

BEIJING REVIEW

- Veteran Vietnamese Revolutionary Hoang Van Hoan
On Viet Nam-China Relations
- Strengthening the Socialist Legal System
- More Youngsters Study Science



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COVER: In response to the Party Central Committee's call to raise the scientific and cultural level of the entire Chinese nation, youngsters all over the country are study- ing hard so as to contribute to the four modernizations. The photograph taken by a worker shows a young scientist doing lab work.	

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CHRONICLE

November 27

• At a press conference attended by Chinese and foreign journalists, the President of the Chinese Olympic Committee, Zhong Shitong, announced that the committee had decided to send athletes to participate in five events at the 13th Winter Olympics to be held at Lake Placid next February: speed-skating, figure skating, alpine skiing, cross-country skiing and the winter biathlon. He also announced that China would participate in the competitions and preliminary contests of 15 events, including track and field, swimming and gymnastics, at the 22nd Summer Olympics to be held in Moscow next July.

• Chinese Olympic Committee President Zhong wrote a letter to the Chairman of the Chinese Taipei (Taipei) Olympic Committee, Shen Chia-ming, proposing sports exchanges between the mainland and Taipei in preparation for the Lake Placid and Moscow games.

• Xinhua News Agency reported that in mid-November Vietnamese armed personnel frequently fired or shelled across China's Yunnan and Guangxi borders and made many incursions into China's territory, killing four inhabitants and wounding many others.

November 29

• The 12th Plenary Session of the Standing Committee of the Fifth National People's Congress appointed Peng Zhen Acting Secretary-General of the N.P.C. Standing Committee.

• Premier Hua sent a message to the President of the United Nations Commemoration Conference on the International Day of Solidarity With the Palestinian People, reaffirming China's support for the struggle of the Palestinian people to regain their national rights.

November 30

• The sixth plenary meeting of the Sino-Soviet negotiations on state relations was held in Moscow. At the meeting, the two sides agreed to close the first round of negotiations. It was learnt that during the negotiations both sides expounded their respective stands on the relations between the two countries.



Strengthening the Socialist Legal System

Laws and decrees enacted since the founding of New China remain effective if they do not contravene the present Constitution and other laws and decrees (such as the Criminal Law and the Law of Criminal Procedure) adopted at the Fifth National People's Congress or its Standing Committee since last summer.

This was stressed in a resolution adopted on November 29 by the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress after a seven-day session. The aim is to strengthen the socialist legal system, ensure a stable political situation and promote the modernization programme.

After the founding of New China, a series of laws and decrees were enacted, which played a big role in maintaining social order and ensuring the development of socialist revolution and construction. Many of these laws and decrees have to be revised or supplemented, but the spirit and content of most of them still hold good.

At present many new laws and decrees have to be enacted, but this cannot be accomplished within a short period of time. The N.P.C. Standing Committee resolution thus provides the public security and judicial departments and the people with laws and guiding principles they can follow.

The judicial system was completely negated by Lin Biao and the gang of four during the Cultural Revolution. Many laws and decrees were suspended, thereby resulting in

utter chaos. With the overthrow of the gang, many cadres and others are not clear as to whether these laws and decrees are still effective. Some have forgotten or are too young to remember them. The law-breakers have taken advantage of this.

Recently, social order in some cities has not been satisfactory and there has been an increasing number of criminal offences. This must be curbed.

In the future, the legislative department will from time to time revise or supplement existing laws and decrees in the light of actual conditions. This will step by step help perfect China's legal system.

The "Xidan Wall"

The "Xidan Wall" in the West City District of Beijing has for some time been the place where people put up wall posters. Some people with ulterior motives have taken advantage of this to disrupt social order and public security. This has caused dissatisfaction among the people, for such action is detrimental to the smooth progress of the four modernizations.

At its recent session, members of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress discussed this question. They all held that appropriate measures should be taken with regard to the "Xidan Wall" and that this question could be handled by the Beijing Municipal Revolutionary Committee.

Xu Deheng, Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the

N.P.C., said in the discussion that the "Xidan Wall" had become the "free" forum of certain people, with foreigners taking a hand in it. The criminal Wei Jingsheng used it as a medium to conduct counter-revolutionary activities. At present, the greatest political need in China is stability and unity so as to ensure the four modernizations. That some people should use the wall to do damage to the modernization programme must not be tolerated.

Noted high-energy physicist Zhang Wenyu, a member of the Standing Committee, said that those who openly opposed the four basic principles (i.e., upholding the socialist road, the dictatorship of the proletariat, the leadership of the Communist Party, and Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. — *Tr.*), colluded with foreigners and asked them for money and political materials to carry out activities against the socialist system must be severely punished. A foreign journalist said in his dispatch that for nearly a year foreigners had been extensively involved in China's "democratic movement." These words should make the matter clear enough to everybody.

Famous model worker Li Ruihuan, another member of the Standing Committee, said that under the guise of democracy some people had put up wall posters on the "Xidan Wall" to attack the Communist Party and the socialist system and pass on intelligence to foreigners. Some gathered there to create disturbances and

disrupt social order. This cannot be tolerated by the socialist legal system.

Xiang Layu, a member of the Standing Committee who hails from Jiangxi Province, said that, on the last few occasions when she came to Beijing to attend the Standing Committee sessions, the masses had urged her to speak on their behalf and propose that the "Xidan Wall" be abolished. The reason was that the wall had been used by a small number of bad people to incite unrest and undermine stability and unity. "Now these people," she said, "want only democracy but not centralism; they don't go to work but gang up with others and make use of wall posters to fabricate rumours and stir up trouble."

Sheng Wan, a Standing Committee member from Henan Province, said that China is a state of people's democratic dictatorship with the people enjoying extensive democratic rights. They can criticize or make suggestions to the leading comrades at various levels and express their views on state affairs. Some people allege that there is no democracy in China except on a wall at Xidan. This is not true. As a matter of fact, a small number of people use the "Xidan Wall" to undermine the people's democracy.

At its fifth plenary session from November 29 to December 1, the Beijing Municipal Revolutionary Committee discussed this question. Expressing full agreement with the N.P.C. Standing Committee that appropriate measures should be taken with regard to the "Xidan Wall," the committee decided to issue a notice in order to safeguard the people's demo-

cratic rights, uphold the socialist legal system and ban illegal activities.

Support for the Zambian People's Just Struggle

Recently, the Rhodesian racist forces sent commandos and carried out armed incursions into Zambia. Hua Guofeng, Premier of the State Council, sent a message on November 27 to President Kaunda, condemning the Rhodesian racist forces' crimes of aggression and expressing profound sympathy and solicitude to the Zambian Government and people.

The message says: "These unrestrained acts of armed aggression against Zambia by the Rhodesian authorities were obviously aimed at compelling Zambia and the other frontline African countries to desist from supporting the Zimbabwean people's struggle for national independence. They are, however, futile. Their barbarous provocations will only arouse the people of Zambia, Zimbabwe and Africa as a whole to greater indignation and resolute struggle. At present, under Your Excellency's leadership, the Zambian Government and people, defying brute force in common hatred for the enemy, have adopted forceful measures in a courageous fight in defence of Zambia's territorial integrity and security against the armed aggression of the Rhodesian racist forces. The Chinese Government and people firmly support your just struggle. I believe that the heroic peoples of Zambia, Zimbabwe and Africa, with justice on their

side, will assuredly win victory."

Capital Construction: Loans Instead of Appropriations

Investment in capital construction will henceforth be made as loans by the People's Construction Bank of China, instead of allocation of funds by the government as was done previously. This decision was taken recently. The new method will be tried out first in the light and textile industries and tourism and in Beijing, Shanghai and Guangdong Province.

Business between the bank and the borrower will be handled according to contracts. Both sides must undertake economic and legal responsibilities, and the side responsible must compensate for any economic loss.

Borrowers must repay the principal and interest on the due date. For heavy industrial enterprises, the period should not be longer than 15 years and for small projects it should not be longer than five years.

When a borrower completes a project on time or ahead of schedule and pays back the principal with interest ahead of time, the money accrued from profit and other sources, which would have been turned over to the state, can be kept by the enterprise for the rest of the period stipulated in the contract and used for expanding production and improving the welfare of the workers and staff members.

If the borrowed sum is not repaid in the specified period,

the enterprise will have to pay the sum from its circulating and improvement funds, and interest will be doubled for that portion of the sum not paid back on time. The Construction Bank will supervise and check up on the use of the loans, which must not be misused by the enterprise concerned.

The new method is a major improvement in capital construction management. The stipulation that the principal and interest on the loan should be paid back on the date due will spur the borrower to consider carefully whether a project should be undertaken. It will also give an incentive for making careful calculations and strict budgeting, so as to get more done with less money and to speed up the construction projects.

This change conforms to the principle of doing economic work according to economic law and will thus help achieve better results from the investment and overcome such shortcomings as making unreasonable demands for more government investments or approval of unnecessary projects, and squandering of state funds.

Reasonable Charges for Tourists

Services and facilities for foreign tourists will be improved and charges will be fixed at a reasonable rate. This was stressed by Lu Xuzhang, director of China's General Administration for Travel and Tourism.

The prices charged for service and commodities are under



Yurts for tourists on the Inner Mongolian grassland.

review as a part of the current nationwide price inspection. Unduly high prices, he said, will be reduced, while reasonable prices should be an accurate indication of the value of the commodity. Prices of food and other commodities and charges for accommodation, travel and guides will be adjusted according to quality.

Tourism is a new industry in China. Because of lack of experience, the charges for service and the prices of commodities were too low in the past. Reasonable adjustments have been made this year, but in some cases the increase is a bit too high.

Also, in some places the prices have been raised without a corresponding improvement in service or facilities, and this has caused dissatisfaction among the tourists. These shortcomings were discussed at a recent national conference on tourism and measures to cope with them were worked out and will soon be put into practice.

More Licences for Individual Labourers

In Beijing and other cities, there are many individual labourers today. Some repair shoes and bicycles by the roadside, some take photographs for people visiting scenic places, some make the rounds of residential quarters sharpening knives and scissors, and some sell small articles such as brooms and mops at prices agreed upon by the buyer and seller. All these are individual handicraft and repair workers licensed to do business on their own.

The Beijing municipal bureau of industry and commerce has issued licences to over 300 people in 33 trades, including sewing, repairing utensils and handicrafts. More licences will be issued later. These people play a supplementary role to that of state or collectively owned enterprises. The state barber's shops, for instance, confine their service to their shops while individual barbers

do haircuts for the disabled, the old and children in the lanes or in their homes. Those who repair pianos, violins and other musical instruments for the residents in their homes are especially popular. Some handicrafts, with skills handed down from generation to generation, have also been restored.

In Shenyang and other cities in northeast China's Liaoning Province, over 3,000 such licences have been issued to individual labourers engaged in repairing shoes and bicycles and selling cold drinks and fruit.

After the socialist transformation of industry and commerce in the 1950s, there still were individual handicraftsmen and pedlars. But during the Cultural Revolution, owing to the influence of the ultra-Left line, they were labelled as "tails of capitalism" and banned. Actually, the individual labourers hired no labourers and did not exploit anyone; they abided by the laws and policies of the government and lived on their own toil and therefore could not be described as "tails of capitalism." The new Constitution adopted last year stipulates that "the state allows non-agricultural individual labourers to engage in individual labour involving no exploitation of others."

In China, enterprises owned by the whole people of course play the dominant role while collective economy which is developing rapidly is also displaying its superiority. Whether in the quantity of products, the number of people employed or the value of output, these two hold a predominant position. As to the individual economy, only

a small number of people are involved and its output value is negligible. But it cannot be denied that the individual labourers provide convenience for the people and meet their needs. For a fairly long time to come, these three kinds of economy will exist side by side.

More and Better Radios And TV Sets

China's radio and television industry has been developing quickly since the beginning of this year. Output has increased considerably and quality has improved too.

Total output of TV sets for the first ten months of this year was 1,012,000, an increase of 160 per cent over that of the corresponding period of last year. Most of them were black and white TV sets with 9-, 12-, 14- and 19-inch screens, and a small number were colour TVs. For the same period output of radio sets was 10.45 million, a 15.8 per cent increase. Among the new products, there are

cabinet radios, electronic clock-radios and radio-cassette recorders.

TV sets are still considered a luxury in China and it takes quite a long time for people to save enough money to buy one. It is only natural that a buyer wants it to be of good quality and durable. Factories producing TV sets, therefore, concentrate their efforts on maintaining the quality of their products. "Leap Forward" TV sets (an annual output of 200,000) which are made in Shanghai has reached the advanced level.

Radios are quite popular among the people in the cities, with a big potential market in the countryside. Aware that the peasants like cheap but good radios, a factory in Wuxi, Jiangsu Province, has produced a small radio sold for the price of four hens. By improving designing and business management, it has succeeded in reducing the cost from 25.3 yuan to 14.47 each. This new type of radio is selling well in the villages.



New TV sets made in Shanghai.

Appointment of University Vice-President: The New Way

Forty-nine-year-old associate professor Yuan Yunkai was recently appointed vice-president of the Shanghai Teachers' University through the recommendation of the faculty members and with the approval of the State Council.

The selection of a university vice-president from among middle-aged teachers through democratic recommendation by the masses is a bold experiment. The Shanghai Teachers' University has one president and six vice-presidents. Their average age is 63, the oldest being 74. They are handicapped by ill health in the performance of their duties. Hence the need to choose a younger person to help in the work of the leading body.

Yuan Yunkai was one of the 33 candidates recommended by the teaching research groups of various departments. Firm in political stand, he proved his competence both as vice-head and later head of the department of physics. He also taught electric-magnetism, theoretical physics and dialectics of nature and engaged in scientific research. He was therefore regarded as a scholar well versed in science and a capable administrative worker. When the university Party committee submitted his name together with a few other candidates to the meeting of representatives of teachers and faculty members for examination, he was selected by a unanimous vote.

The appointment of Yuan Yunkai as a vice-president in

the Shanghai Teachers' University has had good effects. The faculty members all give him full support and have since made many useful proposals on running the school in a still better way. The new appointment is an encouragement to all, including those candidates for the vice-presidency.

What the Shanghai Teachers' University has done is an experiment in improving the present cadre system. It is now recognized as never before that a change must be made to the system in which a cadre, once appointed to a leading position, remains a leading cadre all his life.

Chinese Seismological Society Founded

The Chinese Seismological Society was founded on November 22. Gu Gongxu, a noted geophysicist, was elected president of the society at its inaugural congress held in Dalian and attended by 286 seismologists from all over the country.

In his speech to the congress, Gu Gongxu said that the founding of the society was of great importance for promoting the study of earthquakes, strengthening international co-operation and facilitating exchanges of information.

China now has a specialized contingent of 15,000 people engaged in seismological study and earthquake prediction, Gu Gongxu said. Geophysical activities have increased substantially since the violent earthquake in north China's Xingtai area in 1966. Quakes registering seven degrees or above on

the Richter scale have occurred on many occasions. So, much work has to be done in the field of seismological study and earthquake prediction.

Gu pointed out in his speech: "The emergence and growth of a thing invariably proceed from quantitative to qualitative change. This is also the case with earthquakes. There must be laws governing them and there must be pre-quake phenomena which will gradually be understood as an aid to prediction. What we must do is to be bold and good at practice."

Tangshan Toll Announced.

The congress announced for the first time that the strong earthquake that hit Tangshan on July 28, 1976 killed 242,000 people and seriously injured 164,000 others. These are the total figures for casualties in the Tangshan, Tianjin and Beijing areas. The quake, which registered 7.8 on the Richter scale with an intensity of 11 at the epicentre, struck the populous industrial area at 03 hours, 42 minutes, 56 seconds (Beijing time) that day, when the people were asleep. The seismological department had not given any warning beforehand.

The congress received 605 papers. While it was in session, seminars were held.



Why Did Sino-Vietnamese Relations Deteriorate After Viet Nam's Unification?

— Third Comment on Viet Nam's White Book

by "Renmin Ribao" and Xinhua Commentators

The drastic worsening of Sino-Vietnamese relations after Viet Nam's unification is the result of Hanoi's hostile policy towards China in order to achieve its regional hegemonist ambitions. In mounting aggression and expansion and pursuing hegemonism after the unification of their country, the Vietnamese authorities have counted on the support of the Soviet superpower hegemonists who, seeking global hegemony, regard Viet Nam as a cat's-paw in their drive into Southeast Asia. Hanoi accepts the Soviet Union as its overlord in its own quest for hegemony in Southeast Asia.

IN their white book on Viet Nam-China relations over the last 30 years, the Vietnamese authorities present the history since Viet Nam's unification in 1975 as one of China "betraying" Viet Nam for the third time. They attribute the worsening of Sino-Vietnamese relations in recent years to the alleged fact that China "begrudged" Viet Nam's unification, "did not support the Vietnamese people in the reconstruction of their country in the new stage," "sought in every way possible" to "deliberately sabotage the friendship" between the two countries and engaged in "big-power hegemonism."

Chinese Aid

Is what they said true? We would like to ask: Did the Chinese people ever let the Vietnamese people down before or after the unification of Viet Nam?

Hanoi's white book alleges that China "rejected Viet Nam's requests for further aid" from 1975. But the truth is that although China had been plunged into dire economic straits by Lin Biao and the gang of four and should have been given a respite from shouldering the heavy

burden of aiding Viet Nam after the end of Viet Nam's war of resistance against U.S. aggression, it still continued to build 50-60 aid projects in Viet Nam each year. These included not only heavy, light and textile industries, transport, communications and hospitals, but also plants for overhauling torpedo boats, manufacturing heavy and light machineguns and 12.7 mm. anti-aircraft machineguns as well as expanding existing rifle and ammunition plants.

This shows that after Viet Nam's unification, the Chinese people, who regard the Vietnamese people as their comrades and brothers, continued to render selfless aid to Viet Nam. They hoped that the Vietnamese people would recover from the wounds of protracted war, build a happy life and advance towards prosperity. Is it conceivable that all this economic and military assistance provided by the Chinese people was intended to "weaken" and "conquer" Viet Nam and "deliberately sabotage the friendship" between the two countries?

Regional Hegemonist Ambitions

The drastic worsening of Sino-Vietnamese relations after Viet Nam's unification is not the result of China's "hostile policy" towards the reunified Viet Nam as is alleged by the Vietnamese authorities, but because of their own hostile policy towards China in order to achieve their regional hegemonist ambitions.

After unification, Hanoi paid no heed to its people's pressing desire for the rehabilitation of the country devastated by 30 long years of war. Instead, it embarked on a course of aggression and expansion, trying to rig up an "Indochinese federation," reach into the Gulf of Siam and dominate Southeast Asia. It has blustered that "the emergence of a strong state

of Viet Nam will surely open a new chapter in history and contribute to a radical change in the political situation in the Southeast Asian region. This region has for a long time remained in the rear and a target in the scramble of the imperialist forces."

Kampuchea and Laos, Viet Nam's two neighbours, became the first victims of the Vietnamese authorities' aggression and expansion. In June 1975, they went back on their pledge repeatedly stated in the 60s that they would recognize the existing Kampuchean-Vietnamese boundary. Their naval and ground forces occupied Kampuchea's Way Island. This marked the beginning of frequent Vietnamese incursions into Kampuchean territory facing the Gulf of Siam. From that year up to 1978, Hanoi engaged in infiltration and subversion in Kampuchea in an attempt to overthrow the Government of Democratic Kampuchea.

Meanwhile, tens of thousands of Vietnamese troops and large numbers of officials, advisers and secret agents were sent to Laos under the signboard of "special relationship" to exercise tight control over all central departments of the Lao Party, Government and army as well as those in the localities. By ruthlessly purging and hounding patriotic Lao officials and suppressing the people, Hanoi has managed to place that country under its domination.

Some parts of Chinese territory, too, have become targets of Vietnamese aggression. In April 1975, Hanoi seized the opportunity presented by the liberation of south Viet Nam to send its troops to occupy six islands in China's Nansha Island Group. It thus turned about-face from its previous position that the Xisha and Nansha Island Groups were part of China, and instead began declaiming to the world that these island groups belong to Viet Nam.

Trying to nibble away at Chinese territory, the Vietnamese authorities have by various means created disputes over Sino-Vietnamese border areas. They took actions to "purify the border areas" in the provinces contiguous to China, systematically drove away local inhabitants whose forefathers had lived there for generations.

The Chinese side, on its part, exercised forbearance and self-restraint for the sake of preserving the friendship between the Chinese and Vietnamese peoples and the amiable relations between the two countries. However, the Vietnamese authorities took the Chinese goodwill as a manifestation of weakness and

believed that China could be bullied. So instead of restraining themselves in any way, they intensified their anti-China activities.

A crucial factor contributing to the drastic deterioration of Sino-Vietnamese relations is the fact that at the time when the Vietnamese authorities embarked on an armed aggression to annex Kampuchea, China sided with the Kampuchean people instead of the Vietnamese authorities—a fact which sent those in Hanoi into a rage. Since September 1977, Hanoi has repeatedly sent large numbers of troops to invade Kampuchea and finally mobilized more than 100,000 troops to overrun Phnom Penh as well as vast tracts of Kampuchean territory. It is only natural for China, a socialist country, to extend sympathy for and support to the Kampuchean people's struggle against Vietnamese aggression. That is why the Vietnamese authorities harbour a burning hatred for China and consider it the main obstacle in the way of their aggression and expansion abroad. This, in turn, has prompted them to take even wilder anti-China measures.

Beginning April 1978, Hanoi launched a large-scale campaign against China and Chinese nationals. To date, well over 200,000 refugees, including many Chinese residents in Viet Nam, have been driven into China. In the Sino-Vietnamese border areas, the Vietnamese authorities have deliberately provoked disputes and conflicts, nibbled away pieces of Chinese territory, and killed or wounded Chinese frontier guards and inhabitants. All this seriously threatened the peace and security in China's border areas.

China Forced to Counterattack In Self-Defence

It was only after Viet Nam's unscrupulous and unrestrained anti-China activities made it impossible for China to continue its aid projects in Viet Nam that China was compelled to stop its economic and technical assistance and recall the Chinese engineering personnel from Viet Nam in the middle of 1978.

By February 1979, the Vietnamese authorities' armed intrusions into Chinese border areas had taxed China's forbearance to the limit and forced the Chinese frontier guards to undertake a necessary, while at the same time limited, self-defensive counterattack. Now Hanoi claims that this action was the cause of the deterioration in Sino-Vietnamese relations. This is a despicable reversal of cause and effect.

During their self-defensive counterattack, the Chinese people found that just as the war against U.S. aggression ended, the Vietnamese authorities began making preparations for war against China. They built fortifications with Chinese aid materials and stored large quantities of Chinese supplied weapons, ammunition and grain on the Vietnamese side of the Sino-Vietnamese frontier. Under such circumstances, isn't China justified in stopping its aid to Viet Nam?

Events in Indochina and in Sino-Vietnamese relations after Viet Nam's unification bear witness to who is really seeking expansion and hegemony, who entertains the "design to conquer" the whole of Indochina, who is working unceasingly for "a drive into Southeast Asia" and who has fanatically carried out a systematic policy of hostility? It is clearly the Vietnamese authorities and not China. It is easy to see that the policy of regional hegemony pursued by Hanoi at the instigation of the Soviet Union is the root cause of the hostilities in Indochina, the unrest in Southeast Asia and the deterioration in Sino-Vietnamese relations during the past few years.

The more truculent the Vietnamese authorities become in their ambitions for regional hegemony, the more they see China as the obstacle to their quest for hegemony, the more furiously they escalate their anti-China campaign and the worse Sino-Vietnamese relations become. This is the logic which explains the deterioration in Sino-Vietnamese relations and which the Vietnamese authorities have gone to great lengths to cover up in their white book.

Moscow and Hanoi Work Hand in Glove

The policy of seeking regional hegemony pursued by the Vietnamese authorities after the unification of their country has plunged them into dire straits at home and abroad, and things will get tougher for them as time goes on. In the circumstances, they become more and more obsessed with their anti-China mania, believing it to be a cure for their ills. As their people become increasingly dissatisfied with the policy of enlarged aggression which brings them great suffering, the Vietnamese authorities try to check this popular discontent by intensifying the anti-China campaign. In the heat of worldwide condemnation of their massive military action in the Kampuchean-Thai border areas, they hope to divert the attention of the world public from this military

action with louder anti-China propaganda. They need energetic Soviet support for their aggressive ventures, and anti-China activities become their means of soliciting this support. Of course, all these points are not mentioned in the white book.

In mounting aggression and expansion and pursuing hegemony after the unification of their country, the Vietnamese authorities have counted on the support of the Soviet super-power hegemonists. The Soviet Union, seeking global hegemony, has regarded Viet Nam as a cat's-paw in its drive into Southeast Asia. Hanoi accepts the Soviet Union as its overlord in its own quest for hegemony in Southeast Asia. Ganging up with and using each other, these two countries have endangered the peace, security and stability of the region. In view of this obvious fact, it is futile for the Vietnamese authorities to attempt to vilify China by claiming in their white book that China is practising "big-nation hegemonism." It is equally futile for them to attempt to hoodwink people and make use of the so-called Sino-Vietnamese relations issue to gloss over their own and the Soviet Union's aggression and expansion in Indochina and Southeast Asia.

Hanoi's Betrayal

By transforming socialist Viet Nam, a country which has itself been the victim of aggression, into a country practising hegemonism and aggression against others, the Vietnamese authorities have defamed the country and isolated it from most of the world. It is indeed a betrayal pure and simple that they should go against the tide of history and forfeit the fruits of victory gained by the people after dozens of years of struggle. And it is also a betrayal pure and simple that they should treat their brothers and comrades-in-arms who had gone through thick and thin and fought shoulder to shoulder with them for dozens of years, as their number one enemy.

The Vietnamese Foreign Ministry has packed its white book with fabrications, distortions and falsifications of historical facts. This compels us to make this necessary reply. While its lies are not worth refuting one by one, the white book remains a record of shocking political degeneration in modern international relations. It came as a surprise but will be quickly forgotten.

(Originally published in "Renmin Ribao" on November 26. Subheads are ours.)

Distortion of Facts About Militant Friendship Between Viet Nam and China Is Impermissible

by Hoang Van Hoan

Following is the article written by Hoang Van Hoan, Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National Assembly of Viet Nam, to expound the truth about the relations between Viet Nam and China. The article was published in "Renmin Ribao" on November 27. — Ed.

THE Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Viet Nam under the control of Le Duan and company has recently issued a white book entitled "The Truth About Viet Nam-China Relations Over the Last 30 Years" in order to distort the facts about Viet Nam-China relations.

The white book was issued at a time when the Chinese people were warmly celebrating the 30th anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China and when Le Duan and company were massing troops for a new dry-season offensive against Kampuchea, intensifying their armed provocations along the Viet Nam-China border and mobilizing for a war against China. Their intention was obviously to defame socialist China in an attempt to instigate the Vietnamese people to intensified opposition to China so as to attenuate people's dissatisfaction with the sufferings caused by Le Duan and company, as well as divert world opinion from denouncing their criminal aggression against Kampuchea.

Their white book lists some so-called historical data about Viet Nam-China relations. Some of them are sheer fabrications; others misrepresentations or distortions of facts and still others quotations from foreign publications taken out of context to serve the authors' purpose. Besides, it drags in material which is essentially irrelevant to Viet Nam-China relations in an attempt to sow dissension between China and other countries.

It doesn't take much political discernment to see right away that this white book is but a hodgepodge of illogical, self-contradictory and ill-contrived arguments which are not worth refuting one by one.

However, as I was the first Vietnamese Ambassador to China and representative of the Vietnamese Party Central Committee to the Communist Party of China for eight years, Chief of the Commission of External Relations of the Vietnamese Party Central Committee for eight years, and a Member of the Political Bureau of the Vietnamese Party Central Committee for 20 years, I am well acquainted with the entire history of Viet Nam-China relations. As a witness to history, I feel duty-bound to bring the true facts to the knowledge of the Vietnamese people and the people of other countries so that they may not be taken in by Le Duan and company.

The truth about major aspects of Viet Nam-China relations over the last 30 years is as follows:

I. Matters During the War of Resistance to France

A. China's Aid During the War of Resistance to France

The white book concocted by Le Duan and company asserts that in aiding Viet Nam, China had the ulterior motive of "weakening," "con-

Comrade Hoang Van Hoan interviewed by a reporter from China's Central Television in Beijing on November 22.



trolling" and "annexing" Viet Nam. But what are the facts?

The military situation in Viet Nam's war of resistance to France in the late 1940s was one in which Viet Nam was still weak in strength and its base areas were cut into pieces by the French troops, so that our communication was very difficult, and we were subjected to frequent mopping-up operations. Things were particularly difficult for the central base area in north Viet Nam.

With the founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949, the world balance of forces underwent a drastic change. Relations between Viet Nam and China and between the two Parties entered a new stage. Early in 1950 President Ho Chi Minh made a secret visit to China and asked for Chinese help. The Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party agreed to give all-out support to the Vietnamese revolution. But in order to facilitate the transport of massive aid, it was imperative to clear the border of enemy troops, for the main lines of communication linking Vietnamese border areas with China were then still under the control of the French troops. The two sides agreed as the first step to launch a campaign in the border areas. Comrade Chen Geng* representing the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party came to Viet Nam to help with the training of cadres and troops and the organization of the campaign. Meanwhile, at the request of President Ho Chi Minh, the Chinese Party Central Committee sent to Viet Nam a military advisory group headed by Comrade Wei Guoqing.**

Under the direct leadership of President Ho Chi Minh and with the help of Comrades Chen Geng and Wei Guoqing and other Chinese military advisers, Viet Nam won the great victory of the border campaign and changed the military situation by destroying the entire French defence system from Cao Bang to Lang Son and opening up major communication lines in the border areas. Thereupon China became a vast rear area for Viet Nam. After the border campaign, the military advisory group helped us organize the campaigns of Trung Du (the middle reaches of the Red River), Dong Bac

(northeast), Ninh Binh, Tay Bac (northwest) and Thuong Lao (Upper Laos), in which we wiped out large numbers of French effectives.

True, the great victory of the Dien Bien Phu Battle in 1954 was won through the heroic fighting and with the blood and sacrifices of the Vietnamese army and people, but it could not be separated from China's unsparing material aid and the direct assistance of its military advisory group. It should be pointed out that in the Dien Bien Phu Battle, without the artillery sent by China it would not have been possible to destroy the French army corps' strongpoints, and without the personal participation of Comrade Wei Guoqing in the frontline command of the battle it would have been difficult to win complete victory.

During that period, militarily China not only helped Viet Nam organize the campaigns and supplied us with large quantities of food, war materiel, communication equipment, etc., but also passed on to us their experience in setting up a system of political work in the armed forces, organizing and training troops, educating cadres and improving logistic and communication systems. This was most valuable aid which laid the foundation for the subsequent growth of the Vietnamese army.

In 1950, too, before the border campaign began, China had sent a political advisory group headed by Comrade Luo Guibo*** to Viet Nam to pass on their experience in financial and economic work, rectification of cadres' ideology and working style, government work and mobilization of the masses. Thanks to their experience, our work in all fields gradually got on the right course, and the masses were mobilized, thus ensuring our success in the war against the French.

With the victory of the Dien Bien Phu Battle and the success of the Geneva Conference, peace was restored in Indochina and the northern part of Viet Nam was completely liberated. Again at the request of President Ho, China sent over Comrade Fang Yi**** and other advisers and experts to help Viet Nam rehabilitate and develop the economy in the north.

In a word, during our war of resistance against France, China was the only country which rendered aid to Viet Nam. President Ho

* Chen Geng, the late Vice-Minister of National Defence of China. — *Ed.*

** Wei Guoqing, now Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Director of the General Political Department of the Chinese People's Liberation Army. — *Ed.*

*** Luo Guibo, former Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs and former Ambassador to Viet Nam. — *Ed.*

**** Fang Yi, now Member of the Political Bureau of the C.P.C. Central Committee and Vice-Premier of the State Council. — *Ed.*

and the Vietnamese Party highly appraised this aid, for which the Vietnamese people are grateful and which they will never forget. Even Le Duan himself said when he just arrived in the north from the south in early 1957: "We could not have defeated France without China's help." But now the fact is stood on its head and white called black in the white book of Le Duan and company. This is really inconceivable ingratitude.

B. Important Matters at the Geneva Conference

In their white book Le Duan and company have tried their utmost to misrepresent the 1954 Geneva Conference on Indochina and viciously attack the Chinese delegation, going to the length of slandering the Chinese leaders as "betraying" the Indochinese peoples.

I took a direct part throughout the conference as a member and the spokesman of the Delegation of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. I will make public the facts so that everybody may know them.

The position of seeking to restore peace in Indochina through a negotiated settlement was first expressed by President Ho in answering the Editor-in-Chief of the Swedish paper *Expressen* in November 1953. In March 1954 the Vietnamese Party Central Committee received a notification from the Soviet Party Central Committee to the effect that the Berlin Conference of the Foreign Ministers of the Soviet Union, the United States, Britain and France had decided to call a Geneva conference to discuss the question of restoring peace in Indochina, which would be attended by the Soviet Union, the United States, Britain, France, China and other countries concerned. It was understood by the Soviet side that the "other countries concerned" referred to in the decision meant the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, the puppet regime in Saigon, the Kingdom of Laos and the Kingdom of Cambodia. After a serious discussion of the Soviet notification, the Vietnamese Party Central Committee and President Ho decided on Vietnamese participation in the Geneva Conference together with the Soviet Union and China and sent the delegation headed by Pham Van Dong.

(1) Close Co-operation of the Vietnamese, Soviet and Chinese Delegations at the Geneva Conference. The conference was an international struggle between the socialist and the imperialist camps. Its co-chairmanship held by

the Soviet Union and Britain was a reflection of the nature of the struggle in organizational form. Throughout the conference Viet Nam, the Soviet Union and China were on the same side, fighting shoulder to shoulder and maintaining very close contacts. The strategy, tactics, proposals and counter-measures in the negotiations were all worked out through joint consultations before they were used or put forward by Viet Nam, the Soviet Union or China according to a division of labour in contacts with the other camp or at the conference table. The various agreements reached at the conference, including those on the demarcation of the regrouping zones for the two sides of Viet Nam, the representation of the resistance forces of Laos and Khmer and the regrouping of their troops, were all agreed upon by the delegations of Viet Nam, the Soviet Union and China unanimously.

Now, Le Duan and company are openly telling lies by asserting that at the conference "China's stand was entirely different from Viet Nam's," that "colluding with each other," China and France "reached agreement on the framework of a solution to the Indochina question," and then "pressed Viet Nam to accept it." These assertions are very foolish. Were the delegations of Viet Nam and the Soviet Union mere puppets to be manipulated by China during the Geneva Conference?

(2) The Question of the Provisional Military Demarcation Line. This was in essence a question of demarcation of regrouping zones for the armies of the two sides. In the beginning the delegations of Viet Nam, the Soviet Union and China all thought in terms of these zones as being in a jigsaw pattern. But later they unanimously agreed that it was more advantageous to draw a line between the north and the south so that Viet Nam could have a revolutionary base all in one piece. As to where to draw the provisional military demarcation line, the 13th or the 16th Parallel had been entertained. During the adjournment of the conference Premier Zhou Enlai and myself went to consult President Ho in Liuzhou. President Ho agreed to the plan of drawing a demarcation line between the north and the south and estimated that the other side would settle on the 17th Parallel at the most. At the last stage of the conference, Pham Van Dong, with the approval of the Vietnamese Party Central Committee, held direct negotiations with the French Premier Mendes-France and accepted the 17th Parallel as the temporary military demarcation



President Ho Chi Minh and Ambassador Hoang Van Hoan (left) accompanied by Chinese Vice-Foreign Minister Ji Pengfei (right) at Munan Guan on the Sino-Vietnamese border in June 1955.

line in exchange for the explicit provision in the agreement of the holding of general elections within two years for the reunification of Viet Nam. This was an agreement reached after repeated struggle between the two sides and by no means a result of "China exerting even greater pressure to obtain concessions from Viet Nam."

(3) The Representation of the Resistance Forces of Laos and Khmer at the Geneva Conference. This was an issue over which the delegations of Viet Nam, the Soviet Union and China waged repeated struggles against the other side, but to which the latter never agreed. Finally, in order to enable the conference to go on, the Soviet Union and China suggested that Viet Nam consult with the Laotian and Khmer comrades, and after obtaining their agreement the point was no longer pressed. Thus at the conference Viet Nam acted as the spokesman of the Lao and Khmer resistance forces. Therefore, the regrouping of the Lao resistance forces in Samneua and Phongsaly Provinces and the in-place regrouping of the Khmer resistance forces were the final proposals put forward by Viet Nam; they were, of course, also agreed on by the Soviet Union and China in

advance. However, to describe these solutions as Chinese "plots," as Le Duan and company do in their white book, is in fact a mean distortion designed to sow dissension between China on the one hand and Kampuchea and Laos on the other.

(4) The Result of the Geneva Conference.

The agreements reached at the Geneva Conference forced France to recognize the independence, unity, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Viet Nam, Laos and Kampuchea, withdraw all its expeditionary army, and secured the liberation of northern Viet Nam as a whole and its establishment as an integral state with its own capital and seaports, with its territorial sea and air and sovereignty and with its international status, a state which was to serve as the solid base for the reunification of the country. Was this result of the conference a victory or a failure? In order to answer this question, Le Duan and company had better open their eyes and look over the successive comments and reports concerning the Geneva Conference carried in the eight issues of *Nhan Dan*, organ of the Workers' Party of Viet Nam, from July 25 to August 18, 1954. There were Pham Van Dong's statement at the last meeting of the conference, President Ho's call of July 22, 1954 on the restoration of peace in Indochina, the call of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Viet Nam, the call of the Standing Committee of the National Assembly, the circular of the Council of Ministers, the congratulatory messages from fraternal countries and international organizations, etc., which unanimously acclaimed the result of the Geneva Conference as a great victory.

But now, Le Duan and company, in order to attain their insidious aim of maligning China, arbitrarily allege that the Geneva Conference was a failure, that China's stand at the conference was entirely different from Viet Nam's, and that the result of the conference prevented the peoples of the three Indochinese countries from winning complete victory in the war of resistance against France. This is indeed a despicable tactic!

II. Matters During the Period Of Resistance to U.S. Aggression

A. China's Attitude to the Armed Struggle of the South Vietnamese People

In their white book, Le Duan and company assert that China's purpose in exerting pres-



Chairman Mao with President Ho Chi Minh at the banquet the Chairman gave in honour of the Vietnamese comrade on November 2, 1960.

expose its armed forces in south Viet Nam and said that they considered it not yet the time.

In 1959 the Ngo Dinh Diem clique promulgated its decree No. 10 and beheaded large numbers of south Vietnamese people with chaffcutters. The south Vietnamese people were driven beyond forbearance and rose up in armed self-defence. The Vietnamese Party Central Committee de-

cideds to force Viet Nam to accept the policy of "prolonged ambush" was to "prevent the Vietnamese people from stepping up armed struggle in south Viet Nam" and "to perpetuate the partition of Viet Nam." This is a downright lie.

cideds promptly to begin the struggle of armed self-defence in south Viet Nam, and very good results were achieved. In 1960, after learning more about the new conditions in south Viet Nam, the Chinese comrades expressed explicitly to the Vietnamese that they were not as well-informed as the Vietnamese comrades for they had considered the time not ripe for revealing the strength. Now they agreed that the Vietnamese position for armed struggle in the south was correct and that they would fully support it.

The fact was that soon after peace was restored in Indochina, the Vietnamese Party consulted with both the Soviet and the Chinese Parties on its policy in future struggle. The Soviet Party then held that north and south Viet Nam should coexist peacefully and "realize the reunification of the country by peaceful means on the basis of independence and democracy." The Chinese comrades maintained that, owing to imperialist sabotage, it was definitely impossible to reunite Viet Nam by general elections as provided for in the Geneva agreements and it was imperative to get ready for a protracted struggle. The Chinese comrades explained the policy they pursued in the past in enemy-occupied areas as "lying low for a long time, mustering strength, keeping in close touch with the people and waiting for an opportunity." They indicated this was China's experience passed on to the Vietnamese comrades for reference only.

A vivid example of such support was China's special supply of over 90,000 rifles and machineguns to the south Vietnamese people in 1962 for unfolding guerrilla warfare. Later, with the growth of the people's armed struggle

Premier Zhou Enlai with President Ho (Comrade Deng Xiaoping in the background) on December 6, 1960.



In 1956 Ngo Dinh Diem refused to hold the general elections and frenziedly oppressed the people in south Viet Nam. It was suggested inside the Vietnamese Party in 1958 that armed struggle be unfolded against Ngo Dinh Diem. The Vietnamese Party Central Committee put forward this view on their own initiative to the Central Committee of the Chinese Party. The Chinese comrades suggested that Viet Nam think over whether it was opportune then to

in south Viet Nam, China increased its aid. It may be said that almost all weapons and other equipment of the south liberation army were provided by China except those captured from the enemy. In order to speed up military shipments, China spent an enormous amount of money to open up a transport line to south Viet Nam via Kampuchea, build a secret port in Hainan Island. And each year it gave tens of millions of U.S. dollars to south Viet Nam for use at its discretion.

Very clearly, China's attitude was not only that of supporting the south Vietnamese people's armed struggle but also that of actively giving them military aid.

B. China's Attitude to Viet Nam After The U.S. Extended the War to the North

Le Duan and company allege in their white book that, after the United States extended the war to the north, China "turned on the green light for the United States to directly invade Viet Nam" and that China's aid was merely "sticks and carrots." At the same time, they fabricate stories about so-called Chinese obstructions to Soviet aid to Viet Nam. But the facts were to the contrary.

(1) China's Political and Moral Support.

After August 1964, especially after February 1965, the U.S. imperialists bombed north Viet Nam, extending the war of aggression to the whole of Viet Nam. There was immediately a new upsurge in China to assist Viet Nam in its resistance against U.S. aggression. Tens of millions of Chinese people held demonstrations in support of Viet Nam. The late Chairman Mao Zedong and Premier Zhou Enlai personally at-

tended the mass rally of over one million people in Beijing. China solemnly declared: "The Chinese people will give the south Vietnamese people all necessary material assistance. We are also prepared to send our personnel to fight alongside the south Vietnamese people whenever they deem it necessary." "The 700 million Chinese people provide a powerful backing for the Vietnamese people; the vast expanse of China's territory is their reliable rear area"; "we will not flinch from maximum national sacrifices in giving firm support to the fraternal Vietnamese people in carrying their great struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation through to the end." These firm statements greatly inspired every Vietnamese.

However, in the white book Le Duan and company quote Chairman Mao's saying "We will not attack unless we are attacked" in an attempt to slander China as "turning on the green light for the United States to directly invade Viet Nam." As a matter of fact, the principle that "we will not attack unless we are attacked; if we are attacked we will certainly counterattack" was laid down by Chairman Mao early in Yanan when Chiang Kai-shek troops attempted to attack the liberated area. Here I wish to quote from the Chinese Government's statement of February 9, 1965 that "aggression by the United States against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam means aggression against China." This statement shows that China was consistent in giving firm support to Viet Nam in its war against U.S. aggression.

(2) China's Assistance in Manpower and Materials. Le Duan and company assert in the white book that China provided Viet Nam only

A mass rally in Beijing to support Viet Nam in 1965.



"with light weapons, ammunition and logistic supplies," moreover, Chinese aid "is but a political means for realizing their expansionist policy." But in fact, during the period of resistance against U.S. aggression as well as the period of resistance to France, China not only gave Viet Nam the most powerful political and moral support but also granted Viet Nam unconditional and enormous manpower and material assistance which exceeded that from any other country in the world.

At the request of President Ho and in accordance with the agreement between the two governments, beginning from October 1965 China's air defence forces, engineers, railway builders, logistics personnel etc. were sent to work in north Viet Nam up to over 300,000. The Chinese comrades downed many enemy aircraft, built over a thousand kilometres of transportation lines to support the front and ensured smooth transport. Thousands of Chinese soldiers gave their lives on Vietnamese soil. After fulfilling the task, all these forces had withdrawn to China by July 1970. In regard to such open and aboveboard action, Le Duan and company go to the length of alleging in the white book: "Their main task was to conduct investigations in various fields to infiltrate into areas inhabited by ethnic minorities, and to try to propagate their cultural revolution." What shocking nonsense!

From 1950 to 1978 the worth of Chinese aid materials to Viet Nam exceeded 20 billion U.S. dollars, ranking first among the aid-giving countries. They included light and heavy weapons, ammunition and other military supplies enough to equip over 2 million ground, naval and air forces, hundreds of manufacturing units and repair factories, over 300 million metres of cloth, more than 30 thousand trucks, etc. China helped Viet Nam build hundreds of kilometres of railway, supplying all the rails, locomotives and carriages. When Viet Nam had bad harvests, China supplied over 5 million tons of food grain. China tried its best to supply Viet Nam with about 2 million tons of gasoline when it became just self-sufficient in oil with the opening of the Daqing Oilfield. At the same time, China gave Viet Nam pipes of a total length of more than 3,000 kilometres so that Viet Nam might lay a pipeline for conveying Chinese oil to south Viet Nam. China's assistance played an important role in ensuring the supply of articles of daily use for the Vietnamese people during the war years. Especially, China gave Viet Nam hundreds of millions of



Comrade Zhu De with Comrade Hoang Van Hoan on July 12, 1965.

U.S. dollars in foreign exchange for use at its discretion when the Chinese themselves badly needed foreign currency with which to build up their country. In the past, Le Duan himself expressed thanks to the Chinese leaders, saying: "But for your warmhearted assistance, we would have had to spare another 2 or 3 million lives to win the victory." But in the current white book they have altered some words so that it reads "if you give us warmhearted assistance, we shall be able to save 2 or 3 million lives." What shameless distortion!

(3) China's Assistance in Transporting Soviet Aid Materials to Viet Nam. Le Duan and company allege in the white book that China wanted "Viet Nam to refuse all aid from the Soviet Union," that "they created tremendous difficulties for the transportation of aid supplies from the Soviet Union and other socialist countries via China," etc. I know clearly that far from asking Viet Nam to refuse Soviet aid materials, China regularly helped transport such materials, and, when it was military material, free of charge. As some Western press agencies spread the story that China was creating difficulties for the transit of materials, the Vietnamese Government on June 19, 1966 authorized the Vietnamese News Agency to issue a statement saying that "the government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam has affirmed on many occasions that the aid materials from the Soviet Union and other East European fraternal countries have all been transported through China according to plan with the full help of China," and criticizing the rumour in this regard spread by the Western news agencies as "total fabrications designed for the ugly purpose of sowing discord." The facts were clear, yet Le Duan and company purposely

evade them, pretending to be wholly ignorant about them!

(4) The Issue of the Soviet Demand to Establish an Air Corridor and Build Airfields in China. The white book of Le Duan and company attacks China for rejecting the Soviet proposal "to establish an air corridor over China and build airfields in China." What are the facts? In 1965 the Soviet Union asked China to permit its establishment of an air corridor over China and assignment of the Kunming Airport for the special use of the Soviet Union on the pretext of the need of aiding Viet Nam with 12 MIG-21 aircraft. This was obviously a demand encroaching upon China's sovereignty. Therefore, Premier Zhou Enlai went in person to Hanoi to consult with the Central Committee of the Vietnamese Party. After understanding was reached, China rejected the Soviet Union's demand. This was only natural as no country would forgo its sovereignty and let a foreign country do things of this kind.

C. China's Attitude to the Viet Nam-U.S. Paris Talks and the Liberation of South Viet Nam

Le Duan and company allege in the white book that China "opposed Viet Nam's decision to negotiate with the United States," but itself was "negotiating with the United States behind Viet Nam's back," and "prevented the Vietnamese people from completely liberating south Viet Nam," etc. This is sheer nonsense.

(1) The Viet Nam-U.S. Talks in Paris. At the time when the U.S. imperialists bombed north Viet Nam in an attempt to force the south Vietnamese people to stop their fight, Le Duan and some others already entertained the idea of asking the Soviet Union to be the mediator, so as to negotiate a settlement with the United States. However, fearing that President Ho might not give his consent, they talked in a roundabout way and said that talks with the United States would be a borrowing of the Chinese experience of "talk, talk, fight, fight." President Ho answered that "if this is the case, I shall hear what you have to say. How can the problems which are not settled in the battlefield be settled at the negotiation table? We should give first place to fight and, at the same time, express our willingness to negotiate. But we should discuss the matter with the Chinese comrades carefully."

In autumn 1966 Comrade Nguyen Chi Thanh went to China upon President Ho's instructions to discuss the question of launching an offensive in the military, political and diplomatic fields and explain the idea of fighting cum negotiations. During the talks, Premier Zhou Enlai briefed him on China's experience in conducting negotiations cum fighting but said that victory could be won at the conference table only when victory was striven for and won on the battlefield.

At that time, the Vietnamese and Chinese Parties maintained a very close relationship, seeking prior consultations on all major issues and informing each other of all important decisions. However, after President Johnson of the United States expressed willingness to negotiate with Viet Nam on March 31, 1968, the Vietnamese Government announced on April 3 that it was prepared to send a delegation at any time to hold negotiations with the United States. This was done without prior exchange of views with China or giving the latter information. At that time President Ho and myself were on a rest cure in Beijing. When Premier Zhou Enlai went to ask President Ho, the latter knew nothing about it either! China thought that there might be some scheming behind this unusual move taken by Le Duan and company behind China's back. Therefore, during the early period of the negotiations, China refrained from dispatching any correspondents to cover them in Paris. This was a sign of dissatisfaction, which was quite understandable.

But having learnt of the developments at the Paris talks for some time, Chairman Mao said to Pham Van Dong: "I support your policy. I am in favour of fighting cum negotiations." After that China openly expressed its support for the Vietnamese conducting negotiations in Paris.

The negotiations started in early 1968, but they were on and off, until 1973 when changes had taken place on the Vietnamese battlefield and inside the United States, and the Paris agreement was reached, providing for the withdrawal of U.S. forces from Viet Nam. They took five years. Facts proved that the assessment and proposition of President Ho and the Chinese comrades were correct.

(2) Nixon's Visit to China. This took place while the Paris negotiations were going on. Taking advantage of this opportunity, Le Duan alleged that China broke faith with Viet Nam. But actually Nixon's visit to China precipitated

the restoration of China's seat in the United Nations and the compulsory U.S. recognition of Taiwan as a part of Chinese territory. Nixon's trip to China was made at the request of the United States. The fact that the President of a big power like the United States of America, which had refused to recognize China and been hostile to it for more than 20 years, should finally beg for permission to visit China was in itself a diplomatic victory for China. What is more, after Kissinger's trip to Beijing to make preparations for Nixon's visit, Premier Zhou Enlai personally went to Viet Nam to brief us on China's exchange of views with Kissinger. After Nixon's trip, Premier Zhou Enlai again went to Hanoi personally to inform Viet Nam that during the talks with Nixon, China made it clear to him that "in order to normalize the relations between China and the United States and to ease tension in the Far East, first and foremost, the Viet Nam and Indochina problems must be settled. We do not demand that the Taiwan problem be settled first. Taiwan is for a later stage." The Chinese political attitude was so open and aboveboard, China won great victory for itself; at the same time it continued to aid Viet Nam, even more abundantly than before. Was there anything harmful in it to Viet Nam? Things are quite obvious, but Le Duan and company wilfully say in the white book that "Peking at heart wants to make use of Viet Nam question for the settlement of Taiwan issue first." This is a malicious falsehood.

(3) **China's Support for the Complete Liberation of South Viet Nam.** In the white book, Le Duan and company concoct the charge that China "prevents the Vietnamese people from completely liberating south Viet Nam." To support this malicious charge, they quoted Chairman Mao, who said that the revolution in south Viet Nam should be "carried out in two steps. If you combine them into one, the United States won't just look on. The problem is that the Nguyen Van Thieu administration still has hundreds of thousands of troops." Le Duan and company stop the quote here. But actually Chairman Mao went on to make a very important statement: "The problem of these troops can only be solved by war." It is quite clear that the first step was forcing the withdrawal of the U.S. troops from the south; and the second step, using the means of war to overthrow the puppet Nguyen Van Thieu clique and liberate the south.

The white book purports to quote some remarks by Premier Zhou Enlai, and the quote also stops before the meaning is clearly expressed. I don't know how Le Duan and company have mutilated the statement. But in May 1973 when I went to Beijing to have a health check, I personally heard Premier Zhou Enlai tell his view about the liberation of south Viet Nam and reported it to the Political Bureau of the Vietnamese Party Central Committee on my return to Hanoi. Premier Zhou's view was as follows: We held peace talks with Chiang Kai-shek after the Japanese surrender in 1945. In the first year, Chairman Mao went to Chongqing personally for the talks. And in the second year, the Political Consultative Conference was convened, and an armistice mediation group was set up. It was not until mid-1947 that the Chinese People's Liberation Army began its counter-offensive and wiped out the Chiang Kai-shek clique without a halt. Viet Nam, too, should win a spell of time to get prepared and, when it begins to fight, should eliminate the Nguyen Van Thieu administration without a halt. For after a period of armistice, it would be difficult for the United States to barge in."

Most clearly, the Chinese leading comrades not only supported the liberation of south Viet Nam but also suggested that the task could be fulfilled only by toppling the puppet clique with armed force. Such was the fact. How could it be distorted even if Le Duan and company should concoct falsehoods?

III. Matters During the Period After the Nationwide Liberation of Viet Nam

After the nationwide liberation of Viet Nam, Le Duan and company frenziedly opposed China and completely destroyed the friendly relations between Viet Nam and China. However, they have fabricated a whole series of lies and shifted the responsibility entirely on to China. In order to enable everybody to see the true colours of Le Duan and company, I consider it necessary to explain the following main questions:

A. The Question of Kampuchea

In their white book, Le Duan and company say that China is attempting to turn Kampuchea into "a new type of dependency" of China, and make it "a springboard for expansion to Indo-

china and Southeast Asia." As the whole world knows, it is none other than Le Duan and company themselves who have turned Kampuchea into a new dependency.

They wanted long ago to control Kampuchea but did not succeed. Consequently, they created trouble on the Vietnamese-Kampuchean border, found excuses and openly dispatched more than a hundred thousand troops to occupy Kampuchea. They knocked together a puppet regime as the tool for a prolonged occupation of Kampuchea. Recently, Le Duan and company have sent in reinforcements, launched another dry season offensive and committed more crimes against the Kampuchean people. They have also stationed troops on the Kampuchea-Thailand border, posing a threat to the security of Thailand; they constantly intimidate the ASEAN countries which support Thailand and condemn Viet Nam. While occupying Kampuchea themselves, Le Duan and company hurled slanders on China. This is the trick of a thief crying "stop thief."

B. The Question of the Chinese in Viet Nam

Regarding this question, it has been clearly provided in the agreement of 1955 between the two Parties that the work among the Chinese residents in north Viet Nam should be placed under the leadership of the Vietnamese side. They would be encouraged gradually to adopt Vietnamese nationality in accordance with the principle of voluntariness; as to the question of



Chinese residents expelled from Viet Nam cross a border bridge to Hekou, Yunnan Province, in 1978.



Chinese residents forced to leave Viet Nam cross the Nanxi River at the border.

the Chinese residents in south Viet Nam, it would be settled through consultation by the two sides after the liberation of south Viet Nam. After south Viet Nam was liberated, however, Le Duan and company, disregarding the agreement between the two Parties, openly declared that there was no such problem as Chinese residents in Viet Nam, but only that of Vietnamese of Chinese origin. It seems then as if the Chinese in Viet Nam were treated as Vietnamese citizens with the same rights as well as duties as all the other Vietnamese. But actually the purpose of Le Duan and company in saying so is nothing but to place the Chinese entirely under their fascist rule.

Le Duan and company claim to be Marxists, yet they have no class viewpoint at all. They assert that all the Vietnamese of Chinese origin are "China's fifth column." Although they know perfectly well that 90 per cent of them are working people, some fought shoulder to shoulder with the Vietnamese people in the struggle against imperialism and feudalism, some joined the Vietnamese army and Party,

and some were imprisoned together with Vietnamese revolutionaries. Why did Le Duan and company make such an assertion and act as they did? Because their starting point is not the interest of the revolution but narrow nationalism and racial discrimination.

The policy of Le Duan and company towards the Chinese in Viet Nam is to expel as many of them as possible. In the north, they have already expelled to China more than 200,000 of them; in the south, they have extorted gold and U.S. dollars from well-to-do Chinese and then let them leave by boat and become "refugees." Some of these refugees died of hunger, thirst or in storms, others drifted to strange lands, creating the biggest human tragedy of our time. This is already known to the whole world. The millions of Chinese staying in Viet Nam suffered a great deal from discrimination and persecution and were forced to desert their homes, leave the places where they used to live and go to "new economic zones," where they are left neglected and helpless. These people are dying in misery and of hunger, cold and disease. This may be termed a means of killing without shedding blood, "a policy of genocide" which they often like to impute to the Kampuchean leaders whom they have overthrown with more than a hundred thousand troops. Formerly Ngo Dinh Diem tried to compel the Chinese to adopt Vietnamese nationality and to serve in his army. However, they were allowed then to enjoy certain rights. Now Le Duan and company regard all the Vietnamese of Chinese origin as enemies and subject them to maltreatment, oppression, exploitation and killing. This is an extremely vicious policy more ruthless than that of Ngo Dinh Diem and company and that of the Hitlerites towards the Jews.

This is the truth about the problem of the Chinese in Viet Nam. Le Duan and company cannot put the blame on China or cover up facts recorded in blood by lies written in ink. They will surely be condemned and spurned by all people in the world who have a conscience and uphold justice.

C. The Question of China's Cutting Off Aid

In their white book, Le Duan and company censure China for cutting off aid, withdrawing specialists, and causing many difficulties to Viet Nam's economy. Everybody knows that, after the nationwide liberation of Viet Nam,

China continued to give economic aid to Viet Nam. China was forced to cut off aid and recall its specialists only after Le Duan and company had wantonly opposed China, wilfully persecuted, ostracized and expelled Chinese, and carried out military provocations on the border. This was an inevitable outcome of their pursuance of the anti-China political line. One may ask, is there any country in the world which will continue its aid to another country while its compatriots in the recipient country are subjected to ill-treatment and bullying and its cadres working there are being looked down upon and abused? As to the present economic difficulties in Viet Nam, rather than the withholding of aid by China, it was caused by their dispatching more than a hundred thousand troops to control Laos and occupy Kampuchea, by their mobilizing millions of people from their work and labour posts to prepare for a war against China, by their mistakes in line and policy in guiding the economic and government work, and particularly by their callous indifference to the well-being of the people, and first of all the working people.

D. The Sino-Vietnamese Boundary Question

It often happens that people living on both sides of the Sino-Vietnamese border belong to the same nationality. With common languages and customs, they have very close contact with one another, especially so on anniversaries of the death of their dear ones, on festivals and on wedding days. Some families living on different sides of the border are related by marriage. And sometimes those living on one side would go to the other side with their farm cattle to open up wasteland and grow or reap crops, coming and going as a normal practice. During the years of revolutionary struggle they also acted in close co-ordination. For example, the Guangdong-Guangxi Column led by the Chinese Communist Party, having suffered from enemy encirclement and suppression in 1947, moved to Viet Nam and helped it with military training; the C.P.C. Yunnan-Guangxi Column, subject to enemy encirclement and suppression in 1948, moved into Ha Giang Province in Viet Nam and worked for a time with Vietnamese army-men and civilians. On the other hand, when Vietnamese revolutionary cadres came to China to escape enemy persecution, they were also given warm assistance by the Chinese people. Sometimes they set up their office in China, published books and newspapers and sent them back to

Viet Nam. Forty-odd cadres from Cao Bang came to China in 1940, who were received by President Ho and attended a training class at Nanguang within Chinese territory. It may be said that nearly all the veteran cadres from Cao Bang and Lang Son at one time or another found shelter in China while in difficulty and got themselves ready for further revolutionary activities upon their return home. After China's liberation in 1949, and the victory in the border campaign in 1950, in particular, China became a big rear area for Viet Nam and the Sino-Vietnamese boundary became wholly one of peace and friendship. Contacts between inhabitants on the two sides of the border became closer. Chinese border provinces helped Vietnamese border provinces to build a number of local enterprises, roads and bridges so that communications between these places became most convenient.

Since the passing of President Ho, however, Le Duan and company, acting on the anti-China designs of a foreign power, have intensified their efforts to undermine peace and friendship along the border. To realize their intent, they bypassed local Party committees and government organs and gave exclusive control of all the border areas to the public security departments.

The measures to control the border adopted by the public security departments are to purify the border areas and divide the nationalities there; to squeeze out or persecute those cadres who differ with them on border questions; and to carry out provocations and create tensions along the border.

First, purification of the border areas and division of the nationalities there. This is a most vicious measure. They forced those frontier inhabitants who had relatives in China or were suspected of having relations with China to move away from the border areas. In some places whole villages were forced to leave. As to those residents of Man and other nationalities in the mountainous regions, they made them concentrate, on the pretext of helping them to settle down, in the plains, which they could control more easily. They closely linked the purification of the border areas with the division of the nationalities living there. They classified those nationalities and distinguished which of them were pro-China or of Chinese blood. They made the same distinction within the nationalities so that they could give different treatment and make people control and

spy on one another. Thus, those trusted by the public security departments would bully and frame up others in collusion with these departments. The contradictions among the people and nationalities have worsened to such an extent that they sometimes even led to mutual looting, arson and killing.

Second, squeezing out or persecuting those cadres who differed with the security departments on border questions. This is a measure which they adopted universally in pushing the purification of the border. Hundreds upon hundreds of cadres were expelled by them from leading Party and administrative organs. Some of them were isolated, some were forced to retire, some were framed and put on trial, and some were murdered by them. They sent those opposed to China to replace the sacked cadres. These are bad characters and some of them were once lackeys of the French and Japanese aggressors or served as guides to enemy troops against the revolution. Where those people are in power, there are shameless flatterers, factionalism, corruption and degeneration, bribery, and bullying and exploitation of the people. The people in the border areas are living in anger, a life full of worry and terror.



Xiao Rizhong, a Chinese frontier soldier, was killed in Longzhou County, Guangxi, at the beginning of this year by Vietnamese invaders who had made armed incursions across the Chinese border.

Third, provocations and creation of tension along the border. In appearance tension along the border seems to have been caused by both sides, for, once clashes occurred, either this or that side could become irritable instead of keeping cool. However, if we take a compre-

hensive view and look into the essence of the matter, it becomes quite clear that in 1973-74 Le Duan and company already began their premeditated and planned actions. Especially since they adopted the anti-China resolutions in July 1978, they have stepped up their provocations everywhere and on a larger scale. At the same time, they conducted large-scale propaganda with a view to diverting the attention of the Vietnamese people and the people of the world, who are watching their actions of injustice in Viet Nam and their threat to the security of the Southeast Asian countries. So long as Le Duan and company do not change their anti-China policy, they will not cease their provocations along the Viet Nam-China border to create tension. This is a correct conclusion conforming to the essence of the facts.

* * *

Viet Nam and China are neighbouring countries with very close ties in geography, history, economy and culture. In the past, when China was under feudal rule, certain emperors invaded Viet Nam. Viet Nam put up firm resistance and won victory. But once victory was won, it acted flexibly and adopted a policy of good neighbourliness so as to improve the people's well-being and safeguard the country's independence. China's feudal system was indeed bad to the Vietnamese people, but it was also bad for the Chinese people. So the Chinese people overthrew the feudal system and restored friendship and peace with the Vietnamese people.

The two peoples had fought shoulder to shoulder for several decades against the common enemy. President Ho assessed this friendship in a poem: "Profound is the friendship between Viet Nam and China, who are both comrades and brothers."

Now Le Duan and company, with ulterior motives, impute the crimes of the feudal system to the Chinese Communist Party and Chinese people. They have fabricated many lies to slander China as thrice in 30 years "betraying the Vietnamese people" and to denigrate the most beautiful chapters in the history of militant friendship between the two nations. Such an action of theirs runs counter to the interest of the Vietnamese people and President Ho's line of international solidarity and good neighbourliness.

One cannot but wonder: Why is Le Duan so hostile towards China? Why did he turn

right into wrong and white into black? The answer could only be that Le Duan is not honest and decent. He is a political swindler who has departed from the revolutionary road, one who actively serves the global strategic interests of the international reactionary anti-China forces. In doing so Le Duan and company have tied the Vietnamese people to the war machine of their creation and plunged the Vietnamese people into unprecedented privation, poverty and suffocation, depriving them of democratic freedom. At the same time they have reduced Viet Nam to dependency on and total subordination to a foreign country economically, politically, militarily and diplomatically. In short, they have brought disaster to the Vietnamese people and our fatherland!

All Vietnamese people should discern the facts, get united and strive to overthrow the fascist rule of Le Duan and company and restore the good militant friendship which used to exist between the Vietnamese and Chinese peoples.



President Ho with Beijing children in 1959. The late President Ho once wrote a poem praising Sino-Vietnamese relations: "Profound is the friendship between Viet Nam and China, who are both comrades and brothers."

(All the pictures in this article are from Xinhua.)

Conference on Strategic Islands

THE momentum of Soviet hegemonist expansion was keenly felt at an unusual forum on the strategic situation of the islands and countries in the Atlantic and along the coast of the Mediterranean held on Portugal's Madeira Islands in the Atlantic from October 31 to November 3.

A concluding statement was issued by the conference on November 3 which said that the growth of Soviet naval forces has made the Soviet influence felt all over the world. A sense of insecurity is mounting worldwide. To strengthen its force and ensure its oil supply, the conclusion said, Western Europe must keep its sea lanes intact because it relies on energy and raw materials from the Middle East. Thus, the islands in the Atlantic and the Mediterranean Sea are of great strategic importance.

The forum was attended by international affairs experts, statesmen and well-known writers from a dozen or so countries. In spite of diverse political views, they shared a sense of growing concern about the Soviet aggressive threats to the islands and countries in that area. The threats have been quite varied: Soviet warships and planes often run amuck in a show of strength; Soviet "merchant fleets" or "investigation ships" frequently patrol on reconnaissance missions. Moscow also extends its in-

fluence by sowing dissension or carrying out interference and subversion through its proxies.

The conference was sponsored by the Madeira Autonomous Government of Portugal. While covering the forum, this correspondent interviewed Joao Jardim, President of the Government of the Madeira Autonomous Region, and Mota Amqral, President of the Government of the Azores Autonomous Region. They pointed out that the Soviet "merchant fleets" had frequented the Madeira and Azores Islands and that Moscow had used "cultural activities" as a means of penetration in its efforts to make these islands independent of Portugal. President Jardim last year issued an order prohibiting a Soviet "investigation ship" from entering Madeira waters. It was because the ship had come with apparent military purposes, he explained to this correspondent.

Portugal's former Interior Minister Gaima revealed at the forum that the Azores once served as an air corridor through which the Soviet Union transported its Cuban mercenaries to Angola.

How should these countries and islands respond to the rivalry for hegemony between the two superpowers and the mounting Soviet threats? This problem figured most prominently at the meeting. There were three different viewpoints: strict adherence to neutrality and non-alignment; leaning towards the West, but not allowing NATO to establish military bases in the region for fear that the Soviet Union would make similar demands; and active co-operation with NATO and aligning with Europe as a means of countering Soviet expansionism. Though these islands and states have differing attitudes and policies in the light of their specific conditions, they have one thing in common—opposition to Soviet control and interference. Leo Brincat, leader of the Malta Labour Party, pointed out at the meeting that his country had called on Britain to close down its military bases in Malta and it would not allow the Soviet Union to set up military bases there.



GROMYKO IN F.R.G.

Mission Fails

Returning to Moscow from West Germany on November 24, Gromyko stated at a press conference: "The Federal Republic of Germany and the Soviet Union have not found a common language" on the "plans to deploy new types of medium-range nuclear missiles" — "a most acute and delicate problem." He further said: "We should point out regrettably that... the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany affirmed the plan." In other words, Gromyko brought no good news back for the Kremlin.

NATO's Theatre Nuclear Forces constitute a crucial factor in the present East-West balance in Europe. Since the mid-1970s, the Soviet Union has been stepping up its production and deployment of new-type Theatre Nuclear Forces. The Warsaw Pact has far surpassed NATO in conventional forces and NATO has no effective counter-weapons against Moscow's medium-range missiles. Thus, the gap has been widening. The modernization of Theatre Nuclear Forces

in Western Europe, a topic which has been under discussion for quite some time, will be decided at the forthcoming NATO winter ministerial council's meeting in mid-December.

Obviously, since Gromyko attached importance to his Bonn visit, he must have felt very disappointed to have failed in his objectives. The Soviet Union regards West Germany as an important target for its diplomatic offensive. In its view, "The Federal Republic is the most powerful country in Western Europe, NATO's most important member in Europe," and will "play a key role" in the plan to deploy new missiles. "If the Federal Republic changes its policy and chooses new U.S. weapons to expand its armaments, this means that a political change, a qualitative change, will emerge in the whole of Europe." While the Kremlin uttered some fine-sounding words such as "the Federal Republic of Germany has made certain contributions in our common struggle for detente and peace," it charged that "the Rhine clique is very enthusiastic in helping Washington to pursue its plan." It

went so far as to threaten that Soviet missiles would be aimed at those missiles deployed in any part of Western Europe.

Gromyko even warned, "The Federal government's present position has jeopardized the foundation for negotiations."

In a television speech on November 23, West German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher pointed out that NATO would carry out its plan despite Gromyko's warning. He said, "One could not hope to have Bonn adopt Moscow's position." The West German Opposition described Gromyko's speech as "an attempt at political blackmail," which "infringed on West Germany's sovereignty."

Moscow's somewhat heavy-handed diplomacy has aroused suspicion and vigilance from the West. But the Soviet Union will not resign itself to defeat. It will surely resort to new plots to upset the NATO plan.

SECURITY COUNCIL

Release of American Hostages Urged

The U.N. Security Council met on December 1 to consider the

The island country has turned down several Soviet requests to establish an embassy and a commercial counsellor's office and expelled Soviet newsmen for engaging in espionage activities.

Conferees from Western Europe were of the opinion that new intermediate nuclear weapons should be deployed in Western Europe to deal with the increasing Soviet military threat. They also noted that Soviet hegemonist expansion and infiltration have not been limited to direct military means. Therefore, the islands and countries in the Atlantic and along the coast of the

Mediterranean should strengthen their own defences, speed up their economic, cultural and social development and maintain their political stability. The aim is to prevent the Soviet Union from creating confusion in pursuit of its own interests. These well-founded views show that more and more people are becoming aware of the Soviet expansionist ambition. By exposing and opposing Soviet attempts to make inroads into these strategic islands, this conference has played a part in the important struggle against Soviet hegemonism.

— Xinhua Correspondent Shen Dingyi

detention of American diplomatic personnel as hostages in the U.S. Embassy in Teheran. All speakers urged the Iranian authorities to release the hostages without delay and unconditionally.

The Council met on November 27 at the urgent request of Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim to take up what he referred to as "the grave situation which has arisen in the relations between the United States and Iran." But the Iranian Revolutionary Council decided that Iran would not participate in this meeting.

All the speakers expressed their deep concern over the recent events in the relations between Iran and the United States. They pointed out that the occupation of the U.S. Embassy in Teheran and the holding of its personnel as hostages constituted a gross violation of some of the basic rules of international law and the Vienna Convention of protection of diplomats and diplomatic immunities. The representatives of the United Kingdom, Nigeria and Gabon said that they understood or sympathized with the Iranian people's feelings about the previous regime's violation of human rights, but these feelings in no way justified the invasion of diplomatic property and the taking and holding of hostages.

The speakers also stressed that the Iranian-U.S. crisis should be solved in a peaceful manner. They urged the Secretary-General to continue his effort along these lines.

Chinese Representative Chen Chu, who is this month's

President of the Security Council, stated: "The Chinese Government always holds that the internal affairs of each country should be managed by its own people and that there should be no interference in the internal affairs of other countries. But, at the same time, we hold that the principles guiding international relations and the accepted diplomatic immunities should be universally respected. We support the appeal issued by the President of the previous month on behalf of the Council on the immediate release of the detained American hostages in Iran. We sincerely hope that a reasonable and appropriate solution can be found at an early date through peaceful consultation in accordance with the principles of international law and diplomatic practice."

U.S. Representative Donald F. McHenry declared that "the United States remains ready, upon the release of the hostages, to discuss with the Iranian authorities the differences which exist between us and to seek their resolution."

He added that the United States held the authorities in Iran fully responsible for the safety of the American hostages and insisted that its diplomatic personnel be released and its diplomatic premises restored.

NICARAGUA-HONDURAS

Strained Relations

The Nicaraguan and Honduran foreign ministers openly levelled charges against each other on November 27, worsen-

ing the already strained relations between the two countries.

Honduran Foreign Minister Eliseo Perez delivered a speech in Tegucigalpa expressing Honduras' anxiety over the recent arrival of 1,000 Cuban teachers and some 300 technicians in Nicaragua. He believed that the Cubans' mission was not as had been stated and feared that Nicaragua might "become a new Cuba."

Addressing the press circles in Managua, Nicaraguan Foreign Minister Miguel Escoto accused Honduras of "wantonly interfering in Nicaragua's internal affairs." He further stated that the Cubans referred to by Perez were just "our close friends and brothers."

Border conflicts have occurred between these two Central American countries ever since the formation of the new Nicaraguan Government in mid-July.

Nicaragua charged that former national guardsmen who had fled into Honduras often harassed Nicaraguan territories. But the Honduran Government has repeatedly refuted this, declaring that its territories have never been used for attacks against Nicaragua.

The Nicaraguan ambassador was recalled from Honduras early in November following a reported attack on the Nicaraguan Embassy there. Soon afterwards, the Nicaraguan authorities deported the military attache of the Honduran Embassy in Managua, charging him with having participated in "counter-revolutionary activities."

● **Electronics Industry Thrives**

China's electronics industry is growing up as an independent industrial department with relatively rational distribution and an adequate range of specialties.

China now turns out 14 million radio receivers in 250 varieties a year. Radio cassette recorders are also being produced. Output of black-and-white television sets is expected to reach 1.2 million this year, more than double last year's output.

The electronics industry is now producing tape recorders, video recorders, electronic watches and electronic musical instruments as well as profile projectors and television equipment for teaching and industrial uses.

Electronic computers are used by Chinese railway and industrial departments. There are dozens of electronic instruments for rural use, such as instruments for logging the underground water level, soil analysis, and microwave and laser instruments for treating seeds.

China has designed and built its own satellite communications earth station, and made an electron microscope with a magnification of one million times and a computer that does 5 million calculations per second. Electronic cardiac pacemakers and a laser device for eye operations have been in use for the past two years.

In national defence, all the electronic equipment and instruments in China-made aircraft, warships and guided missiles are

supplied by the departments of the electronics industry.

Compared with the international level, China's electronics industry, however, is still relatively backward. Great effort must be made before we can catch up.

● **Exporting Replicas Of Chinese Gardens**

The replica of a building from a classic Suzhou garden left Shanghai for the New York Metropolitan Museum of Art in early November. This is the first time that China has exported one of its gardens.

Named Ming Xuan — Ming Dynasty (1368-1644) Pavilion, the replica is modeled on the Dian Chun Yi (Late Spring Study). This garden building was chosen for its compact and ingenious design. Its carved lattice windows and winding corridor enhance its beauty. Artificial hills for the garden, blackwood furniture and palace lanterns are also being shipped to the Metropolitan which already has a collection of Ming dynasty furniture and art objects.

The replica is composed of many prefabricated parts as

well as patterned bricks, stones and carved wooden art objects which have been packed in 193 wooden crates. Before being shipped, some tests were made to ensure that the prefabricated parts would not be damaged en route. It is expected that the garden will be open to the American public soon.

Designed for both use and enjoyment, classic Chinese gardens are exquisitely built and usually consist of artificial hills, springs and pools, trees, shrubs and flowers.

Suzhou, known as the garden city of east China, has cultivated the art of landscape gardens for 2,000 years. Because of their high artistic level and unique style, Chinese gardens became renowned in some Asian countries and in Europe as early as the 18th century.

The Suzhou City Classic Garden Company has been set up recently to design and construct classic gardens for customers at home and abroad.

● **Handicapped People Contribute to Socialism**

Cao Heng, a 47-year-old deaf survey engineer, was honoured



Ming Xuan Garden.

as a labour hero in Jiangsu Province and elected a council member of the Chinese Society of Surveying and Cartography this year.

Cao lost his hearing from an illness 27 years ago, when he was a high school student. His impediment did not make him lose confidence. He studied English and Russian for seven years and wrote six essays on surveying techniques used in other countries which were published in the national journal *Translations of Essays on Surveying and Cartography*. After another seven years, he also learnt to do geodesic surveying and engineering surveys through correspondence courses.

In 1974, he began to study techniques for using computers in aerial photographic surveying and compiled programmes of calculations. Then he went on to sum up his experience and wrote a book in this field. Last year, Cao was promoted to the position of survey engineer and this year he was elected a deputy to the Jiangsu provincial blind and deaf-mute conference.

There are a great many blind persons and deaf-mutes in our country who have made enormous contributions to China's socialist construction.

Feng Shengcai, who lost his sight in 1947 during the War of Liberation, is now a skilful massagist. He was commended for his treatment over the past 20 years of 35,000 patients suffering from sciatica, chronic gastritis and neurasthenia.

Wang Fuxiang, deputy director of a gauge plant in Zhenjiang, Jiangsu, lost his sight in a battle during the Huai-Hai Campaign (the end of 1948 to early 1949). After he went back



A veteran chef in Chengdu instructing young cooks in Sichuanese dishes.

to his hometown in 1951, he set up a small workshop together with seven other handicapped men. With the help of the government, the workshop was turned into a screw factory staffed by more than 300 workers, one-third of whom were blind or deaf-mutes. The factory now has 100 machines and sells its products on the export market.

● Culinary Skills

Fifty chefs demonstrated their culinary techniques at an exhibition held recently in Shanghai by preparing delicious dishes from different parts of the country.

Particularly well represented were the cuisines of Sichuan, Guangdong, Shandong, Jiangsu and Zhejiang Provinces. Crisp chicken with cream sauce, roast young pig, fried shrimps and snake soup were on display. The comedian Charlie Chaplin was served the Sichuanese fried crisp duck when he dined with the late Premier Zhou Enlai in Geneva in 1954.

The display was intended to develop the wide variety of Chinese cuisines, which differ from one another in colour and taste. It attracted a stream of visitors, including many amateur and professional cooks. As China's largest city, Shanghai

has more than 1,800 restaurants and snack bars representing all the main types of Chinese cuisine, as well as Russian and French cooking.

● 3,000-Year-Old Tree Bears Fruit

A 3,000-year-old "Maiden Hair" tree on Fulai Mountain in Juxian County in Shandong Province is now laden with fruit.

This rare ancient tree is 25.4 metres high and 15.7 metres in girth, and its shade covers an area more than one-fifteenth of a hectare.

An ancient stone tablet under the tree recorded the planting of this tree in the Shang Dynasty (c.1,600-1,066 B.C.).

The hard wood of this kind of deciduous tree is good for making high-quality furniture and for carving objects of art, and the kernel of its nuts can be used for medicine.





SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

Children's Achievement

The three-month National Exhibition of Children's Achievement on Science and Technology which opened in October in Beijing presents a vivid visual picture of how Chinese children today love science, study science and are striving to scale the pinnacles of science. The many exhibits afford a review of their scientific and technological endeavours.

About 3,000 exhibits from all the 29 provinces (except Taiwan), municipalities and autonomous regions are on show. There are robots, all sorts of scale relief models of various places and teaching aids, a huge collection of mineral samples and biological specimens, and model rockets and space vehicles. In general, the exhibits are of workmanship of a high order.

In the Mathematics, Physics and Chemistry Hall are various classroom aids, calculators, laser telecommunication equipment and solar stoves, carefully made by the children on the basis of what they had learnt in mathematics, physics and chemistry classes. A very

simple electronic calculator built like a robot can accurately tell if one has made a mistake or not in one's calculations. If a visitor has done a sum correctly, the robot will give full marks to the accompaniment of bright, cheerful music. If the answer is incorrect, a row of zeroes will light up and deep gruff sounds will be emitted. This amusing little device was built by ten students of a northeast China middle school with the help of their teachers.

The small planetarium in the Space-Earth Hall is a beautiful piece of work carefully built by young meteorologists of Fuzhou. It is fairly accurately constructed and one can observe the various stars, man-made satellites, the moon, and natural phenomena such as comets, afterglow and dawn. It is simple to make and use, and can be widely popularized.

Many of the exhibits are boldly designed and the range of exhibits is wide. There is a sheep which gives a very fine fleece. It was bred by a primary school scientific research group in Fuxin, northeast China. A sheep of this breed gives a clip of 13.75 kilogrammes of fine wool a

year. There is also an electronic organ which can reproduce sounds of several kinds of musical instruments. This is the work of a group belonging to the Beijing Young Pioneer Palace. Some Chongqing middle school students successfully cultivated a rare fungus used in medicine. Two Shanghai girls built a take-apart model freighter.

Interest in science and technology is also growing among children in the minority nationality areas. From children of the Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region came model aeroplanes and ships; from the Tibet Autonomous Region came a model of a geothermal power station and a frost-warning device.

Teachers have put a lot of work into stimulating pupils to take an active interest in science. Lin Hanjie, a primary school teacher in Guangzhou, for example, instilled into members of his science group the desire to live and work for a great ideal. He encouraged them to "build models today so as to build real ships tomorrow for the glory of the motherland." He not only taught and helped them to



At the exhibition.

build scale-model ships, but also told them Chinese ship-building history. His students have built some 3,000 model ships, including the 3.5-metre model of a 10,000-ton container-ship shown at the exhibition.

As the future of the country lies in the hands of the children, so the future of science is also in their hands. Teaching the children to love and study science and culture is an important part of the work to improve the scientific and cultural level of the nation. The current exhibition shows that the Party Central Committee's call to improve the scientific and cultural level of the entire nation is being answered by the young people. They are learning and are boldly innovative. They will play their part in the new Long March to bring about the four modernizations.

BOOKS

Beijing Fair

In the park grounds around the Cultural Palace of the Working People, where the towering cypress trees reach towards the sky, Xinhua Shudian (New China Bookstore) held a ten-day book fair. Two hundred and forty thousand people thronged the eight makeshift bookstalls, which had been put up with wooden planks, buying 570,000 yuan's worth of books.

Many well-known writers like Ding Ling, Xie Bingxin and He Jingzhi also came to the fair, where they were surrounded by enthusiastic young people. Their works, banned for years, had only recently reappeared in bookstores.

The young people were the most avid buyers. Some even



A scene from the book fair.

brought large duffel bags to lug away their new acquisitions. A P.L.A. soldier leafed over his new copies of *A Dream of the Red Mansions* and *Water Margin* as he walked. He told his friends, "Hurry up, or you won't be able to get the books you want." A young worker, while forcing his way out of the crowd, thought to himself: "This is just how a cultural palace should be."

Among the 6,000 titles, there were books on social science, literature and art, education, natural science, technology, children's books, dictionaries and reference books. Those on technology, dictionaries and reference books are best-sellers.

Also on display and for sale at the fair were the fictional works and essays of Lu Xun, Guo Moruo, Mao Dun, Lao She, Ba Jin and Cao Yu. The fair attracted those interested in buying Chinese translations of European classics by such famous writers like Balzac, Maupassant, Moliere, Chekhov, Dickens, Dumas (pere), Hugo, the great Soviet writer Gorky, and contemporary American novelists.

To facilitate matters for customers, the bookstalls also do business like sending the

books by mail. In addition, they set up a mobile bookstall for the old and weak.

The second of its kind since liberation, this fair was much larger and had a much greater influence than its predecessor.

ARCHAEOLOGY

Album of 1,800-Year Murals

The *de luxe* edition of the album *Murals of a Han Dynasty Tomb in Horing*, containing 62 coloured photographs and 32 hand-copied reproductions of murals from a tomb built between 160-170 in Horing, Inner Mongolia, was published recently.

The reproductions are superbly done by Jin Gao, a woman painter of Manchu nationality, and Guanqige, a painter of Mongolian nationality.

The 100-square-metre brightly coloured murals are relatively well-preserved and contain 250 inscriptions. These are among the most significant art treasures unearthed in China. Parts of the murals appeared at a 1976 exhibition of Han (206 B.C.-220 A.D.) and Tang (618-907) murals held in Japan.

The tomb in Horinger County, central-south Inner Mongolia on the northern banks of the Hunhe River, was discovered by commune members while building terraced fields eight years ago. The Inner Mongolian Museum and archaeological workers carried out excavations in 1972 and 1973 and later studied the tomb and its contents.

Initial studies indicate that the tomb occupant was once a high-ranking military officer sent by the central government at the end of the Eastern Han Dynasty (25-220) to the area then inhabited mainly by a minority people known as the Wuhuans along with some other north China nationalities.

The murals depict the political life of the tomb occupant as well as his life in retirement.

There are also representations of agriculture, stock-breeding and handicrafts, city life, manors, bridges and the general life of the society at that time.

The murals showing horses, cattle and sheep being pastured and other farm work vividly illustrate the economic pursuits of the various nationalities at that time. The attention to details reflects the folk artists' long and careful observation.

The portrayal of horses is particularly well done. One mural, entitled *Horses*, shows two galloping horses pulling a carriage with their heads proudly erect. Their postures resemble the famous bronze galloping horse found in a Han Dynasty tomb in Wuwei County, Gansu Province, in 1969.

Paintings of cattle and sheep are done with great economy of line. The movements of the

animals are captured with a few precise strokes.

People in the murals include many minority nationalities such as the Wuhuans, with their partly shaven heads and brown costumes, the Xianbeis, and the Xiongnu in brownish red costumes. Various nationalities in their own peculiar costumes and with their hair done in various styles appear in the same painting, proving that many nationalities have lived amiably side by side since ancient China.

A number of articles on these murals have been written in the last few years by historians and archaeologists in Beijing and Inner Mongolia, who have studied the tomb, its occupant, the relationship between the Hans and minority nationalities in northern China, as well as the architecture, social and ideological life of that period.

ON THE STAGE AND SCREEN



Duet in *Banping Mountain*.
Sketch by Zhao Shiyong

National Theatrical Festival

Plays, operas and dances have

been included in the 15th series of items selected for the national theatrical festival in celebration of the 30th anniversary of the founding of New China.

• **Modern Drama:** *General Zhu De*, staged by the P.L.A. artists of an artillery unit, extols the Red Army Commander-in-Chief Zhu De for his struggle against opportunists during the Long March in the 30s.

Dr. Norman Bethune. Beijing P.L.A. artists recall the great internationalist's life during the War of Resistance Against Japan.

• **National dance-drama** *Banping Mountain*, from Shanghai, is a fairy tale about Taiwan becoming geographically separated from the mainland.

• **Local folk songs, dances and instrumental performances** by

peasants and workers from Hebei Province.

Film

• *Life's Musical Vibrations*, is about a violinist who was repressed for mourning the death of the late Premier Zhou Enlai. It is a successful virgin work by two of China's youngest directors.



Folk dance from Hebei Province.

STAR ANISEED



As food seasoning and also used as an important ingredient in the manufacture of high-class essential oils, cosmetics and foodstuffs. Also widely used pharmaceutically as stomach stimulant and cough mixture.



ANETHOLE (NATURAL) & STAR ANISEED OIL

Extensively used in the manufacturing of high-class cosmetics, cakes, candies, wines and other foodstuffs, also used in the preparation of medicines.

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