

BEIJING REVIEW



Premier Hua
Reports on the
Work of the
Government

●
C.P.P.C.C.
Chairman
Deng Xiaoping
On United Front

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CHRONICLE

June 12

• The first meeting of the joint committee on high energy physics of China and the United States was held in Beijing. The Chinese side said that China will build a 50 beV (billion electron volts) alternate gradient proton synchrotron by relying primarily on China's own efforts, absorbing advanced technique and experience from other countries including the United States where needed. The American side was pleased with this Chinese position, and will try its best to provide technical information and other help. Vice-Premier Deng Xiaoping had received members of the American side the day before.

June 14

• Vice-Premier Kang Shien returned to Beijing after visiting Brazil and the United States. During his stopover in Tokyo he called on the Japanese Foreign Minister and the Minister of Finance.

June 15

• Vice-Premier Geng Biao returned to Beijing after visiting Sweden, Norway, Finland and Iceland.

• The Chinese Foreign Ministry in a note to the Lao Embassy in China exposed the Lao authorities' imposition of a limit to the size of the Chinese Embassy staff as aiming to flagrantly impair relations between China and Laos.

• The First World Cup Badminton Championships closed in Hangzhou, east China. The Chinese men's and women's teams were champions and the Thai men's and women's teams were runners-up.

• The Second Session of the Fifth National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference opened in Beijing. Chairman Deng Xiaoping of the C.P.P.C.C. National Committee addressed the opening session.

June 16

• The Chinese Foreign Ministry issued a statement calling for international action to make the Vietnamese authorities stop creating and exporting refugees.

June 18

• The Second Session of the Fifth National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China opened in Beijing. Ye Jianying, Chairman of the N.P.C. Standing Committee, addressed the opening session and Premier Hua Guofeng made a report on the work of the government.



National People's Congress Opens

How should we readjust the national economy so as to successfully carry out socialist modernization? How should we strengthen socialist democracy and the socialist legal system? These are the main topics on the agenda to be discussed and resolved at the Second Session of the Fifth National People's Congress which opened on June 18 at the Great Hall of the People in Beijing.

Items on the agenda of the session include: hear and examine a report on the work of the government by Premier Hua Guofeng, examine and approve the 1979 national economic plan, the final accounts of the state for 1978 and the 1979 state budget submitted by the State Council as well as explanations of several draft laws by the Committee for the Legal System Under the N.P.C. Standing Committee.

The session will also enact the organizational law of the local people's congresses and local people's governments at various levels, the electoral law of the National People's Congress and local people's congresses at various levels, the organizational law of the people's courts, the organizational law of the people's procuratorates, the criminal law, the criminal procedure law and the law governing joint Chinese and foreign stock enterprises.

The session will, in addition, examine the reports on the work of the N.P.C. Standing Committee, the Supreme People's Court and the Supreme People's Procuratorate, and will elect additional vice-chairmen of the N.P.C. Standing Committee and decide on the appointment of additional vice-premiers of the State Council.

The National People's Congress is the highest organ of state power in China. As stipu-

lated in the Constitution adopted in 1978, it meets once every year. The First Session of the Fifth National People's Congress was held in March last year.

According to a report by the Credentials Committee, 30 of the 3,497 deputies to the Fifth National People's Congress died during the intervening period between the first and second sessions. One deputy was recalled by Anhui Province in view of the fact that he had been found guilty of violating the law and discipline and taking retaliatory measures against other people. The municipality of Beijing has elected 5 additional deputies to the congress. Thus the number of deputies is now 3,471.

In his opening speech Chairman Ye Jianying of the N.P.C. Standing Committee called on the deputies to "say all they know and say it without reserve," to give full scope to democracy and make criticisms and suggestions on the work of the state in all fields. He said: "The fundamental guarantee for doing the work of government and the state well and effectively promoting China's socialist modernization lies in giving full scope to democracy, pooling correct ideas from the masses and arousing the enthusiasm of wide sections of the people." Chairman Ye stressed the need for an improved legal system which will effectively guarantee the people's democratic rights provided for by the Constitution. The tasks entrusted to the current session, he added, were heavy and we must, without fail, conduct it in a way so as to achieve



N.P.C. Standing Committee Chairman Ye Jianying declares session open.

results to the satisfaction of the people.

On the first day of the session, Premier Hua, entrusted by the State Council, delivered a report on the work of the government. The report is divided into four parts: (1) A Historic Change; (2) Win the First Battle for the Four Modernizations; (3) Strengthen Socialist Democracy and the Socialist Legal System; (4) Oppose Hegemonism, Safeguard World Peace. (For highlights of the report see p. 9.)

A Grand Gathering of the United Front

The Second Session of the Fifth National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (C.P.P.C.C.) opened on June 15 in Beijing's Great Hall of the People.

The C.P.P.C.C. is a revolutionary united front organization under the leadership of the Communist Party of China. The current session will further rally the people of all nationalities in the country, the various democratic parties, people's organizations, patriots of all walks of life, compatriots from Taiwan, Xianggang (Hongkong) and Aomen (Macao) and overseas Chinese to work hard for the realization of socialist modernization.

Deng Xiaoping, Chairman of the C.P.P.C.C. National Committee, delivered the opening speech. He explained that fundamental changes have taken place with regard to the classes in Chinese society in the past 30 years (for full text of the speech see p. 14).

Of its 2,015 committee members, 1,734 attended the opening session, the biggest ever and the one with the broadest representation since the C.P.P.C.C. was founded 30 years ago. Of the 110 new members many are newly rehabilitated veteran revolutionary cadres, members of the democratic parties, intellectuals and other patriots who were persecuted by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," and some are returned overseas Chinese who love the motherland. All this shows that the people of all nationalities and from all walks of life in the country are more united on a broader basis and the Party's united front is more consolidated and more extensive than ever before.

Ulanhu, Vice-Chairman of the C.P.P.C.C. National Committee, presided over the opening session and Vice-Chairman Xu Deheng gave a report on the work of the Standing Committee of the Fifth C.P.P.C.C. National Committee.

Xu Deheng declared that in its future work the C.P.P.C.C. should strive to achieve the following:

- First, develop the political situation characterized by stability and unity and create the proper conditions for modernization;

- Second, give full scope to socialist democracy, pool the wisdom and experience of the masses and bring into play their enthusiasm for the accomplishment of the four modernizations;

- Third, implement Chairman Mao's policy of "long-term coexistence and mutual supervision" between the Commun-

ist Party and the democratic parties and, with the Constitution as the common criterion, let the people of all walks of life freely air their views and make criticisms and suggestions on the work of the Party and the state;

- Fourth, make full use of all resources to serve modernization so that the talent of every individual can be turned to account;

- Fifth, strengthen ideological education so that the people's thinking and work will meet the requirements of the developing situation.

Vice-Chairman Xu said that the "Message to Compatriots in Taiwan" issued by the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress (see *Beijing Review* issue No. 1, 1979) represents China's position and principle on the settlement of the Taiwan issue. He added that hopes are placed on the 17 million people in Taiwan and, at the same time, on the Taiwan authorities. He said that work will be strengthened in the future to unite personages of all walks of life in Taiwan and contacts and intercourse with compatriots on that island will be increased. People in Taiwan are welcome to return to the mainland to visit their relatives and friends or on sightseeing tours.

Vice-Chairman Xu noted that the majority of our fellow-countrymen in Xianggang and Aomen and overseas Chinese love their motherland, and many of them have specialized knowledge and broad social contacts. Efforts should be made to bring their initiative into play and import advanced technology and equipment and scientific know-how to serve

the country's four modernizations.

In international affairs, Vice-Chairman Xu went on to say, China firmly supports the revolutionary struggles of all oppressed people and nations. China will strengthen its unity with the people of the socialist countries and of the whole world, expand the international united front against hegemonism so as to put off the outbreak of a new world war and safeguard world peace, thereby obtaining a peaceful international environment for China's socialist modernization.

Speed Up Development of Minority Nationalities

In the nation's drive for modernization, vigorous efforts must be made to help the minority nationalities speed up their economic and cultural development so that they will catch up with or approach the level attained by the Han people.

This was the view of the first enlarged conference of members of the State Nationalities Affairs Commission held in Tianjin from May 22 to June 7. The conference discussed in detail the tasks concerning the minority peoples during the period of socialist modernization.

The population of the minority nationalities in China comprises only 6 per cent of the total, but the area they inhabit is about 50 to 60 per cent of the country's total area and is rich in natural resources. Since the bulk of China's grasslands and forests and many kinds of minerals are in those regions, their active support and participation is indispensable to socialist modernization. The minority peoples,

too, urgently need modernization to overcome their backwardness left over from history.

To help solve this question, the central authorities and departments concerned have taken a series of measures which include:

1) A special leading body has been set up jointly by the State Capital Construction Commission, State Economic Commission, State Nationalities Affairs Commission and other departments to direct the work of cultural and economic construction in the areas inhabited by the minority peoples;

2) State investments for capital construction and subsidies will be increased by a big margin for these areas. More motor vehicles, tractors, rolled steel and other materials will be allocated to them;

3) The various provinces and municipalities will give whatever manpower, material or technical support that is needed;

4) Educational departments will make special efforts to train more cadres and technicians in various fields from among the minority peoples.

The conference urged Party and government organizations at all levels to pay attention to construction in the regions where the minority peoples live, respect their rights to equality and autonomy, and conscientiously implement the Party's policies towards minority nationalities.

There are 55 minority nationalities in China. In pre-liberation days, some two dozen nationalities with a population of over 10 million people retained the feudal-landlord economic

system. Other nationalities including the Tibetans and Dais with a population of about 4 million lived under feudal serfdom. In Sichuan Province's Liangshan Mountains one million Yis remained under the slave system; while among a dozen or so other minority peoples, totalling some 700,000, there were even remnants of the primitive commune.

Following liberation, these nationalities have, with the help of the state and the Han people, leaped forward to the socialist system. However, they still lag behind economically and culturally.

The conference also discussed the work among minority peoples who live in scattered places or among other nationalities. These are mainly the Hui, Manchu, Mongolian, Korean, Miao, Yao, She and Tujia peoples, with a combined population of 10 million. The conference reiterated that their national characteristics and economic benefits must be given the same kind of consideration as those of other nationalities living in compact communities, and that their rights to equality and their customs and religious beliefs must be respected and protected by law.

The State Nationalities Affairs Commission was re-established at the beginning of 1978. The commission now has 73 members; the present membership is bigger and more nationalities are represented than previously. Its minister is Yang Jingren (Hui nationality).

Jinuo — China's New Minority Nationality

The State Council recently recognized the Jinuo people as

one of China's minority nationalities, thereby bringing the number of minority nationalities in the country to 55 (see issue No. 6, special feature on China's minority peoples).

Numbering over 10,000, the Jinuo people live in a compact community in the Jinuo Luohe People's Commune of Jinghong County in the Xishuangbanna Dai Autonomous Prefecture in southwest China's Yunnan Province.

In the past two years, Chinese ethnological specialists and workers went to where the Jinuo people live to make investigations and study. The result showed that they have their own language and special characteristics in economy, culture and social customs and common psychology, all of which qualify them as a nationality. Their national traits include:

— They have their own language, but no script. Their spoken language has developed from the Tibetan-Burmese language branch of the Han-Tibetan language family, and it is uniform within the nationality with no dialectal differences;

— Before liberation, the Jinuos engaged mainly in agriculture, besides picking wild fruits and hunting. Using the slash-and-burn method, they grew only xerophytic crops;

— Their social formation before liberation was in the agricultural stage, which was in the period of transition from the late primitive society to class society;

— Jinuo men usually wear white collarless jackets, while women wear red-laced, black short skirts.



The Jinuo people spraying insecticides in the fields. The slash-and-burn cultivation method gives way to scientific farming.

— Monogamy is practised and marriage between people bearing the same surname is forbidden. When people die, they are buried deep underground in coffins hollowed from tree trunks, with no mound over the graves.

Located in a subtropical mountain area, the Jinuo Luohe Commune is rich in resources. Since the 17th century, the Jinuo mountain area has been one of the nation's six renowned producers of *pu-er* tea.

Combating Prerogatives

Leading cadres seeking prerogatives is a stumbling-block on the road to socialist modernization. Measures should be taken to combat it. This has been stressed in a number of articles and readers' letters published recently in the newspapers. By prerogatives they mean leading cadres taking advantage of their position and power to pursue self-interest.

With the founding of New China in 1949, our Party took over the reins of government. This change in the Party's status gave rise to the desire to seek prerogatives among some leading cadres inside the Party. Gradually they discarded the fine tradition of sharing weal and woe with the labouring people, a tradition established over the long years of revolutionary wars. In the early post-liberation period Comrade Mao Zedong cautioned all Party members: "We must watch out lest we foster the bureaucratic style of work and grow into an aristocratic stratum divorced from the people." Following this, the Party adopted a series of measures to check this tendency.

When Lin Biao and the "gang of four" could do what they pleased, many of our Party's leading organs were paralysed, Party discipline inspection commissions at vari-

ous levels were dissolved and the Party's fine traditions were trodden underfoot. In those years, much was said about "restricting bourgeois rights" and "narrowing the differences," but the tendency to seek prerogatives among some leading cadres spread as never before.

In the last two years, the Party Central Committee has issued instructions on several occasions against seeking privileges, and those who ignored with serious consequences were censured by the press or punished according to Party discipline and state law. The situation has now begun to take a turn for the better, but much still remains to be done as is evidenced by the following:

—Some leading cadres have used their position and power to secure well-paid, cosy jobs and comfortable dwelling places for their children, get them into the colleges and universities or promote them to higher positions, and obtain for them other special benefits. The scandal in which the son of a responsible cadre in Shanxi Province got enrolled in Beijing University by deceitful means is an example. When the case was brought to light in *Renmin Ribao* not long ago, it touched off a wave of indignation among the public. This boy now has been expelled from the university.

—Some cadres have violated relevant financial rules and regulations and embezzled state funds for personal comforts, such as building posh residences for their own use. In a letter to the press, a worker of a theatrical troupe in Yichang,

Hubei Province, said that his troupe had often performed exclusively for a few leading cadres of the local authorities. Once, the troupe had to stop performing for the public and start anew for some of these cadres after the spectators were driven away. This of course evoked strong resentment from the masses.

Many readers pointed out in their letters to the press that since numerous difficulties had to be overcome to ensure the early accomplishment of socialist modernization, the leading cadres should share weal and woe with the masses. If the leading cadres were to persist in seeking personal gains, how could they win the support of the masses and how could the masses be aroused to play their part in the four modernizations?

"Seeking prerogatives," said *Renmin Ribao* in a commentary, "is incompatible with the nature of our Party. It corrodes our Party's fine style of work and destroys its close ties with the masses. It is a virus that will bring about a change in the nature of our Party and state and is a major obstacle to the accomplishment of socialist modernization."

Public opinion has suggested some preventive measures. These include:

—Re-educate the cadres in the Party's fine traditions and goals of struggle and eradicate the influence of the feudal idea of seeking prerogatives long prevalent in Chinese society;

—Revise and make amendments to the rules and stipulations concerning the material needs and allowances for the

leading cadres. It is necessary and understandable to grant leading cadres some preferential treatment. But certain stipulations which are not appropriate should be amended in the spirit that cadres should share weal and woe with the masses;

—Encourage Party members and the masses to exercise supervision over leading cadres at various levels. Party organizations and Party discipline inspection commissions should support and protect those who dare to expose and criticize privilege-seekers;

—Due punishment should be meted out to sycophants who aid and abet their superiors in violating Party discipline.

Training Managerial Cadres in Rotation

Ninety-eight directors from big and medium-sized cotton, woollen, knitwear, printing and dyeing mills across China are now taking three-month courses in management at the Shanghai Textile Institute. The courses are socialist political economy and enterprise management, the latter including planning, quality control, technological and labour as well as financial and cost management, and control of materials. Cadres and engineers of the Shanghai Jiafeng Cotton Mill, a nationally known advanced unit, are giving lectures on special subjects, such as the role of a factory director, the duties of the chief engineer and the chief accountant. There are also lectures on the computer technology used in Japanese and U.S. textile mills.

The training programme is one of the measures adopted by the Ministry of Textile Industry for modernizing all the factories under its administration. To raise the cadres' scientific and technological level and their proficiency in management, the State Economic Commission has recently decided to train in rotation leading cadres in all the enterprises in the country in the next three years. In the first two years, training will be given to Party committee secretaries, directors, chief engineers, deputy directors in charge of production in the big and medium-sized enterprises as well as leading cadres of administrative departments in industry and transport.

Over the past 30 years since its founding, New China has laid a good industrial foundation and accumulated rich experience in enterprise management, an example of which is the Daqing Oilfield. But Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and their followers branded the rules and regulations of management which had proved effective over a long period as "revisionist." Moreover, they attacked and overthrew many experienced veteran cadres, engineers and technicians. The result was anarchism became rampant and many of China's enterprises were in a state of chaos. In order to modernize China's industry today, a pressing task at present is to summarize the advanced experience gained in the past 30 years, improve and raise the level of enterprise management, particularly the level of the leading cadres.

Apart from full-time training, the programme includes on-the-spot training and spare-

time courses. In addition, some people will be sent abroad to learn the advanced technology and management of foreign countries.

How Far Will the Lao Authorities Go?

The Foreign Ministry of Laos on June 1 addressed a note to the Embassy of the People's Republic of China in Laos, demanding that the Chinese Embassy should reduce its staff to twelve persons not later than the end of June, and that the twelve should not include a military attache or any other military personnel. The reasons given for this demand were, as the Lao authorities put it, the present state of relations between the two countries and the size of the Lao Embassy staff in China.

Shen Ping, Director of the Asian Department of the Chinese Foreign Ministry, on June 15 met by appointment with Thavone Sichaleun, Lao Ambassador to China, and told him that this was yet another discriminatory measure against China and represented a new grave step taken by the Lao authorities to exacerbate the relations between the two countries. For this, the Chinese Government expressed deep regret.

Dancing to the tune of Moscow and Hanoi, some members of the Lao authorities are sliding farther and farther down the anti-China road. In July 1978, they arbitrarily demanded that China close the M. Sai office of the representative of the economic counsellor of the Chinese Embassy. Then in less than a year, they unilaterally stopped the highway

project undertaken with Chinese aid, forced the Chinese experts invited by them to work in Laos to leave the country, forced the Vientiane office of the Xinhua News Agency to close and expelled the Chinese correspondents. On orders from Moscow and Hanoi, they have time and again spread the lie that China "has occupied Lao territory" and "is threatening Laos," all in an attempt to stir up anti-China sentiments.

However, it is none other than the Soviet and Vietnamese hegemonists who are really threatening the independence, sovereignty and national survival of Laos. And, as a result of control and plunder by these hegemonists, the Lao people are leading a miserable life and 200,000 of its 3 million people have fled the country as refugees.

The Chinese Government and people have always set great store by the friendship between the two countries and peoples. China has exercised great restraint in responding to the anti-China moves undertaken by some of those in power in Laos. But how far will they go? They should realize that it is most dangerous and harmful and also against the Lao people's aspirations and interests to toe the anti-China line of the big and small hegemonists.



Premier Hua Reports on the Work of The Government



Following are highlights of Premier Hua Guofeng's report on the work of the government at the Second Session of the Fifth National People's Congress on June 18. Full text will be published in our journal. — Ed.

On Political Situation in China

Premier Hua Guofeng said that the 15 months since the First Session of the Fifth National People's Congress had been 15 months of united struggle, dynamic endeavour and outstanding achievements. He made this statement while discussing the excellent political situation in China in his report.

He stressed that unity among the people had been enhanced and broadened and that socialist democracy was being practised and the socialist legal system was being improved.

Democratic centralism and the mass line as the style of work in state organs at all levels and in grass-roots organizations were being revived and carried forward, he added.

In many respects, he said, an unprecedented, new spirit had emerged in the democratic life of the state and in the emancipation of the people's minds and this new spirit was spreading.

He enumerated the achievements on the political and ideological front as:

— The Chinese people, led by the Chinese Communist Party, had conducted conscientious investigations into the factional set-up of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," crushing the bulk of this counter-revolutionary political force which had wrought havoc for ten years and brought the nation untold misery;

— Thanks to organizational readjustment in the Party, government and army, leadership was now largely in the hands of cadres who enjoyed the trust of the people;

— The counter-revolutionary line of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" had been subjected to deep-going criticism in all fields;

— The nationwide discussion on the criterion for truth had emancipated the minds of the cadres and the masses alike, breaking the mental shackles imposed on them by Lin Biao and the gang, reviving and carrying forward the style of study long advocated by Comrade Mao Zedong, namely, the style of seeking truth from facts, proceeding from reality and integrating theory with practice;

— Numerous cases of people being framed or unjustly and wrongly charged by Lin Biao and the gang had been redressed;

— A series of major political issues of right and wrong which had arisen during the Cultural Revolution had in the main been clarified;

— The government had taken measures to implement policies which had been seriously sabotaged by Lin Biao and the gang, policies concerning the cadres, the intellectuals, the nationalities, religion, overseas Chinese affairs, the former industrialists and businessmen, and the former Kuomintang personnel who came over to the people's side;

— The work of removing the label of the Rightists had been completed, and most of those who had been wrongly labelled had been rehabilitated; and



N.P.C. delegates applaud when the Party and state leaders mount the rostrum.

— Work was under way to change the status of those landlords and rich peasants who had long been engaged in labour and had abided by the law over the years.

“Thus,” Premier Hua stated, “we have eliminated the root cause of unending political turmoil and splits, and the lively political situation of stability and unity which the people have long yearned for is becoming a reality.”

On Domestic Economic Situation

China has not had such a good and flourishing economic situation as a whole in the past ten years and more, Premier Hua Guofeng said.

To show this, he listed statistics for 15 undertakings including industrial and agricultural production in his report.

— Total grain output in 1978 reached 304,750,000 tons, an increase of 22 million tons or 7.8 per cent over the previous year; and per capita grain output surpassed the highest level of the past;

— The gross value of industrial output in 1978 registered an increase of 13.5 per cent over 1977, and in 1977 an increase of 14.3 per cent over 1976;

In the last two years:

— Steel output went up from 20,460,000 tons to 31,780,000 tons, an increase of 55.3 per cent;

— The output of coal, from 483 million tons to 618 million tons, an increase of 28 per cent;

— Crude oil, from 87 million tons to 104 million tons, an increase of 19.5 per cent;

— Electricity, from 203,000 million kwh to 256,000 million kwh, an increase of 26 per cent;

— Chemical fertilizer (estimated according to effectiveness), from 5,240,000 tons to 8,690,000 tons, an increase of 66 per cent;

— Chemical fibres, from 146,000 tons to 285,000 tons, an increase of 95 per cent;

— The volume of rail freight, from 820 million tons to 1,070 million tons, an increase of 30.5 per cent;

— The total volume of retail sales increased by 16 per cent;

— The total volume of imports and exports increased by 53.7 per cent;

— National revenue increased by 44.4 per cent;

— Average income of the peasants across the nation, derived from collective undertakings, increased by 17.7 per cent;

— 60 per cent of the country's workers and staff had their wages raised to varying extents; and

— In 1978, housing for workers and staff built and already rented out covered a total area of over 37 million square metres, an increase of 33 per cent over the previous year.

Positive results had been achieved in the last two years in importing up-to-date technologies and making use of foreign funds, Premier Hua said.

The Premier said that there were still quite a few difficulties and many problems in the work waiting to be solved, but since the smashing of the "gang of four," China had certainly achieved much in rehabilitating and expanding its economy. This was obvious to all.

On Readjustment of China's Economy

China should make efforts in three years beginning this year to readjust, reconstruct, consolidate and improve the national economy in order to bring it step by step into the orbit of sustained, proportionate and high-speed development, Premier Hua Guofeng stated.

Through the three years of readjustment, he said, China should be able to expand its agriculture, light and heavy industries and various other branches of industry in a harmonious way and maintain a rational proportion between accumulation and consumption, and to achieve the following major targets:

— To achieve a fair relationship between the growth of grain and other agricultural and sideline production on the one hand and population growth and development of industry on the other.

— To make light industry and the textile industry grow in pace with or slightly faster than heavy industry; to increase the output of the major light and textile industry products as domestic purchasing power rises; and to increase exports considerably.

— To improve the current situation of lacks in fuel and power and transport and communications by increasing production and practising economy. While increasing production, the metallurgical, machine-building, chemical and other heavy industrial departments should put emphasis on turning out better quality products and greater variety.

— To make determined efforts to curtail capital construction, improve the quality of projects, reduce costs and shorten the building cycle.

— To continue increasing the average income of all peasants from collective undertakings and the average earnings of all factory and office workers as production grows.

Premier Hua said that the policy of readjustment, reconstruction, consolidation and improvement of the national economy was a positive one that would ensure a steady development of China's modernization programme.

Economic recovery in the past two years and more had far exceeded expectation, he said. But, he added, the grave consequences of the ten-year sabotage by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" could not be eliminated in a short period of time. "We had not taken this into full account and some of the measures we adopted were not prudent enough," he said.

The development of China's agriculture, light, textile, coal, petroleum and power industries, and transport and communications services still lagged behind what was required, the Premier said. There was imbalance in many respects within and among industrial departments. In capital construction, far too many projects were being undertaken all at the same time, and there were obvious shortcomings in the management of the economy and enterprises.

Premier Hua said that the three-year policy was the first battle for the four modernizations. With this battle won, he went on, China would have rather favourable conditions to ensure a steady, proportionate and high-speed development of the national economy.

It was necessary, he said, to continue implementing the set policy of actively importing up-to-date technologies and making use of foreign funds while carrying out the policy of readjustment, reconstruction, consolidation and improvement.

Both in the three-year period of economic readjustment and in future years, China would take energetic steps to develop foreign trade, expand economic co-operation and technical exchanges with other countries and adopt various reasonable practices now being used internationally to absorb foreign funds. This was a firm and important policy of the Chinese Government, he said.

On Strengthening Socialist Democracy and Legal System

Premier Hua Guofeng said that socialist democracy meant the entire people enjoying

the supreme power of running the country on the basis of their rights to the various forms of ownership and disposal of the means of production. He said this when discussing the strengthening of socialist democracy and the socialist legal system in his report.

"This is an unshakable political principle of the socialist system," he declared.

It was impossible to achieve the four modernizations in China without a high degree of political democracy, without the pooling of the wisdom and efforts of the masses on the basis of such democracy, and without a high degree of necessary centralization on this basis, the Premier stated.

Only with full democracy could the people emancipate their minds and, as masters of their country, display responsibility, initiative and creativeness, have the drive to study and solve the problems in the various fields of the national economy, put forward all kinds of creative proposals and make inventions and discoveries, he added.

Only thus could the people criticize and supervise leading bodies and leading cadres so as to overcome bureaucracy and conservatism, expose in time political degenerates, grafters and embezzlers, counter-revolutionaries and criminals and consolidate the socialist cause and the socialist state, he said.

Since political democracy was essential to the four modernizations, Premier Hua said, it was a long-term principle, which the government and cadres at all levels should unswervingly follow, to steadily expand and foster democracy and strengthen democratic centralism while developing production and raising the standard of the people's material and cultural life.

As far as government work was concerned, Premier Hua said, to expand and foster democracy meant above all that the responsible cadres at various levels must have a real understanding that the people were the masters of the country while they themselves were merely public servants.

Governments at all levels must attach great importance to raising the status of the minority nationalities, women and youth and to the strengthening of democracy in the administra-

tive departments, enterprises and establishments, the Premier stressed.

Leading members should be elected by the masses not only in the rural people's communes, but gradually at the grass-roots in enterprises and establishments such as factories, mines and stores, he said.

Premier Hua Guofeng noted that governments at all levels should, in the course of promoting socialist democracy, do educational work among the cadres and the masses so that they would correctly understand and handle the relationships between democracy and dictatorship, democracy and centralism, and freedom and discipline.

Within the ranks of the people, he said, it was essential to implement the "principle of three nots," i.e., not picking on people for their faults, not putting labels on people and not using the big stick, and forbid the practice of repression and persecution against people who voiced different opinions. Effective measures should be adopted to remove the obstacle of bureaucracy.

Premier Hua called for steadfastly defending centralized and unified leadership by the People's Government, safeguarding the policies and decrees embodying the will of the people, upholding the authority of the leaders and managers executing the people's will and preserving the order in which work, production and the life of the people were organized. He also emphasized the need to continue the resolute struggle against the pernicious influence of the anarchic trend of thought incited by the "gang of four."

Premier Hua Guofeng in his report stressed the importance of improving the socialist legal system as quickly as possible.

On World Situation

Viewed as a whole, the world situation in the past year has been characterized by greater turbulence and tension. The factors for war have continued to grow, said Premier Hua.

Social-imperialism had become more adventuristic, he noted. Militarily it had been steadily increasing its offensive force in Europe; in Africa, the Middle East, the Gulf

area and South Asia, it had resorted to such means as infiltration, subversion and even incitement of armed invasion and military coups; and it had also quickened the pace of its expansion in the Asian-Pacific region. The aggressive and expansionist pursuits of the greater and the lesser hegemonists in Indochina were part and parcel of the global strategy of social-imperialism in its bid for world supremacy. They had made the area one of the hot spots in the current tense international situation. Social-imperialism was the main source of tension in the current world situation, he said.

Premier Hua said that in this turbulent world, the people of all countries were waging struggles against hegemonism under different circumstances and in various forms, and had made positive contributions to the containment of hegemonist aggression and expansion and the defence of world peace. There had been new developments in the struggle of the people of the third world against imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism and for political independence, economic and social progress and world peace. The broad-based non-aligned movement was playing a significant role in international affairs as an important force in opposing imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism.

He pointed out that it was the common hope and pressing demand of the people of all countries to safeguard world peace against a war of aggression. The agreements reached in the SALT talks could in no way check the arms race, much less provide a fundamental solution to the question of safeguarding peace. Only by giving the people accurate information on the danger of war so as to heighten their vigilance and prepare them to repel aggressors, adopting effective measures and concrete steps to upset unceasingly the war schemers' plans of expansion, and opposing the policy of appeasement and taking tit-for-tat actions against the aggressors whenever necessary could the forces of war be effectively checked. He expressed confidence that it was possible to put off the outbreak of war, provided the people of the world over strengthened their unity and co-ordinated their efforts.

Premier Hua said that China had all along pursued a policy of peace in foreign affairs and had been making unswerving efforts to safeguard world peace, develop friendly co-operation between the people of all countries and promote the cause of human progress. China's socialist modernization needed a prolonged peaceful international environment. The progress China had made in expanding its foreign relations, Premier Hua said, had had a positive effect on international developments. It had contributed to the people's cause of opposing hegemonism and of preserving world peace, and it had created favourable international conditions for socialist modernization in China, he said.

On Sino-Soviet Negotiations

Prospects for Sino-Soviet negotiations depend on whether the Soviet Government makes a substantive change in its position, Premier Hua Guofeng said.

He noted that while declaring that after its expiry China would not extend the Sino-Soviet Treaty of Friendship, Alliance and Mutual Assistance which had long ceased to exist except in name, the Chinese Government put forward the proposal to hold negotiations to solve the outstanding problems and improve the relations between the two countries, and this once again made clear China's principled stand. The Soviet Government had now agreed to hold negotiations and even expressed its willingness to include the anti-hegemonist principle in the negotiations. But, he queried, did this change the essence of the matter? Whether one was genuinely against hegemonism could be judged only by one's deeds. No ambiguity could be tolerated on this major issue of principle.

The Chinese people had all along cherished friendly sentiments for the people of the Soviet Union, Premier Hua said. It was common knowledge who had caused the deterioration in Sino-Soviet relations and whence came the threat along China's borders. The Soviet leaders knew very well that the damaged relations between the two countries could be restored to normal by deeds and not by any amount of words, he said.

Opening Speech at the Second Session of The C.P.P.C.C. Fifth National Committee

**Deng Xiaoping, Chairman of the National
Committee of the C.P.P.C.C.**

Fundamental changes have taken place with regard to the classes in Chinese society over the past 30 years. China's revolutionary united front has entered a new period of historical development. It has become a broad alliance of socialist workers and patriots supporting socialism, led by the working class and based on the worker-peasant alliance.

Committee Members, Comrades:

The Second Session of the Fifth National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference is now in session.

This session of ours is convened after the C.P.C. Central Committee's decision to shift the focus of the work of our Party and state on to socialist modernization. The goal of this session is to further mobilize and unite the people of various nationalities and all patriotic forces in our country so as to promote the development of socialist modernization.

This year is the 30th anniversary of the founding of the great People's Republic of China and the 30th anniversary of the founding of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference. China has now entered a new historical period in which the central task is to bring about the four modernizations. Our revolutionary united front has also entered a new period of historical development.

During the past 30 years, fundamental changes have taken place with regard to the classes in Chinese society. The position of our nation's working class has been strengthened greatly and the peasants of China have been collectivized peasants for more than 20 years. The worker-peasant alliance will be further consolidated and developed on the new basis of socialist modernization. Chinese intellectuals, including the overwhelming majority of those elderly ones who experienced the old society, have become a sector of the working class and



are consciously working hard for the cause of socialism.

Through democratic reform and socialist transformation, the various fraternal nationalities in our country have long taken the socialist road one after another and have developed a new type of socialist national relationship marked by unity, fraternity, mutual assistance and co-operation. Patriots of different nationalities and religious beliefs have made considerable progress. In the course of bringing about the four modernizations, the socialist identity of the various nationalities will further grow and the great unity between the different nationalities will become more consolidated.

The means of production formerly owned by the capitalist class in our country were turned over to the state long ago and the payment of fixed interest* ended a full 13 years ago. The

* The payment of a fixed interest is a form of redemption policy adopted by the state towards the means of production owned by the former national capitalists, that is, the capitalists received a fixed annual interest which generally amounts to 5 per cent of their total capital. It was in force between 1956 and September 1966.

overwhelming majority of the capitalists who can work have transformed themselves into working people earning their own living in the socialist society. China's successful completion of the socialist transformation of capitalist industry and commerce is one of the most brilliant victories in the history of socialism in China and in the world as a whole. It was won because the Chinese Communist Party led the entire working class in implementing the Marxist policies formulated by Comrade Mao Zedong in the light of China's specific conditions and because the progressive elements and the majority of the members of the capitalist class played a beneficial, co-operative role in accepting the transformation. As working people, they are now contributing their share to the socialist modernization programme.

China's democratic parties have a glorious history in the democratic revolution and have made important contributions during the period of socialist transformation. These are things which the Chinese people will never forget. They have now become political alliances of those parts of the socialist workers and the patriots supporting socialism they keep in touch with. All of them are political forces serving socialism under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party.

The hearts of our compatriots in Taiwan, Xianggang (Hongkong) and Aomen (Macao) and of overseas Chinese are turned to the motherland and their patriotic consciousness has been constantly raised. They are playing an increasingly important, positive role in realizing the great cause of reunifying our motherland, supporting the country's modernization and strengthening the international struggle against hegemonism.

All these changes show that China's united front has become a broad alliance of socialist workers and patriots supporting socialism, led by the working class and based on the worker-peasant alliance. The tasks of the united front and of the C.P.P.C.C. in the new period are to bring every positive factor into play, vigorously turn all negative factors into positive ones, unite with all forces that can be united, and work with one mind and concerted efforts to maintain and develop the political situation of stability and unity and build China into a modern, powerful socialist country.

To realize the four modernizations, it is imperative to promote socialist democracy and strengthen the socialist legal system. The Peo-

ple's Political Consultative Conference is an important organization for promoting people's democracy and for maintaining links with people of various walks of life. China's socialist modernization needs the continued consultations and discussions of the C.P.P.C.C. on the nation's guiding principles, on the political life of the country and on the various social and economic questions related to the four modernizations; it requires the C.P.P.C.C. to exercise mutual supervision and play a supervisory role in the enforcement of the Constitution and the laws. We must have free airing of views and make full use of all talents, uphold the principle of "three nots" — not picking on people for their faults, not putting labels on people and not using the big stick, encourage the full expression of opinions, demands, criticisms and suggestions by all circles, so as to help the government concentrate correct ideas, promptly discover and correct shortcomings and mistakes in its work, and push all kinds of our work forward.

To achieve the four modernizations, it is essential to strengthen ideological and political education extensively among the people while persisting in exercising proletarian dictatorship over a very small number of anti-socialist elements. The C.P.P.C.C. will undoubtedly continue to play an important role in this work. The united front and the People's Political Consultative Conference should carry forward the tradition of self-education and self-remoulding, carry on ideological remoulding in accord with the formula of unity-criticism-unity*, and help the masses and personages in various fields strengthen unity continuously and make new progress on the common basis of serving socialism.

The current situation internationally and domestically is very favourable to the great cause of reunification of the motherland. The Chinese Government has clearly proclaimed the general principles concerning Taiwan's return to the motherland. The People's Political Consultative Conference should work actively to promote the patriotic united front for Taiwan's early return to the motherland and for the accomplishment of the great cause of reunifying the motherland. At the same time, it should actively carry out activities of people-to-people diplomacy, strengthen friendly exchanges with foreign friends and exert its efforts to develop the international united front against hegemonism.

* It means starting from the desire for unity, resolving contradictions through criticism and arriving at a new unity.

In the new historical period, the People's Political Consultative Conference, as a united front organization, has a very glorious task and there is much that it can do. Let us unite and march forward along the socialist road and towards the lofty goal of the four modernizations

under the banner of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and under the leadership of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party headed by Comrade Hua Guofeng!

May complete success attend this session!

The United Front and the C.P.P.C.C.

The Second Session of the Fifth National People's Congress, the highest organ of state power, is now meeting in Beijing. The Second Session of the Fifth National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference is taking place simultaneously. The C.P.P.C.C. is a united front organization led by the Chinese Communist Party. The following questions and answers provide some information about it.

Question: What is a revolutionary united front?

Answer: It is an alliance between the proletarian political party, other revolutionary classes and all forces that can be united with, formed under certain historical conditions to fight the main enemy and carry out the current political programme.

Q.: China is a country under the dictatorship of the proletariat, why the need to form a united front?

A.: This is determined by the historical mission of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the specific conditions in our country. Chairman Mao said: "The proletariat must rely on its broad allies to exercise dictatorship, it cannot do so all by itself." The dictatorship of the proletariat means the working class uniting with all the people having citizenship rights, primarily the peasants, to exercise dictatorship over the reactionary classes, the reactionaries and those who resist socialist transformation and oppose socialist construction. To develop the revolutionary united front means uniting with the people of all nationalities on a most extensive scale so as to isolate the enemy to the maximum and deal him effective blows.

The dictatorship of the proletariat in our country is the instrument of a great and

herculean historical task. It must be ready at all times to counter the menace of imperialist, especially social-imperialist, aggression and subversion. It must engage in socialist revolution and construction and turn China into a modern, powerful socialist country as quickly as possible, and then strive to realize the great goal of communism. At present, it must also fulfil the great cause of bringing Taiwan back to the embrace of the motherland and reunifying the country. To these ends, it is necessary to develop and expand the revolutionary united front and unite with all those who can be united.

The revolutionary united front came into being in the Chinese revolution's prolonged struggle. Before the nationwide liberation,



Among the 110 additional members of the Fifth National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference is He Zizhen, a veteran member of the Communist Party who took part in the Long March, and ex-wife of Chairman Mao.

during the period of new-democratic revolution against imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism, the various patriotic democratic parties and many patriots were already co-operating with our Party and made contributions to the victory of the democratic revolution. Since we entered the period of socialism, after the founding of the People's Republic, the various democratic parties and the members of the national bourgeoisie and the upper stratum of the urban petty bourgeoisie connected with these parties have also shown their support for the leadership of the Communist Party as well as their readiness to accept socialist transformation and serve socialism, and have continued to make contributions to promoting the smooth development of socialist revolution and construction in our country.

Chairman Mao said: "The people and their government have no reason to reject anyone or deny him the opportunity of making a living and rendering service to the country, provided he is really willing to serve the people and provided he really helped and did a good turn when the people were faced with difficulties and keeps on doing good without giving up halfway." (*On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People*, 1957.) Chairman Hua Guofeng in his report on the work of the government to the first session of the Fifth National People's Congress last year also pointed out: "The revolutionary united front was one of the magic weapons by which we defeated the enemy in the period of the new-democratic revolution. In the period of socialist revolution, this revolutionary united front continues to be consolidated and expanded and is playing an important role."

As proved in practice, the dictatorship of the proletariat and the development of a revolutionary united front are not opposed to each other. On the contrary, the united front plays a very important role in strengthening the unity of the people of the whole country, in carrying out struggles against both internal and external enemies and in promoting socialist revolution and construction.

Q.: What are the component parts that make up China's revolutionary united front at its present stage?

A.: The preamble of the Constitution adopted in March 1978 by the Fifth National People's Congress clearly says: "We should consolidate and expand the revolutionary united front which is led by the working class and based on the worker-peasant alliance, and which unites the



Wang Guangmei (Liu Shaoqi's widow) and her elder brother Wang Guangying, both being new members of the C.P.P.C.C. National Committee.

large numbers of intellectuals and other working people, patriotic democratic parties, patriotic personages, our compatriots in Taiwan, Xianggang (Hongkong) and Aomen (Macao), and our countrymen residing abroad."

In the last 30 years, fundamental changes have taken place with regard to the classes in our society. The united front in our country has now become a broad alliance of socialist workers and patriots who support socialism, led by the working class and based on the worker-peasant alliance.

Q.: What are the democratic parties?

A.: The patriotic democratic parties in our revolutionary united front are the eight democratic parties which have a history of co-operation with the Chinese Communist Party in the period of the new-democratic revolution, which have declared their support for Communist Party leadership and shown their readiness to serve socialism in the period of socialism. They are: The Revolutionary Committee of the Kuomintang, the China Democratic League, the China Democratic National Construction Association, the China Association for Promoting Democracy, the Chinese Peasants and Workers Democratic Party, the Jiu San Society, the China Zhi Gong Dang and the Taiwan League.

Q.: Does the united front include the national bourgeoisie as well?

A.: The bourgeoisie in our country can be divided into the bureaucrat-comprador bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie. The latter, during the new-democratic revolution, had two aspects — its revolutionary aspect of opposing imperialism, but also the aspect of compromising with imperialism; its members made up an intermediate class. In the light of the dual character of the national bourgeoisie, our Party followed a united front policy of both unity and struggle in an effort to win them over and unite with them to participate in the revolutionary united front against imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism.

After the founding of the People's Republic, the national bourgeoisie is no longer an intermediate class, but a class to be eliminated step by step in the course of the socialist revolution.

But, in view of the peculiarities of Chinese history and the fact that the national bourgeoisie has continued to show its dual character in the period of socialism, namely, the aspect of exploiting the working class to make a profit and also the aspect of supporting the Constitution and of willingness to accept socialist transformation, our Party and the People's Government, in their policy towards the national bourgeoisie, have not taken the measure of exercising dictatorship over it as they have in their dealings with the bureaucrat-comprador bourgeoisie. They have, instead, handled the antagonistic contradiction between the working class and the national bourgeoisie as a contradiction among the peo-

Miao Yuntai (right) at the C.P.P.C.C. meeting. A former council member of the Kuomintang Executive Yuan, he returned from the United States to settle in China on June 15.



ple. As long as the national bourgeoisie accepts socialist transformation, the democratic method will be adopted to bring into effect, through the policy of unity and struggle, the principle of eliminating the national bourgeoisie as a class and remoulding its members.

More specifically, the policy followed in regard to the industry and commerce owned by the national bourgeoisie is one of buying off — bringing about socialist transformation and abolishing capitalist ownership through many transitional forms of state capitalism and fixed interest payments. In regard to members of the national bourgeoisie, the policy adopted is one of uniting with, criticizing and educating them; those willing to accept socialist transformation are united with and included in the united front. Proper arrangements are made for them both politically and vocationally, taking into account their different situations. In this way they can be mobilized to turn their efforts to the service of socialism. At the same time, through study and practice in work, they are helped to transform themselves gradually from exploiters into people living on their own labour. This principle has already borne fruit in practice. As today, the overwhelming majority of those who can work have transformed themselves into working people earning their own living in the socialist society.

Q.: Who leads the united front? What are its basic forces?

A.: Our revolutionary united front is led by the working class through its political party — the Communist Party of China. Its basic forces are the workers, the peasants and the revolutionary intellectuals.

Q.: What is the political basis of your united front?

A.: In the period of socialism, the political basis of our revolutionary united front is the Constitution of the People's Republic of China and the six political criteria enumerated by Chairman Mao in his famous article *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People*. They are: "(1) Words and deeds should help to unite, and not divide, the people of all our nationalities. (2) They should be beneficial, and not harmful, to socialist transformation and socialist construction. (3) They should help to consolidate, and not undermine or weaken, the

(Continued on p. 26.)

A Crucial Test for the Non-Aligned Movement

A MINISTERIAL meeting of the co-ordinating bureau of non-aligned countries was held from June 6 to 10 in Colombo, the capital of Sri Lanka. A wide-ranging final communique was adopted before the meeting closed. The communique reiterated the fundamental principles and purposes of the non-aligned movement, analysed the current international political and economic situation and set forth opinions and propositions concerning some major regional and international problems.

After heated debates and difficult negotiations to overcome a series of obstacles, the meeting, attended by representatives from 91 countries and organizations, succeeded in upholding the aims and principles of non-alignment adhered to by the overwhelming majority of the member states. It showed the delegates that arduous struggles lie ahead because of sabotage from outside and interference from within the movement.

With the support of the overwhelming majority of the member countries, the meeting reaffirmed that genuine non-alignment represents "an independent non-bloc global factor in international relations free from great power and bloc rivalries and influences," and appealed for continued struggle by its member countries against imperialism, old and new colonialism, racism, racial discrimination, hegemony and bloc politics. This is an important achievement of the meeting, which will certainly exert a positive influence on the 6th Summit Conference of the Non-Aligned Countries scheduled for September in Havana.

Thanks to the support of the many member states who uphold justice, the delegation of Democratic Kampuchea led by Deputy Prime Minister Ieng Sary was present throughout the meeting as the sole legitimate representative of Kampuchea, while the handful of "delegates" of the Hanoi-backed Heng Samrin puppet clique had to hole up in the hotel and dared not make an appearance. This is a serious setback for Viet Nam which has been attempting to sabo-

tage the principles and unity of the movement.

As to the proposal for "suspension" of Egypt's membership, it was agreed after much mediation and consultation that the proposal should not be placed on the agenda or contained in the final communique. The unity of the movement was thus safeguarded and a split on this question avoided.

However, the meeting was permeated with bitter struggle and difficult negotiations.

At the outset, the Vietnamese delegation raised the question of Kampuchean representation and stuck adamantly to it. Thus the meeting had to spend a lot of time and energy on consultations over the matter at ambassadorial and foreign ministerial meetings. The Vietnamese delegates did all they could to create obstacles. They tried to hamper the negotiations and bring pressure to bear on the meeting. They alleged that the remarks of the meeting's spokesman did not tally with facts, and they telephoned local newspapers to protest news coverage not to their liking. Their obstructionist activities evoked much resentment in and outside the meeting. "Now Viet Nam has even come to dictate to the host country and its newsmen," remarked a local newspaper.

Informed sources disclosed that in the course of consultations within the co-ordinating bureau, many people were worried by the behaviour of delegates from a few countries like Cuba and Viet Nam, who regard the Soviet Union as the "natural ally" of the non-aligned movement. These countries had the repugnant tendency to gang up within the movement, vociferously backing each other. Nevertheless, justice is destined to prevail. The unreasonable stand of Cuba and Viet Nam which tried to sabotage the principles and unity of this movement was rejected by most of the member states. Yugoslavia, Singapore, Indonesia, Malaysia, Somalia, Niger, Nigeria, Tanzania, Zaire and other countries energetically support-

Hanoi Rebuffed

THE strongest note heard at the Colombo meeting was that of opposition to bloc interference. In their speeches many delegates stressed the independent and non-bloc nature of the policy of non-alignment. But the Vietnamese delegate Nguyen Co Thach sang in a different key. His attempt to push the non-aligned movement into a certain bloc was repudiated at the meeting.

Hanoi's attempt to picture the Soviet Union as the "natural ally" of the non-aligned movement has all along run counter to the principal policy of the movement. To continue harping on it may have been too barefaced, even to Hanoi. At any rate, in his speech on June 8, Nguyen Co Thach could only bring out in a roundabout way Hanoi's attitude towards the non-aligned movement.

At the beginning he seemed to agree with the stand of many other delegates on not joining military blocs. He said: "We reaffirm clearly and categorically the stand of Viet Nam which is that the non-aligned movement does not join any military bloc; it neither becomes an instrument nor serves the aggressive aims of any bloc." In a changed tone, he added, "But to stay outside blocs is not the final objective of our movement." Then, what is the final aim? According to him, Viet Nam's final

objective is to unite with "some countries remaining outside the non-aligned movement but giving support to our lofty objectives" in the struggle against imperialism and colonialism.

In plain words, he wants the non-aligned countries to align with the Soviet Union, though he dared not say it outright.

The current situation in Viet Nam has shown the non-aligned countries the consequences of "alignment with the Soviet Union": Viet Nam must follow Moscow in dealing with all major international problems; it has handed over at least two ports for the use of Soviet air and naval forces in violation of the principle that non-aligned countries should not provide military bases for foreign countries. Hanoi has acted as a tool for Soviet expansion in Asia and for the Soviet scheme to rig up an "Asian collective security system." In other words, though Viet Nam has not formally joined the Soviet military bloc, it has in fact become a full-fledged military ally of the Soviet Union by virtue of the Vietnamese-Soviet treaty. Naturally the non-aligned countries will ponder over whether it makes any sense for such an "outpost" of the Soviet military bloc as Viet Nam to talk about "non-alignment." How can there be a non-aligned movement at all if everyone acts like Hanoi?

This is good reason why Hanoi's representative has been rebuffed time and again at Colombo.

ed Democratic Kampuchea and voiced vehement opposition to the attempt of Viet Nam to seat its lackey, the Heng Samrin clique, in the non-aligned movement. They were also opposed to sanctions against member states.

The meeting has closed but the struggle to safeguard the basic principles of non-alignment against the splitting attempts continues. Many delegates are concerned that internal contradictions could put the movement to even more crucial tests in the future. A Sudanese delegate pointed out: "Some groups are trying to split our movement and weaken our non-aligned position. We must overcome differences and prevent interferences and influences from within and without."

A Singapore delegate made the pointed remark that "the recent concern of members to re-examine the basis of the movement in view of a particular non-aligned country's open attitude to align the non-aligned to one bloc should be considered with the seriousness it deserves."

This is why many delegates adopted a "wait-and-see" attitude on the question of whether the next summit to be held in Havana will safeguard the principles and unity of the non-aligned movement and bring just solutions to disputes such as those over Egypt's membership and the representation of Kampuchea. In order to give all members of the movement ample time to examine the draft documents for

the next summit, the meeting in its final communique requested Cuba, the host country, to present in early July the drafts it prepares.

One delegate put it well: "The only consolidating factor today is that the majority of our members can see clearly this manoeuvre [to

undermine unity] and will act to stop it to save the non-aligned movement." The results of the meeting demonstrated the correctness of his statement.

(by Xinhua Correspondent
Xie Linfeng)

Chinese Foreign Ministry Statement

Calls for International Action to Stop Viet Nam From Exporting Refugees

THE spokesman of the Chinese Foreign Ministry issued a statement on June 16 concerning the necessity of making the Vietnamese authorities stop their action of turning people into refugees and exporting them. The text reads:

Of late, the Vietnamese authorities have redoubled their efforts to expel refugees from Viet Nam, Kampuchea and Laos. Hundreds of thousands of people have been made destitute, forced to leave their homes and drift into neighbouring countries, thus creating a grave economic, social and political problem for countries in Southeast Asia and a number of other countries. This has turned into an international disaster. The plight of masses of innocent displaced people leading a precarious existence, and the thousands of aged and infirm, women and children who died in the wilderness or were drowned at sea are indeed tragic. These anti-popular and anti-humane atrocities committed by the Vietnamese Government and its policy of bringing disaster upon its neighbours have aroused worldwide indignation and have been strongly condemned by public opinion in other countries.

In the final analysis, the problem of Indo-chinese refugees has arisen solely as a result of the fact that the Vietnamese Government is pursuing a policy of aggression and war. After the end of their war of resistance against U.S. aggression, the Vietnamese authorities showed no regard for the welfare of their people and failed to turn their attention to healing the wounds of war and embarking on economic reconstruction. Instead, they pursued a policy of militarism to achieve their goal of setting up an "Indochinese federation" and dominating Southeast Asia. To support their war of aggression

in Kampuchea and maintain control in Laos, they pressganged their young people into serving as cannon fodder and bled the people white. This has ruined the economy and made the people destitute. Consequently, large numbers of Vietnamese inhabitants have had to flee the country. Furthermore, the Vietnamese authorities have been deliberately inciting ethnic animosities and expelling what they consider to be alien elements. They have brutally persecuted Vietnamese citizens of Chinese descent, Chinese nationals and other ethnic minorities who have lived in Viet Nam for many generations, depriving them of their means of livelihood and forcibly expelling them from the country. Moreover, all those who show dissatisfaction at their cruel rule or are considered by them as security risks have also been expelled. Everywhere in Kampuchea, Vietnamese aggressor troops committed arson, murder, pillage and all sorts of other crimes, driving large numbers of Kampuchean civilians from their own country by tanks or at bayonet point. What makes people particularly indignant is the fact that, apart from confiscating the real estate and other properties of these involuntary refugees, the Vietnamese authorities even practised extortion by stipulating that each refugee must give as much as twenty-odd ounces of gold for permission to leave the country. They have thus extorted from the refugees a fabulous sum of gold and foreign exchange. They have become the biggest and most despicable present-day human traffickers. Their policies of aggression, ethnic discrimination and human trafficking have served to shed the cloak under which they have been masquerading — the cloak of peace, democracy, good neighbourliness and socialism.

The Soviet social-imperialists, who support and abet the Vietnamese authorities in their aggression and expansion in Indochina, are thus their accomplice in this policy of exporting refugees.

China heads the list of Asian countries that have suffered greatly from this massive exportation of refugees by the Vietnamese authorities. More than 230,000 refugees have already been driven into China from Viet Nam over the last year, and more groups of refugees are still crossing over into China. The Chinese Government has given succour to all refugees who have entered China irrespective of ethnic origin or nationality and has resettled some 200,000 of them. The relief and resettlement of these refugees has been a big drain on the Chinese Government's financial and material resources. Deeply sympathetic to the tragic plight of Indochinese refugees, the Chinese Government and people have done their best to give them aid and succour in a humanitarian spirit.

The problem of Indochinese refugees, created by the Vietnamese authorities, has become a serious international problem. But, turning a deaf ear to fair-minded international opinion, the Vietnamese authorities have continued unscrupulously to turn people into refugees and expel them en masse, taking advan-

tage of the humanitarian goodwill of their neighbouring countries and peoples. At an international meeting on the Vietnamese refugee problem held recently in Jakarta, the representative of the Vietnamese Government unabashedly announced that they intend to export refugees at a rate of 10,000 a month. In the interest of protecting the right to life of all peoples in Viet Nam, Kampuchea and Laos, irrespective of ethnic origin, and of easing the tremendous difficulties brought upon the people of all countries, particularly of Southeast Asian countries, by the flood of Indochinese refugees, the Chinese Government deems it necessary for international organizations and all justice-upholding countries to take action to urge the Vietnamese authorities to desist immediately from their barbaric policy of creating and exporting refugees. The Chinese Government calls on the United Nations and all governments and peoples to voice strong condemnation and take firm measures to stop the Vietnamese authorities from pursuing their policies of aggression and ethnic discrimination in violation of the U.N. Charter and humanitarian principles and in denial of man's basic right to life and to sternly deplore and resolutely demand that they stop at once their criminal action of creating and exporting refugees.

International Opinion

Hanoi's Export of Refugees Condemned

Thailand. Thailand has been seriously affected by Viet Nam's export of refugees. More than 200,000 Indochinese refugees have flooded into the country.

Prime Minister Kriangsak reaffirmed on June 2, "The burden brought by refugees has surpassed our ability to bear it." Recently he asked the Thai Government, military and police departments concerned and regional authorities in the border areas to take every possible measure to halt refugees from Indochina entering Thailand.

Prasong Sunsiri, Deputy Secretary-General of the National Security Council of Thailand,

revealed on May 30 that investigation had exposed many special agents engaged in spying activities, who had been sent among the Vietnamese refugees entering Thailand.

Member of Parliament and former Prime Minister Kukrit Pramoj has accused Viet Nam of making an "international business" out of the mass exodus of refugees.

The Supreme Command of the Armed Forces of Thailand made a statement on May 22 which pointed out that the influx of the Vietnamese refugees had created grave consequences for the countries in the adjoining regions both in regard to state security and in the

fields of economy and politics. His statement condemned Viet Nam for its new strategy of "allowing large numbers of refugees to go abroad to enlarge its influence." In a talk on the question of refugees, Saiyud Kerdphol, Chief of Staff of the Supreme Command of the Armed Forces of Thailand, noted that by shipping refugees out en masse, Viet Nam is carrying out an inhumane policy of ostracism. On another occasion, he said that Viet Nam was pursuing a policy of racial ostracism similar to that initiated by the Nazis during World War II. He pointed out that the refugees provided cover for a fifth column and represented a potential excuse for invasion of Thailand in the future.

On May 14, hundreds of Bangkok citizens staged a demonstration before the Vietnamese Embassy in Thailand to protest the Vietnamese authorities' export of refugees and to condemn the "Vietnamese troops' aggressive involvement in the livelihood of the peoples of various Indo-chinese countries." Prime Minister Kriangsak was reported to have sent messages to U.N. Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim and the heads of some countries asking them to help settle the refugee problem.

Malaysia. Malaysia has also been severely affected by the massive arrival of Vietnamese refugees. Despite the declaration made last January by Prime Minister Datuk Hussein bin Onn that his country could not take in any more Vietnamese refugees, and the fact that the parties concerned have been notified that Malaysia is not in a position to accept any more Vietnamese boat people for an ad interim stay, great numbers of them keep pouring in. They now total over 70,000 as against 12,000 last October. On June 4 Malaysian Deputy Prime Minister Mahathir bin Mohamed said that although Malaysia had managed to shoo off about 12,000 Vietnamese refugees from its shores, the situation remained desperate. He declared, "We may have to resort to very harsh measures" and "our patience is fully extended."

Minister of Foreign Affairs Rithauddeen on June 12 in Kuala Lumpur summoned the Vietnamese ambassador, telling him that the influx of boat people to his country "has reached a critical state and that could affect relations with Viet Nam." He stated that his country would not take in any more refugees, or even give them temporary asylum.

Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Industry Mahathir said at a press conference in Singapore on June 12 that Malaysia would adopt



Label Design

by Hua Junwu

"tough measures" to stop the inflow of Vietnamese refugees to his country. The new measures would be worked out and implemented in about two weeks' time, he said. It was likely that ASEAN countries would follow a similar policy regarding the refugees, whom Malaysia considers as "illegal immigrants," he said.

Indonesia. Vice-President Adam Malik said on May 22 that Indonesia faced economic difficulties in supplying lodging, food and daily necessities to the refugees stranded in that country. He pointed out that this was a very serious problem. Foreign Minister Mochtar Kusumatmadja said on June 1 that Indonesia was very disappointed by Viet Nam's failure to keep its promise of checking the exodus of Vietnamese refugees. On June 12, he told the Vietnamese ambassador in Jakarta that the Vietnamese refugee problem had become a critical one since Thailand and Malaysia refused to accept any more. He pointed out that "the problem will create more difficulties and, therefore, it cannot be tolerated."

Singapore. Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew at a press conference on June 12 accused Moscow of attempting to foster unrest in Southeast Asia. He said that he had discussed with West German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher the problem of Indochinese refugees. He pointed out that the waves of Indochinese refugees deliberately sent out have brought backbreaking pressure to bear on the social and economic structures of other countries, and that this was "a heartless

gambit to blackmail Southeast Asia and the industrialized world." He suggested that the mass media spotlight this cruel ploy so that the chief culprit responsible for the refugee problem may be made to feel the universal indignation of the international community.

The Philippines. President Marcos said in Manila on June 11 that he had received intelligence reports saying that a number of vessels carrying Vietnamese refugees had recently sailed into the "security area" around Palawan in the southwest of the Philippines. This made one doubt if the supposed Vietnamese refugees are really refugees, he added.

Britain. In a recent letter to U.N. Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim, Prime Minister Mrs. Margaret Thatcher called for an international conference on the refugee problem. The British Government has requested the Soviet Union to help put an end to the outflow of Vietnamese refugees. The British Foreign Office in a statement denounced the authorities concerned for sending refugees adrift on the high seas.

Sir Ian Gilmour, British Lord Privy Seal and spokesman for foreign affairs in the House of Commons, said on the evening of May 30 that the Vietnamese policy was "one of the most callous and cynical in recent history." "Such a blatantly racist policy should be quite unacceptable to the international community," he noted. He also said that an average of 1,000 refugees are flooding into Xianggang (Hong-kong) every day, and larger numbers into the Southeast Asian countries. This massive exodus "threatens the stability and welfare of the whole area," he said. He denounced Hanoi's blackmail of the refugees. He said: "As is now well established from reports by refugees themselves, the Vietnamese Government is engaged in organizing the exodus in small and large boats and in systematically depriving the refugees of their belongings before their departure." He added that these unfortunate victims often departed in boats that were overloaded and the survival rate was estimated at a mere 50 to 30 per cent. He pointed out that only when the Vietnamese Government changed its attitude and created living conditions tolerable to the people, can the situation be controlled.

In an editorial, the British paper *Yorkshire Post* said on May 28 that "this exodus shows the cynicism of the Vietnamese Government which

is up to its neck in a lucrative racket, making refugees pay handsomely for the chance of risking their necks in leaking junks." "The world and particularly the United Nations . . . should turn its diplomatic guns on Hanoi," it added.

Canada. In a news item, which was released on June 13, the *Globe and Mail* quoted Flora MacDonald, Secretary of State for External Affairs, as saying that "there has to be recognition by the Government of Viet Nam that this [persecution of refugees] is not acceptable." In an interview with the *Globe and Mail*, she said: "We are talking about 1 million people of Chinese origin being expelled from Indochina."

Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs Allan Gotlieb said in a recent speech in Ottawa that "all evidence available to us indicates that human rights are being seriously disregarded in Viet Nam" and that "there is a deliberate Vietnamese policy to rid the country of certain elements of its population."

According to an external affairs source, Canada's aid to Viet Nam has been cut off completely.

The United States. "The Vietnamese appear to be profiting directly from the resulting refugee outflow," the State Department Spokesman Hodding Carter said, adding, "they are doing so by requiring the payment of bribes in facilitating those departures."

He said, "We strongly condemn these callous actions on the part of the Vietnamese Government, policies which have resulted in the loss of thousands of lives."

He said, "The roots of the problem are the policies being followed by the Vietnamese Government at home as well as the policies being followed by the Vietnamese Government in neighbouring states, which are creating this exodus of refugees and causing profound human suffering."

Referring to Viet Nam's occupation of Kampuchea, Hodding Carter stressed, "We continue to believe that a first priority is for Vietnamese troops to withdraw from Cambodia."

Hodding Carter called on Viet Nam "to live up to its obligations under the U.N. Charter to treat its own people humanely so that they do not feel compelled to flee or to buy their way . . . and in the fleeing risk their lives."

Vietnamese Refugees Speak Up

SAMUT Prakan, some 40 kilometres southeast of Bangkok, is on the estuary of the Chao Phraya, the biggest river in Thailand. One day in early June we drove there from the Thai capital to visit a ship anchored on the river. The ship was about 40 metres long and crowded with sorrowful-looking people. Laundry lines strung up here and there about the deck with worn-out clothes dangling on them.

This was the temporary shelter of Vietnamese refugees who drifted into Thailand last April, we were told by our Thai friends. Many of the 500-odd people on board had already left for other countries but some 300 still remained. When we went on board, we almost choked with the foul smell in the air. The cabins inside were packed with ragged people, who looked undernourished. Some feeble, old people were lying on the decks, and infants in their mothers' arms were whimpering with hunger.

Refugees came up and surrounded us the moment they saw us. In answer to our questions they began to pour out their grievances.

Most of them were from Saigon (now Ho Chi Minh City), some were from Cho Lon, My Tho, Ca Mau and other places. They had left their country at the end of March to escape the tyrannical rule of the Vietnamese authorities. They wandered at sea on board a 25-yard-long wooden boat for four days and nights. The boat began to leak and the sea water seeped in. Fortunately a Thai cargo-liner picked them up. One of the rescued men said: "But for the help of the Thai ship, the five hundred of us would have been drowned in the sea."

Why is it so many Vietnamese people quit the home of their forefathers, went to sea at the risk of their lives and sought shelter on foreign soil? Why? The best answer was given by the refugees themselves, who were outspoken in their resentment.

Thai Mau Thanh from Cho Lon said: The Vietnamese authorities use all kinds of excuses to squeeze the people. Government-organized "Youth Shock Brigades" are free to ransack the houses of civilians, and make off with anything valuable they see. He said: "They robbed me of everything I had. Nothing was left for me

to live on. The only way out was to leave with my whole family."

Tham Khoi Phat, a Saigon dentist, told us that small shops around his former residence had been looted and hawkers selling snacks there had been cleaned out and driven to the countryside with their families.

Hong Moc Nam, another refugee from Ca Mau, made good his escape from a remote reclamation area to which he had been sent. One night at the end of last year, members of a "Youth Shock Brigade" suddenly broke into his house in Cho Lon, forced him and his family on to a truck outside and took them to an unknown place. "There," Hong Moc Nam said, "we had no place to live in and nothing to eat. We kept ourselves alive on wild herbs and nuts. We lived there for some time. Just wandering about." "In south Viet Nam," he added, "countless families suffered like we did."

Most of the young people on board had fled the country to avoid the draft. They had no wish to be used as cannon fodder in Hanoi's bid for territorial expansion. Ton Ngoc Nha, 43, who formerly lived on the outskirts of Saigon, was still eligible for military service under the Vietnamese authorities.

Hong Moc Nam had a younger brother on board who complained bitterly: "The Vietnamese authorities who annexed Kampuchea and attacked China dragooned me into the army several times and each time I deserted. They wouldn't leave me alone. What else could I do but run away!" He was almost in tears.

According to these refugees, large-scale war preparations by the Vietnamese authorities have pushed the home economy to the brink of bankruptcy and the people do not have enough to eat. The monthly grain ration per person was as little as eight or nine kilogrammes, of which only two or three kilos were rice. Sometimes even that small amount was not available. The number of unemployed was mounting in the cities. The ordinary people led a miserable life, never sure how long they could go on. Among the refugees was a 13-year-old girl named Ly Ngc Mui. She had left the country with a relative, leaving her parents behind. Asked why, she frowned and replied angrily: "There we

never had enough to eat, and were always shabby. School was out of the question and we were often pushed around. I was sick of that kind of life."

The heavy influx of Vietnamese refugees has brought heavy pressure to bear upon the Thai authorities. This refugee ship has been anchored at the mouth of the Chao Phraya for nearly two months. The local authorities have had to cast about for means to help these people keep body and soul together. Apart from government appropriations to help the refugees solve the problems of food, housing and medi-

cine, they have approached local philanthropic institutions for donations, both in food and money. On our way back to Bangkok, a local official who accompanied us said: "While sending troops to the Thai-Kampuchean border to create tension and threaten our country's security, Viet Nam is also causing a great exodus of civilian refugees to this country. They are endangering Thailand's economy, its social life and security. We cannot but heighten our vigilance in the face of the Vietnamese activities."

(by Xinhua Correspondents Ma Shengrong and Chen Boliang)

(Continued from p. 18.)

people's democratic dictatorship. (4) They should help to consolidate, and not undermine or weaken, democratic centralism. (5) They should help to strengthen, and not shake off or weaken, the leadership of the Communist Party. (6) They should be beneficial, and not harmful, to international socialist unity and the unity of the peace-loving people of the world. Of these six criteria, the most important are the two about the socialist path and the leadership of the Party."

In keeping with these six political criteria, we must unite with those who accept Communist Party leadership and love the socialist motherland, co-operate with them and bring their initiative into play. Those with words and deeds in contravention of the six political criteria will be criticized and educated and even struggled against when necessary in order to strengthen the unity inside the revolutionary united front on the basis of the six political criteria.

Q.: What are the tasks of the united front?

A.: At the present stage, the main tasks of the revolutionary united front in our country are: rallying all the forces that can be united with, arousing all the positive factors, vigorously transforming negative factors into positive ones, and working with one mind and concerted efforts to maintain and develop the political situation of stability and unity, to strive for the return of Taiwan to the motherland and the reunification of the country as well as for building China into a modern, powerful socialist country.

Q.: What is the organizational structure of the united front?

A.: The Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference is the organization of the revolu-

tionary united front. On the national level, there is the National Committee of the C.P.P.C.C., and the provinces, autonomous regions, municipalities directly under the Central Government and some cities and counties under the provincial authorities have their local committees of the C.P.P.C.C.

Q.: What kind of organ is the C.P.P.C.C.? What is its relationship with the National People's Congress?

A.: The C.P.P.C.C. is a revolutionary united front organization under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party. Its National Committee does not issue political orders, but holds democratic discussions and consultations on the important affairs in the nation's political life and the revolutionary united front; it helps the state organs in propagating and implementing policies and improving work; it plays the role of supervising the enforcement of the Constitution and other laws. At the same time, it also organizes and promotes the study, on a voluntary basis, of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, the study of current affairs and the policies, and ideological remoulding in connection with actual happenings in real life by the democratic parties, the various people's organizations and people from all walks of life.

The National People's Congress is the highest organ of state power in our country. All state decrees and laws are promulgated by it for enforcement.

Members of the C.P.P.C.C. National Committee or of its Standing Committee may be invited to attend the N.P.C. or its Standing Committee as observers to listen to the report on the work of the government or take part in the examination and deliberation of certain issues.

WEST AFRICAN STATES

Strengthening Unity and Co-operation

The 4th summit conference of the Economic Community of West African States was held in Dakar, capital of Senegal, on May 28 and 29. Resolutions approved at the conference provide that the member countries will refrain from increasing import duties and setting up new import barriers among themselves in the coming two years beginning May 28, 1979, and that citizens of member countries travelling within the community for not more than 90 days will not need visas. The conference also called for improvement and expansion of the telecommunications network within the community. For what it has achieved, the summit is considered an important conference marking a real step forward.

A striking feature of the proceedings was that the heads of state closely linked the region's economic development with its security and defence. The West African countries are finding their national independence and economic development threatened by the intensified aggression and expansion of the superpowers. They are determined to promote their economic development through co-operation and integration. In the meantime, they stressed closer co-operation in defending their countries against possible foreign aggression and safeguarding their achievements. The Presidents of Senegal and Togo submitted to the conference their drafts of a defence pact. The drafts will be studied at a ministerial meeting of the technical commission which will be convened before the

next summit conference (May 28, 1980). This shows that the leaders of the West African countries are paying increasing attention to strengthening security in their region.

The Economic Community of West African States, comprising 16 countries reaching from the Sahara to the Gulf of Guinea and from the Atlantic to Lake Chad, embraces a population of 140 million, or one-third of Africa's total. For four years since the founding of the community, the member states have continuously strengthened unity among themselves and expanded their fields of co-operation in striving for the development and independence of their national economies. The progress they have made is a positive contribution to the whole of the African continent.

IRAN

Warns Moscow

At a meeting with the Soviet ambassador to Teheran on June 12, Iranian religious leader Ruhollah Khomeini asked the Soviet Union not to interfere in Iran's internal affairs. He asked that nothing should be done to allow anyone to say that arms were being shipped into Iran from the Soviet Union. Khomeini also asked Moscow to stop interfering in the affairs of Afghanistan as such interference "has an effect on Iran."

Moscow this year has been exploiting the unstable situation in Iran to step up its interference in the internal affairs of that country. It set up a clandestine radio station beaming demagogic propaganda to the Iranian people; it dispatched agents into the country in an attempt to seize the leadership

in the Iranian people's struggle; it also covertly shipped arms into Iran and instigated riots. Up to recently, Iranian radio and television station officials have been accusing Moscow of carrying on a powerful propaganda offensive against Iran and interfering with Iranian sound and sight broadcasting. These activities of Moscow have aroused the vigilance and indignation of the Iranian people. Young Iranians have been shouting: "Stop the Soviet intervention in our affairs!" and "The United States and the Soviet Union are our enemies!" This shows how much the Iranian people are opposed to superpower interference in Iran's internal affairs.

Ruhollah Khomeini's demands to Moscow reflect the Iranian people's aspiration and is a stern warning to Moscow. But in view of its global strategic interests, Moscow is sure to go on doing what it has been doing. The struggle between the Iranian people and the Soviet social-imperialists is sure to be long and acute. This is inevitable.

ECUADOR

New Political Developments

The Ecuadoran Supreme Electoral Tribunal on June 6 announced the results of the election held on April 29, confirming that Jaime Roldos, the presidential candidate of the Concentration of Popular Forces, had won 68.4 per cent of the valid votes and would be the next President of the Republic. The newly elected President and members of the National Parliament will take office on August 10 to re-establish an elected government and end the seven-

year rule by a military junta. This is a new political development in Ecuador.

Roldos declared that he wants "to be a president of the poor" in a country where the discrepancy between the rich and the poor is very wide. He said that he would set up an "authentic democratic government" which would seek economic development and social justice. These propositions had appeal for many voters.

The President-elect also put forward the slogan of "national unity." In foreign relations, he said, he stood for the principle of self-determination and non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries and would adopt the policy of defending national independence and sovereignty and establishing diplomatic relations with all countries. He also expressed the hope that Ecuador would build closer relations with all other Latin American countries, strengthen its unity with the third world and support the non-aligned movement. These are in keeping with the aspirations of the people of Ecuador.

The election results show that the Concentration of Popular Forces headed by Roldos and its allies will have a strong hand in the new Parliament, but contention among the various forces will be acute. And this will influence developments in Ecuador.

POLAND

The Pope's Visit

Pope John Paul II paid a visit to Poland from June 2 to 10, the first time a pope has visited an East European country since the end of World War II. During his stay there, at least 6 million of the 35 million Polish people turned out to greet him.

Polish-born Karol Wojtyla before he became Pope Paul II was made the pope last October by an overwhelming majority after the death of Pope John Paul I. He had the recommendation and support of the majority of cardinals and archbishops from the United States, West Germany, France, Italy, Austria, the Netherlands as well as Latin American countries. The Polish people were said to have been "surprised" and "gladdened" by his election. It caused quite a stir in the Soviet Union, especially in its union republics such as Ukraine, Lithuania and Latvia contiguous to Poland.

The Polish Catholic Church and the Polish Government repeatedly stated that the pontiff's visit was "non-political." But on many occasions the pope asked the Polish authorities to permit the Polish people to freely and fully take part in religious activities and to guarantee human rights. He even claimed that Poland was a theological society. This was the most direct challenge to the Warsaw regime, UPI commented.

The pope's visit to Poland was also a political demonstration against Moscow. In his sermons, he publicly or obliquely referred to Soviet control over Poland. Significantly, this visit was also a visit to the people of other East European countries including the Soviet Christians, he said at Gniezno. The U.S. *Baltimore Sun* said that Pope Paul II was sowing seeds whose fruit the Kremlin was not sure of but was worrying about.

U.S.A.

Carter Approves MX Missile

On the eve of signing the new strategic arms limitation treaty

(SALT II) by U.S. and Soviet leaders in Vienna, the U.S. side on June 7 announced that President Jimmy Carter had approved full-scale development of a new MX intercontinental ballistic missile.

U.S. officials disclosed that production of 200 MX missiles starts this summer and the missiles would be operational by 1989. They said that the entire system would cost an estimated 30,000 million U.S. dollars and President Carter has already asked Congress to allocate 900 million dollars in the 1979-80 fiscal year.

A new round of the nuclear arms race between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. has already begun even when finishing touches are being applied to the SALT II treaty. With its superiority in heavy missiles assured, the Soviet Union is quietly improving their accuracy and other potentials. The thousand or more U.S. fix-site land-based missiles are no match for Soviet counterparts. They are sitting ducks. This has led President Carter on May 28 to announce, "We must maintain an adequate level of armaments and we must maintain the security from attack of the armament we have." He said he believed that his decision would stabilize the U.S.-Soviet strategic balance.

The MX missile, a new type of strategic weapon the United States is producing for the first time in the past decade or more, is a huge land-based mobile ICBM. It is capable of carrying 10 MIRVed warheads and of forming the U.S.'s "first strike strength." It will pose quite a big menace to Soviet land-based missiles in a preemptive strike. In other words, it is an offensive missile which can hide and seek.



VISUAL ARTS

Exhibitions in Beijing

Several art exhibitions are being held in Beijing's major art galleries and exhibition centres. Among the works on show, some are by veteran artists, others by promising comers.

There were six exhibitions held last month at the same time in the Museum of Chinese Art in the centre of the city.

- Engravings by Huang Xinbo, head of the Guangdong branch of the Chinese Artists' Association. He was active in the movement for new-type engravings sponsored in the early 30s by China's great writer Lu Xun. On display were 165 of his works from 1933 to the present. His black and white engravings are admired for

their power of presentation and clarity of meaning. *After Selling His Blood* done in 1948 depicts a poor man leaning against a high building for support after selling his blood. One can almost hear him breathing with difficulty, so great is the impact it has on the viewer. His *Youth* (see cover of *Beijing Review*, No. 18) created in 1961 shows a girl in deep thought, with eager, serene confidence against a background of waves, stars and a pylon. To express his attitude towards the "gang of four" when they were in the height of power, Huang did engravings extolling Lu Xun's unbending struggle in face of unbridled violence and persecution.

- Oil paintings of Yu Ben, deputy head of the Guangdong branch of the Chinese Artists' Association. Yu has done thousands of paintings over the past 50 years. The working people in his paintings, such as his *Portrait of a Peasant* and *Fisher Girl*, are strong and resolute.

- Wu Guanzhong's paintings. There are 120 oil paintings and traditional Chinese paintings drawn since 1961 by this 60-year-old professor in the Central Arts and Crafts Institute on display. His combination of modern Western painting techniques with those of traditional Chinese painting has created a style uniquely his own. In his oil painting, *Yunnan Spruce*, the colours are rich and vibrant and in the trunks and branches of the trees, the influence of Chinese painting is clear. In his traditional

Chinese painting, *The Giant Buddha of Leshan Mountain*, the deft fluent lines of Chinese painting are retained but the colours are bright and varied as in Western painting.

- Animal paintings by Han Meilin. Han, a 43-year-old artist from east China's Anhui Province, was trained in New China. His puppies, cats, chickens and ducklings are most



Owl.

by Han Meilin

lovable and groups of children can be seen before Han's works assiduously copying.

- Clay sculptures by art-craft designer Zheng Yuhe. Most of his works deal with children. The figurines are brightly coloured or uncoloured. They are delightful to see.

- Tang Suguo's dough figurines. This has a long history in China. The figurines are of kneaded coloured dough. Sixty figurines are on show, some represent famous figures from the Chinese classics or from folk tales, some are young women of various minority nationalities and there are also characters from the novels of Gorky and Hugo. A dough figure of Seiji Ozawa, conductor of the Boston Sym-



The People Victorious.

Woodcut by Huang Xinbo

phony Orchestra, who re-visited China recently, attracted much interest.

In Beihai Park paintings by Zhang Ding, President of the Central Arts and Crafts Institute, and traditional Chinese paintings by 30 painters of the Beijing Painting Institute are on display.

In the 1930s, Zhang used sketches to show his dissatisfaction with life under the villainous rule of the Kuomintang. He was once jailed by the reactionaries for propagating resistance against Japanese aggression. In the 50s, he and two other well-known painters, Li Keran and Luo Ming, began painting from direct observation and blazed the trail for traditional Chinese paintings to depict scenes from contemporary life. When cultural autocracy was practised by the "gang of four," almost a thousand of his paintings were destroyed. The 100 traditional Chinese paintings and cartoons shown were mainly done in the past two years.

The Working People's Palace of Culture has an exhibition of 360 paintings and sculptures selected from works by amateurs of Beijing. The exhibition is sponsored by the Beijing Trade Union Council. The exhibits reflect the people's efforts in the drive to modernize China.

In Zhongshan Park is a graphic art show organized by ten young people themselves.

In Jingshan Park, the cultural centre of the Western City District of Beijing, is a Chinese paintings and calligraphy display of works by some 70 painters and calligraphers. Among the works on show are some by the 84-year-old painter Li Kucan and calligraphy by 15-year-old Xiao Kejia.

BOTANY

1,000-Year-Old Lotus Seeds Blossom

The lotus flowering plants shown in the photograph were grown from one-thousand-year-old seeds which were excavated by botanists of the Beijing Botanical Garden from a dry pond 1-2 metres under ground in northeast China's Liaoning Province in 1952. The botanists first soaked these unearthed seeds in water for 20 months but nothing happened.

Then they made a 1-2 millimetre incision at both ends of the seeds—a procedure outlined in an agricultural scientific book called *Qi Min Yao Shu* (Guide to Agriculture and Animal Husbandry), which was published in China 1,400 years ago. The seeds were provided with adequate water and kept at a constant temperature of 25 degrees C. As a result, they opened in two days and germinated on the following day. In all about 96 per cent of these lotus seeds sprouted, blossomed and bore fruit.

The botanists attribute the longevity of the ancient lotus seeds to a number of factors. The structure of the lotus seed is like a sealed capsule which contains a very small amount of water. It has a thick hard seed coat which blocks the entrance of water and gas exchange while storing 0.2 millilitres of oxygen, carbon dioxide and nitrogen inside the seed which is necessary for its survival.

Another factor contributing to the ancient lotus seeds' longevity was they were embedded in peat deposits which had a very low temperature, so they didn't need much air and nourishment.



The botanists have shown that the protoplasm in the embryonic cells of the ancient lotus seeds still have a lease on life even though they are some 1,000 years old. In suitable conditions, the cells can divide and breed again. The botanists' results have prompted further study into the hibernation of animal and plants, the continuation of plant seeds and the origin of species.

REVOLUTIONARY RELIC

First Night in Shanghai

This photo, which was taken when Shanghai was liberated 30 years ago, shows the People's Liberation Army soldiers sleeping out on the streets after they had entered the city. Now on exhibition in the Military Museum of the Chinese People's Revolution, it testifies to the army's high regard for the people and its observance of discipline.

In May 1949, the P.L.A. fought a heated battle on the outskirts of Shanghai and a few street skirmishes within the city proper before finally liberating the city of 6 million. The next morning, the city's residents discovered the soldiers had spent the night in the streets. It was the time of year when it rained quite a lot.



Nie Fengzhi, now commander of the Nanjing Units, once commanded an army in the battle to liberate Shanghai. In his reminiscences he described how the commanders and fighters of the vanguard companies rested in the streets after entering the city proper. Though they were

very thirsty, they did not take a single drop of water from the houses. Nor were cigarettes or goods commandeered from the shelves of stores after the brigades gained control of the streets. Rather they sealed the stores or looked after them until the owners returned.

Nie Fengzhi's army established its command post at the entrance of a lane. When it rained the commanders would squat there with two rain cloths over their heads while the telephone and maps were put in a sole dry spot.

Marshal Chen Yi commanded the field forces and later served as the first mayor of Shanghai. After entering the city he toured the areas where the soldiers were sleeping out in the open and asked the logistics units to find houses and warehouses for the soldiers to live. A few days later they were moved into houses. He gave them this praise: "With this spirit of hard struggle and plain living, we can run the city of Shanghai well and our army will keep its revolutionary vigour for ever."

Today the People's Liberation Army has carried forward this fine traditional spirit.

ON THE STAGE AND SCREEN

National Theatre Festival

A national theatrical festival began last January in Beijing to mark the 30th anniversary of the founding of New China (October 1). The eighth in a series of items produced for the celebrations includes:

- *Ups and Downs of Fortune*, a modern drama from Shandong Province, depicts the hard life of an overseas Chinese oceanographer.

- *Xie Yaohuan*, a Beijing opera by the capital's artists, is adapted from *Woman Inspector-General*, a local opera of northwest China written by Tian Han, a forerunner in China's opera reform, in the early 60s. This popular opera was banned for ten years or so as a "poisonous weed."

- Music, songs and dances from Tibet describe the life, labour,

customs and habits of Tibetan, Monba and other nationalities.

- Acrobatics by the P.L.A. players. Most of them, performed abroad, were highly praised.

Concert

- The Australian Youth Orchestra, conducted by John Hopkins, played music written by Australian composers and also some European classical pieces. The young musicians impressed the audience with their skill and power of expression.

- Concert by 42-year-old Zhu Fengbo, a soprano soloist from Shanghai. She sang dozens of Chinese folk songs and some famous foreign ones.

Modern Drama

- *Peacock Venom*, a historical play, was staged by Wuhan artists

to mark the first anniversary of the death of its author Guo Moruo, one of China's outstanding men of letters. It is based on a classical story from Yunnan, a province where there are many minority nationalities. It eulogizes the national unity and self-sacrifice of the minority people, while exposing the evils of the society of that time. The play, greatly enjoyed by Beijing audiences, can be seen over TV.

- In memory of an outstanding actress, Shu Xiuwen, who was persecuted to death ten years ago, the Brazilian play *Aesop* in which she played the leading role in 1959 was broadcast again over the radio.

- Comedies over TV include three one-act plays: *Engagement*, about the correct attitude towards love; *The Function of Cigarettes*, concerning abusive practices like bribery and gaining privileges through the "back door"; and *The Young Man in the Chest*, adapted from a classical comedy.

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