

PEKING REVIEW

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June 2, 1978

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Superpower Disarmament Fraud Exposed

— Speech by Chairman of Chinese Delegation at U.N.
General Assembly Special Session on Disarmament

Statement On Viet Nam's Expulsion Of Chinese Residents

A Conscientious Builder of Socialism

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President Samora Visits China

On May 28 when Chairman Hua met Samora Moises Machel, President of the Mozambique Liberation Front and of the People's Republic of Mozambique, he said: "You come from the frontline of the struggle in southern Africa. We firmly support the frontline countries and energetically support the people of southern Africa in their struggle for liberation."

Chairman Hua added: "President Samora is an old friend of ours. Our two countries have enjoyed very close relations. We were with you when you were waging on armed struggle for national independence."

President Samora said: "Our relations were forged in the years when the Mozambican people were waging an arduous struggle. Our relations are solid."

President Samora, his wife and other members of the Party and government delegation arrived in Peking on May 25.

That evening Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien gave a grand banquet in honour of the President. Both host and guest made warm speeches at the banquet.

In his speech Vice-Premier Li said: "The African people have come to a great awakening. The days are gone for ever when the African people were at the mercy of others. The perverse acts of hegemonism can only arouse the African people to

stronger indignation and resistance. A campaign of unity against hegemonism is rising in the African continent. Africa has become a forward position against hegemonism. We believe that the African people, by strengthening their unity, persisting in struggle and heightening their vigilance, will surely be able to frustrate the unbridled hegemonist ambitions, overthrow barbarous racist rule and win the complete independence and liberation of the whole African continent."

In his speech President Samora said: "We hope to see the African peoples united for the common goal and we will take action against the division of our continent. We have always dedicated ourselves to frustrating the divisive schemes of imperialism."

During the Mozambican guests' stay in Peking, Vice-Premier Teng Hsiao-ping called on President Samora at the Guest House, and Vice-Premiers Li Hsien-nien and Keng Piao held talks with the President. A protocol of economic and technical co-operation agreement between the Governments of China and Mozambique was signed by representatives of the two countries.

Chairman Hua Meets President Joachim Yhomby-Opango

"Africa should maintain unity and African affairs should be run by the African people. It is necessary to heighten their vigilance against intervention

and infiltration by outside forces."

This was said by Chairman Hua when he met with President Joachim Yhomby-Opango of the People's Republic of the Congo on May 24.

"The relations between our two countries," he added, "have developed very well. This meeting between us will further strengthen our mutual understanding and friendship."

President Joachim Yhomby-Opango, his wife and their party arrived in Peking on May 23, on their way to the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

China and Oman Establish Diplomatic Relations

The Chinese Government and the Government of the Sultanate of Oman have, through friendly negotiations, decided to establish diplomatic relations at ambassadorial level as from May 25, 1978 and to exchange ambassadors.

The joint communique published by their respective representatives in London said: "The Government of the Sultanate of Oman recognizes the Government of the People's Republic of China as the sole legal government representing the entire Chinese people.

"The two governments have agreed to develop friendly rela-

tions and co-operation between the two countries on the basis of the principles of mutual respect for state sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence."

Symposium on Philosophy

A philosophical symposium held recently in Peking stressed the need to carry out the policy laid down by Chairman Mao of letting a hundred schools of thought contend. It called upon philosophers to gear their studies to answering questions in real life.

Jointly sponsored by the Institute of Philosophy under the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences and the editorial department of *Study of Philosophy*, a monthly published by the institute, the symposium was attended by more than 160 academic workers from 18 provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions.

Vice-President of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences Teng Li-chun addressed the opening session. Dwelling on the implementation of the policies of letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend put forward by Chairman Mao in 1957, he said that with the exception of those which are anti-Party and anti-socialist in nature, all other questions belong to contradictions among the people. Within the ranks of the people, he declared, we should give full scope to democracy, let everyone express his views and allow criticism and counter-criticism.

Chou Yang, a noted writer and adviser to the academy, also spoke at the meeting. He said that philosophers should be able to answer questions arising from real life so as to serve proletarian politics and socialism. In controversies on academic questions, he said, we must oppose arbitrariness in passing judgments on others as well as tendency of bourgeois "liberalization." He stressed the need to ensure the guiding role of Marxism in academic circles.

In view of the fact that some regard certain theoretical problems as "forbidden zones" where discussions are impossible, Chou Yang said: Theoretical study is aimed at discovering the laws of the objective world. To admit that there are "forbidden zones" is tantamount to admitting that some things in the objective world are unfathomable and therefore negating science itself. He called on all participants in the symposium to assiduously study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, proceed from reality, collect as much data as possible, and do away with the unsavoury practice of bragging and deceit in academic work.

A vigorous atmosphere now prevails in China's academic circles. The Institute of Economics under the same academy recently held a forum attended by scholars from some parts of the country. They discussed and worked out a plan for the study of economics in the next three and eight years and drew up a tentative list of 500 items for research.

The Chinese Academy of Social Sciences also invited scholars to a meeting on the

study of ancient Chinese history.

IN THE NEWS

• An agreement on building the Paoshan General Iron and Steel Works in Shanghai and a contract on technical co-operation were signed on May 23 between the China National Technical Import Corporation and the Nippon Steel Corporation.

• Vice-Premier Teng Hsiao-ping on May 24 attended a reception given by the Chinese People's Association for Friendship With Foreign Countries in celebration of the 15th anniversary of the Liberation Day of Africa. The next day, Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien and Vice-Chairman Chi Peng-fei of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress were invited to a cocktail party given by African diplomatic envoys to China to mark the occasion.

• Vice-Premier Teng Hsiao-ping on May 28 met with Abdelkader Zaibek, Special Envoy of President Houari Boumedienne of Algeria and Chairman of the Planning and Finance Commission of the National People's Assembly. Two days earlier, Vice-Chairman Liao Cheng-chih of the N.P.C. Standing Committee gave a banquet in honour of the special envoy.

• Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien on May 20 met and had a friendly conversation with a delegation from the Iranian Imperial Organization for Social Service led by A.A. Adib-Mohammadi, Special Adviser to the organization and its Director of Public Relations.

Superpower Disarmament Fraud Exposed

—Speech by Huang Hua, Chairman of the Chinese
Delegation at the U.N. General Assembly
Special Session on Disarmament

The Tenth Special Session of the U.N. General Assembly on Disarmament opened in New York on May 23, with representatives from more than 140 member states participating.

The session began its general debate on May 24. Chairman of the Chinese Delegation and Foreign Minister Huang Hua made a speech on May 29. Following is the full text of his speech. — Ed.

Mr. President,

The present special session of the United Nations General Assembly devoted to disarmament has been called on the proposal of the non-aligned and other small and medium-sized countries. Its convocation is a reflection of the strong dissatisfaction of the third world and the many small and medium-sized countries with the intensified arms race between the superpowers and with their fierce rivalry for hegemony, as well as a reflection of the eager desire of these countries to eliminate the danger of war. The Chinese delegation is ready to join the representatives of other countries in discussing disarmament, which is a question of common concern to all countries of the world, and hopes that this session will make a positive contribution to the peoples' cause of unity against hegemonism in defence of world peace.

In recent years, there has been an upsurge in the anti-hegemonist struggle in which the third world plays the role of the main force. The people of all countries, and the countries and

peoples of the third world in particular, have waged an unremitting struggle against the policies of aggression and war of the superpowers and have dealt heavy blows at them. Egypt, the Sudan and Somalia expelled Soviet experts or resolutely abrogated their treaties with the Soviet Union in defence of their sovereignty and national dignity. The people of Zaire, after successfully repelling last year an invasion engineered by the Soviet Union and executed by a force of mercenaries, are now valiantly repulsing a new invasion of mercenaries engineered by the Soviet Union and Cuba. The African countries are strong in their demand for an end to superpower interference in the Horn of Africa. The Panamanian people have won a new victory in regaining sovereignty over the canal. There is a mounting struggle by the people in and around the Indian Ocean against the military presence of the superpowers in that region. The struggle of the third world countries in defence of their maritime rights and their struggle for the establishment of a new international economic order have continued to make headway. The Japanese people are putting up a strong opposition to Soviet hegemonist behaviour and insisting on the recovery of their northern territories. There is a growing tendency among the second world countries in Western Europe and other regions towards unity against hegemonism. All these developments amply show that the main trend in the international arena is the joining of all forces for an intensified fight against superpower hegemonism.

Meanwhile, the two superpowers, each with its immense military capabilities, are locked in an intense struggle on a global scale in which social-imperialism, that late-comer in the race, is pertinaciously taking the offensive. It is rapidly expanding its armaments of all kinds with a view to achieving military supremacy over its rival; at the same time, it is seizing spheres of influence and expanding on a worldwide scale. One superpower is bent on expansion; the other has its vested interests to protect. As the struggle intensifies, they are bound to fight it out some day. The tense confrontation in Europe, the turmoil in the Middle East, and the gathering storm in Africa are all visible indications of the growth of factors for war. It is in face of the ever-growing menace of war and with a view to safeguarding their independence and security that the third world and the many small and medium-sized countries are opposing the superpowers' contention for hegemony and at the same time strongly demanding that the superpowers stop their arms race and disarm. This is a fully just demand which deserves wide support.

Mr. President,

There is an old Chinese saying, "Review the past and you'll know better the present." So it may not be unprofitable to review the history of disarmament as we discuss the question today.

Hundreds of meetings relating to disarmament have been held since the end of World War II. And from the start of the disarmament decade of the 1970s, disarmament negotiations under a host of names have run on almost without letup, from which there have come out quite a number of disarmament statements, declarations, agreements, resolutions and treaties of one sort or another. Yet, the arms race gets more heated, and the danger of war keeps growing. Why?

As everyone knows the third world and other small and medium-sized countries have put forward many reasonable proposals and suggestions for disarmament. These include the prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons, the destruction of nuclear weapons, the establish-

ment of nuclear-free zones and zones of peace, the prohibition of all chemical and biological weapons, the prohibition of the establishment of military bases and stationing of troops on foreign soil, etc. If these proposals and suggestions were put into effect, they would undoubtedly help consolidate international peace and security. But on the issue of disarmament the superpowers have always shown duplicity, saying one thing but doing quite another. They preach disarmament but are actually carrying on arms expansion on a massive scale. It will be recalled that the Soviet Union and the United States issued a joint statement in 1961 listing eight principles as a basis for negotiations on disarmament, in which they spoke of "general and complete disarmament," peddling it in the most fascinating terms. Now, 17 years have passed. Have they put into practice the principles advertised in their joint statement? No, not even a single one. Facts are the superpowers are not at all working for general and complete disarmament, but for general and complete arms expansion. Suffice it to point out that the military expenditures of both the Soviet Union and the United States have shot up. These were respectively 20 billion and 40 billion dollars in 1961, but reached more than 120 billion and 100 billion in 1977. Their spendings roughly equal the sum total of the military expenditures of all the 150-odd other countries. Social-imperialism, that most ardent preacher of disarmament, has made the biggest strides in the arms race. Over this period, the Soviet Union increased its strategic missiles more than 14 fold, nearly doubled its naval tonnage, and augmented its military force by nearly 10,000 tanks, several thousand military aircraft and more than a million men. A Soviet leader even said boastfully that with its powerful armed forces, "the Soviet Union is ready to wage an all-out war employing each and every kind of weapon." In terms of the momentum of arms expansion, even the other superpower pales in comparison.

Last year the Soviet Foreign Minister thought it very smart to claim that the Soviet Union had advanced more than 70 disarmament proposals in recent years, attempting thereby to show its sincere desire for disarmament. But what sort of proposals were these? They were

either hollow talk about the "non-use of force" and the "deepening and consolidation of international detente," or illusory bubbles about "banning environmental warfare" and "prohibition of the development and manufacture of new types of weapons of mass destruction," or schemes with glaring loopholes calculated to evade the real issue such as the proposal "to prohibit the emplacement of nuclear weapons on the sea-bed," which excludes nuclear submarines, or stratagems to restrict others and serve its own ends such as those stressing "nuclear non-proliferation" and a "nuclear test ban." They are all worthless proposals designed out of sinister motives and totally alien to the purpose of genuine disarmament. The more proposals of this kind the Soviet Union puts forward, the more its hypocrisy and treachery show up.

What are the lessons of history to be drawn from the long struggle around disarmament? They are as follows:

1) Lack of sincere desire on the part of the superpowers is the key reason why there has been no progress in disarmament over such a long period. The superpowers invariably camouflage their arms expansion with rhetoric about disarmament. We should not give credence to their fine-sounding words but should call on them to take practical measures of disarmament.

2) The people of the world want genuine and not sham disarmament. The superpowers, however, cook up all sorts of disarmament hoaxes to lull the people of the world, to tie the hands of other countries, and by these each of them wants to restrain the other party. It is necessary to constantly expose these hoaxes so that they do not confuse the issue.

3) The superpowers will not accept in good faith any proposal for genuine disarmament. Even if some agreements are reached, the superpowers will refuse to be bound by their terms. Hence, one should by no means entertain illusions about disarmament.

Mr. President,

The superpowers obviously anticipated that the representatives of small and medium-sized countries would voice a strong demand for genuine disarmament at this forum. So they

have continued to play tricks to evade the pressure of world opinion, divert public attention and stall progress at this session. On the question of nuclear disarmament in particular, they deliberately dwell on side issues to obstruct the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons. They vigorously advocate the "complete prohibition of nuclear tests" and "consolidation of the system of nuclear non-proliferation" as "major steps" to reduce the danger of a nuclear war. But who will be taken in by them? The Soviet Union and the United States have conducted hundreds of nuclear tests, both in the atmosphere and underground, which constitute about 90 per cent of all nuclear explosions carried out in the world. A complete test ban now would not in the least touch their nuclear arsenals or restrict their continuing the production, development, stockpiling of nuclear weapons or their use of them. How can it reduce the danger of a nuclear war? Even more fraudulent is their claim that non-proliferation will reduce the threat of a nuclear war. Can it be asserted that this threat comes from the non-nuclear small and medium-sized countries and not from the two superpowers whose nuclear weapons are deployed for instant attack? As we all know, the Soviet Union and the United States contrived the "partial nuclear test ban treaty" and the "Treaty on Nuclear Non-Proliferation" in the 1960s. As a result, the many non-nuclear countries have been hampered, and even their right to the peaceful use of atomic energy has been restricted, while the Soviet Union and the United States have continued the expansion of their nuclear armaments at full steam. The Soviet Union in particular has made a dash and caught up. The ruse of the two superpowers in contriving these treaties has become obvious to more and more people. Can it become more credible by extending the test ban and consolidating the nuclear non-proliferation system? Recently the Soviet Union came up in seeming earnest with a proposal for so-called "cessation of the production of all types of nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction." This is but a new trick which likewise cannot eliminate the threat of a nuclear war. Let's leave aside the problem of verification. Even if the two superpowers do stop producing nuclear weapons, they can fight a nuclear war all the same with

the numerous atom bombs and hydrogen bombs already in their possession. In a word, their proposals in various guises serve the single purpose of consolidating their positions as nuclear overlords, so that they may freely subject other countries to nuclear threat and nuclear blackmail.

The superpowers are playing up the prospect that a new agreement will be reached at their "strategic arms limitation talks," and describing it as a "major contribution" to the strengthening of international peace. This is a deliberate falsehood. For anyone willing to face up to realities, the history of SALT since they began in 1969 has been a history of strategic arms race between the Soviet Union and the United States, no more and no less. The previous SALT agreement reached after hot bargaining provides neither for reduction in quantity nor restriction on quality, but was designed to ensure expansion and improvement of their strategic arms to a higher level. In recent years, they have vied with each other in improving their strategic arms and rapidly developing MIRVs and, what is more, they have worked hard to develop new types of strategic weapons such as the Backfire bomber, the cruise missile and mobile multiple-warhead missiles. In the eight years of SALT, the Soviet Union has brought its once backward nuclear arsenal up to a par with that of the other superpower. How can this be described as an effort to limit the nuclear arms race? Any forthcoming agreement between the Soviet Union and the United States will at best be one with quantitative but no qualitative limits and envisaging continued "upward equilibrium" in respect of MIRVs. A U.S. leader is more frank in admitting that the Soviet Union and the United States have just been "working out new game rules" for the nuclear arms race. What is there to boast about in such agreements?

Mr. President,

It is only natural that an increasing number of small and medium-sized countries should demand that disarmament begin with the reduction of the arms of the two superpowers, whose nuclear as well as conventional arsenals far exceed any other country in the world. Each of them possesses thousands of strategic nuclear weapons, tens of thousands of tanks and military

aircraft, hundreds of principal warships and huge stocks of other conventional weapons. What is more, in order to gain military supremacy, they are both stepping up the development and commissioning of more sophisticated nuclear and conventional weapons, constantly augmenting and strengthening their ground, sea and air forces, energetically expanding and grabbing military bases abroad and reinforcing their troops stationed overseas. While engaging in the arms race themselves, the superpowers are seeking to put the blame on other countries. The Soviet propaganda machine has even slandered the third world as being the "source of the arms race" and called for "vigilance" against the "extent the arms drive has reached in the 'third world.'" This is the trick of a thief crying "Stop thief." Have not the superpowers advocated the principle of "equal security" in disarmament? Since the hegemonist powers, the Soviet Union and the United States, claim that their security can be assured only through a military equilibrium between themselves, the small and medium-sized countries are all the more justified to demand that these powers be the first to reduce their super-arsenals, for they are threatened by the superpowers' superior military strength.

The two superpowers, the Soviet Union and the United States, are deliberately confusing the issue by advocating disarmament by all. Their armaments already far exceed their defence needs and are being used as tools of aggression and expansion and tools in the struggle for hegemony. They are subjecting countries in all parts of the world to threats of force, military control and even armed aggression and they are busily preparing to unleash a new world war. Their armaments should certainly be cut drastically. As for the many small and medium-sized countries, armaments are their means of defence to safeguard their independence and security against aggression. Many third world countries still lack adequate defence capabilities, they need to strengthen their national defence. So what arms do they have to reduce? Even the second world countries in Western Europe and elsewhere, which are faced with the grave threat of annexation and invasion by Soviet social-imperialism, have the need to strengthen their defence capabilities. Disarmament must start with the two superpowers. This is a

fundamental principle on the question of disarmament today. It is also the chief yardstick of real progress in disarmament. The superpowers are trying to use "general disarmament" as an excuse for their refusal to cut their own armaments. This will never do.

Mr. President,

The Chinese people and the people of all other countries firmly demand peace. It has been the consistent stand of the Chinese Government that China will live in peace with all countries on the basis of the Five Principles of mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence. We do not threaten anyone, much less commit aggression against anyone. China is a developing country as well as a socialist country and belongs to the third world. Like other third world countries, we eagerly desire to lift our country from economic backwardness and are resolutely opposed to a world war. The Chinese people badly need an enduring peaceful international environment for the great task of developing China into a modern and powerful socialist country by the end of the century. China will never commit aggression against other countries even when it becomes a powerful socialist country. This is dictated by China's socialist system and by Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. But being confronted with imperialist, and especially social-imperialist aggression and threats, we cannot but strengthen our preparedness against war while carrying on construction. How can we afford to relax and go to sleep when a superpower has deployed a million troops along our border? Our war preparedness is not intended for aggression but for defence against aggression. Some people make the slanderous charge that we are warlike and want to provoke a world war. This is truly preposterous. Is China stationing hundreds of thousands of troops on other countries' territories? Has China sent out fleets to all oceans to make a show of force? Has China staged one offensive military manoeuvre after another in different parts of the world? The absurd slanders against China do not merit refutation.

The Chinese Government and people have always stood for genuine disarmament and have

made positive efforts for it. We have not only supported all rational proposals of disarmament and put forward a number of suggestions of our own, but also taken a series of concrete measures which accord with the wishes of the people of all countries.

We have always stood for the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons, and have on many occasions stated that we will at no time and in no circumstances be the first to use nuclear weapons.

We have always firmly supported the demands of small and medium-sized countries for the establishment of nuclear-free zones and peace zones, and have undertaken a due commitment towards the Latin American nuclear-free zone.

We have always stood for the dismantling of all military bases on foreign soil and the withdrawal of all armed forces stationed abroad. We have no military bases and no troops abroad, and we will never ask any country for military bases or station our troops on the territory of any other country.

We have always stood for the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of biological and chemical weapons, and we firmly uphold the 1925 Geneva Protocol for the Prohibition of the Use in War of Asphyxiating, Poisonous or Other Gases, and of Bacteriological Methods of Warfare.

We have always held that all countries have the right to develop nuclear energy for peaceful purposes, and we are firmly opposed to the attempt of the superpowers to hamper on the pretext of nuclear non-proliferation the development by other countries of their own nuclear industry.

We have always been opposed to the practice of using military aid to extort privileges, pose armed threats or make exorbitant profits, and we ourselves have never resorted to it.

We have solemnly declared that we will not seek hegemony in any part of the world. Our Constitution includes the explicit provision that China "will never seek hegemony or strive to be a superpower." And we have publicly declared

to the people of the whole world that if one day China should play the tyrant in the world, they should work together with the Chinese people to overthrow it.

The principled position of the Chinese Government and people on the question of disarmament is open and aboveboard. Our deeds and words are in accord, and we always live up to our words. We firmly support all the rational proposals put forward by the small and medium-sized countries; but we must thoroughly expose the disarmament hoaxes of the superpowers. That is what we did in the past and what we will continue to do in the future.

Mr. President,

People call for disarmament in the hope that it will reduce the danger of war. Hence the worth of a disarmament measure lies not in its face value but in its real effect. Any measure that helps to safeguard international peace and security and postpone the outbreak of a war should be supported; conversely, any measure that serves the interests of either superpower in seeking hegemony and preparing for war must be opposed. Here is the difference between genuine disarmament and sham disarmament.

The people of the whole world eagerly demand nuclear disarmament and the elimination of the danger of a nuclear war. We do not believe in the horror story spread by the superpowers that a nuclear war will destroy all mankind, but like the people of other countries, we Chinese are firmly opposed to a nuclear war. Everyone knows that the only way truly to free mankind from the threat of nuclear war is through the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons. Over the years we have repeatedly called on all countries to declare that they will prohibit and destroy nuclear weapons completely, thoroughly, totally and resolutely, that is, no use, no export, no import, no manufacture, no testing, no stockpiling of nuclear weapons and the destruction of all existing nuclear weapons. And we have proposed the holding of a conference of the heads of all countries to discuss the question of the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons, and first of all to conclude an agreement on the non-use of nuclear

weapons. But the superpowers have not responded to our proposals, and the talks on nuclear disarmament have been going on for more than a dozen years without any substantive progress. We believe that, in order to reduce the threat of nuclear war to the small and medium-sized countries in the absence of an agreement on the non-use of nuclear weapons, a measure of urgency is for all nuclear countries to undertake not to resort to the threat or use of nuclear weapons against the non-nuclear countries and nuclear-free zones. This is a reasonable and practical measure. Non-nuclear countries pose no threat to nuclear powers, why shouldn't the nuclear powers undertake not to use nuclear weapons against them? If the superpowers even refuse to take this minimum action, it will only prove that their statements about desiring to see nuclear weapons prohibited and the danger of a nuclear war removed are sheer lies.

Important though nuclear disarmament is, it cannot by itself eliminate the danger of war. Thus the reduction of conventional armaments has become a matter of increasing urgency. Both world wars broke out before the invention of nuclear weapons. The reality today is that the superpowers, especially the Soviet Union, are making an all-out effort to expand their conventional arsenals. The amount of conventional weapons produced by the Soviet Union alone already equals the sum total of those produced by the United States and the West European countries. In face of the rapid growth in Soviet conventional military strength, the United States has also noted the need to shift the emphasis in arms expansion to conventional weapons. When the two superpowers, which are the only countries capable of launching a world war, come into conflict, they may fight a nuclear war, but it is more likely that they will fight a conventional war. When the two sides use large quantities of new types of sophisticated conventional weapons which are highly lethal and destructive to fight a war over vast areas, it will spell disaster for the people of many countries. In Europe, which is the focus of contention between the two hegemonist powers, it is plain that the Soviet Union, using as a smokescreen the conference on mutual reduction of forces in Central Europe, has in recent years greatly strengthened its conventional military deploy-

ments, expanded its military manpower and renovated its weapons and equipment. The number of its ground forces stationed in Eastern Europe has exceeded 600,000. It has moved up more and more tanks, armoured transport cars and artillery pieces, and upgraded the attack capability of its air force. It has also deployed huge fleets in the Barents Sea, the North Sea, the Baltic and the Mediterranean to form a naval encirclement of Western Europe. In short, it has positioned and readied its conventional military forces for a surprise attack on Western Europe. Having done all the above, this superpower, which had all along refused to renounce the first use of nuclear weapons, suddenly turned benevolent by proposing at the recent European security conference that all participants sign an agreement on mutual renunciation of the first use of nuclear weapons. As some discerning observers in the West have pointed out, this Soviet proposal was aimed at facilitating its blackmail and eventual invasion of Western Europe by means of its predominant conventional forces. It is thus unrealistic to assume that nuclear disarmament alone will lessen the danger of a world war, and it is even more so to believe that it will prevent local wars. Conventional forces are being used by the two superpowers in the struggle for world hegemony to carry out aggression and expansion everywhere, posing an ever greater threat to the independence and security of all peoples. Social-imperialism, in particular, has been using tanks, aeroplanes, guns and warships, and not strategic nuclear weapons, in its many armed threats or military adventures in the Middle East, in Africa and in Asia. It can thus be seen that for the purpose of lowering the war danger, it is no less urgent to reduce the conventional armaments of the superpowers than to reduce their nuclear armaments. The non-aligned countries have stressed that "conventional weapons which give cause for grave concern should also be the object of disarmament agreements." This view is perfectly correct. Equal importance should be attached to the reduction of conventional armaments and that of nuclear armaments, and the two should proceed in conjunction. The superpowers must not be allowed to exploit the peoples' urgent desire for nuclear disarmament in their attempt to delay the reduction of their conventional arms, or even to intensify their race in conventional arms.

The war machines of the two superpowers have reached unprecedented proportions in peacetime history and have become swords of Damocles hanging over the heads of the people of the world. It is imperative that the superpowers take effective disarmament measures, cut down their huge arsenals and reduce their military threats to other countries. The Soviet Union and the United States must first of all take the following action:

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

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

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

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

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

When major progress has been made in the destruction of Soviet and U.S. nuclear weapons and in the reduction of their conventional weapons, the other nuclear countries should join the Soviet Union and the United States in destroying all nuclear weapons. It is high time that the superpowers demonstrated their sincerity for disarmament with actual deeds instead of hollow words.

It is understandable that many small and medium-sized countries should have proposed that funds released through the reduction of military expenditures under disarmament measures be channelled towards the economic development of the developing countries. Some third world countries have explicitly demanded that the two leading nuclear countries undertake

to be the first to do so. This demand is well-founded. The two superpowers, which are sharply increasing their military expenditures for arms expansion and war preparations, have obtained funds through plundering the developing countries as well as through exploiting the people in their own countries. For the development of their national economy, the developing countries rely mainly on their own efforts; they have also to strive for the establishment of a new international economic order. It is fully justifiable that they demand the channelling towards their economic development of the resources released through reduction of the military expenditures of the superpowers, for they are only asking for the return of a part of the superpowers' ill-gotten wealth. Nevertheless, it would not be so easy to make the superpowers do so. Take the case of the Soviet Union, it has been talking for many years about "aiding the developing countries with funds released by disarmament," but this has been mere lip service designed for demagogic effect. It has proposed a 10 per cent cut in military expenditures, yet each year it increases its military expenditures by 4 or 5 per cent. If it really wants to be generous, why does it not begin by cancelling the debts incurred by some developing countries through their arms purchases from it? Some second world countries have already reduced or exempted debts of developing countries, why can't the Soviet Union do the same?

The strong demand of the small and medium-sized countries for a reform in the machinery for disarmament is fully legitimate. Machinery such as the Geneva Conference of the Committee on Disarmament has long been under the control of the two superpowers and has become a forum where they talk sham disarmament and obstruct genuine disarmament. This state of affairs must be thoroughly changed. Questions of disarmament and international security, which concern the interests of all countries, should be deliberated by an international organ with the participation of all countries under the auspices of the United Nations. The items and procedures of disarmament negotiations should be decided on by this organ, while machinery responsible for disarmament negotiations should be truly free of superpower control and should be set up through consultations by the above-mentioned deliberative organ. Only

in this way can the views of every country be fully expressed. The one or two superpowers must not be allowed to manipulate the negotiating machinery and to impose their will on other countries. It is also necessary to point out that, unless the superpowers change their stubborn attitude of obstructing disarmament, it would be very difficult to achieve success no matter what kind of negotiating machinery there may be.

Mr. President,

The danger of war stemming from Soviet-U.S. rivalry is a growing menace to the people of the world. To put off a new world war is the common task of the people of all countries. True, the struggle for disarmament is aimed at making it more difficult for the superpowers to carry out their plans of arms expansion and war preparations. But historical experience as well as present-day realities tell us that the imperialists always divide the world in proportion to strength, and that the arms race is an indispensable means of their rivalry for hegemony. They are contending for world hegemony; they will not readily agree to reduce their armaments and weaken their war machines. As long as imperialism and social-imperialism exist, general and complete disarmament is an even more impossible goal. Hence, we must not pin our hopes for the maintenance of world peace on disarmament. There are many other things we can do to delay the outbreak of a war.

First. Tell the people of the world about the danger of war and its root cause and urge them to get prepared materially and organizationally to resist a war of aggression. The better their preparations, the less the chance that the warmongers will dare to unleash a war. Conversely, if the superpowers are allowed to spread illusions of peace with the result that the people lower their guard, fail to perceive the real threat of war, put blind faith in peaceful negotiations and the so-called "balance of terror" or pin their hopes on general and complete disarmament, opportunities will open up before the warmongers and the danger of a new world war will grow. Therefore, the struggle for disarmament can help to put off a war only if it is accompanied by full exposure of the superpowers' plot of sham disarmament and real arms expansion, and if the people of the world are alerted to the danger of war. The

lesson must never be forgotten that both world wars broke out amidst a chorus of "peace" and "disarmament."

Second. Strengthen the anti-hegemonist struggle in all spheres. The struggle of the people of the world against the hegemonism of the two superpowers and their struggle against the latter's policy of war are the two sides of a coin. The superpowers want to grab world hegemony by launching a world war and, in preparing for this war, they are committing acts of hegemonism in all parts of the world. Everywhere they are engaged in aggression and expansion, seizing resources and areas and routes of strategic importance and stepping up their deployments for a global war. The people of the world can upset the war plans and deployments of the two hegemonist powers and put off a new world war by waging a sustained struggle to frustrate their acts of aggression and expansion, that is, to stop their infringement on the sovereignty and encroachment on the territories and territorial seas of other countries, prevent their interference in the internal affairs of other countries by the threat or use of force or any other means, and thwart their attempts to set or redivide spheres of influence in any part of the world. Therefore, the people's struggle for disarmament must be linked up with the struggle in defence of national independence, state sovereignty and territorial integrity and against superpower aggression, interference, subversion and control. The struggle against the superpowers must be waged not only in the realm of disarmament but in all other fields as well. Recently, some countries have got rid of the Soviet military installations in their territories and territorial seas, others have sternly rejected Soviet bids to lease bases, and still others have denied overflight to Soviet aeroplanes transporting arms. These are effective steps against social-imperialism's war plans, and they are admirable steps.

In order to put off the outbreak of war, it is also necessary to oppose a policy of appeasement. The Soviet Union is increasing its military threat to Western Europe, striving to expand its influence in the Middle East and carrying out a series of military adventures in Africa. From this it is clear that the aims of Soviet global strategy are: to control and monopolize

Europe, to weaken and squeeze out the influence of the other superpower in all parts of the world, and to ultimately supplant the other superpower and establish its own hegemony over the whole world. Facts show that this superpower flaunting the label of socialism is more aggressive and adventurous than the other superpower; it is the most dangerous source of a new world war and is sure to be its chief instigator. Yet, there are some people in the West today who are cowed by Soviet military threats and are afraid of war, or who indulge in a false sense of security and deny the existence of a serious danger of war. Politically, they seek peaceful co-operation to accommodate the Soviet hoax of "detente." Economically, they offer big loans and technical equipment to pacify the Soviet Union. Militarily, they seek a respite through compromises and concessions. They even dream of averting the danger threatening themselves by sacrificing the security of others. Whether they do it knowingly or not, to pursue such policies of appeasement will only serve to camouflage and abet social-imperialism's war preparations and bring the war closer. It is precisely to encourage the trend of appeasement that the Soviet Union has been so diligently selling its fraud of "disarmament" and "detente." Hence, it is necessary to guard against appeasement in the struggle for disarmament.

Mr. President,

While there is the danger of a new world war, the possibility does exist of putting off its outbreak. This depends to a great extent on whether or not the people of all countries can make progress and score victories in their struggle against hegemonism. If the people of the world, including the people of the United States and the Soviet Union, get united, if all countries subjected to the aggression, interference, control, subversion or bullying of the two hegemonist powers, the Soviet Union and the United States, get united to form and broaden to the maximum an international united front against hegemonism, and if they fight with redoubled energy, they will surely be able to frustrate the superpowers' policies of aggression and war and uphold world peace. The world will certainly move in the direction of progress and not retrogression. The future of mankind is infinitely bright.

Statement on Viet Nam's Expulsion Of Chinese Residents

by Spokesman of the Overseas Chinese Affairs
Office of the State Council

ON May 24 a spokesman of the Overseas Chinese Affairs Office of the State Council of the People's Republic of China gave an interview to correspondents of the Hsinhua News Agency on the question of Viet Nam forcing Chinese residents there to return to China. His statement follows:

Recently, the Vietnamese side has been unwarrantedly ostracizing and persecuting Chinese residents in Viet Nam, and expelling many of them back to China. The situation has been deteriorating daily.

On May 4 a responsible official of the Vietnamese side made a public statement, in which he distorted the facts in an attempt to put the blame on the Chinese side for the massive expulsion of Chinese. Under these circumstances, we cannot but set forth the facts so as to ensure a correct understanding of the matter.

Early in 1977 the Vietnamese side, in a so-called effort to "clear up the border areas," started in a planned way to expel people who had long ago moved from China to settle down in Vietnamese border areas. This subsequently developed gradually into the massive expulsion of Chinese residents in all parts of Viet Nam. Out of a sincere desire to uphold Sino-Vietnam-

ese friendship and seek a proper settlement of this question, the Chinese side repeatedly tried to persuade the Vietnamese side that it should value Sino-Vietnamese friendship and stop such extremely unfriendly practice of displacing so many overseas Chinese residents and harming the good feelings between the two peoples. But to our regret, the Vietnamese side not only failed to respond to our good wishes, but became more vicious in expelling Chinese and the number of Chinese expelled was growing. The situation became more serious. According to statistics undertaken in our border areas, more than 50,000 overseas Chinese were driven back to China in the period of one and half months from early April to mid-May this year. Up to now, the number has exceeded 70,000, not counting those who were compelled to leave Viet Nam and seek refuge in other places.

The majority of the expelled Chinese are labouring people who on their way back to China suffered various maltreatments. Some were beaten up and wounded. They lost through arbitrary confiscation most of their possessions which they had earned in long years of labour. Even the small number of personal belongings for daily use they carried with them were plundered on the way before they left Viet-

name territory. As a result, most of the Chinese had nothing left except the clothes they were wearing when they entered Chinese territory. Many old people and children suffered from hunger and disease. It was altogether a pitiful scene.

Yet, in utter disregard of the facts, the Vietnamese official made the slanderous countercharge that "some bad elements among the Chinese spread rumours to foment discord in the relations between Viet Nam and China" and that the Chinese "lightly believed" the rumours and illegally crossed the border to return to their homeland.

What are the facts? Detailed investigation and checking by our border authorities have established that it is Vietnamese departments concerned and public security personnel who, acting on instructions, spread among Vietnamese people and Chinese residents the rumours that "China has committed aggression against Viet Nam," that "the Chinese Government has called on overseas Chinese to return," etc., to incite hostility against the Chinese residents and threaten and intimidate them. The Vietnamese side has also used various means to restrict employment of the Chinese residents. Chinese who were on job were unjustifiably demoted or fired. Their food ration was reduced or stopped through cancellation of their residence registration. As a result, large numbers of Chinese residents have lost their means of livelihood and found it difficult to make a living and are plunged in dire distress. In Ho Chi Minh City and other places, there even occurred grave incidents of mass arrest and wounding and killing of Chinese residents. In order to cover up the truth of the expulsion of Chinese and to shirk responsibility, Vietnamese public security personnel compelled some Chinese to fill in a "Form of Voluntary Repatriation" or to copy or read out statements prepared beforehand for them which the security personnel photographed, filmed or recorded as "evidence of voluntary repatriation" of Chinese residents. Then they transported groups of Chinese to designated points on the border and drove them back to China across border rivers. A host of facts

Chinese Government Decides to Send Ships to Bring Home Persecuted Chinese From Viet Nam

BY May 26, more than 89,000 Chinese residents in Viet Nam had returned to China after being forced to leave by the Vietnamese authorities.

Every day, victimized Chinese by the thousand returned to the motherland across the Sino-Vietnamese border. At Hokou in Yunnan, the highest number in one day was more than 1,900; at Tunghsing in Kwangsi the record for one day was 4,000.

Yunnan, Kwangtung and Fukien Provinces as well as the Kwangsi Chuang Autonomous Region are organizing people to care for victimized Chinese. Food, clothing and other materials are provided and returnees are rapidly settled.

Lin Hsiu-teh, Deputy Director of the Overseas Chinese Affairs Office of the State Council, recently made a special trip from Peking to Hokou to extend sympathy to the victimized Chinese residents who had been persecuted and evicted from Viet Nam.

In view of the continued persecution of the Chinese residents in Viet Nam by the Vietnamese authorities, the Chinese Government has decided to send ships to bring home the victims.

proves that the massive expulsion of Chinese back to China is a purposeful and planned line of action carried out by the Vietnamese authorities on instructions.

People will not forget that the Chinese in Viet Nam have long lived in friendship with Vietnamese people and taken an active part in the Vietnamese revolution and construction. During the protracted struggle against colonial rule, and in the difficult years of wars of national salvation against French and U.S. imperialism, many Chinese residents fought

shoulder to shoulder with the Vietnamese people and never flinched from bloodshed and sacrifice. They made positive contributions to the Vietnamese people's cause of liberation, to the building of the liberated areas, to postwar rehabilitation and reconstruction and to the growth of the revolutionary friendship between the two peoples, and in the process forged a profound fraternity with the Vietnamese people. After the liberation of the whole of Viet Nam, however, the Vietnamese authorities have now returned evil for good by using despicable means to persecute Chinese and evict them en masse, thus greatly hurting the traditional friendship between the Chinese and Vietnamese peoples. Over this we cannot but feel strong regret and indignation.

Regarding the question of nationality of Chinese residing abroad, it has been China's consistent policy to favour and encourage their voluntary choice of the nationality of the country of residence. At the same time, we take exception to the practice of compelling them to take up against their will the nationality of their country of residence. This is the well-known and openly declared policy of the Chinese Government, which has been consistently implemented over the years. In 1955 during the discussion by the Chinese and Vietnamese Parties of the question of nationality of the Chinese residents in Viet Nam, both sides agreed to abide by the principle of voluntary choice of nationality. In 1956 the reactionary Ngo Dinh Diem regime in south Viet Nam compelled Chinese residents to become naturalized. The Commission of Overseas Chinese Affairs of the People's Republic of China issued a statement on May 20, 1957, strongly protesting against the Ngo Dinh Diem regime's despicable action of compelling Chinese residents to change their nationality, and solemnly stating that "the regulations of the south Vietnamese administration on changing the nationality of the Chinese residents in south Viet Nam are unreasonable and unilateral," and that "the south Vietnamese administration should bear full responsibility for

all the consequences arising from this unreasonable act." *Nhan Dan* of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam on May 23, 1957 carried the full text of this statement and on May 24 the same year published a signed article entitled "The Ngo Dinh Diem Clique Is the Common Enemy of the Vietnamese and the Chinese Residents," expressing its support for China's just stand. In its "Letter to Chinese Brothers and Sisters in South Viet Nam" published on May 24, 1965, the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation stated that "the Chinese residents have the freedom and right to choose their nationality." But in recent years, the Vietnamese side went back on its word and abandoned the principle of voluntary choice of nationality for the Chinese residents. It resorted to a series of measures of discrimination, ostracism and persecution against the Chinese residents. It compelled them to take up Vietnamese nationality on penalty of losing their work papers, having their staple and other food rations cut, paying heavy taxes and even being deported. We feel great surprise and regret at the Vietnamese side's practice of compelling the Chinese residents to become naturalized, which violates the agreement between the two sides and runs counter to the general principles of international law.

China and Viet Nam are neighbouring countries linked by common mountains and rivers, and the Chinese and Vietnamese peoples have formed a profound friendship during the protracted revolutionary struggles. We are firmly opposed to the Vietnamese authorities' arbitrary, truculent and illegal actions towards the Chinese residents. We demand that the Vietnamese side immediately stop implementing the above-mentioned erroneous policy of ostracizing, persecuting and expelling the Chinese residents and do not continue to damage the traditional friendship between our two countries and our two peoples. Otherwise, the Vietnamese Government should bear full responsibility for all the consequences arising from these unwarranted measures.

Report From Tunghsing, Kwangsi

Chinese Residents Forced Out By Viet Nam Return to China

by Hsinhua Correspondent Ma Li

I ARRIVED in mid-May at the border town of Tunghsing, on the southern frontiers of China in the Kwangsi Chuang Autonomous Region. I saw the harrowing condition of the victimized Chinese residents forced to return to China by the Vietnamese authorities. Across the river, Vietnamese army and police personnel were pursuing and beating their hapless victims.

The multinational Tunghsing Autonomous County is separated by the Peilun River from Mong Cai District of Viet Nam's Quang Ninh Province. People on either shore can see the houses and fields on the other. The people living along the borders of both countries drink from the same river and there has been an unbroken record of friendly exchanges. Now dark clouds hang over this river, owing to the Vietnamese authorities' large-scale persecution and eviction of Chinese residents.

The Exodus

I climbed up on to the dyke of the Peilun River and gazed in the direction of Mong Cai. On a stretch of open river flats, groups of victimized Chinese were huddling together with their children, mothers trying to soothe their crying babies, old people sitting on the bare ground, completely exhausted. Some were boarding small boats destined for the north bank.

Some of the victims were wading across at shallower points. In the waist-deep water, some carried a bundle on their shoulders; others were pushing floating planks before them. One woman was trudging

across the river, a small girl on her back and a shoulder-pole across her shoulder.

Standing under shady trees and by the bamboo groves were gun-toting Vietnamese soldiers, keeping a close eye on those preparing to cross the river. Some of the victims were chased and beaten by Vietnamese soldiers and security personnel on the river flats and stripped of their belongings.

Stepping on to the soil of the motherland on the Chinese side of a ferry crossing, victimized Chinese helped one another, taking the old folk by the arm and leading the children along. When the old people got off the boat, they kept repeating to their compatriots who had come to receive them: "We are safe now. We are safe now." Carrying what clothing and utensils remained to them after the plunder, a

Seventy-year-old overseas Chinese Tseng Hua-hui (first from left) and his family of 18 were forced to leave Viet Nam by the Vietnamese authorities. Picture shows his arrival at Tunghsing in Kwangsi together with his aunt, daughter-in-law and granddaughters.



June 2, 1978



Chinese fishermen of Cam Pha District, Quang Ninh Province, compelled to leave Viet Nam were encircled and fired upon by Vietnamese security personnel. Wu Ya-chiao, wounded in the left arm and back, is treated by local medical workers on arrival in Peihai, Kwangsi.

couple came ashore with their two children. The father was carrying two buckets on a shoulder-pole, his little girl sitting in one of them. The elder child, a 13- or 14-year-old boy, followed after his mother. The child's feet were badly swollen by the long day-and-night trek.

On the dyke, people stood in little knots, wet-eyed, as they poured out their feelings on returning to the motherland. They denounced the Vietnamese authorities for their persecution of Chinese residents.

A woman still suffering from the shock told people how an hour earlier, on her way out of Viet Nam, she had seen a young man among the harassed Chinese set upon by six Vietnamese soldiers and badly mauled. On May 9, old peasant Shen Yao-kun, a Chinese living in a village two kilometres from Mong Cai, was carrying two baskets of manioc on his shoulder-pole when Vietnamese soldiers stopped him near the gates of a school. They pointed a bayonet at his chest, twisted his arms behind him and took away his manioc. His right forefinger was snapped and the bone was showing. When he arrived in China he had to be treated at the Tunghsing County hospital.

Returnees stood in rows on this side of the Peilun River, peering anxiously at the opposite shore. Children were waiting for parents still stranded in Viet Nam and old people for their children and grandchildren. Many families had become separated and penniless as a result of Vietnamese authorities' persecution. Chu Shih-wen, an old man, had crossed the border from Ha Coi 11 days ago. He went down to the riverside every day to wait for his 18-year-old son and left with a heavy heart. "My son hasn't come and I'm worried sick," he said to me.

Something Never Dreamt of

An old resident of Tunghsing town recalled how the Chinese and Vietnamese people shared weal and woe in the struggle ten years ago when ferries were shuttling to and fro across the Peilun River. He told me that large numbers of Vietnamese residents of Hanoi, Hai Phong and Mong Cai were evacuated across the border to Tunghsing County when U.S. imperialism savagely bombed those parts of northern Viet Nam. He said: "The Vietnamese people together with the Chinese in Viet Nam sent the old and the women and children across the river and every family in our town did what we could for them. We gave shelter to over 6,000 people until 1971 when they returned to Viet Nam. This is still fresh in the minds of the border people of both countries. We never dreamt that the Vietnamese authorities would try and wreck this friendship sealed in blood between the people of China and Viet Nam, as they are doing today. It really hurts to think of it!"

I saw right on the opposite bank of the river a cluster of homes in Deo Hang Le with their roofs stripped off. Pointing to the devastated houses, a returnee said to this reporter: "That is iron-clad proof of the Vietnamese authorities' persecution of the Chinese in Viet Nam. That was where Chinese residents in Mong Cai lived in community. Last February, Mong Cai District authorities announced the establishment of a 'sanitary district' along the river and ordered the Chinese there to move inland to build what they called 'new villages.' The Chinese tearfully left the homes they had built with their labour over the years and returned to the motherland."

Su Ping, who had lived in Mong Cai, revealed how he had suffered all sorts of persecution in recent years. He was born in Hai Phong and, at the age of 21, had joined in the Vietnamese revolutionary struggles. He still bears the scars of battle resisting the aggressors in Viet Nam. He once worked in a film company in Quang Ninh Province. But he was compelled to retire before he reached the retirement age because the Vietnamese authorities groundlessly discriminated against Chinese residents. As his pension was not enough to support his family of six, he had to cultivate a piece of wasteland on which he grew vegetables to make ends meet. Late last year, his family was denied their grain supply for two months.

Su Ping continued: "Since the beginning of this year, I have been placed under closer surveillance by the Vietnamese security personnel. I had no choice but to return to the motherland, saying goodbye to the place where I had lived and fought, parting with the Vietnamese people, with whom I had lived together."

The returnees who had gone through so much suffering were received with deep feelings by their compatriots in the motherland. Every family in the town of Tunghsing has made room to put them up. A stream of bus caravans took them to farms for returned overseas Chinese where they will settle down and take part in the socialist construction of the motherland.

At one of the reception centres, I ran into an old man named Huang Man. He was born in Hopu County in Kwangsi and is now 76. He had gone to Viet Nam and found a job as a miner when he was 20. He retired at 60 on a pension too meagre to live on. This childless miner could not have kept body and soul together but for help from his neighbours who were, like him, Chinese miners. On the day he came back to China, he had only the threadbare clothes on his back and a worn cotton blanket. Tears were in his eyes when he was issued a new mosquito net, a straw mattress to sleep on and money for his daily needs on his arrival in China.

Zaire

Another Flop of Soviet-Cuban Mercenaries

SHABA Province in southern Zaire in the heart of the African continent suffered a new invasion started by Soviet-Cuban mercenaries on May 12. The counter-offensive launched by Zaire routed the intruders and led to the recapture of Kolwezi which had earlier fallen into their hands. This has won the support of many African countries and people. The invasion throws light on the wild ambitions of Soviet social-imperialism to dominate Africa.

In face of the new inroads made by the mercenaries, the Zairian people mounted another anti-aggression armed struggle on May 12. On May 14, President Mobutu filled the whole nation in on the invasion by the mercenaries stage-managed by the Soviet Union and

Cuba. He also called a meeting of members on the general staff to discuss dispositions to strike back. At the plenary meeting of the Zairian National Legislative Council on May 15, a motion was adopted strongly denouncing the invasion by the mercenaries and calling on the civilians throughout the country to support all the actions taken by President Mobutu. In an order for general mobilization issued on May 16, the Executive Secretariat of the Zairian Popular Revolutionary Movement called on the people of the country to unite to drive the aggressors out of their land. The people of various social strata in Kinshasa, the capital, and in Shaba Province held demonstrations and rallies denouncing the

crimes committed by the Soviet Union, Cuba and their mercenaries. With the powerful support of other African countries and other friendly states such as France, the Zairian armed forces and people fought heroically, recapturing Kolwezi Airport on May 17 and the City of Kolwezi three days later.

African Countries Support

The Zairian people in their struggle against aggression have abundant support from other African countries. In the name of the Executive President of the Organization of African Unity, Gabonese President Bongo demanded that the O.A.U. member states take immediate and unanimous actions to support Zaire. The heads of state of Senegal, the Ivory Coast, the Central African Empire, Morocco, Togo and Mali announced their readiness to support Zaire in various ways. Senegal was ready to provide Zaire with army vehicles and the Ivory Coast has decided to send food and medicine to Zaire as quickly as possible. Malian Head of State Moussa Traore said: "Destabilization in any African country will inevitably be conducive to the destabilization of the whole African continent." Togolese President Gnassingbe Eyadema pointed out: "Africa is under menace. The incident taking place in Zaire not only concerns the people of that country but also the whole of Africa." Egypt is following with great concern the grave event now tak-

ing place in Shaba Province, according to an official source at the Egyptian Foreign Ministry. The source said Egypt emphasizes its commitment to respect for the territorial integrity of all African countries and denounces any attempts to threaten their integrity and unity. At a mass rally held in Bangui, the capital of the Central African Empire, a speaker asked: It was Angola yesterday, it is Zaire today, and which African country will it be tomorrow? A manifesto adopted by the meeting ended with the slogan "Down with social-imperialism and its running dogs!"

The press in many African countries stood on the side of the Zairian people, exposing and denouncing the aggressors. The Moroccan newspaper *Al Alam* said in a commentary: "What is happening in Zaire is undoubtedly an extension of the struggle in the Horn of Africa. Probably the tactics are different, but from the point of view of strategy, the aim is the same, that is, to strengthen Soviet influence in Africa." The Sudanese paper *El Ayam* pointed out: "Certain foreign powers regard the Zairian Government as an obstacle to their desire for controlling Zaire; this is why these foreign powers have been scheming to invade the country." The Mauritanian paper *Ach-Chaab* noted editorially that "Zaire seems to be the favourite target of action of people whose hegemonist designs are beginning to stand out ever more clearly. Without important complicity and support, the first aggression of Shaba would not have taken place, still less the second." The editorial added, the mercenaries would find many countries, Mauritania included, standing on the side of Zaire, because these countries "do not like to see the people's will replaced by the mercenary system."

Demonstration in Kinshasa.



Aggression Condemned

The second invasion of Zaire by the Soviet-Cuban mercenaries has also evoked strong reactions in other parts of the world. Government circles and the press in many countries made statements and carried articles to support the Zairian people in their struggle and denounce aggression against them.

A French government statement expressed its support for the efforts made by the Zairian Government and President Mobutu in the anti-aggression war. It said France would continue to extend assistance to Zaire in accordance with the agreement between the two countries. French President Giscard d'Estaing reaffirmed that France would not remain indifferent when the security of its friend was being impaired. The West German Government also declared that it would aid Zaire.

During their week-long occupation of the City of Kolwezi, the Soviet-Cuban mercenaries looted, burnt down houses, persecuted the local inhabitants as well as European residents, killing many in cold blood and not even sparing the children. The business centre was reduced to a shambles, water and power supplies were cut off and the copper mines flooded. The invaders rounded up large numbers of West European and U.S. residents and held them as hostages in an attempt to prevent the Western countries from giving aid to Zaire. Then on May 18 French and Belgian paratroopers were air-dropped to Kolwezi.

Inspecting Kolwezi on May 20, President Mobutu, in an interview with the Zaire Press Agency, pointed out that Brezhnev and Castro were "real murderers, out-and-out criminals whose hands are stained with the blood of innocents."

Latest Soviet Attack

Condemned by public opinion throughout the world, the Soviet Union has tried again and again to tell the world through its propaganda machine that it had nothing to do with the fighting in Shaba, while accusing others of trying to call "Zaire's internal conflicts" foreign aggression as an excuse to meddle in the internal affairs of the African countries.

But all these denials and calumnies are of no avail. What has happened suffices to show that Moscow and Havana supplied the cues for the enactment of the Shaba drama.

Who were the invaders of Shaba Province 14 months ago? They were the ex-Katangan gendarmes armed by the Soviet Union and trained and controlled by the Kremlin and



Zairian armed forces recapturing Kolwezi Airport.

Cuba. Who are the invaders today? They are the same mercenaries. After their defeat one year ago, they retreated to the Angolan base where the Soviets and Cubans train mercenaries. The recent invaders again came from Angola.

As exposed by Zaire, this invasion, code-named "Operation Dove," was plotted in Havana.

Facts show that the aggression was long premeditated. Zaire has time and again pointed out that since their defeat in the last invasion, the Russians, who have not given up the idea of subjugating Zaire, might stage a comeback. Under the leadership of President Mobutu, Zaire has taken a series of measures to build up its defences and sharpen vigilance. In the past year the Kremlin, unreconciled to its defeat, has continued to recruit and train mercenaries, and sent them to make across-border harassments, rob Zairians of their food, plant mines and even stage several fairly large armed intrusions. At the same time, Moscow has made gestures to improve relations with Zaire. On the very day when the invasion of Shaba was started, the Charge d'Affaires of the Soviet Embassy in Zaire told the press that his country cherished "good wishes" for Zaire and was ready to strengthen its "friendly relations" with the country.

It is noteworthy that the Angola-based mercenaries made detours to launch surprise

(Continued on p. 31.)

CHINESE PRESS SURVEY

President of Supreme People's Court on New Constitution

THE Chinese press has been carrying many articles explaining the new Constitution promulgated last March. *Hongqi* magazine in its issue No. 5 published an article by President Chiang Hua of the Supreme People's Court under the title "Proceed Strictly According to the New Constitution."

The article says: "The promulgation of the new Constitution has ushered in a new phase in the development of China's socialist legal system." The new Constitution is to be the basis for working out laws, decrees, regulations and ordinances in various spheres of endeavour. "We must not only strictly enforce the new Constitution but also step by step enhance and establish all kinds of socialist laws according to the new Constitution."

The article recalls the progress made in strengthening socialist legality in the past year and more since the fall of the "gang of four." The framed-up charges brought against many innocent people by the gang have been cleared up one by one. Criminals and counter-revolutionaries who perpetrated all kinds



People's police studying the new Constitution.

of evils have been given due punishment. Those who committed gross violations of law and discipline have been severely dealt with. Rules and regulations in various fields of endeavour have been or are being restored and perfected. Good order, stability and unity are here to stay. The anarchic state of affairs caused by the gang in some places and units, and the abnormal situation in which the illegal behaviour of undesirable persons went unpunished whereas democratic rights of the masses could not be protected, have been in the main rectified.

But because the pernicious influence of Lin Piao and the "gang of four" in particular is widespread and deep-rooted, the article points out, much hard, detailed work must be done if we are to enforce the new Constitution fully.

Emphasis is laid in the article on implementing the Party Central Committee's instructions for launching a vigorous nationwide movement to publicize the new Constitution and educate people to understand its provisions so as to create an atmosphere in which cadres will play an exemplary role in upholding the law, the masses consciously abide by the law, and the leading organs and departments of justice deal with affairs strictly according to law. To this end, people who set an example in doing things according to the Constitution and law, who dare to fight against bad persons and bad things should be highly commended.

The article stresses the point that "all state organs and their personnel must conduct affairs strictly according to the Constitution and law." "The majority of our cadres consciously observe the Constitution and the law, but there are also some people who abuse their power, break the law and violate discipline." "When a cadre violates the law, it is more serious than in the case of an ordinary person doing so because the effects are worse. When a cadre violates a law or regulation, he must receive due punishment, no matter how long he has been in office, or how high his position is."

This calls for mass supervision. The right of the masses to expose bad persons and bad things in the state organs must be fully guaranteed. Anyone who suppresses complaints

and appeals of the masses or retaliates against those making them must be seriously dealt with.

President Chiang Hua of the Supreme People's Court writes in the article: "The people's courts are an important tool of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and exercise judicial authority, which is part of state authority. Judicial authority comes from the people and is subject to the supervision of the people. In accordance with law, the people's courts apply the system whereby representatives of the masses participate as assessors in administering justice. With regard to major counter-revolutionary or criminal cases, the masses should be drawn in for discussion and suggestions." "Counter-revolutionary cases, criminal cases or civil law suits, must all be dealt with strictly according to the Constitution and law, and the judicial system and procedure prescribed by law must be strictly followed." "In the trial of cases, importance must be attached to evidence, to investigations and study. To obtain confessions by compulsion and then give them credence is strictly prohibited."

The article says in conclusion: "In the great struggle to transform China into a powerful, modern socialist country, the new Constitution will certainly display tremendous power."

"My Family Is Getting Younger"

CHAIRMAN Mao in accordance with the Marxist method of class analysis worked out correct policies towards the various classes and strata in Chinese society aimed at uniting with all who can be united and opposing the handful of class enemies hostile to the socialist system.

The "gang of four" acted just the opposite. They whipped up ultra-"Left" trends of thought and slanderously dubbed many leading cadres "capitalist-roaders," veteran workers "those with vested interests but without a revolutionary rebel spirit," intellectuals "the stinking ninth category" [of class enemies] and returned overseas Chinese suspects of "maintaining illicit foreign relations because they

had relatives and friends abroad, and so on and so forth. Consequently, many families in the country were persecuted.

Since the smashing of the "gang of four," great changes have taken place. Many people have written articles for the press telling of their own experiences. One of them carried in *Renmin Ribao* recently was entitled "My Family Is Getting Younger."

The author of the article was Chang Chih-chien, a young man living in Shanghai. Only a few years ago, he wrote, he and his family could only "live with their mouths shut; outbursts of laughter were few and far between.

His elder brother was a college graduate, branded "one of the stinking ninth category taking the white-and-expert road." His two sisters who were school teachers were also discriminated against and found it almost impossible to do their work well because schools in those days were in great disorder. His father who worked in a factory as an accountant had a problem of an ordinary political nature connected with his past history but could not be counted as a class enemy. According to Party policy, even the children of a class enemy must not be discriminated against if their own political behaviour is good. But, while the influence of the "gang of four" prevailed, Chang Chih-chien and his brother and sisters all suffered in many ways because of the problem in their family history.

One of his elder sisters fell in love with a returned overseas Chinese. No one in the family approved of the idea, not because they didn't like the young man, but because they felt that the burden of their family origin was already almost unbearable and the situation could only become worse if they were to have "overseas relations" into the bargain. His sister would not listen. The wedding which took place later on was "a lukewarm, wretched affair"; the members of the family had misgivings, would have no truck with their returned overseas-Chinese relative and their relations with their sister also became distant.

The author then went on to review the changes that had taken place in the past year. His elder brother who worked at a science

institute had been given a new subject for research and been cited as an advanced scientific worker. His two sisters were teaching school and working most enthusiastically, now that school teachers were once again accorded the respect of society. His father who had retired, was doing social work on a volunteer basis for the neighbourhood and had become an activist. During the Spring Festival this year, the family had a reunion. A special invitation was sent to the married sister and her overseas-Chinese husband whom they had not seen for several years. It was the happiest festival they had ever known.

Thanks to the implementation of the policies laid down by Chairman Mao for our Party, thousands upon thousands of families which had been living under a cloud have a new lease of life. This is a great change. As the author said at the conclusion of his article: "The society we live in is composed of many, many factories, villages, government offices and institutions of learning. They can be subdivided into millions upon millions of families. Is it not from these families that the enthusiasm in building socialism comes? Is it not from these families that the new Long March to the year 2000 gets started?"

A Conscientious Builder of Socialism

— An interview with county Party committee secretary Li Suo-shou

by Chin Chi-chu

The "gang of four" raised many misleading pseudo-Left slogans. What happened in those harrowing years? And how did Communists dedicate themselves to the building of socialism and struggle against members of the gang? The following story about Pingting County and its Party committee secretary Li Suo-shou provides in some measure an answer to these questions.

FOUR years ago, I met Comrade Li Suo-shou for the first time when I visited the Nannao Production Brigade in Hsiyang County in north China's Shansi Province. Located near the Tachai Production Brigade which is the national pace-setter in agriculture, Nannao is a small hamlet with some 300 people in 65 households. The villagers used to live in cave-dwellings scattered along a 1.5-kilometre-long ridge, and were handicapped by poor natural conditions. Hemmed in by rocky hills, they had to fetch drinking water and coal from places several kilometres away. It was not until 1965 when Li Suo-shou became Nannao's Party branch secretary that changes began to take place thanks to the arduous efforts made by the brigade members under his leadership. When I visited the place, I saw large tracts of fertile fields on the levelled hilltops dotted with sprinklers watering the crops. Running water was already available and a highway leading to

the village had been built. Per-hectare grain output, I was told at that time, was six times that of 1965 and new stone houses were built through collective effort, providing every three persons with two rooms.

I met Comrade Li Suo-shou again a short time ago, not in Nannao but in Pingting County which borders on Hsiyang County where Tachai is located. Now 45, he is the secretary of the Party committee in Pingting which has a population of 300,000, but he retains the fine qualities of an honest and open-minded peasant. And he is more mature and experienced than before.

He was transferred to Pingting towards the end of 1975. He took only a year to lead the people there in turning a poor and backward county into a Tachai-type one. The county has since ended its centuries-old dependence on other places for grain supply and in 1976 it sold

to the state three times as much marketable grain as was planned. The local people credited all this to Li Suo-shou and praised him as a conscientious builder of socialism.

Refuting Empty Talk About "Revolution"

When Li Suo-shou was appointed secretary of the Pingting county Party committee, he had apprehensions. It is easy to manage a village of 300 people, he said to himself, but am I fit to be in charge of a county with a population of 300,000? He felt that the responsibility was too great. Before he left Nannao for his new post, Comrade Chen Yung-kuei, former Party branch secretary of Tachai who had by then been appointed Vice-Premier of the State Council, told him: "Always remember we should make all-out efforts to criticize capitalism and build socialism. You must be firm on this."

The first year after his arrival at Pingting in November 1975 saw dark clouds hanging over China. Chairman Mao Tsetung, Premier Chou En-lai and Chairman Chu Teh of the N.P.C. Standing Committee passed away one after another. The "gang of four" seized the opportunity to make trouble, throwing mud at Comrade Hua Kuo-feng and bringing false charges against Comrade Teng Hsiao-ping. While shouting themselves hoarse about class struggle, the gang members directed their followers to seize



Li Suo-shou (right).

power from those leading cadres who refused to dance to the gang's tune. At the same time they forbade people to fight against capitalist tendencies and evil-doers in society. They babbled about continuing the revolution, but forbade people to work hard to increase production, step up socialist construction and improve the people's livelihood. They talked glibly about the "excellent situation" but prevented people from tackling and solving the many increasingly serious problems in real life.

Pingting County was also in chaos with production practically at a standstill and problems crying for solution. Both the cadres and the masses were eager to do something to improve the situation, but the county Party committee failed to take any action because its members were divided in opinion. Could Li Suo-shou bring about a change? The people pinned their hopes on him.

Shortly after his arrival in Pingting, he made the rounds of the villages to make on-the-spot investigations and talk with the peasants. He found many things abnormal. It was the slack farming season in winter, but it was unusually quiet in Pingting, which was quite unlike Tachai where the peasants made the most of this period to carry out large-scale farmland capital construction. The soil was poor in Pingting, which accounted for the low grain output and serious shortage of food grain in some places, but nothing was done to solve the problem. Though Pingting is a famous coal producer with over 50 small coal-pits, the peasants in the hilly areas did not have an adequate supply. Malpractices were rife in the county. Peasants in need of coal, for instance, had to treat the truck drivers to good food and wine and give them presents so as to have the coal transported.

While making investigations and working alongside the peasants, Li Suo-shou kept pondering over what he had seen and heard. Was this, he asked himself, what some people described as the "excellent situation"? Could a county Party committee secretary be called a true revolutionary if he turned a blind eye to the people's difficulties? He recalled Chairman Mao's consistent admonition to Party members to pay attention to the masses' well-being including the supply of firewood, rice, cooking oil and table salt in the difficult years of war.



Li Suo-shou (fifth from left) and other members of the county Party committee giving on-the-spot guidance to farmland capital construction.

Keeping this in mind, he decided to start with improving the masses' livelihood as a rebuff to those who paid only lip service to revolution.

With the approval of other members on the county Party committee, he immediately dispatched more than 100 trucks from various government organizations, factories and mines to transport coal to the people in the hilly areas and strictly forbade the drivers to take any extra recompense from the peasants for their service. Meanwhile, he called the Party committee secretaries of the county's 19 people's communes to a meeting and asked those communes and brigades with higher yields to sell part of their reserve grain to the grain-deficient ones at the price set by the state, thus ensuring an adequate grain supply to the needy families.

News of what Li Suo-shou had done soon spread to every nook and corner of the county. "This peasant from Nannao," the local people said, "really knows what we need." But there were a few people who, dancing to the "gang of four's" tune, sneered at Li Suo-shou. "The moment he alights from his official carriage," they jeered, "he talks only about firewood, rice, cooking oil and table salt and offers petty favours instead of grasping cardinal matters." By cardinal matters, the "gang of four" meant knocking down what they called "capitalist-roaders" and seizing power, and they did

not give a damn to the masses' well-being. In refutation to the gang's pseudo-revolutionary utterances, Li Suo-shou declared: "Earnestly doing something good for the people is far better than mouthing highfalutin words all day long. It is the duty of a leading cadre to show sincere concern for the masses."

Distinguishing Right From Wrong on Matters of Major Importance

A good start was made, but much remained to be done. A simple peasant, Li Suo-shou found that questions of right and wrong were messed up in Pingting under the smokescreen of high-sounding "revolutionary" slogans. Things beneficial to socialism came under fire, while those detrimental to the people's interests were not repudiated. The people there, he realized, were fed up with pseudo-revolutionary empty talk and lies.

Faced with such a situation, Li Suo-shou was well aware that it was necessary, first and foremost, to set things to rights if the people's enthusiasm for socialism was to be brought into play. So he went with more than 40 cadres at the commune and brigade levels to the various communes to make investigations and analyse and solve problems. The aim was to clarify what had been muddled up and do things in a truly revolutionary manner.

A "Decorative" Reservoir. They first went to a reservoir which, with a storing capacity of 12 million cubic metres, could provide water for large tracts of farmland. When they got there they found it filled with water, but the crops in the fields around were withering. Why? It turned out that no water could be brought to the fields because there were no irrigation ditches and pumping stations.

This is a typical example of the disgusting practice of bragging and lying which was much in vogue when the "gang of four" held sway. The reservoir, described as an "achievement in construction," was really a useless "adornment." Sharply criticizing the cadre in charge, Li Suo-shou said: "Communists never tell lies and seek undeserved fame. Whatever we do, we must hold ourselves responsible to the peo-

ple." He sincerely helped that comrade correct his mistake and instructed that ancillary projects be built as soon as possible to make the reservoir play its role in boosting farm production.

Learn From Ta-Yung (meaning "Plenty of Spunk"). Later, they came to the Chinyen Production Brigade on a hill 1,200 metres above sea level. Despite the harsh natural conditions, its Party branch secretary Jen Ta-yung led the brigade members in learning from Tachai and building flat farmland on the hilltop, thus tripling per-hectare grain output in two years. Some people, however, parroted the "gang of four" and attacked Jen Ta-yung as a follower of the "theory of the unique importance of productive forces." Countering such attack with determination, he painted on a wall at the entrance of the village the eye-catching slogan: "Go all out and boost production at top speed!" Pointing to the slogan, Li Suo-shou said to the people around: "Look! We must all have plenty of spunk." He called on the cadres of the whole county to learn from Jen Ta-yung and not to be afraid of being charged with following the "theory of the unique importance of productive forces."

"A Secretary Doing Harm to the People." Then they came to the Huangtunglin Commune where grain output had remained the lowest in the county since 1972. Instead of mobilizing the peasants to do a good job in collective agricultural production, its Party committee secretary encouraged them to make money by whatever method they liked, not excluding speculation. Worse still, he expanded the commune members' private plots at will and let them plant whatever they liked for sale on the free market. Those who had benefited from this lavished praises on him, calling him a "secretary who loves the people." Li Suo-shou severely criticized this secretary there and then for "catering to spontaneous capitalist tendencies." "He is not a 'secretary who loves the people,' but 'one who does harm to the people,'" Li said. The severe criticism and help given by Li Suo-shou and others enabled this secretary to mend his ways.

An Instance of Ultra-"Leftism." Because of the confusion caused by the "gang of four," capitalist tendencies like those mentioned above got

more and more out of hand, while policies and measures advantageous to the socialist economy were thrown overboard. The Nankuang Production Brigade was a good example showing the grave consequences brought on by the "gang of four's" ultra-"Left" trend of thought. Under the signboard of criticizing capitalism, the brigade leadership decided, without any reason whatsoever, to forbid members to plant medicinal herbs and make bricks which were part of its diversified economy. Nor were the peasants allowed to raise chickens and pigs, grow vegetables or go in for other side-occupations. As a result, both the collective accumulation fund and the brigade members' income dropped. The masses were full of complaints, but the handful of unreformed landlords and rich peasants were overjoyed. "What a wonderful thing it is to criticize capitalism," they mocked. "The more you criticize, the less you produce."

Li Suo-shou called the brigade cadres together to study the Party's relevant policies. He clearly pointed out that developing a diversified economy with the accent on grain production and engaging in household side-occupations had nothing to do with capitalism. With this understanding, the brigade cadres took measures to develop a diversified economy, and both collective production and household side-occupations began to prosper. In sharp contrast to the decline in the output of farm and sideline products in 1975, the brigade doubled its per-hectare grain output and total income in 1976.

In this way, Li Suo-shou and the other cadres on the fact-finding tour helped clarify some typical problems, calling a spade a spade with regard to matters of right and wrong. Correct ideas were later relayed by the cadres to the people throughout the county. As a result, a revolutionary spirit was fostered among the people. It prevailed over the baleful influence of the bourgeoisie and the masses' enthusiasm to go all out in building socialism was brought into play. Not reconciled to their defeat, the "gang of four's" followers in the locality were surreptitiously mustering their forces, portending a more intense struggle in the days ahead.

*(To be continued
in our next issue.)*

Explanatory Notes to Volume V of "Selected Works of Mao Tsetung" (II)

Local-nationality chauvinism must be opposed too, but generally that is not where our emphasis lies

(See p. 295, Vol. V, Eng. Ed.)

Local-nationality chauvinism is also called narrow nationalism. It grows out of opposition to big-nation chauvinism practised by the nationality which is in the majority and the oppressor in a multinational country under the exploiting system. It is an ideology which represents the interests of the bourgeoisie and other exploiting classes of the minority nationalities, but as far as opposition to big-nation chauvinism is concerned, it is reasonable and justified. Only by overcoming the big-nation chauvinism of the oppressor nationality can the local-nationality chauvinism of the oppressed minority nationalities be abolished. Under the socialist system, both big-nation chauvinism and local-nationality chauvinism still have their influence among cadres as well as the masses. Therefore, while continuing to put the emphasis on opposing big-nation chauvinism, it is necessary to oppose local-nationality chauvinism, so as to consolidate the unity of all nationalities in our country.

In *The Debate on the Co-operative Transformation of Agriculture and the Current Class Struggle*, Chairman Mao pointed out: "We must go on opposing Han chauvinism. It is one kind of bourgeois ideology... Naturally, narrow nationalism may arise among the minority nationalities, that also is to be opposed. But of the two the chief one, the one to be opposed first, is Han chauvinism. So long as the comrades of Han nationality take the correct attitude and treat the minority nationalities with real fair-

ness, so long as the nationality policy they follow and the stand they take on the question of nationality relations are entirely Marxist and do not reflect bourgeois viewpoints, that is to say, so long as they are free from Han chauvinism, it is comparatively easy to overcome narrow nationalist views among the minority nationalities."

At that time, the chief manifestation of local-nationality chauvinism was over-stressing the special conditions of the local nationality, ignoring the interests of the whole country and the long-term interests of the local nationality and its future development, and unwillingness to follow the useful experience of other nationalities and accept their help.

Association of Buddhists

(See p. 81.)

This refers to the Chinese Buddhist Association. Preparatory work for its formation began in the latter half of 1952 and it was formally established in early June next year. Its inauguration meeting was attended by Buddhists of Han, Tibetan, Mongolian, Tai and other nationalities. The purpose of this association is to unite, under the leadership of the People's Government, all Buddhists in the country to love and protect the motherland and participate in the movement to defend world peace, help the People's Government implement the policy of equality between different nationalities and of freedom of religious belief, keep close ties with and educate Buddhists all over the country to distinguish between ourselves and the enemy and combat imperialists, Kuomintang reactionaries and reactionary elements in the ranks of Buddhists.

The task of combating bureaucracy, commandism and violations of the law and of discipline

(See p. 84.)

In January 1953, after the conclusion of the movements against the "three evils" and "five evils," China's leading Party and government organs at all levels and the grass-roots units, acting in accordance with Chairman Mao's directive, started a nationwide struggle against bureaucracy, commandism and violations of the law and of discipline, that is, a new struggle against "three evils."

Generally speaking, this struggle, which was co-ordinated with Party consolidation, Party building and other spheres of work, was carried out through holding different kinds of Party meetings and meetings of representatives from all walks of life, through criticism and self-criticism, checking up on work, summing up experience, rectifying the method of thinking and style of work and dealing with typical cases of violations of the law and of discipline. In some places, leading cadres went among the masses to hear their criticism and receive their supervision so that they could improve their own style of work. Those comrades who had made minor mistakes of bureaucratism and commandism were given criticism and education to enable them to mend their ways promptly. Those whose mistakes had done great harm to the people and caused heavy losses to the Party's cause were dealt with according to Party discipline. Serious offenders like bad elements, alien class elements, degenerates and counter-revolutionaries were severely punished so as to assuage the people's anger.

Thanks to this new struggle against "three evils," leading cadres' style of work and the relations between the Party and the People's Government on the one hand and the people on the other were improved, the Party organizations were purified, evil-doers were duly punished and the cadres' and the people's enthusiasm for work and production soared to a new high. All this gave an impetus to the

development of socialist revolution and construction.

Small peasant economy

(See p. 91.)

This refers to the individual peasant economy that prevailed in China's countryside prior to the co-operative transformation of agriculture.

It was based on the private ownership of the means of production, with each family living off its own labour. Characterized as it was by farm production carried on in a scattered way, with each family working on its own using simple hand tools and backward methods of management, such an economy was extremely vulnerable in the face of natural adversities. What with very low productivity and economic instability, this economy constantly gave rise to polarization, with some growing in affluence and others sinking deeper into poverty, and spontaneously engendered capitalism and the bourgeoisie. After 1953, it was gradually transformed into a socialist collective economy through the setting up of co-operatives and later people's communes.

Subjectivism

(See p. 100.)

Subjectivism is a manifestation of idealism and a way of thinking and a style of work opposed to science and to Marxism-Leninism. As such, its salient characteristic is the handling of problems and making of decisions by relying on subjective imagination, momentary enthusiasm or lifeless books, while belittling objective reality and neglecting to proceed from facts or make careful investigations. Politically subjectivism may lead to "Left" or Right opportunist mistakes, which are harmful to the revolutionary cause and for this reason it is an expression of impurity in Party spirit. Subjectivism takes two forms — dogmatism and empiricism, each of which, from an opposite extreme, severs the dialectical relationship between the subjective and the objective and between cognition and practice.

ROUND THE WORLD

LISBON CONFERENCE

Against the Threat of Russian Imperialism

The Lisbon Conference Against the Threat of Russian Imperialism held from May 20 to 23 was initiated jointly by the Communist Party of Portugal (Marxist-Leninist), the Social Democratic Party and the Party of the Democratic and Social Centre.

Present at the conference were many personages of political and cultural circles from a number of West European and African countries. Representatives of an Angolan guerrilla organization and some international organizations attended the conference as observers.

The Final Resolution adopted on May 20 says: "In their activities, the European countries should unite with the peoples of other continents, the third world in particular, on the basis of equality, mutual respect for sovereignty and mutual benefit." "The European peoples must energetically support the peoples of the world in their struggle for liberation and national independence, particularly the struggle against Soviet imperialism unfolded now by the African countries and peoples as well as by the East European and Soviet peoples."

The resolution on Euro-African relations notes that "the Soviet Union has become the No. 1 enemy of Africa" and that "the Kremlin's daily intensified intervention in Africa has

brought calamity to the African people."

The resolution on Angola urges "immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all foreign troops stationed in Angola."

Heduíno Gomes, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Portugal (Marxist-Leninist), made a speech entitled "Democratic Forces, Unite to Oppose Their Common Enemy." He said: "Soviet social-imperialism is a superpower which assumes an offensive posture strategically. In consequence, it is the most dangerous enemy of the peoples of the world." "It is pure illusion to think that making certain concessions will place Soviet social-imperialism in a state of inaction. Soviet social-imperialism is a very avaricious wolf: the more the booty, the stronger its appetite. Munich is a proof," he noted.

Amâncio Cabrero Ledesma, member of the Political Bureau of the Spanish Workers' Revolutionary Organization, denounced the Soviet Union for practising colonial rule in some East European countries. Furthermore, "the Soviet Union tries to expand its influence in Western Europe, Africa, Southeast Asia, South America — in all continents and regions of the world." "Daily events," he continued, "clearly show that the Soviet Union is not satisfied with its status quo, nor with the occupation of this or that local area. What the Soviet Union has all along considered is seizure of world hegemony."

Raymond Dronne, former Vice-President of the National Defence Commission of the French National Assembly, stressed that "the Europeans should realize the necessity for them to unite to cope with danger. It is absolutely necessary to realize European unity."

Hendrik Vaal Neto, a representative of an Angolan guerrilla organization, pointed out in his speech that Soviet imperialism acts in accordance with the strategy that "the conquest of Europe begins with the conquest of Africa," and "the occupation of Angola is the most important step in implementing this strategy."

SOMALIA

Is Cuba Non-Aligned?

The Somali Permanent Mission to the United Nations released a letter questioning whether Cuba can retain its membership in the non-aligned group.

The letter, released on May 17, was addressed to the member states of the non-aligned movement by Abdirazak Haji Hussein, Permanent Representative of Somalia to the United Nations, on the instructions of the Somali Government.

The letter says that it was addressed "on the eve of the ministerial meeting of the Coordinating Bureau of the Non-Aligned Group of States in Havana, to draw attention to the contradictions inherent in Cuba's membership of the non-aligned group. The time has certainly come to ask how a state which is so obviously a surrogate of the Soviet Union, and which is so contemptuous

of the principles of non-alignment can retain membership in the movement.

"Cuba, a country with no military-industrial complex of its own, has emerged as the mercenary armed force of the Soviet Union, faithfully carrying out that power's global designs. Indeed, one of the most dangerous developments in international affairs in recent times has been Cuba's collusion in the furthering of the strategic aims of the latter power in Africa.

"The evidence of this collusion is overwhelming. One need only note that this relatively poor island has been able to send and maintain, in various parts of Africa, expeditionary forces totalling more than 50,000 men. It is perfectly evident to everyone that the cost, the logistics and the type of armaments involved in these operations are far beyond the resources of Cuba and are being provided by the Soviet Union."

More Africans have now died at the hands of Cuban mercenaries than have died at the hands of any other external force, the letter says, adding that Cuba's acts in Africa have enabled people to see the re-

birth of the spirit of colonialism.

It continues: "The Russo-Cuban involvement also makes Africa a new battleground for big-power rivalry — a development which can only endanger international peace and security and which strikes at the heart of the principles of non-alignment."

"Cuba has already offered to host the forthcoming conference of heads of non-aligned states, with the hope of establishing Fidel Castro as the next Chairman of the non-aligned group. In the face of Cuba's record, such an outcome would not only subject the non-aligned group to the real danger of manipulation and exploitation by the Soviet Union but would also gravely impair the credibility of the group in its efforts to maintain its neutrality and promote international understanding and world peace," the letter states in conclusion.

ZIMBABWEAN GUERRILLAS

Stepping Up the Struggle

In the first three months of this year, combat forces of the Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe at-

tacked and ambushed troops of the Rhodesian racist Smith regime on 270 occasions and with resounding success. More than 1,000 enemy soldiers were killed, hundreds captured, 10 planes were brought down, 70 military vehicles destroyed and several thousand Zimbabweans were freed from concentration camps.

According to a communique issued by the Patriotic Front, guerrillas on April 24 brought down two more military aircraft over the region of Cheyendambuya, northeast Rhodesia.

On the other hand, the Smith regime has stepped up terrorist reprisals against the people. On May 14, Smith's troops massacred 50 unarmed villagers of Kamungoma, northeast of Fort Victoria. Scores were wounded. Most of those killed were women and children. The Smith regime has also been distributing pamphlets in the war zones in the name of the Patriotic Front to create confusion among the people.

In answer to the racist regime's mounting brutality against the people and its machinations, the Patriotic Front called for stepping up the struggle.

(Continued from p. 21.)

attacks on Kolwezi (a strategic town and copper centre) and Mutshatsha in Shaba, instead of passing through Zairian borders with Angola. What is more, this invasion has involved more and better-equipped mercenaries than the earlier one.

Moscow is bent on swallowing up Zaire because it lies in the heart of Africa and abounds in strategic resources — a piece of juicy meat to the men in the Kremlin. Their success in Angola has further whetted their appetite for gobbling up the whole of Africa

and controlling the sea passages to Europe. This is a part of their strategic objective in their global rivalry with the United States.

The second Shaba incident has further proved that the Soviet Union is the most dangerous enemy of the people of Zaire and all Africa. Its latest attack on Zaire and the African people will ~~certainly~~ reinforce Africa's united struggle against hegemonism and the anti-hegemonist united front of the whole world. The Soviet plot will certainly meet with failure, and the Zairian and African people are bound to triumph.

WORKS OF MAO TSETUNG

Booklets in English

(Some of his writings after 1949)

On the Co-operative Transformation of Agriculture

On the Ten Major Relationships

On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People

Speech at the Chinese Communist Party's National Conference on
Propaganda Work

Where Do Correct Ideas Come From?

Statement by Comrade Mao Tsetung, Chairman of the Central Com-
mittee of the Communist Party of China, in Support of the Afro-
American Struggle Against Violent Repression (April 16, 1968)

People of the World, Unite and Defeat the U.S. Aggressors and All
Their Running Dogs! (Statement of May 20, 1970)

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