese was illegally confiscated and many Chinese families had no way to feed and clothe themselves and could hardly keep body and soul together. Such is the "preferential" treatment given the Chinese residents by the Vietnamese authorities! Such "preferential" treatment has left the Chinese residents no way out, and yet the Vietnamese authorities claim that they have shown "extreme patience and magnanimity towards Chinese residents." This is the height of hypocrisy!

To cover up their crimes of persecuting Chinese residents in south Viet Nam, the Vietnamese authorities say that they are carrying out "socialist transformation" and waging "class struggle" there and attack China's objection to the persecution of Chinese residents as an act of "interfering in internal affairs." This is malicious slander. Anyone with an elementary knowledge of Marxism-Leninism knows that the target of the socialist transformation of capitalist industry and commerce is the capitalists and the way to achieve this is to deprive them of the private ownership of the means of production. Hoang Tring, Member of the Vietnamese Communist Party Central Committee, admitted recently in Japan that among the "Hoa people" in south Viet Nam, "the number of working people makes up the overwhelming majority, about 100 times that of the capitalists." This clearly shows that the overwhelming majority of the Chinese residents in south Viet Nam are working people and not capitalists. Apart from forcing all Chinese residents to adopt Vietnamese nationality, the Vietnamese authorities are depriving large numbers of Chinese working people of their means of livelihood and then driving them out in dire poverty. This constitutes an undisguised persecution and plunder of Chinese residents and makes a mockery of socialism.

Both history and reality prove beyond doubt that the Vietnamese authorities' ostracizing, persecuting and expelling of Chinese residents are planned and deliberate acts of perfidy. Though they have a guilty conscience, the

Vietnamese authorities still pretend to be upright and honest, trying to pass off black as white and shift the blame on to others. They tamper with at will and deny outright the agreement they made after consultations; they shove onto others the responsibility for atrocities which they themselves have committed; they slander others as having a "deliberate" plan when they have devised an elaborate plan for ostracizing and persecuting the Chinese residents; they charge others as "inconsistent," when they break old friendship; they feign to be so temperate, kind, courteous, restrained and magnanimous and demand that negotiations be held concerning the problem of the "Hoa people," when they unscrupulously persecute the Chinese residents. Not open and aboveboard in the least, such acts are double-dealing pure and simple.

It must be pointed out that the Vietnamese authorities' acts of ostracizing large numbers of Chinese residents and forcing them to leave for China have brought great difficulties to China. The Vietnamese authorities, however, put the blame on China, alleging that China wanted to "create difficulties for Viet Nam's socialist construction." This trick of the Vietnamese authorities putting the blame on the victim is really shocking. The Chinese people who lived frugally never stinted tremendous national sacrifices to aid the Vietnamese people in their wars against French and U.S. aggression and later in their post-war rehabilitation and reconstruction. The Vietnamese authorities know better than anybody else how much aid the People's Republic of China has given Viet Nam. Now you are not only deliberately ostracizing and opposing Chinese residents but even slandering China as "creating difficulties" for Viet Nam. This vile behaviour of yours is enough to cast a chill over one.

It should be noted that the anti-China activities of the Vietnamese authorities have received support and drawn applause from Soviet social-imperialism. The Soviet press slanders China as "inciting" the overseas Chinese question and "interfering in the internal affairs of Viet Nam," and so on. When the Vietnamese authorities were busy with their wholesale expulsion of Chinese nationals in

April this year, the Soviet propaganda machine worked in co-ordination by whipping up ill feelings against the victims and went so far as to call overseas Chinese "enemies" and supported the persecution to the hilt. Furthermore, the Soviet Union has published many articles and news items to spread rumours and vilify Chinese residing in Southeast Asia in an attempt to sow discord in relations between China and Southeast Asian countries. All these activities demonstrate that Soviet social-imperialism is the behind-the-scenes provocateur and the supporter of the Vietnamese authorities in ostracizing Chinese residents and attacking China.

The Chinese and Vietnamese people have a long tradition of friendship. In the hard times of the war against the French colonialists and the war of resistance to U.S. aggression, the peoples of the two countries shared weal and woe, and supported and encouraged each other. Chinese residents in Viet Nam have lived for generations in friendship with the Vietnamese people and have taken an active part in the revolution and construction of Viet Nam. It was Chairman Mao Tsetung and President Ho Chi Minh who personally nurtured this profound friendship during their lifetime. It has taken deep roots among the peoples of the two countries. It is in the basic interest of the peoples of China and Viet Nam, and it is also their common aspiration, to consolidate and develop their revolutionary friendship and unity. Many Vietnamese people have shown great sympathy and given great help to Chinese residents when they were persecuted and forced out by the Vietnamese authorities. This shows that the expulsion of Chinese residents and sabotaging of China-Viet Nam friendship by the Vietnamese authorities are against the will of the Vietnamese people, too. The Chinese people will continue to make sustained efforts to safeguard their traditional friendship with the people of Viet Nam. We sincerely hope that the Vietnamese authorities will immediately stop all acts of ostracizing, persecuting and expelling Chinese residents and refrain from actions detrimental to the friendship and sentiments of the two peoples. If the Vietnamese authorities are bent on keeping to their present path they will in the end only hurt themselves.

# Chinese Delegation's Working Paper on Disarmament

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ON June 7 when the Tenth Special Session of the United Nations General Assembly devoted to disarmament was winding up its general debate, Vice-Chairman of the Chinese Delegation Chen Chu submitted a working paper on disarmament to the ad hoc committee and, in his speech at the meeting, explained further the basic principles embodied in the paper. He said that he hoped to see the principled views given serious consideration by the ad hoc committee and finding full expression in the final document.

The full text of the working paper reads as follows:

One. At present, the international situation continues to develop in a direction favourable to the people of all countries. But there is a visible growth of the factors for war, posing an increasing threat to international peace and security, because the two superpowers are pursuing policies of aggression and expansion everywhere and stepping up the arms race in their contention for world hegemony. The late-coming superpower, in particular, takes the offensive in the strategic manoeuvring for world hegemony. It is expanding its armaments at a faster speed and on a bigger scale than its rival, and it has become the most dangerous source of a new world war. As their fierce rivalry develops, they are bound to fight it out some day. It is the urgent common task of the people of the world to combat the hegemonist practices of the superpowers and their policies of aggression and war, and strive to put off the outbreak of a world war.

Two. The essential way to postpone the outbreak of a world war and safeguard world

peace is for the people of all countries to unite, to heighten their vigilance and to get fully prepared for a war of resistance against aggression; they must constantly frustrate the superpowers' acts of aggression and expansion and upset their war plans and deployments; they must oppose the policy of appeasing the main instigator of war.

Three. The numerous third world countries and other small and medium-sized countries are calling for disarmament in the hope that it will lessen the danger of war. This is a wholly just demand. The struggle for disarmament will play a positive role in safeguarding world peace if it is linked with the struggle to defend national independence, state sovereignty and territorial integrity against superpower aggression, interference, subversion and control. But historical experience and current realities tell us that so long as imperialism and social-imperialism exist, it would not be easy to achieve genuine disarmament and it is impossible to have so-called general and complete disarmament.

Four. Lack of sincerity for disarmament on the part of the superpowers is the key reason why there has been no progress in disarmament over such a long period. The third world countries have proposed the prohibition and destruction of nuclear weapons, the establishment of nuclear-free zones and peace zones, the withdrawal of all foreign troops and dismantling of foreign military bases, the limitation and reduction of conventional weapons, the banning of weapons of mass destruction, etc., and they emphasize that the superpowers have a special responsibility for disarmament. These are all

reasonable propositions for the realization of genuine disarmament. The superpowers are energetically expanding their armaments while loudly preaching disarmament, and this is especially true of the one which flaunts the banner of socialism. They reject the demands of the third world countries for genuine disarmament. Their numerous proposals are either frauds or proposals designed to restrict other countries or get the better of each other. The recent Soviet proposal on the renunciation by the permanent members of the Security Council of the expansion of their armies and the buildup of their conventional armaments is a new fraud designed to consolidate its own supremacy in conventional military strength. The superpowers' frauds of sham disarmament must be exposed.

Five. At present, the superpowers possess the biggest arsenals in the world, and they are using armaments as tools for pushing their policies of aggression and expansion, thus posing an ever graver threat to other countries. On the other hand, the many third world and other small and medium-sized countries either lack adequate means of self-defence or have no defence capabilities at all. Therefore, disarmament must start with the two superpowers. This is a fundamental principle on the question of disarmament today and a yardstick of real progress in disarmament. It is unreasonable to call for general disarmament of all countries irrespective of their size and strength and, moreover, it will not serve the interest of safeguarding international peace and security.

Six. For the sake of international peace and security, relations between states must be based on the five principles of mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence. No country may seek or establish hegemony in any form in any part of the world or pursue policies of aggression and war. If the superpowers are really sincere about disarmament, they should take concrete measures to reduce their massive arsenals and

renounce the use of military threats against other countries, and in the first place they should do the following:

(1) Declare that they will at no time and in no circumstances resort to the threat or use of nuclear weapons against non-nuclear countries and nuclear-free zones;

(2) Withdraw all their armed forces stationed abroad and undertake not to dispatch forces of any description to other countries; dismantle all their military bases and paramilitary bases on foreign soil and undertake not to seek any new ones;

(3) Stop their nuclear and conventional arms race and set out to destroy by stages their nuclear weapons and drastically reduce their conventional weapons;

(4) Undertake not to station massive forces or stage military exercises near the borders of other countries, and undertake not to launch military attacks, including surprise attacks, against other countries on any pretext;

(5) Undertake not to export weapons to other countries for the purpose of bringing them under control or for fomenting wars or abetting threats of war.

Seven. Although nuclear weapons cannot annihilate mankind, they are highly destructive. To truly remove the threat of nuclear war, it is imperative to realize the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons. When major progress has been made in the destruction of Soviet and U.S. nuclear arsenals and in the reduction of their conventional armaments, the other nuclear countries should join the Soviet Union and the United States in destroying all nuclear weapons. For the present, all the nuclear countries, particularly the superpowers, which possess nuclear weapons in large quantities, should immediately undertake not to resort to the threat or use of nuclear weapons against the non-nuclear countries and nuclear-free zones. China is not only ready to undertake this commitment but wishes to reiterate that at no time and in no circumstances will

it be the first to use nuclear weapons. The superpowers are advocating "total prohibition of nuclear tests," "nuclear non-proliferation," and "cessation of production of nuclear weapons," etc. for the purpose of consolidating their nuclear monopoly and their advantageous position for nuclear blackmail or even of restricting or interfering with other countries' right to the peaceful use of atomic energy. This is in no way helpful to the maintenance of international peace and security.

Eight. While intensifying their nuclear arms expansion, the superpowers are energetically expanding their conventional arms, posing an ever graver threat to the independence and security of other countries and to international peace. A world war the superpowers unleash may be a nuclear war, but it may also be a conventional war. With both sides using large quantities of new types of sophisticated conventional weapons, the war will also be unprecedentedly destructive. Hence, there is an increasingly urgent need to reduce conventional arms. Equal importance should be attached to the reduction of conventional armaments and that of nuclear armaments, and the two should proceed in conjunction. The superpowers must not be allowed to exploit the peoples' urgent desire for nuclear disarmament in their attempt to delay the reduction of conventional arms or even to intensify their race in these arms.

Nine. In disregard of the opposition of the people of the world, the superpowers are continuing their development and manufacture of weapons of mass destruction. Effective measures should be taken to totally prohibit and thoroughly destroy all chemical and biological weapons, incendiary weapons and other weapons of mass destruction.

Ten. Many developing countries call for the channelling of resources released through disarmament towards their economic development. Some of them also demand that the two superpowers should undertake to be the first to do so. For the development of their national

economy, the developing countries rely mainly on their own efforts; they have also to strive for the establishment of a new international economic order. In calling for the channelling of resources released through the reduction of the military expenditures of the superpowers towards their economic development, they are but demanding the return of a part of their wealth the superpowers have plundered. This is fully justifiable. As for social-imperialism which has been harping on this theme and paying lip service, it is doing this for demagogic effect and nothing else.

Eleven. It is fully proper for the many small and medium-sized countries to demand a reform in the machinery for disarmament and an end to the manipulation of the disarmament negotiations by the superpowers. The questions of disarmament and international security, which concern the interests of all countries, should be deliberated by an international organ with the participation of all countries under the auspices of the United Nations, and the reduction of the armaments of the superpowers should be given priority for consideration. The negotiating body for disarmament should truly be free of superpower control, and it should be organized through consultations by the above-mentioned deliberative organ and shall be responsible to the organ. The negotiating body should be composed on a fair and equitable basis, so that it can be fully representative. The specific items and procedures for negotiations should be determined by the aforesaid deliberative organ.

Twelve. The Chinese Government and people have always been in favour of genuine disarmament. China has supported all rational disarmament proposals and has put forward a number of its own; moreover, it has taken a series of concrete measures which accord with the desire of the people of all countries. China is ready to make continual efforts together with the other third world countries and the small and medium-sized countries to promote genuine disarmament.



# Who Should Disarm First?

**W**HO should disarm first? This fundamental question was raised at the Special Session of the U. N. General Assembly on disarmament held in New York. And there was a furious debate on the question among representatives from the three worlds in the first week of the general debate of the session.

## Superpowers' Excuses

From the outset of the debate, the two superpowers, engaged in a frenzied arms race, have tried to shift the blame for the arms race on to the medium-sized and small countries and trotted out their so-called "general disarmament" as a pretext for rejecting genuine disarmament. Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko urged all participants of the session and all states of the world "to agree on a number of immediate steps which are capable of halting the arms race, and to do so without delay." As to the Soviet Union itself, Gromyko said: "If other states are prepared to disarm we will not be found amiss." In other words, the Soviet Union would disarm only if other countries disarm first. What is this if not a scheme to use "general disarmament" as an excuse for its turning down genuine disarmament?

U.S. Vice-President Walter Mondale said: "The value of arms imports by the developing nations has increased 75 per cent from 1967 to 1976." "If we do not curb the arms race," he added, "we not only threaten the future, we impoverish the present." Apparently then the developing countries should bear the responsibility for "curbing the arms race!"

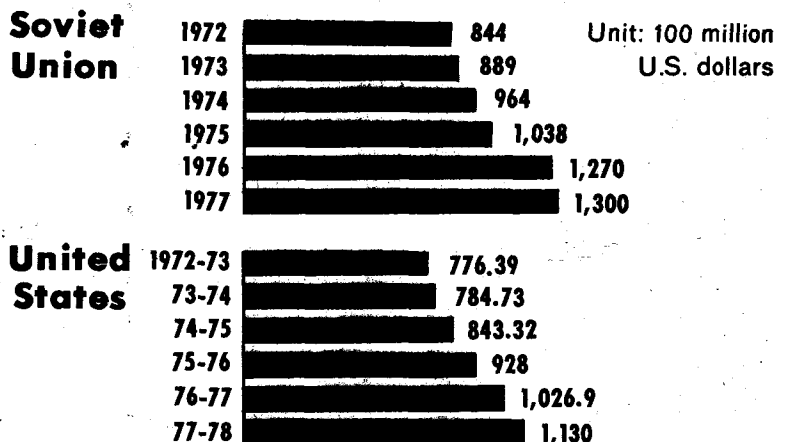
Delegates from small and medium-sized countries refuted these fallacies peddled by the two superpowers. They cited numerous facts to show that it is the two superpowers that are expand-

ing their arsenals with a view to dominating the world. Their nuclear and conventional weapons have long exceeded the needs of their national defence. They are the arch-criminals of the arms race. They speak about "general and complete disarmament," but actually carry on general and complete arms expansion. The Soviet Union, the superpower which came up from behind, sings the most loudly about disarmament but is expanding its armaments with greatest zeal. In the decade and more after Brezhnev took office, Soviet strategic missiles have gone up tenfold and its naval tonnage has nearly doubled. The number of its tanks have been augmented by about 10,000, military aircraft by several thousands and troops by over 1 million. This tempo of expansion has eclipsed the other superpower in the arms race. Delegates have demanded that disarmament should start with the two superpowers.

Somali Foreign Minister Abdurahman Jama Barre said there will be no genuine disarmament if the real cause for the arms race is not made clear. "The real cause for this spiralling

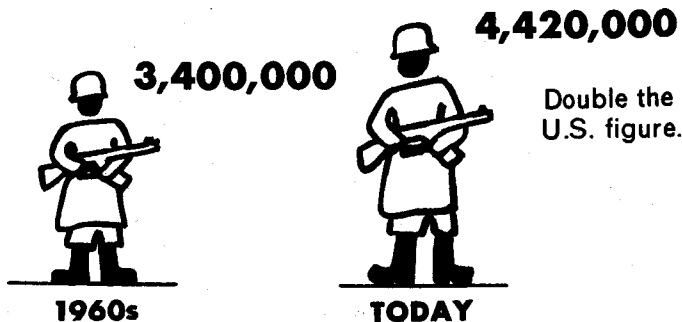


## GROWING MILITARY EXPENDITURES



## TROOPS IN ACTIVE SERVICE

(Soviet Union)



arms race is to be found in the struggle on the part of superpowers for world hegemony and control over the destiny of others," he noted. The Pakistan representative said: "The first and foremost objective of any disarmament strategy must remain the reduction of the arsenals of the two superpowers." He declared that "the primary responsibility for the success or failure of our efforts rests on them." Swedish Prime Minister Thorbjorn Falldin said: "Both leading nuclear-weapon states must shoulder their tremendous and inescapable responsibility in this fatal issue."

### Medium and Small Countries Need to Strengthen Defences

The Soviet Union and the United States are engaged in stepped-up arms expansion and war preparations to contend for world hegemony and this poses a grave threat to world peace and the security of every country. Therefore, the numerous medium and small countries resolutely oppose any superpower attempt to use "general disarmament" to hamper their efforts at strengthening their defences against foreign threat. Argentine Foreign Minister Oscar A. Montes pointed out that the majority of countries maintain only a minimum level of armament compatible with defence requirements. He was opposed to any attempt by superpowers to shift the responsibility for disarmament to medium and small countries. He called it a "subterfuge" by the big military powers. Representatives of many African countries told newsmen outside the meeting that as the medium and small countries lack even the arms

to ward off aggression and maintain national independence, what was there for them to disarm? The Soviet Union is stirring up trouble in the Horn of Africa, and has repeatedly instigated mercenaries to invade Zaire. Can African countries like Zaire make do without arms to equip the armed force adequate to their national defences? Referring to the Soviet Foreign Minister's call for disarmament by all states of the world, a representative of an Asian country said that, to third world countries, this means to "disarm us morally."

A representative of a West European country stressed that in face of the serious Soviet military threat, the pressing task for the West European countries at present is not to disarm but to strengthen their defence capabilities. French President Giscard d'Estaing pointed out that it is indeed on the efforts of the Soviet Union and the United States that halting the arms race will depend first and foremost. He also said that only after successive reductions by the two superpowers alter the present great disparity between the strategic forces of the two and the force of France, could France act accordingly to reduce its armaments.

Chairman of the Chinese Delegation Huang Hua supported the just position of the medium and small countries on disarmament. He declared in his speech: "Disarmament must start with the two superpowers. This is a fundamental principle on the question of disarmament today. It is also the chief yardstick of real progress in disarmament."

U.S. Vice-President Mondale said that the U.S. pledged "total commitment to reversing the buildup of armament." Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko asserted that the Soviet Union "has come to the current session with a firm intention to its success." He also said sanctimoniously that "double-dealing, insincerity are here inadmissible."

Representatives to the session are now taking a wait-and-see attitude. They want to see whether the United States is ready to fulfil its "commitment." They want to see in particular whether the Soviet Union which has declared against "double-dealing" and "insincerity" can show its "sincerity" in deeds.

(Hsinhua Correspondents, June 2)

# CHINESE PRESS SURVEY

## Minister of Culture on Literary And Art Policies

ON the eve of the 36th anniversary of Chairman Mao's *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art* (May 1942), the Party paper *Renmin Ribao* published an article by the Minister of Culture Huang Chen calling on Chinese workers in the field of literature and art to follow Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and strive for a flourishing socialist art. Following are the article's main points:

In the year and a half since the overthrow of the "gang of four," there has been a gradual rise in creative activity. A number of new works have appeared in various literary and artistic forms, many films and plays once banned by the gang have reappeared and a number of novels have been reprinted. But this is still a far cry from keeping up with developments.

The primary task in bringing about a more flourishing situation is to deepen the struggle to expose and criticize the "gang of four," who used ultra-"Left" camouflage to push an ultra-Right, revisionist line in literature and art; also it is necessary to accurately and comprehensively expound Marxist thinking on literature and art.

A major task facing writers and artists at present is to promote the flowering of socialist literature and art, enrich the cultural life of the masses and rapidly break out of the predicament resulting from the gang's cultural autocracy — cultural poverty and insipidity.

Variety in the subject matter of our literature and art should be encouraged, but modern revolutionary themes should be dominant. Our literature and art should depict the revolutionary struggles led by our Party over the past decades. They should portray Chairman Mao, Premier Chou, Chairman Chu Teh of the N.P.C. Standing Committee and other proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation. There should be works reflecting China's socialist

revolution and construction, especially the fight for socialist modernization; there should also be works which portray worker-peasant-soldier heroes and outstanding people of today in the fields of science, culture, and education, and works depicting the people's heroic struggles to transform nature and society in past history.

Writers and artists must integrate themselves with the workers, peasants and soldiers, as Chairman Mao had pointed out. With this as the premise, they are asked to display their own originality and encouraged to use various forms and styles. Dull didacticism is no substitute for artistic form.

Chairman Mao's policy of "letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend" should be firmly implemented. Artistic styles and schools can develop freely, while differing academic views and doctrines can be freely debated, so long as Chairman Mao's six criteria prevail, including helping to strengthen the Party leadership, helping to unite the people of the whole country and being beneficial to socialist transformation and socialist construction. The rights and wrongs of differing artistic or academic views should be settled through discussion and practice and not by drawing rash conclusions or using simple measures as administrative orders. To develop socialist art and culture requires socialist democracy, a mass line, giving people a free hand to create and to speak, encouraging them to compete with one another for making the greatest possible contribution. It requires seeking truth and overcoming error through comparison and struggle.

Any work of literature or art that conforms to the six criteria politically and reaches a certain level of artistic attainment can be published, staged or recognized. We should not demand perfection, nor should we attack a work of art for a single fault without considering the work as a whole.

The policy towards cultural heritage, whether Chinese or foreign, is to assimilate it critically, weed through the old to bring forth the new, and make the past serve the present and foreign things serve China. We must learn from whatever is good in the legacy of culture, either Chinese or foreign, discarding the dross and assimilating the essential and

drawing on the experiences of others. Past works should be analysed in the light of historical materialism. All those literary and art works which played a progressive historical role should receive due recognition. We should take them over critically, and make it serve socialism.

Much work remains to be done to restore in a planned way local operas and other local art forms banned by the gang and to revive fine traditional items.

Writers and artists, the same as intellectuals on other fronts, are mental labourers serving socialism. The overwhelming majority of them constitute a force to be relied upon in developing a new socialist culture. Their work should be respected, their achievements commended. Going deep among workers, peasants and soldiers, studying Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and remoulding one's world outlook are all fundamental for building a force of proletarian workers in literature and art. In the meantime, writers and artists must study hard so as to constantly improve their professional skills for the revolution.

The importance and urgency of developing mass cultural work must be stressed. Institutions which had been engaged in this field but were disbanded by the gang should be restored. Professional literary and art workers should give concrete help to mass activities in literature and art and should learn from the masses.

## **Socialist Legal System Must Not Be Played Around With**

**W**HEN the "gang of four" was on the rampage, some people trampled the socialist legal system underfoot and manoeuvred frame-ups and wrongly judged cases. In the past year or so, with the rehabilitation of the victims, the socialist legal system has been greatly strengthened.

The press recently gave wide coverage to the reversal of these frame-ups and wrongly-judged cases. Some good examples were cited while bad examples were exposed.

The Sanming Prefectural Party committee in the southeast coastal province of Fukien was severely criticized for obstructing the rehabilitation of victims of false charges.

Fukien was one of the provinces where the factional set-up of the "gang of four" caused serious harm. In 1975, Chao Ta-chung, a cadre of a local farm machinery company, made a criticism of an article written by Chang Chun-chiao, a member of the "gang of four." When Premier Chou passed away in January 1976, Chao put many of his photos up on a wall as a sign of mourning. Two months later along a street in Sanming, he put up a big-character poster exposing Chang Chun-chiao as "a capitalist-roader in power who is more dangerous because he has hidden himself deep and camouflaged himself well." The agents of the "gang of four" in Fukien ordered a "thorough investigation" and the arrest of Chao. Not at all deterred, he continued his struggle in jail and acquitted himself with credit.

After the downfall of the "gang of four," Chao was freed, but the prefectural Party committee refused to exonerate him in public. In Sanming, similar cases involved another cadre and three workers. They were labelled "counter-revolutionaries" because they had composed poems in memory of Premier Chou and displayed them in public places, or had expressed dissatisfaction with the gang's attempt to smear Comrade Teng Hsiao-ping. Three of them were put in jail. Later, although they were released, they were not fully exonerated.

The Fukien provincial Party committee took up the matter and instructed the Sanming Prefectural Party committee several times to redress the wrong, but the latter ignored it by procrastinating, overtly agreeing and covertly opposing.

After careful investigation, the provincial Party committee held that this action of the prefectural Party committee was a serious political mistake. The latter was ordered to make a deep-going self-examination. The masses have been encouraged to expose the errors of the two deputy secretaries of the prefectural Party committee who were responsible for these

*(Continued on p. 30.)*

# ROUND THE WORLD

FIVE COUNTRIES

## Against Soviet Expansion In Africa

On French President Giscard d'Estaing's proposal, France, Britain, West Germany, Belgium and the United States held a two-day meeting in Paris from June 5 to discuss the security of Africa. A joint communique issued after the event says that the meeting examined the problem of providing aid to Zaire to help her economic recovery and considered "measures taken or envisaged towards assuring the security of Zaire indispensable for its rehabilitation and its economic and social progress."

The convocation of the meeting shows that Western countries are beginning to see that it would be fatal to Western Europe if Africa is occupied by the Soviet Union. French Foreign Minister Louis de Guiringaud said to the *Washington Post* on May 30: "We saw in the past two years that Cuban regular forces and a large number of Soviet military advisers are active in Africa, Angola, and the Horn of Africa." Soviet-Cuban intervention, he said, is actually the cause of "the unstable and tense situation." Some West European newspapers emphasized that Africa is of vital importance to their countries' sur-

vival because it is an important source of raw materials and commands the oil routes to Western Europe. The Soviet Union must not be allowed a free hand there. *Le Figaro* said that the five-nation meeting in Paris was the West's joint answer to the Soviet-Cuban infiltration into Africa and was also their "first tangible sign of starting up against the abandonment of the black continent to the Russians and their Cuban allies."

There is a growing tendency in West European and African countries to take joint action against Soviet infiltration in Africa. On the question of safeguarding African security and containing Soviet expansionism, there are still complicated contradictions among the African countries, among the Western countries, and between the African and Western countries. To achieve African unity and Afro-Western unity may encounter difficulties and obstructions. But this will not prevent the further growth of the trend for them to get together to cope with aggressive Soviet expansion.

AFRICA

### Fighting Hegemonism

In repulsing the Soviet-Cuban mercenaries' invasion of Shaba Province, Zaire is not alone and

without help. It has been supported not only politically and morally but also militarily. On June 5, the first batch of relief troops from Morocco arrived at Lubumbashi, provincial capital of Shaba. Two days later, Senegal publically declared its decision to send a battalion of troops to aid Zaire. Egypt provided military material, including artillery. All these show that more and more African countries are determined to jointly resist outside intervention and hegemonism.

Many African leaders and newspapers pointed out that Zaire is the victim and that the thousands of mercenaries who made a surprise attack into Shaba and slaughtered peaceful citizens there were armed and trained by the Soviet Union and Cuba. They also saw that the event was not an isolated incident. If Soviet-Cuban aggression against Zaire could be tolerated, then a second, third and even more African countries would suffer a similar fate. And this is something which absolutely will not be acceptable to them.

Rendering military aid and sending in material, and dispatching relief troops to help fight aggression against an African country is an effective way to repulse armed invasion by Soviet-Cuban mercenaries. By getting together and taking joint action, particularly in helping each other militarily, many African countries, though relatively small and weak on their own, will form a powerful

force against hegemonism and defeat aggression by big, powerful countries.

PRAGUE

### Silent Revolt

It happened during Brezhnev's recent visit to Czechoslovakia.

On May 31, Brezhnev addressing a mass rally held in the Prague Castle said smugly that Czechoslovakia in 1968 had "passed the test with honours." When he went on to talk of the "good co-operation among fraternal countries," the Czechoslovak live telecast of his speech suddenly blinked out and radio broadcasts went dead at the same moment. An announcer appeared twice on the screen to say that this was caused by "technical difficulties." During the 20-minute blackout, the live telecast was replaced first with a photo of Prague and later with a documentary film.

Western diplomats and journalists pointed out that such a thing had never been heard of before. It showed the Czechoslovak people's "utter contempt" for Brezhnev ten years after the Soviet Union had sent tanks and guns to crush the country. And the fury of the Soviet officials indicated that "they considered it sabotage."

The British *Daily Mail* said in its June 1 editorial: "Leonid Brezhnev was expunged . . . from Czech TV screens." "It was an intermission of sanity and silent revolt."

### Armed Struggles

- Palestinian commandos persisting in operation inside enemy-occupied territory made a series of attacks on Israeli military targets in the latter half of May.

On May 20, a special commando unit attacked an Israeli

police patrol in Askar near Nablus. Armoured vehicles coming to aid the patrol were ambushed.

Commandos placed explosive time charges in three police stations, which killed and wounded a number of policemen.

- Guerrillas of the South West Africa People's Organization on May 19 blew up a bridge near the southern Namibian town of Keetmanshoop. This was SWAPO's first major military operation 480 kilometres south of Windhoek.

- Angolan guerrillas brought down in northern Angola a helicopter, killing all 13 Cuban occupation troops on board. Guerrillas launched eight attacks in the first three weeks of May in the vast region north of the northern Angolan town of Uige.

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(Continued from p. 28.)

cases. A conclusion will be drawn only after their errors are fully investigated. As to the head of the prefectural court who had been connected with the factional set-up of the "gang of four," he was immediately removed from all posts inside and outside the Party and all his mistakes will be dealt with after thorough investigation.

Chao Ta-chung and four others persecuted by the gang were completely rehabilitated at a meeting of 40,000 people convened by the provincial Party committee, which called on the

local people to learn from Chao's revolutionary quality of daring to uphold principle.

At present, as the people of the whole country are studying the new Constitution adopted by the Fifth National People's Congress, they are indignantly exposing and criticizing the "gang of four's" crimes in undermining the socialist legal system. While reporting the exoneration of the victims of frame-ups, the press stresses that the Constitution protects the people's democratic rights and the socialist legal system must not be played around with.

# ON THE HOME FRONT

## ***Peking's Ancient Parks Renovated***

**A**N ancient Chinese architectural ensemble including three pavilions and a long, covered corridor has been moved from Chungnanhai (where the State Council is located) to the Temple of Heaven, one of Peking's largest parks, so that more people may enjoy it.

It is said that the corridor and pavilions were built by Emperor Chien Lung (1736-95) of the Ching Dynasty to celebrate his mother's birthday.

The Temple of Heaven covers an area of 260 hectares. The state allocated 600,000 yuan for a thorough repair of the park's well-known Chien Hall and the auxiliary halls on its east and west flanks. Built in the 18th year of the reign of Emperor Yung Lo of the Ming Dynasty (1420), Chien Hall

was a temple where feudal emperors made sacrifices and prayed for good harvests.

This cone-shaped edifice is unique in both design and architectural style. Without the use of reinforced concrete, iron nails or even long cross-beams, the rotunda, 38 metres high, is supported by 28 massive wooden pillars plus a complex of bars, laths, joists and rafters. All the wooden parts except the pillars have been taken off the structure, renovated, fortified and refitted, and the roof has been renewed with more than 50,000 deep-blue glazed tiles. The park now shines with new splendour after these large-scale repairs and extensive landscaping.

During the last few years, all the ancient parks in Peking have been renovated.

Sixty per cent of the buildings in Peihai (Winter Palace) and Chingshan (Coal Hill) Parks in the heart of the city have been repaired and they have been receiving an average of 50,000 visitors every day since they were reopened last March.

Peihai Park, dating from the ninth century, was an imperial garden for hundreds of years. The White Dagoba built on its highest knoll in 1651 has been reinforced, while the ornamental covered corridors and many pavilions have been repainted and re-decorated. The Nine-Dragon Wall is a famous 5-metre-high, 27-metre-wide screen with nine dragons on each side, all in different positions, made up of variegated glazed bricks. Exposure to the weather had caused some 90 glazed bricks on the dragons' scales and horns to drop off. Thanks to the efforts of the craftsmen, the screen has been restored to its original beauty.

Tuancheng (Round City), a terrace surrounded by circular wall outside of Peihai Park, contains many valuable relics all of which have been carefully preserved.

Many ancient buildings in the Summer Palace in the city's west suburbs have been restored to their former grandeur. Now completely renovated, the five major halls, which Empress Dowager Tzu Hsi of the Ching Dynasty used for her own enjoyment, are now open to the public.



The corridor and pavilions from Chungnanhai re-erected in the Temple of Heaven Park.

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Distributed by: **GUOZI SHUDIAN**, P.O. Box 399, Peking, China