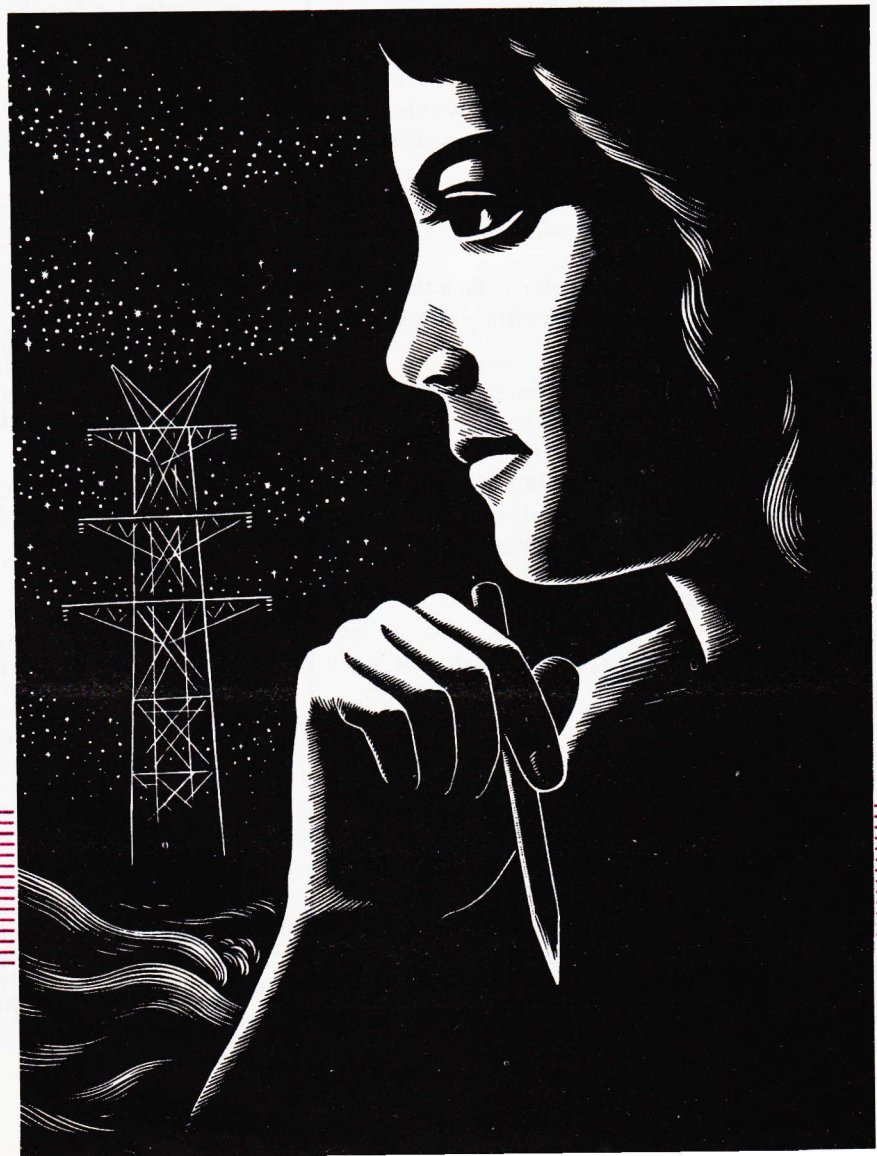


BEIJING REVIEW

Our Young
Generation



China's Proposal
Of Principles
For Handling
Sino-Vietnamese
Relations



BEIJING REVIEW

北京周报

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CHRONICLE

Apr. 23

• Vice-Premier Li Xiannian expressed China's willingness to develop friendly relations and co-operation with Ireland when he met with the Irish Government Trade Delegation, the first official mission from the Republic of Ireland to visit China. The delegation was led by Desmond O'Malley, Minister for Industry, Commerce and Energy.

Apr. 26

• Premier Hua Guofeng extended a welcome to Dr. Kissinger on his tenth visit to China. He said: "You have made contributions to the development of Sino-American relations. You are an old friend of the Chinese people." Premier Hua pointed out that the world situation had become more tense instead of more relaxed in recent years as a result of aggression and subversion by Soviet hegemonism in various parts of the world. Dr. Kissinger spoke of the importance of further developing the relations between the United States and China.

• Han Nianlong, Head of the Chinese Government Delegation, put forward at the second session of the Sino-Vietnamese negotiations at a vice-foreign ministerial level an eight-point proposal of principles for handling the relations between China and Viet Nam (See p. 10).

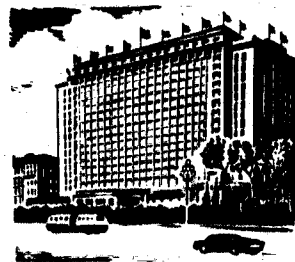
Apr. 27

• Li Xiannian, Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and Vice-Premier of the State Council, met with a cadres' delegation of the Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party led by Omar Salad Elmi. Ji Pengfei, Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress and Head of the International Liaison Department of the C.P.C. Central Committee, gave a banquet for the delegation after the meeting. Ji Pengfei said in his toast that China was willing to establish friendly relations with all Marxist-Leninist Parties and all revolutionary political parties fighting for national liberation throughout the world.

May 1

• Comrades Hua Guofeng, Deng Xiaoping, Li Xiannian and Wang Dongxing as well as Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, Samdech Penn Nouth and other foreigners in Beijing joined more than 10,000 people in a huge get-together celebrating International Labour Day in the Great Hall of the People.

• Premier Hua Guofeng met with U.N. Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim and said to him: "China is willing to co-operate with the United Nations in working to promote peace in South-east Asia and the Pacific region." Premier Hua and Secretary-General Waldheim exchanged views on international issues. Vice-Premier Deng Xiaoping met with Mr. Waldheim and Foreign Minister Huang Hua held talks with him during his stay in Beijing.



May Day in Beijing

Joy and determination to do their work well were the keynotes of this year's International Labour Day celebrations, the first May Day since China shifted the focus of work on to socialist modernization. That day, *Renmin Ribao*, organ of the Party Central Committee, called on the Chinese working class and other labouring people throughout the country to launch a mass movement to increase production and practise economy (see p. 7).

Red flags fluttered everywhere in Beijing that day in the bright sunshine. The newly planted trees with burgeoning green leaves added lustre to the festive day. The city's many public parks, decorated with colourful banners and flowerbeds, looked their best and were thronged with holiday-makers from morning till dusk. Exhibitions in these parks this year attracted special attention. These included an exhibition on the militant lives of Marx and Engels, an exhibition of paintings by workers, an exhibition of Chinese calligraphy and a flower show of azalea blooms.

At the Working People's Cultural Palace, there were basketball matches, chess competitions, *wushu* (traditional Chinese boxing and swordplay) and wrestling contests. About 1,000 labour models, scientists and technicians, retired workers and literary and art workers had a get-together there. Labour models with red flowers pinned on their tunics joined an amateur chorus in singing the song *We Workers Have Strength*. Popular since the

early post-liberation days, the song which expressed the Chinese working class' confidence in creating a new world got a big hand from all who listened to it.

For days on end, many units at the grass-roots level gave lectures, theatrical performances and film shows to mark the occasion. Forums were held, attended by heroes from the frontier regions who had distinguished themselves in the self-defensive counterattack against Vietnamese aggression, labour models and innovators, quality pace-setters, outstanding schoolteachers, scientists and technicians, who swapped experience in their own particular fields. They all pledged to work and study hard and contribute their share to the early accomplishment of the four modernizations.

Mobilizing the People for The Four Modernizations

Ideological and political work means educating the masses in revolutionary theories and inspiring them with the revolutionary spirit to work for the realization of revolutionary tasks. The aim of the ideological and political work in China today is to rally the people of the whole country to work with one mind for the accomplishment of socialist modernization.

Beginning from this year, the focus of work of the whole Party and nation has been shifted on to the socialist modernization. People across the land now devote most of their time and energy to production and vocational work. But this does not

mean that ideological and political work can be dispensed with or weakened. The fact is that to ensure success in the four modernizations, intensive ideological and political work must be carried out, and such work must be closely linked with production and vocational work so as to solve any ideological problem that may crop up.

Many units in various parts of the country are taking appropriate steps to strengthen this work, such as commending those people doing their best for the four modernizations and criticizing all kinds of wrong ideas.

Kailuan Coal Mine. Recently a forum attended by labour models was held at this coal-producing centre in north China to discuss the proper attitude towards bonuses. What Hu Changhai, an old worker, said at the forum was typical of the feelings of his mates. "At the stage of socialism," he said, "we must uphold the principle of 'to each according to his work.' There should be bonuses, but we mustn't regard it as a cure-all. We must always remember that moral encouragement is primary while material awards are secondary. The main thing is to guide the workers to cherish lofty goals and bend their efforts to the fulfilment of the four modernizations."

All who attended the forum spoke of the need to carry forward the spirit of arduous struggle. Feng Shaoying, a retired worker, noted that we need foreign exchange to import advanced equipment from abroad. But where does the money come from? It has to be accumulated bit by bit through

hard work. No one would give us "modernization" for nothing. Since 1974, he and other retired workers have saved over 2 million yuan for the state by collecting and making use of waste materials.

Daqing Oil Field. This big oil field in northeast China has won a name for its splendid ideological and political work. In view of the unhealthy tendency of going after personal enjoyment among some young workers, the Party organization has since the beginning of this year organized special meetings to discuss such questions as: "What should be the ideal and future of young people?" "What is the historical mission of the younger generation?" "How should we judge one's looks?" These meetings are aimed at helping the young workers to get the right answers through discussions.

Commending people who have done excellent work is an effective way in doing ideological and political work. For instance, Qi Lili, a warehouse keeper, can tell by memory the names, specifications and the amount in stock of the parts under her care and the places where they are kept. Some people, however, think that this is not necessary now because we have electronic computers. But the Party organization saw it dif-



ferently and greatly commended Qi Lili's spirit, pointing out that more people like Qi Lili are needed not only at the present moment but also in the future when more and more electronic computers will be in use. The Party organization has called on others to emulate Qi Lili who takes a keen interest in her work and spares no effort to acquire skill in whatever she does. Her example is a great encouragement to other workers. Many who have neglected their professional skill for years have started training again.

People's Communes. In connection with day-to-day production work, Party organizations in the rural areas are educating the peasants in socialist ideas and giving them guidance to keep to the socialist road.

The bureaucratic way of blindly issuing orders without considering the actual situation is being opposed, and the right of the production teams to run their own affairs is being stressed. This has received warm response from the peasants. Some new problems, however, have come up in some places with the implementation of this policy. For instance, in Pinggu County on the outskirts of Beijing, some people there held that a production team should be free to grow whatever plants it chose to. Since growing vegetables brought in more money, some production teams expanded the size of their truck gardens by reducing the acreage of farmland growing food crops. If every team did that, the county's plan for grain production would be affected. So the Party organization carried out education among the peasants and helped them understand that in a so-

cialist country like China with a planned economy, production must be carried out according to the state plan. For a production team to have the right to run its own affairs means that the state plan must not be too rigid and that production teams must be allowed to do certain things suited to their own conditions.

Another policy welcomed by the peasants is to allow the commune members to work on small plots set aside for personal needs and engage in family side-line production so long as the predominance of the collective economy is ensured. Some peasants, however, concerned themselves only with family side-line production and were reluctant to take an active part in collective production. This deviation once became quite a problem in a commune in Pingdu County in Shandong Province. The commune's Party committee immediately carried out ideological education and helped the peasants to see that working only for individual prosperity at the expense of the collective did not conform to the socialist orientation. Realizing their mistakes, these peasants enthusiastically worked for the collective during the busy spring farming season.

Shanghai Teachers' University. An article on democracy in the school's wall newspaper touched off heated discussion, as it lacked a clear analysis and criticism of bourgeois democracy. The Party organization encouraged the students to discuss this question and helped them to see the essence of bourgeois democracy and the difference between socialist and bourgeois democracy. The university authorities also drew up a plan to organize special lectures on questions as

"the superiority of the socialist system," "socialist democracy and the legal system" and "class struggle in the period of socialism" to help the students have a correct political standpoint.

In reporting and commenting on this subject, the press stressed that China is a socialist country and what it needs is socialist modernization. To achieve this goal, it is imperative to uphold four fundamental principles, namely, adhere to the socialist road, adhere to the dictatorship of the proletariat, uphold the leadership of the Communist Party and uphold Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. These four principles constitute the basis for all ideological and political work.

Following China's Own Road in Modernizing Medical Work

The national conference of public health bureaux directors held recently in Beijing has defined the guideline for modernizing China's medical and health work, i.e., follow China's own road of development in the light of actual conditions.

The characteristics of China's medical and health work today are: While China has a poor foundation to start with and a large population on top of that, it has a rich medical legacy. To modernize medical and health work in its own way in accordance with these characteristics, it is necessary to do the following:

- Upholding four basic principles. Formulated by Chairman Mao and Premier Zhou in the initial period of the People's Republic, these principles

are: gearing health work to the needs of the workers, peasants and soldiers; putting prevention first; uniting doctors of traditional Chinese medicine and Western medicine; and combining professional work with mass movements. Their implementation has proved to be a great boon to the labouring people who could hardly afford medical treatment in the old society.

- Putting the stress of medical and health work in the rural areas. The majority of China's 800 million people live in the countryside. Since liberation, medical and health work networks have been set up throughout the vast rural areas and more than a million "barefoot doctors," who are not divorced from production and are capable of giving first-aid treatment and curing common diseases, have been trained from among the peasants. While health work in the cities and in the factories and mines is being improved, attention should be paid to the rural areas as well.

- Exploring the treasure house of Chinese medicine. Efforts should be made to study and develop Chinese medicine with the help of modern scientific knowledge and methods and, by combining traditional Chinese medicine with Western medicine, evolve our new medicine and pharmacology of an advanced level and with distinctive national features. Acupuncture anaesthesia and the unique methods of treating acute abdominal diseases, fractures and extensive burns have attracted attention at home and abroad. These represent the burgeoning shoots of a new medicine.

- Carrying out academic exchanges and introducing foreign

technology. To enable China's medical science to reach the advanced world level as soon as possible and make its own creative contributions to medical theory, it is necessary to actively carry out exchanges, analytically learn from the strong points of other countries, and selectively introduce foreign technology and equipment in the light of China's conditions.

The tasks at present are:

1. Updating the vocational level of those units of medical work and medical research and education which already have a good foundation;

2. Setting up a few medical and health work and research centres equipped with modern technology so that they will play an exemplary role; and

3. Tapping the potential of existing medical centres and departments which are not so well equipped and giving full play to the initiative of doctors of traditional Chinese and Western medicine. Their service should be improved and the question of preventing and treating diseases among the masses of people should be adequately tackled.

Workers Learning Technology

To make China a modern socialist country, it is necessary to have a large contingent of engineers and technicians and at the same time raise the scientific and technical level of the workers as a whole. Both are indispensable, which is why many large factories and mines are training their workers and staff members by whatever means is feasible.

In the Anshan Iron and Steel Company, the largest of its kind in China, apart from reinforcing the faculty members and replenishing the facilities of two old technical schools, an engineering college and a new technical school have been set up, enrolling some 4,000 students. In addition, there are 52 evening schools teaching mathematics, physics and other basic courses. More than 10,000 workers and staff members in Anshan are studying English, Japanese, German or French, some on a full-time basis with pay and some during the off hours. After a period of study, some of the workers now can read and translate technical reference materials from Japanese. About 1,300 leading cadres of this steel complex attend lectures on science and technology. All these are part of the nation's effort to expedite the accomplishment of socialist modernization.

In east China's Maanshan Iron and Steel Company, over half of the workers and staff members are learning modern methods of management and advanced technology with an eye to adopting new techniques and renovating the old equipment. In their studies, they pay equal attention to basic theories and actual operation. A recent examination shows that noticeable progress has been made by the young workers in their theoretical and technical levels.



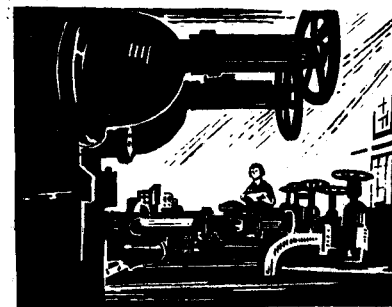
Students of the automatic control speciality of a workers' spare-time college in Harbin doing experiments.

In Taiyuan, an industrial centre in north China, 60,000 workers and staff members in 70-odd large factories and mines attend spare-time training classes. Many enterprises have enlisted the help of technicians and veteran workers with theoretical know-how and practical experience to compile their own textbooks and to teach the young workers.

Some 40,000 young workers and technical personnel in the Shengli Oilfield in Shandong Province attend spare-time classes four evenings a week. Various short-term courses are run, with workers studying full-time with pay. Last year, about 7,000 technical personnel were trained in this way.

In publishing reports on these developments, *Gongren Ribao*, a national daily for workers,

said that only when there are large numbers of competent technicians and workers can we have large quantities of products of good quality. The modernization of science and technology plays a key role in accomplishing the four modernizations and to achieve this, China needs sophisticated equipment and, more important, large numbers of workers and staff members mastering modern technology. For this reason, no efforts are spared to train the workers and staff members.



Current Mission of the Chinese Working Class

"Renmin Ribao" May Day editorial

.....

We should devote a certain amount of time to readjusting the national economy, and at the same time carry out reforms on the economic structure, continue to consolidate the existing enterprises and improve the economic work as a whole. This will enable our national economy to develop in a sustained, proportionate and high-speed way. This marks our first step in the new Long March towards socialist modernization.

One glorious mission confronting the Chinese working class and other labouring people today is to launch a nationwide, mass movement to increase production and practise economy.

MAY 1 this year is the first International Labour Day since the focus of the whole Party's work was shifted to socialist modernization. The working class and other labouring people of China, marching proudly forward towards the four modernizations (modernization of agriculture, industry, national defence and science and technology), are celebrating this festival of the proletariat and other working people of the world.

The Last Four Months

The shift in the focus of the Party's work was a major strategic decision adopted by the Third Plenary Session of the Party's 11th Central Committee held from December 18-22, 1978. In the last four months, the spirit emanating from the Third Plenary Session has spread across the land and fired the enthusiasm of the hundreds of millions of people for bringing about the four modernizations. Following the example set at the Third Plenary Session, various places and departments have cleared up numerous cases of major frame-ups, false charges and wrong sentences, and solved many important issues left over from history. Democratic life inside and outside the Party has become more lively, the minds of cadres and

the masses have become further emancipated, the ideological and political work of the Party has been strengthened and the political situation of stability and unity throughout the country has grown better.

Implementation of the contents of the two important documents* concerning agriculture discussed by the Third Plenary Session has brought about an invigorating atmosphere in the countryside. Respecting the right of decision of the production teams, introducing systems of responsibility in production in various forms which help develop the productive forces and consolidate the collective economy, raising the purchasing prices for farm produce and implementing the policies on grass-roots cadres in the rural areas have won the universal support of the commune members and rural cadres and have immensely stimulated their enthusiasm. The situation with regard to spring ploughing and the masses' livelihood is better than that of earlier years, the

* This refers to the Decisions of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China on Some Questions Concerning the Acceleration of Agricultural Development (Draft) and the Regulations on the Work in the Rural People's Communes (Draft for Trial Use.) — Tr.

commune members are working hard for good harvests this year. The economic situation in the countryside promises to become even better.

In industry, production has been restored quite rapidly since the fall of the "gang of four." Many departments have moved steadily ahead after putting an end to the state of paralysis or semi-paralysis. The output of many major products is unprecedentedly high. The Communiqué of the Third Plenary Session pointed out: "Due to sabotage by Lin Biao and the 'gang of four' over a long period there are still quite a few problems in the national economy, some major imbalances have not been completely changed." In the last few months, some leading comrades of both the central and local authorities, in accord with the spirit of the Third Plenary Session, have made a relatively profound investigation and study of the nation's economic situation and have arrived at a better understanding of the gravity of the imbalances of the national economy. They now know accurately what the score is. This manifests a big step forward in our economic work.

All this fully proves that the major decisions, principles and policies arrived at by the Third Plenary Session are correct. The spirit of the session has found its way deeper into the hearts of the people and is imparting a powerful thrust to the victorious advance of various work and various fronts.

First Step in the New Long March

In order to arrive at a comprehensive balance so as to lay a solid foundation for the swift development of the national economy as asked for at the Third Plenary Session, we must devote a certain amount of time to readjusting the proportionate relationship between the various branches of the national economy. At the same time, we should start carrying out reforms on our economic structure continue to consolidate the existing enterprises, and enormously improve the economic work as a whole so that our national economy will be put into the orbit of sustained, proportionate and high-speed development. This is the first step we are taking on the new Long March. Once this is properly done it will mean a victory of strategic importance in our march towards the four modernizations.

Historical experience tells us that whenever a fairly good comprehensive balance is arrived at, and the relationship between the various

branches of the economy is fairly proportionately co-ordinated, the national economy shows a swift development. Otherwise, development is slow and there is even retrogression. Following the three-year (1950-52) rehabilitation after nationwide liberation, we started orderly, large-scale economic construction during the First Five-Year Plan (1953-57). During that period the proportionate relationship between the various branches was quite good and the whole national economy developed at a quick tempo. After 1958 when there was no proportionate development between the various branches, China's national economy suffered serious setbacks and ran into difficulties by the end of the 1950s and at the beginning of 1960s. Beginning in 1961, we carried out the principle of readjustment, consolidating, filling out and raising standards, and succeeded in correcting the imbalances. This was followed by an excellent situation of vigorous development of the national economy in 1965 and 1966.

The current readjustments to the relationship among the various branches of the economy are not quite the same as those at the beginning of the 1960s. At that time, readjustments were made under the principle of "advance only after cutting back sufficiently" and the magnitude of industrial production and capital construction was vastly cut down. The situation in agriculture today is better than that in the early 1960s and our industrial base is much stronger. Readjustments this time will be done under the principle that there will be both advance and retrenchment, construction as well as cutting down on some items. Retrenchment is for the purpose of advancing and cutting down is to build up. Production and construction are to advance steadily during readjustment, the national economy should develop at a certain speed, and there should be better economic results. Consequently, readjustment is a positive policy, a policy for steady and solid progress. We are confident that after a certain period of effort and after the task of readjusting the national economy has been completed in the main, China's socialist construction will go forward much quicker. Even sobre-minded people in capitalist countries can see this.

Increasing Production and Practising Economy

One glorious mission confronting the Chinese working class and the other labouring

people today is to launch a countrywide, mass movement to increase production and practise economy in various trades and various fields of endeavour in a sustained way. After 30 years of hard work, we have built several hundred thousand industrial enterprises, either owned by the whole people or by the collectives. Some of them have modern technology and equipment; some use fairly advanced technology and equipment and others use rather obsolete and backward technology and equipment. These are the major positions in our four modernizations from which we move forward. It is necessary for us to set up a number of new industrial and mining enterprises in bringing about the four modernizations, but it is the existing ones that we must count on, relying mainly on exploiting their potentialities and renovating and transforming them.

Numerous facts have proved that when this work about existing enterprises is done well, we are able to turn out more and better products. In the last two and a half years, many enterprises (the Daqing Oilfield is an example) have steadily chalked up new records of high output with top quality by going all out to tap their potentialities. There are also quite a number of enterprises which, in the revolutionary Daqing spirit, have reattained or surpassed their former highest records in various economic targets within a short space of time. However, there are still a considerable number of enterprises which have made little efforts to increase production and practise economy, and continued to turn out products of inferior quality at high costs that the masses do not welcome. In these enterprises wastage is serious. They have even incurred losses for a long time, and things have not been remedied to this day. If we mobilize the masses and work out practical ways to solve these problems, the great potentials within these enterprises can be fully exploited.

The movement to increase production and practise economy should be unfolded in the light of the actual conditions of the localities, departments and enterprises concerned. There should be different goals and points of emphasis for the various localities, departments and enterprises in the movement.

The fuel, motive power, communications and transport and building materials industries remain at this moment the weaker links, so workers and staff members in these sectors must

do everything they can to tap potentialities and boost production as quickly as possible. Those working in the light, textile and handicraft industries should also do their best to increase production, as these branches are directly connected with people's livelihood and the export trade. All industrial and mining enterprises should carry out in an all-round way the principle of achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results. They must give primacy to variety and quality, instead of one-sidedly going after quantity and output value; they should strengthen the cost accounting system and pay attention to economic results instead of paying no regard to costs and the amount of fuel, power, raw materials and other things consumed in the process of production. They should boldly fight bad practices such as those which impair the interests of the state, corruption, waste and bureaucracy.

The Chinese working class has a glorious revolutionary tradition and the spirit of working hard in a down-to-earth manner. After the downfall of the "gang of four," there has been great enthusiasm among the masses of workers and staff members for building a modern, powerful socialist country. We must wholeheartedly rely on the working class, continuously strengthen the unity of all workers and staff members and bring their wisdom and strength into full play. We should learn from the advanced enterprises and individuals and organize socialist labour emulation drives in a practical way. As the masses work with increasingly heightened drive, more attention should be paid to their livelihood and safety in production.

The movement to increase production and practise economy is an important measure in readjusting the national economy for our socialist modernization to make steady headway. Comrade workers throughout the country, let us strive to make our country strong, work hard, and take the lead in this first battle in shifting the focus of the work of the whole Party, promote the proportionate development of the national economy and greet the 30th anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic and the bright prospects of the four modernizations.

(An abridged translation. Title and subheads are ours.)

Speech by Han Nianlong, Head of Chinese Government Delegation

Han Nianlong, Head of the Chinese Government Delegation and Vice-Minister of China's Foreign Ministry, made a speech on April 26 at the Second Plenary Meeting of the Sino-Vietnamese Negotiations in Hanoi. He put forward the eight-point proposal of principles for handling Sino-Vietnamese relations: Both sides shall restore friendly and good-neighbourly relations between China and Viet Nam; neither side should seek hegemony in Indochina or any other part of the world, each opposes efforts by any other countries to establish such hegemony and neither side shall station troops in other countries; the Sino-French boundary accords shall serve as the basis for a negotiated settlement of the boundary question; each side shall respect the other side's sovereignty over its 12-nautical-mile territorial sea; Viet Nam shall respect China's sovereignty over the Xisha and Nansha Islands; in regard to nationals of one country residing in the other, the Government of the country of residence shall guarantee their rights and interests and personal safety; the Vietnamese Government should take back the citizens it has driven into China; and the restoration of railway traffic and other bilateral ties shall be dealt with through negotiations. Following is the full text of his speech. Sub-heads are ours. — Ed.

WE are holding today the second meeting of the negotiations between the Chinese and Vietnamese Governments. The Chinese Government Delegation has long made it clear that we sincerely hope, through the current negotiations, to seek practical measures to settle the disputes and restore normal relations between the two countries so as to meet the ardent wishes of the Chinese and Vietnamese peoples and the people of all countries in this regard.

It is extremely regrettable that when the negotiations got under way, the Vietnamese side proceeded unscrupulously, at the very first plenary meeting, to confound right and wrong, distort the facts and fabricate lies in a slanderous attack against the Chinese side and the Chinese leadership, and to blame China for im-

pairing the friendly relations between the two countries and for the armed conflict along the border. The question of who is responsible for impairing the friendly relations between China and Viet Nam and for provoking the armed conflict along the border is an issue of major principle. Didn't Phan Hien, head of your delegation, say in his speech that "there is reason why once again we want here to make clear who is the aggressor in this war"? In this speech, therefore, I want to deal especially with this subject and make clear who has upheld and who impaired the relations between China and Viet Nam; and who was the provocateur and who fought in self-defence.

China Did Everything to Support Viet Nam

The Sino-Vietnamese boundary was originally a boundary of peace and friendship. In their common struggle against imperialism, the Chinese and Vietnamese peoples supported each other and fought shoulder to shoulder, making use of the favourable geographical propinquity of their countries which were linked by common mountains and rivers. For decades, both during the wars waged by Viet Nam for national salvation against French occupation and U.S. aggression and in the postwar period of peace, China never failed to fulfil its internationalist obligations. Thousands of Chinese died as martyrs and shed their blood on Vietnamese soil. The sweat and toil of Chinese experts went into the building of hundreds of factories and other aid projects from China. Viet Nam is the biggest recipient of Chinese aid, having received from China aid valued at scores of billions of yuan RMB. China made itself available as a reliable rear area in supporting the Vietnamese wars of resistance and national construction, and the Chinese border inhabitants, in particular, made a special contribution. It was over the Chinese borders that large quantities of arms and ammunition, complete sets of equipment, machinery, vehicles, fuel, food grains, clothing, blankets and other supplies were transported in a steady stream to Viet Nam, by rail and road,

through ports and airfields, via pipelines and narrow mountain trails. Chinese border inhabitants warmly received and harboured their Vietnamese brothers and sisters who crossed the border and sought refuge from imperialist bombings. When there was a shortage of food grains in Viet Nam, they preferred to eat coarse grains themselves so as to have a good supply of rice for the Vietnamese people. Hospitals in China's Yunnan Province and Guangxi Autonomous Region, as those in other parts of China, gave meticulous treatment and care to the Vietnamese sick and wounded. In these two places, the Vietnamese set up and long maintained hospitals and schools as well as bases for supporting the revolution in south Viet Nam. After Radio Hanoi was damaged by U.S. bombing, a radio station in China's Yunnan Province promptly undertook to relay its programmes, so that the Voice of Viet Nam continued to be heard all over the world. The border inhabitants of our two countries are the best witnesses to our friendly relationship of sharing weal and woe. The Chinese people did their utmost to support and help the Vietnamese people resist imperialist aggression, defend national independence and reunite the two parts of the country. The Chinese people have never let the Vietnamese people down.

Hanoi Returns Evil for Good

With the signing of the Paris Agreement in 1973, the Vietnamese people subsequently won victory in their war of resistance against U.S. aggression and for national salvation. The Chinese people sincerely rejoiced in and congratulated the Vietnamese people on their victory, regarding it as their own. It never occurred to them that the Vietnamese authorities, pursuing expansionist goals they cannot disclose, would unscrupulously and heartlessly antagonize their former friend and turn their guns on China. Through their actions from 1974 onwards, disputes occurred one after another and clashes increased day by day on the once tranquil and friendly Sino-Vietnamese border. In 1974, there were 100 or so border incidents. In 1975, the number increased to over 400, and the Vietnamese authorities flagrantly invaded and occupied some of China's Nansha Islands by force of arms. In 1976, the number of incidents increased to more than 900. In 1977, it was more than 700. In order to uphold the friendship and unity between the two peoples and maintain peace and tranquillity on the Sino-Vietnamese border, the Chinese side counselled the Vietnamese on many occasions and proposed that the

two Governments hold boundary negotiations as soon as possible to try to settle the boundary question once and for all through friendly negotiations. However, the Vietnamese side not only procrastinated and tried to sabotage the negotiations, but redoubled its efforts to create incidents and kept expanding the scale of border clashes.

Early in 1977 when the Vietnamese authorities started a military buildup along the Sino-Vietnamese border in preparation for a war against China, they instituted measures to set up a cordon sanitaire, driving into Chinese territory large numbers of Chinese nationals and Vietnamese citizens who had lived in the border areas for generations. They later intensified their anti-Chinese activities throughout Viet Nam, regarded Chinese nationals as enemies even when the latter had over the years contributed positively to the revolutionary cause in Viet Nam, and cruelly persecuted and expelled them en masse. The Chinese side made great efforts to seek a reasonable settlement of the differences between the two countries on the question of Chinese residents and sent a government delegation to Hanoi in August and September last year for negotiations on this subject. But the negotiations were not fruitful owing to sabotage and obstruction by the Vietnamese side. Subsequently, instead of showing restraint in its persecution and expulsion of Chinese nationals, the Vietnamese side resorted to even more sinister means. Around the time of our delegation's arrival in Hanoi for the negotiations, the Vietnamese authorities expelled more than 10,000 Chinese nationals and Vietnamese citizens across the border into China's Guangxi and Yunnan. Incomplete statistics show that the number of Chinese nationals and Vietnamese citizens driven by you into China has exceeded 200,000. The Vietnamese authorities must immediately stop their continued expulsion of Chinese nationals and Vietnamese citizens to Chinese territory. Moreover, it was reported that in south Viet Nam you have driven hundreds of thousands of Vietnamese of Chinese descent and Vietnamese citizens across the open sea to Southeast Asian countries and quite a number of other countries and regions in the world, causing great difficulties to those countries. The Vietnamese authorities have been for some time strongly condemned by world opinion and by the countries concerned for their "exporting" refugees. Yet in its speech, the Vietnamese Government Delegation has absurdly alleged that the massive expulsion of Chinese nationals and Vietnamese

citizens to China was the result of Chinese incitement. This attempt to evade its culpability is entirely futile. People are bound to ask whether the expulsion of hundreds of thousands of Vietnamese refugees to Southeast Asian and other countries was also the result of incitement by those countries? That the Vietnamese authorities should resort to such gross misrepresentation of facts is indeed shocking!

Concurrently with their large-scale anti-Chinese activities, the Vietnamese authorities started to mobilize the Party, Government, and army for war and stepped up their military buildup along the Sino-Vietnamese border. In their directives to all lower-level organs, they openly referred to China as "the most immediate and dangerous enemy" and "their opponent in the next war," and issued the slogan: "Do everything for the sake of defeating China." They massed more than 200,000 troops in northern Viet Nam and stationed many regular troops along the Sino-Vietnamese border. In its "Outline for Education on the New Situation and Tasks" issued on July 8, 1978, the General Political Department of the Vietnamese People's Army explicitly stipulated that "an offensive strategy" would be adopted against China, and that "a counterattack and resolute offensive be carried out both within and beyond the frontier." The Vietnamese authorities built a great many fortifications and other military facilities in the border areas and stored large quantities of war material while clamouring for turning the border areas into "positions" and "fortresses" of war against China. The erstwhile peaceful and friendly Sino-Vietnamese border was turned by the Vietnamese authorities into a springboard for invading China. The erstwhile staging posts for receiving Chinese aid supplies were turned into strongholds for aggression against China. The rice which the Chinese people saved up through frugality, and sent as aid to the Vietnamese people became provisions for the Vietnamese armed forces in anti-China operations. The arms and ammunition China had given Viet Nam for fighting its anti-imperialist wars were laid up for massacring Chinese army-men and civilians. It was from these posts that the Vietnamese armed forces constantly intruded into Chinese territory, bombarded and harassed China's border areas and created more and more armed provocations and bloodshed incidents. In 1978 the number of border incidents provoked by Viet Nam rose sharply to more than 1,100. In the period from January 1 to February 16, 1979 alone the number reached 129. From 1974 to the above-mentioned date,

the Vietnamese authorities created a total of 3,535 border incidents. Vietnamese armed personnel frequently invaded and harassed our border villages, strafed and bombarded Chinese towns, schools, hospitals, dwellings, railway stations and trains, and killed Chinese border inhabitants and frontier personnel who had helped Viet Nam with blood and sweat in its anti-imperialist struggle. In the short space of six months prior to February 16 this year, they invaded the Chinese border at 162 places and killed and wounded over 300 Chinese personnel. The scourge did not pardon even such areas as Pingmeng of Napo County in Guangxi, which had close ties with the Vietnamese revolution and whose people more than 30 years ago protected President Ho Chi Minh at the risk of their lives and supported his revolutionary activities during his stay there. In Viet Nam's war of resistance against U.S. aggression, Pingmeng was one of the major channels through which large quantities of Chinese aid were funnelled into Viet Nam in support of its war effort. However, in the period since 1978 alone, the Vietnamese authorities have carried out more than 100 armed provocations in the Pingmeng area, occupied Chinese territory and brutally shot local inhabitants. People with any conscience at all would find it difficult to understand why you should so outrageously trample upon the profound friendship between the Vietnamese revolutionaries and the people of Pingmeng, a friendship cultivated personally by President Ho Chi Minh. Don't you in the least feel conscience-stricken when you are returning evil for good and betraying Sino-Vietnamese friendship? In wilful violation of the Sino-French Boundary Accords and the principles affirmed in the letters exchanged between the Chinese and Vietnamese Parties in 1957-58, the Vietnamese authorities upset the status quo on the border, intruding into and nibbling at Chinese territory. They built fortifications, laid mines, erected barbed-wire entanglements and planted sharpened bamboo spikes on Chinese soil. By these incursions and provocations, the Vietnamese authorities made it impossible for Chinese border inhabitants to carry on normal production and life, and caused serious losses to their lives and property, threatened and impaired border security and grossly infringed on China's territorial integrity and sovereignty.

It is no isolated accident that the Vietnamese authorities have provoked incidents and aggravated tension on the Sino-Vietnamese border. These actions are a component part of their all-out anti-China drive. For a long time after the

founding of the People's Republic of China and the independence of Viet Nam, our two countries were close and friendly neighbours. Sino-Vietnamese friendship was fostered personally by the late Chairman Mao Zedong and President Ho Chi Minh. The "comrades and brothers" relationship was acclaimed internationally. But after the end of Viet Nam's war of resistance against U.S. aggression, the Vietnamese authorities more and more evidently changed their policy towards China and instead pursued, step by step, a systematic policy of opposition and hostility to China with a set purpose. They proceeded from using the past to disparage the present to an all-out campaign to vilify China; from innuendo to brazenly referring to China as "the most immediate and dangerous enemy"; from expulsion of border inhabitants to an anti-Chinese drive throughout the country. From recognition of China's sovereignty over the Xisha and Nansha Islands, they switched to occupying some islands in China's Nansha group and even laying territorial claim to China's Xisha and Nansha Islands and claiming as their own two-thirds of the sea area in the Beibu Gulf. From territorial disputes over small areas, they advanced to armed incursions into Chinese territory and provoking armed clashes in the border areas. In short, their campaign of opposition and hostility to China kept escalating and get from bad to worse. Their bullying became simply intolerable.

China Exercises Restraint and Forbearance to the Utmost

In spite of all this, the Chinese side long exercised restraint and forbearance in the face of the Vietnamese practice of worsening Sino-Vietnamese relations and showed the utmost sincerity in safeguarding the friendly relations between China and Viet Nam and the traditional friendship between the two peoples. Through repeated advice, admonition and warnings, we expressed the hope that the Vietnamese side would set store by Sino-Vietnamese friendship and stop its armed provocations before it was too late. Meanwhile, our frontier troops and militiamen, acting on the orders of the Chinese Government, refrained from hitting back at the Vietnamese side so as to avoid armed clashes even when the Vietnamese side fired their guns and caused heavy casualties to the Chinese side. We have always held that to maintain and consolidate the friendship forged between the two peoples over long years of revolutionary struggle accords with the fundamental interests of our two countries and the common desire of our two

peoples. Though there are serious differences of principle between our two sides on a number of issues, this should not affect the friendly relations long existing between our two countries. The Chinese side never tried to impose its views and line on the Vietnamese side. Our leaders told Vietnamese leaders on several occasions that there was no intention on the Chinese side of asking anyone to concur with our views, and that there was no need to feel concern over the fact that the two sides differed on some issues. It was natural that you say things your way, and we say things our way, each side sticking to its own viewpoint. Sino-Vietnamese friendship could have been maintained and continued to develop if both sides had the genuine desire of upholding our friendship and solidarity and acted accordingly. It was with this desire that the Chinese leaders on many occasions in recent years talked sincerely and frankly with Vietnamese leaders and put forward many fair and reasonable proposals for improving Sino-Vietnamese relations and resolving disputes. Our late Premier Zhou Enlai exchanged views more than once with Vietnamese leaders. In September 1975 Vice-Premier Deng Xiaoping talked on this matter with Le Duan, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Viet Nam Workers' Party. In June 1977, during his meeting with Premier Pham Van Dong, Vice-Premier Li Xian-nian talked frankly on a number of important problems in our relations. Again, in November 1977, Chairman Hua Guofeng had a talk with General Secretary Le Duan and expressed the earnest hope that the two sides exchange views and make joint efforts to prevent problems existing between China and Viet Nam from continuing to impair our friendship. But regrettably, the Vietnamese side paid no heed at all to the expressions of sincere desire and positive proposals of the Chinese side and persisted in its old ways. The Vietnamese leaders avowed to the Chinese leaders that Viet Nam "will do nothing to harm the friendship between our two Parties and two countries or injure China," and asserted that "there is not much difference between Viet Nam and China on important issues." But actually the Vietnamese authorities kept intensifying their opposition and hostility to China, creating disputes, widening the differences and aggravating tension. In these circumstances, the Chinese side repeatedly made solemn representations over Vietnamese provocations and warned that they should stop before it was too late, for otherwise they would have to bear the responsibility for all the consequences. However, the Vietnamese side mistook China's

forbearance for a sign of weakness. Turning a deaf ear to China's well-meaning admonitions and warnings, it became more unscrupulous and continued to escalate its armed provocations and incursions. It was only when things became absolutely intolerable that Chinese frontier troops exercised their right to self-defence and made the necessary counterattack against the Vietnamese aggressors. How could it be helped when the Vietnamese authorities compelled us to do what we did not wish to? It must be noted that the responsibility for the all-round aggravation of Sino-Vietnamese relations in recent years and its rapid development into open armed conflict lies entirely with the Vietnamese side.

China's Self-Defensive Counterattack: A Just Action

China has always stood for the peaceful settlement of disputes between our two countries. And it was the Chinese Government that repeatedly proposed this round of negotiations and made efforts to bring it about. China's positive efforts to ensure peace and stability along the Sino-Vietnamese border and restore normal relations between the two countries have won the sympathy and support of all peace-loving and justice-upholding countries and people of the world. China is open and aboveboard in word as well as in deed. China's counterattack in self-defence was a just action, and it was a heavy blow to the hegemonist policies of aggression and expansion and helped to promote security and stability in the Asia-Pacific region.

The Vietnamese authorities are still obstinately pursuing a policy of anti-China hostility and deliberately keeping up tension along the Sino-Vietnamese border. Confounding right and wrong and calling black white, they slanderously label China's just action of counterattacking in self-defence an act of "aggression" and "expansion" aimed at "annexing Viet Nam," etc. These charges are all unfounded. Even after all Chinese frontier troops had completed their withdrawal to Chinese territory by March 16, the Vietnamese authorities still fabricated the lie that Chinese troops remained in a number of places on Vietnamese territory. But this lie is self-contradictory and full of loopholes. The Vietnamese authorities used this lie to set a precondition for the holding of Sino-Vietnamese negotiations, hoping in this way to delay the start of these negotiations. It was only after this lie had been exposed and was condemned by world opinion that they were compelled to give up this unreasonable precondition.

But you have turned again to this lie at the beginning of this round of negotiations to obstruct the negotiations. Your tactics are bound to make people doubt the sincerity of the Vietnamese side in respect of the negotiations. The Vietnamese authorities have even viciously made slanderous charges against the Chinese frontier troops and resorted to sensationalism at this negotiating table in concocting the so-called "crimes" committed by Chinese soldiers. These fabrications will not deceive the people of the world, but will only serve to point up the astonishingly base tricks played by the Vietnamese side.

China has always abided by the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence and opposed the hegemonist and imperialist policies of aggression and expansion. Currently engaged in a programme of socialist modernization, China needs a peaceful and tranquil border and a peaceful international environment. China struck back at the Vietnamese aggressors precisely because it wanted to ensure peace and tranquillity on its border, enable the Chinese people to live and work in peace and carry on the programme to modernize the socialist motherland. China does not want an inch of Vietnamese territory, nor is it stationing a single soldier on Vietnamese soil. China has lived up to its word, so what "aggression" and "expansion" is there to speak of? It is in the interest of both the Chinese and Vietnamese peoples to have a peaceful and tranquil border. China's effort to restore peace and tranquillity along the border is its contribution to the cause of upholding the traditional friendship between the two peoples. It is the Vietnamese authorities, and not China, who have committed aggression and expansion and betrayed Sino-Vietnamese friendship. Can you deny the facts which are more eloquent than rhetoric?

Worldwide Condemnation of Vietnamese Aggression and Expansion

Such unrestrained anti-China hostility on the part of the Vietnamese authorities stems from a spasmodic case of expansionist nationalism, and to realize this wild ambition they have tried to capitalize on the victory of the war against U.S. aggression. Meanwhile, serving as the "reliable outpost" of Soviet social-imperialism in Southeast Asia, they work in the interest of its southward drive, in order to gain its support for their anti-China action and expansion in Southeast Asia. At the last meeting, the Vietnamese side stated that "Viet Nam has not any reason or interest to provoke a tense

situation with its neighbour, the People's Republic of China." Actually, it is quite clear that, in the above, lie the "reason" and the "interest." The Vietnamese authorities pride themselves on the large quantities of captured U.S. arms and ammunition and on Soviet-supplied planes, tanks and artillery and claim to be the "third-ranking military power in the world" and "the strongest military power in Southeast Asia." Brandishing its might, Viet Nam has carried out aggression and expansion and done harm to its neighbouring countries. The Vietnamese authorities not only harbour the ambition to annex Chinese territory, but could not wait to set up their long-dreamed-of "Indochinese federation" as soon as the war ended and then to proceed to dominate the whole of Southeast Asia. Toward this aim, they first brought Laos under their complete control; and then at the end of 1978 they brazenly launched the massive armed aggression against Democratic Kampuchea and put it under their military occupation. They have met with strong international condemnation for these acts of aggression in gross violation of the principles guiding international relations and the Charter of the United Nations and infringing on the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of neighbouring countries. They are universally regarded as out-and-out aggressors and regional hegemonists. In the U.N. Security Council, overwhelming majority support was given first to the draft resolution sponsored by seven non-aligned countries calling for the withdrawal of foreign troops from Kampuchea and later to the one on the situation in Southeast Asia tabled by the five ASEAN countries, when these were submitted for the council's consideration. This fully shows that the Soviet Union and Viet Nam are very isolated and unpopular internationally because of their aggression and expansion.

Firmly adhering to the just stand of opposing imperialism and hegemonism, China resolutely supports the people of all countries, including Kampuchea and Laos, in their just struggles to defend national independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity and, working together with all peace-loving countries and people, plays its part in safeguarding peace, security and stability in Southeast Asia and the Asia-Pacific region. That is why China is regarded by the Vietnamese authorities as the primary obstacle in the way of their pursuance of a policy of regional hegemonism and as their "No. 1 enemy." They ally themselves with the Soviet Union to oppose China in an attempt to remove this obstacle so that they may freely

carry out aggression and expansion in Indochina and Southeast Asia and sabotage China's drive for socialist modernization. This attempt will of course prove futile.

All peace-loving countries and people strongly demand the withdrawal from Kampuchea of Vietnamese aggressor troops, who not only still hang on there, but have tried to step up their offensive against the patriotic Kampuchean army and people before the end of the dry season. The Vietnamese authorities brazenly assail the ASEAN countries by name for their just stand of calling for Viet Nam's withdrawal from Kampuchea, and even label "all calls for the withdrawal of foreign troops from Kampuchea" as "deceitful" and "cunning" propositions whose advocates are "devils, imperialists and reactionaries" and "opportunists." They even blame China as the source of all such "evils." What absurd logic! To curse China for calling on Viet Nam to pull its troops out of Kampuchea is the best proof that China stands on the same position as all the countries and people who love peace and uphold justice. Whereas the Vietnamese authorities' attempt to castigate one and all is sure proof that they pose themselves as the antagonist of the people of the world. Your anti-China position is unpopular, and your expansionist nationalism is already a target of public censure.

The Delegation Brings With It Chinese People's Friendship

After many long years of war, the Vietnamese people ought to have had a chance to rehabilitate and develop. They longed to reunite with members of their family, rebuild their homes, restore and develop their production and improve their living conditions. But after the end of the war, the Vietnamese authorities contravened this strong desire of the Vietnamese people. Relying on the support of Soviet social-imperialism, they practised militarism and expansionist nationalism and committed aggression against neighbouring countries. Of course they couldn't get popular support for this course of action, and so under these circumstances, they did not scruple to undermine Sino-Vietnamese friendship, perfidiously pushed the policy of opposition and hostility to China, so as to divert the attention of the Vietnamese people, put the country on a military footing and repress popular discontent. Now they look upon China not only as their "No. 1 enemy" but as a "traditional enemy." But no matter how hard they may try to incite hostile anti-China

feelings, no force on earth can obliterate the traditional friendship between the peoples of China and Viet Nam. The two peoples have been friends for many generations, and they will definitely continue to be friends from generation to generation.

To sum up, the Chinese Government Delegation has factually reviewed the problems existing in our relations in recent years, and particularly that of the armed border conflict, giving the true story and expounding its views. Facts show conclusively that the grave deterioration of Sino-Vietnamese relations is wholly the making of the Vietnamese authorities; it is the result of their pursuance of expansionist nationalism and a hostile anti-China policy with Soviet instigation and support. It has caused the Chinese Government and people great pain and sorrow.

The Chinese Government Delegation has come to Hanoi, bringing with it the friendship and sincere hopes of the Chinese people. As always, we will take a positive attitude and work for the normalization of our relations. At the same time, we feel it necessary to point out that the Vietnamese authorities have not only made slanderous charges against China at the very beginning of the negotiations, but have continued to mass troops along the Sino-Vietnamese border, bombard Chinese border areas and dispatch armed personnel and commandoes to carry out military provocation, killing, wounding and kidnapping Chinese border inhabitants, and they have instituted a general mobilization for war throughout the country. In the last few days, they have churned out a host of anti-China propaganda through the mass media to put pressure on the Chinese Government Delegation and even make personal attacks against its members. In what direction are the Vietnamese authorities trying to lead the negotiations? We cannot but call their attention in all seriousness to these developments. We hold that all this can only jeopardize progress in these negotiations. Yet both the Chinese and the Vietnamese peoples want their Government delegations to try hard and overcome difficulties so that the negotiations may yield good results. Therefore, we hope that the Vietnamese side will show good faith by deeds, remove all elements that hinder the smooth proceeding of the negotiations and create a favourable atmosphere. The Vietnamese authorities should set store by the traditional friendship and fundamental interests of the two peoples, abandon their policy of opposition and hostility to China, and discontinue their armed

incursions into China's border areas and creation of tension, so as to bring about conditions for restoring normal state relations, ensuring peace and tranquillity along the border and paving the way for the success of the negotiations.

We hold that, if these negotiations are to be productive and settle some real questions, our two sides should adopt a serious and earnest attitude and seek practical and basic solutions suited to the actual situation in the present relations between China and Viet Nam and directed at the root cause of the deterioration of our relations.

An 8-Point Proposal

With a view to upholding the traditional friendship between the Chinese and Vietnamese peoples, in the common interest of China and Viet Nam and of the two peoples, as well as for the furtherance of peace and stability in Indochina, Southeast Asia and the Asia-Pacific region, the Chinese Government Delegation, animated by the sincere desire to settle questions, puts forward the following proposal of principles for handling the relations between China and Viet Nam.

1. The two sides shall restore friendly and good-neighbourly relations between China and Viet Nam on the basis of 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. They shall seek a reasonable solution of the disputes and issues in the relations between the two countries through peaceful negotiations.

2. Neither side should seek hegemony in Indochina, Southeast Asia or any other part of the world, and each is opposed to efforts by any other country or group of countries to establish such hegemony.

Neither side shall station troops in other countries, and those already stationed abroad must be withdrawn to their own country. Neither side shall join any military blocs directed against the other, provide military bases to other countries, or use the territory and bases of other countries to threaten, subvert or commit armed aggression against the other side or against any other countries.

3. The two sides respect the Sino-Vietnamese boundary line as delimited in the Sino-French boundary accords which shall serve as the basis for a negotiated settlement of their

boundary and territorial disputes. Pending a settlement of the boundary question, each side shall strictly maintain the status quo of the boundary at the time when the Central Committees of the Chinese and Vietnamese Parties exchanged letters in 1957-58, and will not attempt to alter unilaterally and forcibly the actual extent of its jurisdiction along the border in any form or on any pretext.

4. Each side shall respect the other side's sovereignty over its twelve-nautical-mile territorial sea, and the two sides shall demarcate their respective economic zones and continental shelves in the Beibu Gulf and other sea areas in a fair and reasonable way in accordance with the relevant principles of present-day international law of the sea.

5. The Xisha and Nansha Islands have always been an inalienable part of China's territory. The Vietnamese side shall revert to its previous position of recognizing this fact and respect China's sovereignty over these two island groups and withdraw all its personnel from those islands in the Nansha group which it has occupied.

6. Nationals of one country residing in the other country shall respect the laws of that country and the ways and customs of the local people and shall endeavour to do their part for the economic and cultural development of that country. The Government of the country of residence shall guarantee their proper rights and interests in regard to residence, travel, making a living and employment and safeguard their personal safety and lawfully acquired properties in that country.

Each side shall treat all the nationals of the other side residing in its country in a friendly manner and must not persecute or illegally expel them.

7. In response to the legitimate wish for repatriation on the part of the Vietnamese citizens forcibly driven by the Vietnamese authorities into Chinese territory, the Vietnamese Government should receive them back into the country and resettle them in a proper manner as soon as possible. The Chinese Government is ready to facilitate their early return in every way.

8. The restoration of railway traffic, trade, civil aviation, postal and tele-communication services and other bilateral ties shall be dealt with by the departments concerned of the two countries through consultations.

The above eight-point proposal put forward by us consists of fundamental principles for improving relations between China and Viet Nam and for dealing with the relevant disputes. It is reasonable and practical, and it accords with the fundamental interests of the two peoples and meets with the wishes of the people of Southeast Asia and the world. If this proposal can be put into effect, it will remove the tension on the Sino-Vietnamese border, restore normal relations between the two countries, consolidate the traditional friendship between the two peoples and make a contribution to the maintenance of peace, security and stability in Indochina, Southeast Asia and the world.

The Question of Repatriating Captured Personnel

As to the repatriation of Chinese and Vietnamese personnel captured during the armed border conflict, the Chinese side for humanitarian reasons has released on the spot a large number of captured Vietnamese armed personnel in the course of our counterattack in self-defence. We hope that the two sides will repatriate captured personnel at an early date, and we suggest that this work be left specifically to the Red Cross societies of the two countries to handle through negotiations.

We have studied the "three-point proposal" for "the settlement of the issues in the relations between the two countries" put forward by the Vietnamese side at the first plenary meeting of the Sino-Vietnamese negotiations. It should be pointed out, however, that your proposal evades the crucial and substantive issues in the relations between the two countries, so how can it lead to a real solution? Additionally, we cannot help pointing out that while the Vietnamese authorities called in their proposal for both sides to stop all acts of war provocations and all forms of hostile activities, they have never ceased their armed provocations and incursions in the Sino-Vietnamese border areas in a deliberate attempt to maintain and increase tensions. In these days when you have submitted the "three-point proposal," you were all the time intensifying your anti-China propaganda and clamours for war, thus poisoning the atmosphere of these negotiations. Therefore, one cannot but wonder whether your "three-point proposal" was submitted for the sake of seeking a real solution or rather for propaganda purposes.

We hope the Vietnamese side will carefully consider the constructive proposal of the Chinese side and respond to it in a positive way.

Thank you.

Correct Approach for Solving Sino-Vietnamese Disputes

by "Renmin Ribao" Commentator

TWO meetings of the Sino-Vietnamese negotiations at the vice-foreign ministers' level were held in Hanoi between April 18 and 26.

People can now see from the negotiations what the correct approach to a peaceful solution of the Sino-Vietnamese issues should be.

Two Different Stances

Sino-Vietnamese relations did not deteriorate to their present state in one day, nor is China to blame for the situation. To solve the disputes and normalize the relations between the two countries, the necessary conditions must be created to enable the two sides to conduct discussions earnestly in a calm atmosphere.

It was in this spirit that the Chinese representative adopted a dispassionate and sincere attitude of presenting the facts and reasoning things out in his speech on April 18.

The Vietnamese representative, however, from the very beginning used the conference table as a platform for anti-China propaganda. By standing the matter on its head, he wantonly slandered and attacked China, deliberately poisoning the atmosphere of the talks.

Outside the conference, the Vietnamese authorities, apart from their diatribes against China in the press, have been engaging in arms expansion and war preparations and have committed armed provocations along the Sino-Vietnamese border by repeatedly firing at the Chinese side. They even sent armed vessels to intrude into China's territorial waters off the Xisha Islands and instructed their diplomatic envoys abroad to make anti-China propaganda.

The negotiations have just gotten under way, yet the Vietnamese authorities have already embarked on a well-co-ordinated campaign of provoking new disputes and creating obstacles both in and outside the conference. This naturally makes one doubt whether Hanoi

has the minimum good faith necessary for a peaceful solution to the Sino-Vietnamese issues.

Basic Principles and Specific Issues

The primary task of the Sino-Vietnamese negotiations is not only to settle certain specific issues in the relations between the two countries, but also to lay a solid foundation for the effective improvement of their relations by setting forth the fundamental principles to be followed by both countries in the light of the main trouble underlying the deteriorating relations.

An agreement on the fundamental principles would produce the guidelines by which the specific issues could be readily solved. Otherwise, the existing specific issues would remain and new problems would continue to crop up, leading to a further deterioration of Sino-Vietnamese relations. Therefore, earnest efforts should be made to reach an agreement on the fundamental principles in order to genuinely settle the disputes between the two countries, including a number of specific issues. This is the touchstone for seeing whether or not there is good faith for reviving the friendly and good-neighbourly relations between China and Viet Nam. It was in this spirit that the Head of the Chinese Delegation put forward at the second session of the Sino-Vietnamese negotiations on April 26 an eight-point proposal of principles for handling the relations between China and Viet Nam. The proposal first of all demands that the two sides abide by the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence and the principle of refraining from seeking hegemony. It gives full expression to the sincere desire of the Chinese side to restore normal relations with Viet Nam and safeguard the traditional friendship between the Chinese and Vietnamese peoples as well as peace and stability in Indochina and Southeast Asia.

The steady deterioration of Sino-Vietnamese relations and the disturbances in Indochina

and Southeast Asia in general have their roots in the Vietnamese authorities' flagrant violation of the universally recognized criteria governing international relations today, that is, 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, as well as the principle of opposing efforts to seek hegemony.

It is well-known that the Vietnamese authorities took an anti-China course years ago when the Chinese people were giving all-out support to Viet Nam in its war of resistance against U.S. aggression. No sooner had the war come to an end than Viet Nam perfidiously occupied a number of the Nansha Islands, which have been China's territory since ancient times, encroached upon Chinese territory across the border and even arbitrarily claimed two-thirds of the Beibu Gulf as Vietnamese waters.

The Vietnamese authorities have created incidents without parallel by driving more than 200,000 Chinese nationals and Vietnamese citizens to China and ruthlessly persecuting Chinese who remained in Viet Nam. In addition, they started a campaign to "purify the border areas" on a large scale, built many fortifications and massed troops along the Sino-Vietnamese border. They have committed thousands of armed incursions and provocations in Chinese border areas, killing inhabitants, destroying villages and disrupting production there. All this is an attempt to harass and undermine the Chinese people's cause for the four modernizations. Even now, they are carrying on general mobilization throughout the country and fanning up anti-China hysteria to create an atmosphere of war and intensify the tension, taking China as Viet Nam's "traditional enemy."

All this shows that the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence have no place in the minds of the Vietnamese authorities. Now, if they refuse to recognize and abide by these elementary principles governing international relations in the Sino-Vietnamese talks, how can Sino-Vietnamese relations be improved?

The Vietnamese authorities rabidly oppose China because China, which upholds the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence and perseveres in combating hegemonism, is a formidable obstacle to their pursuit of regional hegemonism.

Since the end of the war against U.S. aggression, the Vietnamese authorities have declared their country to be the world's third military power and have attempted to dominate Southeast Asia. In defiance of their people's aspirations for the rehabilitation of the national economy, they have gone out of their way to pursue their regional hegemonist policy of aggression and expansion by controlling Laos, invading Kampuchea and stepping up their efforts to rig up a "great Indochina federation." Their wild ambition to seek hegemony in Southeast Asia enjoys the blessing of Soviet social-imperialism. Ganging up with the Kremlin, they have converted their country into an "outpost" for Moscow's southward drive for aggression and expansion in Southeast Asia.

By hysterically opposing China, they hope to curry favour with the Soviet Union, mislead the people of Southeast Asia and thereby gloss over their own aggression and expansion in Indochina and Southeast Asia.

Now, China has proposed the principle that neither side should seek hegemony in Indochina, Southeast Asia or any other part of the world and each is opposed to efforts by any other country or group of countries to establish hegemony. If the Vietnamese authorities have the minimum good faith for improving relations with China by means of negotiation, they should agree to this Chinese proposal. Haven't they vociferously accused China of pursuing "expansionism" and "hegemonism"? Then let them join China in pledging not to seek hegemony.

An Analysis of Vietnamese Proposal

To whitewash their abominable attitude towards the negotiations, the Vietnamese side, while wantonly vilifying China, put forward the "Main Principles and Contents of a Settlement of the Problems Concerning the Relations Between the Two Countries." It boasted that the "settlement" it had outlined "corresponds with the present actual conditions." It not only would "satisfy the aspirations of the Vietnamese and Chinese people for the renewal of their traditional friendship," but would also "fulfil the hope of the people of Southeast Asia and the world for peace and stability." It sounds as if the troubles in Sino-Vietnamese relations would be pacified for ever and a millennium would dawn on Southeast Asia, once their "settlement" is put into effect.

(Continued on p. 28.)

Our Young Generation



China's young generation who grew up during the Cultural Revolution (1966-76) has lived through a decade of tortuous and complicated struggle. Most of them have come through with enhanced political consciousness and discernment, and steadily attained political maturity. Some had vacillated, stood wavering at the cross-roads, confused by fast changing realities. A small number of them had degenerated politically, and some had almost sunk to the bottom.

In the past two years or so after the fall of the "gang of four," those who had judged correctly have gone on forward. Those who had been vacillating and bewildered before have begun to wake up and are making haste to catch up. Those who had gone astray under the influence of the "gang of four" have to varying degrees realized their error and have begun to turn over a new leaf.

It takes time and hard work to eliminate the ideological influence of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and to make good the decade of loss they had caused. This is being done under the leadership of the Party Central Committee. People can already see that this generation is one that has been tempered, one that has not lost its orientation. This is a healthy generation, not a lost generation. The new Long March to bring about socialist modernization, a challenge facing millions upon millions of young people, call upon them to be the shock force in fulfilling this strenuous task.

Here are some reports of these young men and women, which we hope will give readers an idea of China's young generation. — Ed.

Young Workers Defy Death Sentence

Some young people were able to study and apply Marxism in observing society's complex struggles. They were able to discern the reactionary nature of Lin Biao and Jiang Qing quite early. Stepping forward to defend the truth, they withstood the severest trial.

IN March 1970, the judicial department of Ledu County in northwest Qinghai Province sentenced Zheng Enyuan to death and Wu Jibin to 15 years' imprisonment. These verdicts were submitted to the provincial department concerned for approval. Their "crime" was that they were against Lin Biao and Jiang Qing. These two young men had contracted between themselves that if one day they should be put before a firing squad, they would first shout, "Down with Lin Biao!" and then "Long live Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought!"

Their story began in 1966 when the Cultural Revolution started. They were then in their last year of the senior section in the middle school attached to Beijing University. Like all young people in China then, they were eager and excited and had unhesitatingly joined the raging, complicated struggle. The handbills with Lin Biao's speeches they read and the speeches of Jiang Qing they heard were all full of ultra-Left overtones. In the cities they visited they saw fighting and blood being spilled.

Questions crowded into Zheng Enyuan's mind: Is this the way to wage a cultural revolution? Is this the way to fight and prevent revisionism? Lin Biao is always saying, "One sentence of Chairman Mao's is worth ten thousand sentences," but why doesn't he carry out one sentence? He talked it over with Wu Jibin. Jiang Qing's "attack by reasoning and defend by force" incited hatred and fighting among the people. Lin Biao's "old cadres are democrats" led to overthrowing veteran cadres who are loyal to the revolution and had fought for decades all over the country together with Chair-

man Mao. What is going to happen to the Party and the state?

They wanted explanations and answers. They read works by Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Chairman Mao. They collected and studied the deluge of the leaflets and handbills which



Zheng Enyuan (right) and Wu Jibin (left).

people of various political inclinations put out. They watched the trends in society. Finally they came to the conclusion that Lin Biao was wrong. They decided that they could not allow Lin Biao and his henchmen to wilfully distort things.

At the end of October 1967, Zheng read in Beijing University some big-character posters criticizing Lin Biao and others counter-criticizing them. A revolutionary must always stand up for the truth. That very evening he took pen and paper and wrote down his charges against Lin Biao and Jiang Qing. In a 6,000-character letter he wrote at one sitting, he said: "In treating Chairman Mao's works as unalterable religious dogmas," Lin Biao actually "aims at toppling the red banner of Marxism-Leninism" so as to "build himself up." "What they are spreading is nothing but absolute betrayals of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. They are opportunists weakening and attacking our Party and state."

At that time, Lin Biao and his followers were still in power. If he mailed the letter he risked imprisonment and death. But, was there anything more important than to defend the Party and state from being wrecked? Zheng drew a Party flag with its sickle and hammer and signed it "Communist Fighting Group." Then he mailed the letter to Beijing University. He hoped that someday it would be made public. However, this letter for debate became a "counter-revolutionary letter" and was made a prime target of security investigations.

In March 1968, Zheng Enyuan and Wu Jibin became workers in a farm machinery plant in Qinghai Province. They spent their spare time studying Marxist works. They were convinced that it was possible for China with its 800 million people to catch up with the industrially advanced countries. But Lin Biao and his henchmen did nothing to help develop the economy. They indulged themselves in attacking veteran cadres and intellectuals, disrupting work and production. They were worse than the Soviet Union's Khrushchov.

They spoke up their minds. Because of this, at the end of 1969, they were thrown into solitary confinement and investigated. Zheng said fearlessly: "I oppose Lin Biao and Jiang Qing for the sake of defending the Party and Chairman Mao. I wrote a letter contesting them two years ago. Go and look it up."

Their frankness and forthrightness were taken as "evidence" of their crime. They were illegally arrested two months later. During the interrogations, Zheng challenged and refuted his interrogators.

"I only said what the people are thinking."

"How many think like you?"

"Our whole generation!"

The provincial department concerned did not approve the sentences of Ledu County and changed the verdicts to "labour reform under supervision in the plant."

Lin Biao fell with a crash in September 1971. Zheng Enyuan and Wu Jibin sent in an appeal. But Jiang Qing and her mobsters were still in power. The two young men were re-sentenced to 12 and 7 years imprisonment respectively on trumped-up charges. When they heard in jail in 1975 that Premier Zhou Enlai at the Fourth National People's Congress called for socialist modernization, they did their best to get books on science and technology to study so as to prepare themselves to take part in the country's modernization when they left jail.

Then in September last year, when the Party Central Committee's policy of setting things right was being implemented, Qinghai Province authorities reinvestigated their cases and decided to release them. That very evening when the decision was made, responsible comrades of the provincial security department went to the jail to release them. The next day, a leading member of the provincial Party committee met them and extended his solicitude. The Ledu County authorities called a mass

meeting to rescind their earlier charges and to rehabilitate them.

Tan Qilong, first secretary of the Qinghai provincial Party committee, praised these two young workers in his article entitled "Those With Truth Will Win."

A Plucky Young Woman

The "gang of four" hoped to ruin China's young generation by turning them into "illiterate, ignorant vandals." Many young people who were prepared to dedicate their lives to building up a socialist motherland refused to become "ignorant vandals." They studied by themselves, and despite extremely difficult conditions they have done marvellously. Here is an account of a young woman who is of the same age as New China.

HE Zuoma, a high energy physicist of Beijing, received a letter in November 1975 from Cao Nanwei who lived in Shanghai. He had never met or heard of this person. The letter raised two points concerning a theoretical paper he had written two months earlier. He was intrigued. His proposition was not easy to understand, yet this person not only understand, but queried points in his paper. The physicist was impressed by the writer's familiarity with elementary particle research, convincing logic and analytical ability. He knew all those in China of this calibre doing research on high energy physics, but this name was new to him. Who was the author of this letter? He wrote his friend Chen Nianyi, an associate research fellow of the Shanghai Institute of Metallurgy, to look up this person.

Chen wrote inviting Cao to his house to have a talk. The visitor came, and Chen was momentarily stunned. His visitor was a young woman, simply dressed, with two short pigtailed held by two rubber bands like a school girl's. However, she had with her several thick volumes and manuscripts. In the course of their talk, Chen Nianyi learnt that she was 27, and had only reached her first year senior middle school before her formal education ended. When she read an account about Chairman Mao's talk*

* In 1964, when theoretical physics Professor Shoichi Sakada of Japan was in China, he spoke about the application of material dialectics in elementary particle research. Chairman Mao, who concerned himself with the infinite divisibility of matter, met and had a talk with this professor.



Xiao Shaoping, a Chinese frontier guard who was awarded first-class merit in the self-defensive counterattack against the Vietnamese aggressors.

on elementary particles in 1964, she was so impressed that she would like to study high energy physics and investigate the microcosm. After the Cultural Revolution started in 1966, colleges stopped enrolling students for several years. In addition, she was daughter of a historical counter-revolutionary father and her health was poor. So she had to stay at home. This allowed her time to pursue her studies on high energy physics. A whole ten years passed.

She had to study all by herself. She had no one to turn to for guidance and help. What she could not understand, she would read over and over again. If she still did not, she would put it aside and come back to it later. She spent ten hours, sometimes more, each day, completing a university course for science. As research on elementary particles in China had only begun not many years ago, there were very few books in Chinese on this subject, so she spent some time finishing a university English course to enable her to read material in English.

She needed books, which neither she nor her family could afford. She could not even borrow foreign language technical books. She was forced to use a friend's card to borrow these books from the municipal library when libraries were reopened. After a few months, the library found out and she was not allowed to take books home. This did not stop Cao Nanwei. She managed to read them in the reading room. Every day from morning till late in the afternoon, she was in the room for foreign technical books. For lunch she carried with her two small loaves. By 1974, she had done more than a university theoretical physics course required. She had read many works in English and took

down voluminous notes too. As she also read journals and papers on theoretical physics published in the U.S.A., Italy and Japan, she knew more or less about developments abroad.

A rapid reading of the notes on quantum mechanics Cao Nanwei had written on the margins convinced Chen Nianyi that this young woman was a good scholar. He found that her ideas fitted in some aspects to his "chemical bond" model. Chen questioned her about some basic concepts of dialectics of nature and found her answers satisfactory.

Chen Nianyi had no reservations in recommending this diligent young woman to He Zuoma. Chen and He wanted to write a letter of recommendation to the leaders of the Chinese Academy of Sciences. However, they hesitated, because Cao's family background was not good. She was only five when her counter-revolutionary father was arrested. He could not have influenced her. But at that time, the "gang of four" was still riding high and Party's policies were not being implemented. They were positive that no research institute would enrol anybody with a family background like hers. So the letter of recommendation was never sent.

He Zuoma privately gave advice to this hard-working and promising scientist, although he knew the risk he was taking. Once when he was in Shanghai on official business, he managed to find time to have five talks with her in one week, each talk lasting some four hours. He Zuoma found that Cao's grasp of mathematics, knowledge of elementary particle physics and her ability to read in English qualified her to do research work in this field. In his letters to her, He Zuoma gave detailed and concrete guidance to Cao in her researches. He suggested two topics for her to do research on. He would have liked to do them himself but had no time. With his help, Cao wrote three papers within months, and one of them appeared in a scientific journal of the Chinese Academy of Sciences.

After the "gang of four" was overthrown in 1976, Cao's long-cherished wish to join a research institute was fulfilled. Party policies were once again being implemented and the Academy of Sciences resumed enrolment of postgraduates. Talented young people who were willing and eager to serve socialism were found and trained. Cao Nanwei came fifth in the national examinations for research students in high energy physics. Today this plucky young woman is a postgraduate student of the

Institute of High Energy Physics of the Chinese Academy of Sciences.

The Countryside—A Vast World for Developing Talent

Many promising educated youths have been coming to the fore in the countryside during the last decade or so. Our representative of this force, on which China relies for accomplishing its agricultural modernization, is Cheng Youzhi — a member of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Youth League. He said:

ALTHOUGH the Chinese peasants were emancipated by the nationwide liberation in 1949 and their livelihood has been guaranteed, they still have a relatively low standard of living and are not completely freed from toilsome labour. As I have long determined to work with them to change the backward situation in the countryside, I volunteered to be a peasant in the Wenquantun Production Brigade in Zhuolu County when I graduated in 1964 from



Zhu Chengman, a middle-school graduate in Qufu County, Shandong Province, feeding pigs.



Young members of a Gansu industrial research institute conducting experiments.

a senior middle school in Zhangjiakou city, Hebei Province.

In order to raise grain yields, the brigade set up a seed-breeding farm and I was made one of its technicians. I worked together with four other youths to figure out the laws governing the growth of crops. To observe every slight change in a crop shoot in a 24-hour period, sometimes I had to bring food with me and squat in the field for the duration. We started breeding a sorghum hybrid in 1969. To improve pollination, I selected over 100 paternal and maternal plants for different sowing periods and observed them in the field for over 100 consecutive days. Each time a new leaf sprouted, we recorded it and marked it. We succeeded in breeding a hybrid which pushed sorghum output up to 6,000 kilogrammes per hectare.

One-half of Wenquantun's acreage is planted with maize. Beginning in 1966, we have experimented with several thousand maize hybrids and introduced and popularized a dozen improved strains; output was doubled as a result. But because windstorms and hailstorms often reduced yields, we began cultivating short-stalked maize. In 1969 I surveyed a million

stalks of maize on 100 hectares and found a variant type of short-stalked maize. We selected its seeds and planted two stalks next year. To speed up the breeding of this strain, I went to south China's Hainan Island during every autumn-winter season from 1971 to 1975 to plant one or two crops. The seeds we bred in the north multiplied in the south and thus we turned out plants to be developed into a short-stalked maize strain.

During that period, I studied 12 agricultural college courses by myself and read dozens of relevant Chinese and foreign books. At the same time, I carried out more than 65,000 experiments on maize hybridization. In 1976 I succeeded in selecting and breeding a new strain that produced a maize plant whose stalk was only a metre high, about one metre less than the normal variety. Our small-scale experiments with this strain yielded 16.5 tons per hectare. Based on our own breeding experiments, I wrote "Some Questions on Improving the Self-Bred Line of Maize" and three other treatises. I also took part in compiling and writing two books — *Breeding Wheat Strains* and *Heredity and Breeding Strains of Maize* — published by the Chinese Science Publishing House. Last year I was elected to the council of the Chinese Genetics Society.

In the past few years, our seed-breeding farm has bred two dozen improved strains of rice paddy, millet, wheat, sorghum and maize. Since 1969 we have supplied all the seeds for our own production brigade as well as quantities of seeds to the county and the prefecture. In addition, we have sent improved seeds to many provinces and cities throughout the country. Wenquantun's grain output in 1977 was 3.76 times the 1965 total and the per hectare yield was 3.8 times higher.

In 1973, my application to join the Chinese Communist Party was approved. I was both overjoyed and honoured. That same year I was elected secretary of the brigade Party branch, and have been continually re-elected ever since. At present, we are carrying out our construction plan with determination. In the next five years we want to build our farmland into that producing high and stable yields, enlarge the acreage of our orchard, set up a huge vineyard growing high-quality grapes for export and build more houses for the commune members.

As time goes by, my affection for the countryside and its natural beauty grows.

Though I am also a vice-chairman of the scientific and technological commission of Zhangjiakou Prefecture, I devote most of my time to working in Wenquantun brigade which I love so much.

Back on Stage

Many young performers have experienced twists and turns. Now they are once more active on the stage.

YAN Guixiang was accepted by the Beijing Municipal Opera School in 1959 at the age of 11 to study traditional Beijing (Peking) opera which is popular in China. She made her debut the following year. At 14, she started to play leading roles in full-length operas. At 15, she was able to play star roles in traditional operas that require superior skill. As she was a promising student, she was given extra and rigid training.

But she never expected that Lin Biao and Jiang Qing would stretch their tentacles into the theatre. They banned all traditional operas in 1966, and for 10 long years, the so-called model revolutionary theatrical works dominated the stage. Large numbers of actors and actresses were persecuted, and Yan Guixiang was driven off the stage in 1966.

She was labelled "a youth sliding down the road to revisionism," just because she had been noticed and encouraged by Peng Zhen, mayor of Beijing before the Cultural Revolution. She therefore left the capital and went to remote villages with other players who shared her fate to perform for country people. As long as she could act for the people she was willing to endure hardships, sleep in stables or sheds, or walk barefooted on narrow paths. But not long after, she was assigned to do manual labour on a forest farm in a mountainous area.

Later when the Beijing Opera Theatre of the capital staged the *Azalea Mountain* (one of the model revolutionary theatrical works), they were looking for an understudy for the leading role of Ke Xiang. Though Yan was chosen for the part and went back to Beijing, she was not given a chance to go on stage. Rather she was just allowed to tour the countryside and sing opera arias (without makeup and acting) or to coach singers in other places. She was greatly troubled.

She never gave up practising her daily vocal lessons and other basic training even when

she was working in the mountainous area. She believed that one day she would go back to the stage, because the Party needed those who were willing to devote all their talent to the cause of socialism. But when her painstaking efforts came to no avail and she was not allowed to perform on the stage despite her obvious ability, she decided to make a try for the China Opera Theatre (modern opera theatre). She passed the examination. There would be a chance for her to perform on the stage. Yet she was very reluctant to give up Beijing opera. Did this mean that she would spend her whole life like this?

No! When Lin Biao and the "gang of four" were eventually overthrown by the Party and the people, she returned to the stage along with countless other players with similar experiences. Coached by Zhang Junqiu and Zhao Yanxia, noted veteran artists, she once again assumed leading roles in the traditional Beijing operas.

No longer depressed, she is more confident and mature than ever. She is fully aware of the heavy responsibility of the younger generation — to inherit the art of Beijing opera from the older generation and to raise it to a higher plane. She said: "We should make up the loss brought about by the 'gang of four,' and learn earnestly from the older generation. The traditional operas should be improved and modern operas should be developed. I will work hard for the prosperity of Beijing opera."



Giving a young worker an exam at a Hubei chemical fertilizer plant.



Minority students of the Tibet College of Agriculture and Animal Husbandry.

Don't Give Up on Yourself

In the last couple of years heartwarming changes have taken place in many of the young people who were badly influenced by the "gang of four." Ji Xianglin, a 33-year-old worker in Beijing, told about himself.

I WAS born into a poor family in Beijing. It wasn't until after liberation that my father secured a job as a worker in a lumber mill. I had a carefree happy childhood. I did the best I could at school, though my grades were only so-so. In 1967, I became a machine cleaner at the No. 3 Cotton Mill. I was quite interested in my work to start with, and I often went to work earlier than others. As an apprentice I learnt earnestly from my master and quickly picked up the required skills.

But my new job soon lost its appeal as I began to take a liking to the anarchist ideas pushed by the "gang of four." Newspapers at that time were praising those young people with "horns on the head and thorns growing out of the sides," a phrase used by the gang for those daring to "rebel" and go against the leadership. I thought these people were the most "revolutionary." I adored them and before long I found myself copying them.

I talked back every time a leader in my workshop or group criticized me for breaking labour discipline or for not complying with operational procedures. Once, when I was an hour late for work, my group leader pointed it out very patiently. But instead of accepting

his criticism, I kept being late for five days in a row and missed a day without permission. I was delighted to see how helpless I made the leadership. Some veteran workers tried to prevail upon me, but I gave them a brow-beating.

When the "gang of four" slandered the rational regulations and rules as a "revisionist means of controlling, curbing and suppressing the workers," their words rang true to me. So, instead of working according to prescribed procedures, I worked haphazardly, calling it a "free-style cleaning method." It would take me 40 minutes to do work which others took two hours to finish.

To make matters worse, I often quit work earlier and hung around on the streets. I quarrelled a lot with my fellow workers. This earned me the nickname "Sheep Head" — some one who was ready to thrust his horns into anyone who came into sight. I took pride in the way people despised me.

In 1976, the "gang of four" was toppled. In the movement to expose and criticize the gang's crimes, I came to understand that this bunch of careerists wrought catastrophic damage and that if they had had their way, our Party and country would have been ruined. I began to realize the infamous things I had done. But what could I do about it? Now that I had become so notorious in my factory, I thought, my situation was hopeless.

Soon afterwards Secretary Gong of a general Party branch in our mill came to work in my workshop. To my surprise he didn't scold me for having opposed him and the other leaders. Nor did he lecture me with a lot of high-faluting principles. Instead, he befriended me. We often had cordial talks and as time went by I found him to be a candid man who didn't hold my past against me. Once, seeing that I was demoralized he told me: "It is the 'gang of four' that is to blame for all your mistakes. You are merely their victim. Think about this and turn over a new leaf."

He had really hit the nail on the head. I had been very muddle-headed to be taken in by the "gang of four." Now that I had seen things clearly I should change my behaviour as soon as possible. I began talking at the various meetings held in the mill, telling people how I was fooled by the gang and expressing my determination to correct my mistakes.

I found my fellow workers no longer looked down on me. For well over a year now I have



Ji Xianglin cleaning a machine.

never been late to work, and I'm putting everything I have into my job. People used to complain about my work, saying that instead of cleaning the machines I was actually making them worse. Now they all praise me for the good job I'm doing.

I'm now the leader of a cleaners' group. Workers now rate our work high. To improve our skills, we have been attending weekly training classes in the past six months. I'm also teaching young workers who are in their apprenticeship. I'm both busy and happy now. Though I'm 33 I feel as if my youth has just begun.

From Embezzler to College Student

Does China have juvenile delinquents? Yes. But thanks to the joint efforts of the government, schools and other concerned parties, many young delinquents have turned over a new leaf. In Beijing alone, the number of criminal offences has dropped to its lowest level in the last dozen years.

The experience of Liu Min, a former worker at the experimental workshop of the Beijing Organic Chemical Plant, is an example.

TWENTY-FIVE-YEAR-OLD Liu Min was beside himself with joy. Within a span of a few months, he had become a Communist Youth League member, a model worker in his plant, and then a student at the No. 1 College affiliated

to Qinghua University. Who could imagine that four years ago, Liu Min had been convicted of embezzlement and robbery and given a two-year suspended sentence?

How had Liu Min degenerated into a criminal and how did he change and become useful to society?

In his childhood, Liu Min had aspired to be an engineer like his father. He did well in school and was commended as a fine pupil on several occasions.

Then came the Great Cultural Revolution. Like many other intellectuals, his father, who worked at the Ministry of Coal Industry, was persecuted by Lin Biao and the "gang of four." He and his wife were sent far away to do physical labour and were only allowed to return once a year to see their three children, who lived all by themselves.

Liu Min became a worker at a chemical plant at the age of 16. He learnt his skills diligently and was willing to do whatever work was assigned him. But before long, he heard some people criticizing him for being "concerned only about technology and indifferent to politics." Reminded of the way his father had been treated, he felt his cherished hope to be an engineer sinking fast. Disillusioned, he soon found himself in the midst of a group of trouble-makers, who encouraged him to smoke and drink and who talked to him about money, women and what not. Liu Min began to degenerate in no time.

Once, one of his "friends" came to borrow money from him. Unable to refuse, he lent him a sum from his fellow workers' collective savings deposits that were in his keeping. Several months passed, but his "friend" showed no indication of returning the money. Liu Min began to fear that he might be guilty of milking collective funds. When he was completely at a loss, that same hooligan encouraged him to steal a bicycle. He did. Then he learnt from him how to block a road and rob pedestrians. Liu Min thus became a criminal.

His father rushed back to Beijing after his long letters urging his son to live honestly fell on deaf ears. His son was more influenced by his "friends" than his father. In tears, this old intellectual made Liu Min give himself up to the public security bureau. It was only then that Liu Min listened to his father. He was treated leniently because of his sincere guilty plea and was given a two-year suspended sentence.

SPECIAL FEATURE

After the trial Liu Min's spirits plummeted. "Well, I'm done for," he told himself. "I'll never be able to look people in the eye again."

But his fellow workers did not disdain him as he had anticipated. A meeting was held by the workshop's Party branch to discuss whether there was any hope for Liu Min. The consensus of opinions was that every possible effort should be made to bring him around and a special group was set up to help him.

To Liu Min's surprise, he was admitted to the workshop's innovation group. Seeing this as an opportunity to turn over a new leaf, he made up his mind to do something useful to atone for his crime.

He quickly changed for the better. Once, he discovered a wristwatch on a bus and shouted out, "Whose watch is this?" The owner thanked him profusely, filling his heart with warmth.

(Continued from p. 19.)

Is the Vietnamese "settlement" really a most effective remedy? Of course not. Their "settlement" evades the major issues of principle leading to the disputes between China and Viet Nam, and, therefore, it cannot improve Sino-Vietnamese relations fundamentally, nor can it promote peace and stability from the foundations in Indochina, Southeast Asia and the Asia-Pacific region.

The Vietnamese three-point "settlement" includes the specific proposal that the armed forces of each side withdraw three to five kilometres from the border. This gives the false impression to those who don't have a clear idea of the actual situation that Hanoi really wants to come to a settlement. But people should recall that in early February 1978, after they had suffered reverses in their armed invasion of Democratic Kampuchea, the Vietnamese authorities did the same when they put forward a three-point proposal for the settlement of Vietnamese-Kampuchean relations, the first point being that "the armed forces of each side should be stationed within its own territory five kilometres from the border." Not long after this, when they had everything ready, they perfidiously ordered more than 100,000 aggressor troops to cross the border and overrun Democratic Kampuchea. This is a lesson. If one is duped by the seemingly equitable "specific" proposal which the Vietnamese authorities are good at trotting out and fails to settle the

In two years, Liu Min did 40 days of overtime work and forestalled three major accidents. In 1976, during the serious earthquake that hit the Tangshan area, he switched off all the air-compressors, motors and vapour valves and was the last to leave the workshop. In the plant's campaign to improve the quality of products, he was commended as a model worker.

In view of the fact that Liu Min was earnestly mending his ways, the people's court in February 1977 removed his sentence.

Liu Min studied avidly during his time off. In less than a year he finished the middle school courses for mathematics, physics and chemistry. Encouraged by the leadership he applied to take the college entrance examinations. He successfully passed the examinations and was enrolled into the college, thus taking the first solid step towards the realization of his wish to become an engineer.

fundamental issues of principle in the bilateral relations, then someday one may suffer from an even greater danger in these relations.

It is clear that the Vietnamese three-point "settlement" is merely a device to hoodwink the world and dodge the blame for undermining the talks. It shows the absence of good faith on the part of the Vietnamese side in the negotiations.

The Chinese eight-point proposal of principles for handling Sino-Vietnamese relations conforms to the criteria governing international relations and the aim and principles of the United Nations Charter. It is entirely reasonable and represents the only correct approach for solving the Sino-Vietnamese issues. It provides a solid foundation for solving these issues and handling Sino-Vietnamese relations. It conforms to the common aspirations and fundamental interests of the Chinese and Vietnamese peoples and to the interest of peace and security in Southeast Asia and the world. It is our hope that the Vietnamese authorities will seriously consider this constructive proposal of the Chinese side. We also hope that the Vietnamese authorities will put an end at once to all acts of opposing and antagonizing China, aggravating tension and creating an atmosphere of war, so that the Sino-Vietnamese negotiations may proceed in a wholesome atmosphere.

(April 28. Subheads are ours.)

RHODESIA

Bogus Election

The sham parliamentary election engineered by the racist Rhodesian regime ended on April 21. A leader of the Zimbabwe Patriotic Front pointed out that this bogus election was "a change of heads—a black head being substituted for a white one but with the body still the same—the same armed forces, the same civil service, the same judiciary and the same economic structure."

During the election, the Rhodesian authorities despatched some 100,000 soldiers and policemen, in addition to temporarily conscripting reserve police, to about 700 polling booths in Rhodesia to "supervise" the balloting. Despite this, more than one-third of the eligible voters boycotted the bogus election. On April 17, nearly 1,000 black students at the University of Rhodesia, holding placards inscribed "phony, bogus election," demonstrated on the campus against the "election."

The Zimbabwean guerrillas have intensified their armed struggle. On April 18, they attacked Makai, south of Salisbury and on the eve of the election, they attacked five polling places and destroyed one oil depot in Victoria.

Since February of 1978 when the racist ringleader Smith unilaterally declared that an agreement on "internal settlement" had been reached and a "transitional government" was to be formed without the participation of the Zimbabwe Patriotic Front, condemnation and calls for sanctions against the racist regime have been louder. With

the energetic support of African countries and the extensive solidarity of the world's people, the Zimbabwean people's armed struggle for independence has been developing daily and guerrillas are active in the countryside. As a result, Ian Smith's reactionary troops are compelled to stay in the towns, in white farming areas and along main communication lines. In order to save its tottering rule, the utterly isolated Smith regime attempted to make the illegal "election" serve as a "legal" cloak for its rule.

However, the "election" conducted under the bayonet point of the racist regime can neither be recognized by the Zimbabwean people, nor can it escape the strong condemnation of the African people and world public opinion. It can only show that Smith and his ilk will not give up their colonial interests in Zimbabwe and their rule over the people. This will only lead to a more resolute struggle of the Zimbabwean people.

ISRAEL

New Provocations

Recently the Israeli Zionists again bombed and shelled villages and Palestinian camps in southern Lebanon, inflicting casualties and heavy material losses. These new Israeli provocations against the people of Lebanon and Palestine, and the entire Arab people, have been roundly condemned by world public opinion.

Meanwhile, on April 18 Saad Haddad, a former major in the Lebanese army who now heads a 1,500-strong militia force, proclaimed a "free and independent state of Lebanon" in southern

Lebanon. This action was instigated and supported by the Israeli aggressors.

Last year, when Israel was compelled to withdraw from southern Lebanon after launching a large-scale invasion and occupying some 700 square kilometres of Lebanese territory south of the Litani River, it turned over a strip of land 5 to 12 kilometres wide and some 110 kilometres long, which abuts Israel, to Haddad and supplied him with large quantities of arms and equipment, including 18 tanks, to attack Palestinian guerrillas. These actions clearly indicate that the areas controlled by Haddad are in fact an Israeli "protectorate."

When the Lebanese Government announced it would smash this separationist action and arrest Haddad for high treason, Israel stepped up its attacks on southern Lebanon in order to support Haddad, pressure the Lebanese Government and threaten and intimidate the people of Palestine and other Arab countries.

The reason why Israel dares to treat a sovereign country in such a way is that it is instigated by and has the overt and covert support of the two superpowers who need Israel's activities in the Middle East to achieve their individual designs for hegemony over the region. Southern Lebanon is now the only "confrontation front" where there is an active Arab-Israeli military conflict. Israel's attacks on southern Lebanon and its dismemberment of that nation will only rouse the greater wrath of the Arab people and the people of Palestine, and will result in even heavier blows to Israel.

Vietnamese Invasion of Kampuchea Denounced

"Vanguard," Organ of the Communist Party of Australia (Marxist-Leninist). "Attempts to pass this aggression off as some kind of liberation of Kampuchea fool no one. It is plain naked aggression. It is a time-honoured imperialist trick to try to pass such aggression off as 'salvation,' 'liberation.' In the wanton Soviet aggression against Czechoslovakia in 1968, the Soviet rulers said that their troops were 'invited' into Czechoslovakia. So the Vietnamese authorities set up a handful of traitors to Kampuchea who 'liberated' the country. Reality is that they are attempting to put the country under the fascist jackboot of Viet Nam and its Soviet master."

"Out of the bad thing has come the further exposure of the real nature of Soviet social-

imperialism and its Vietnamese puppet." ("Invasion of Kampuchea!")

"Unidad," Organ of the Marxist-Leninist Communist Party of Honduras. "It is expected that the Kampuchean people's war of resistance for national liberation will be protracted and arduous. But the outcome will undoubtedly be the expulsion of the foreign invaders from their territory, the re-establishment of the revolutionary regime, and the confirmation of the sovereignty and independence of Kampuchea."

(Edmundo Campos: "Invasion of Kampuchea and Resistance of the Kampuchean people")

"The Call," Organ of the Communist Party (M-L) of the United States. The Communist Party (M-L) of the United States, the Red Line of the Dominican "June 14" Revolutionary Movement and the Pro-

letarian Banner of the Dominican Republic have resolved:

"To condemn wholeheartedly the Government of Viet Nam and the Soviet social-imperialists for the brutal invasion launched against the nation and people of Democratic Kampuchea and to demand the immediate withdrawal of the Vietnamese occupation army from the territory of Kampuchea.

"To call on all the Marxist-Leninist Parties and organizations, all revolutionaries and anti-imperialists and all those forces who love independence, sovereignty and liberty to arise in a broad movement of militant solidarity with the heroic resistance of the Kampuchean people against the aggressors. This campaign must be inseparable from repudiation and condemnation of Soviet social-imperialism for its role of number one instigator of this aggression."

U.S.A.

Nuclear Power Plant Accident

The radiation leak at the Three Mile Island nuclear power plant near Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, on March 28 greatly disturbed the United States and caused strong reactions in other countries.

It was reported that the plant had been shut down six times during its experimental working stage before it was formally commissioned to begin operation on December 30, 1978. However, it was hastily put into full operation before the question of safety had been solved, causing the recent accident.

The accident sparked large-scale rallies and demonstrations in many cities protesting the

use of nuclear power plants without safety guarantees.

Demonstrations also took place in major cities in Sweden, West Germany and Switzerland. Opposition parties in some countries called for a reappraisal of nuclear power policies. In some countries, voices were heard from the ranks of the ruling political parties for a general reappraisal of their nuclear power programmes.

On April 1, U.S. President Carter inspected the crippled Three Mile Island plant and promised a thorough inquiry into the accident. Thanks to efforts made during the crisis, a major immediate catastrophe was averted. But the amount of radioactive iodine released is already above the federally stipulated level. If it continues

to grow, it will cause environmental pollution.

This is not the first nuclear power plant accident in the United States. The U.S. Nuclear Regulatory Commission has announced that there were already 2,835 such accidents in the United States last year.

Despite the Three Mile Island accident, the U.S. Government is not going to make any fundamental changes in its nuclear energy programme. President Carter has said that there is no way for the United States to abandon its nuclear energy if it wants to reduce its heavy dependence on Middle East oil.

CORRECTION: In our issue No. 14 this year, the first sentence of the fifth paragraph in the left column on page 30 should read "Two regular flights for tourists... are being arranged by the Civil Aviation Administration of China (CAAC)."

● *An Old Miner*

Yang Dezhong is a model worker who worked in a tin mine in Hunan Province, south China, before he retired in September 1963. In his retirement he has done a lot of work serving the people in another way which has won wide respect.

He was a victim of silicosis, brought on by prolonged inhalation of silicate dusts working underground in the days before liberation. He was retired and given a pension in 1963 and sent to a miners' sanatorium for treatment. But, Yang is a member of the Communist Party and could not retire from serving the people. After a spell in the sanatorium, he felt better and decided to go home.

He knew something about medicinal herbs and their uses, things his father had taught him in his youth. He began using his knowledge of herbs to treat wives and children of workers who fell sick. He bought medicines and instruments with his pension and miner's sick benefit payments. He also used every opportunity to study Western and traditional Chinese medicine.

Many benefited by his care. He called on the sick at their homes when he was called and charged nothing for his services. Cases he was not sure of, he would refer them on to clinics or hospitals. In time, this old miner and model worker has become a well-known "doctor" locally.

In 1972, with the support of the mine's leadership and with

the help of several dependents of workers, Yang Dezhong set up a small health clinic. He gave up one of his own rooms to serve as a "ward" and a "hostel." Patients from far away who came to visit him stayed there overnight when they could not make the trip back home before night fell. Later, a building was put up for the health clinic and he began turning the plot of waste land at the back into a medicinal herb garden.

Recently, when Yang Dezhong went for his health check, doctors at the sanatorium found that his condition had reached the terminal stage. The doctors advised Yang to stay in the sanatorium for care and treatment. But a month later, Yang grew restless and asked for a discharge. The doctors were forced to tell him the facts. But Yang answered: "I must leave all the more. My time is limited. I've work to do for the revolution."

The doctors finally gave in to his pleading and allowed him to return to his health clinic so that he can continue to serve the people in his remaining days.

● *Wolframite Mine*

China is already one of the biggest tungsten exporters in the world and the discovery of a large wolframite (mineral consisting of a tungstate of iron and manganese) deposit in the Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region, south China, opens up the prospect for larger exports. It has reserves of 118,000 tons and an average tenor grade of

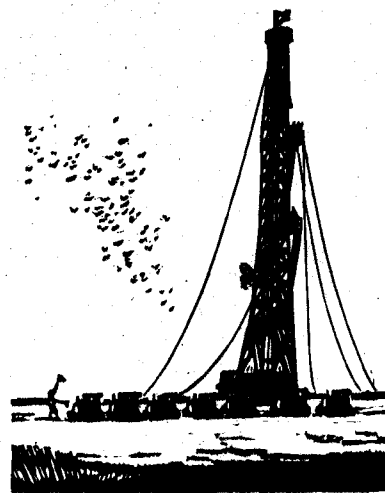
1.36 per cent. Development and exploitation of this deposit is being given high priority.

Construction of an ore-dressing plant capable of handling 2,000 tons every day is in progress and geologists are still prospecting in the area.

News Briefs

Vinyon Fibre Mill. A vinyon fibre mill producing 10,000 tons each of polyvinyl alcohol and vinyl alcohol staple fibre a year was completed and commissioned in Hunan Province. This is the fifth vinyon fibre mill set up in China since 1975. The others are in Fujian, Jiangxi, Anhui and Hebei Provinces.

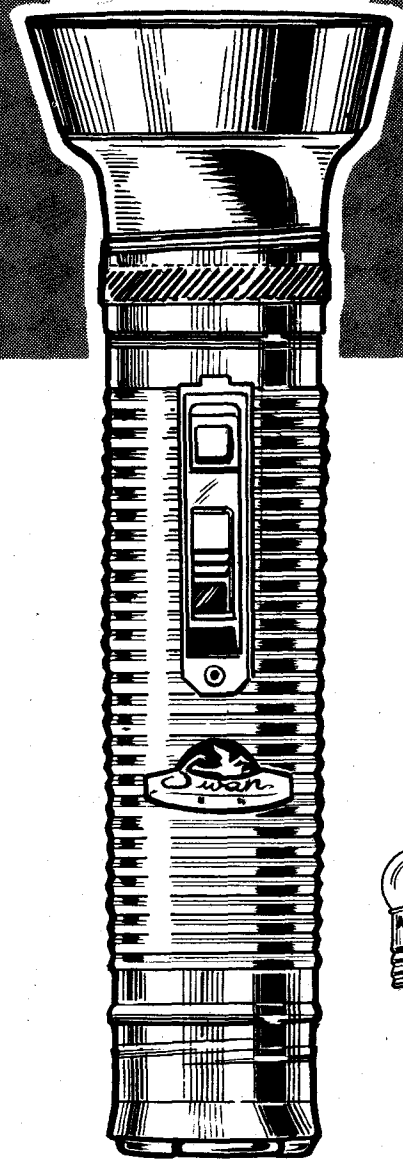
Cold Storage For Marine Products. A 10,000-ton cold storage for marine products has been built at the Shenjiamen fishing port in the Zhoushan Islands, Zhejiang Province, east China. It is one of China's major projects and has a floor space of 30,000 square metres. Its main cold storage can hold 5,200 tons of marine products.



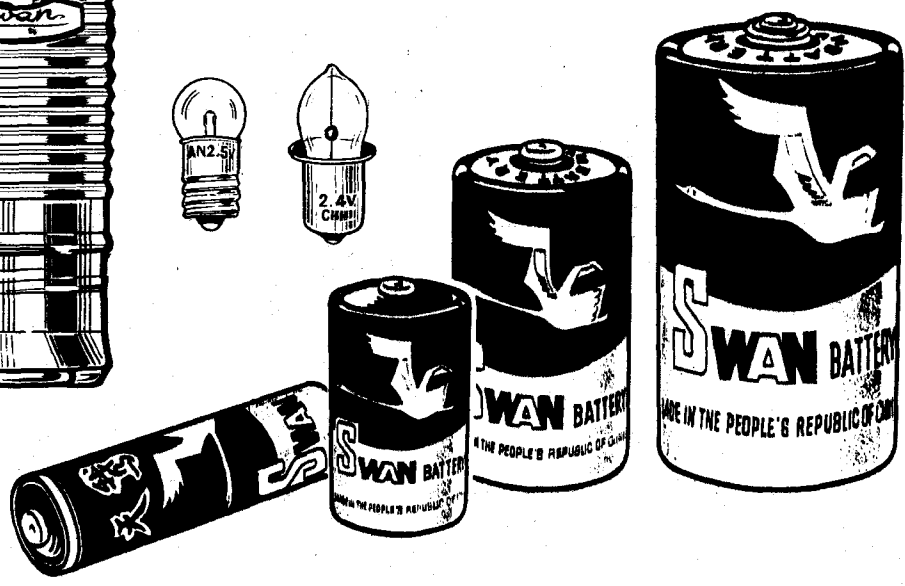
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