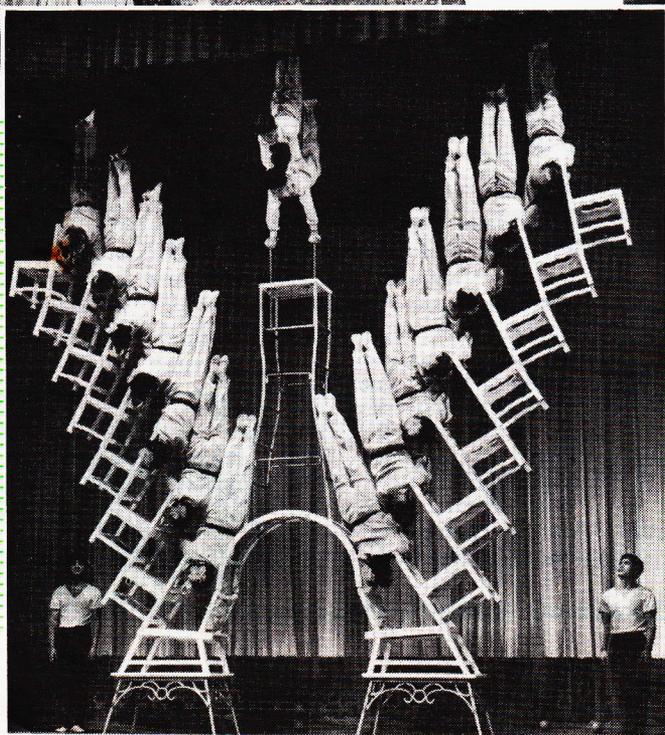
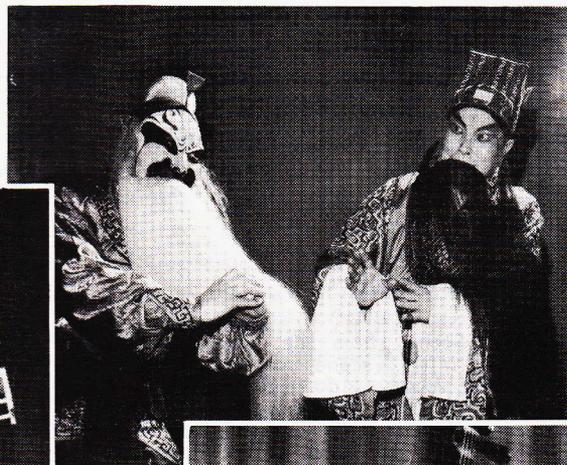


BEIJING REVIEW

- Zhou Enlai on Literature and Art
- Memorandum on Vice-Premier Li's Talks With Premier Pham Van Dong

(June 10, 1977)



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COVER: Scenes from the Chinese stage. (Upper left) A scene from Shakespeare's comedy *Much Ado About Nothing*, staged by the Shanghai Youth Drama Troupe. (Lower left) Hand-stand on chairs performed by youngsters of the Guangdong Acrobatic Troupe. (Upper right) *Reconciliation Between General and Minister*, staged by the No. 1 Troupe of the China Beijing Opera Theatre. (Lower right) *Pipa* (a 4-stringed Chinese lute) solo by Wu Man, a first-year student of the Central Conservatory in Beijing.

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CHRONICLE

Mar. 19

● Premier Hua Guofeng on meeting visiting Burundi President Colonel Jean Baptiste Bagaza said: "We should strive for a peaceful international environment in order to carry on economic construction. But this is not entirely up to us. We have to heighten our vigilance and wage resolute struggle against hegemonist aggression and expansion. Concessions and timidity will not do."

● The Chinese Foreign Ministry sent a note to the Vietnamese Foreign Ministry proposing that Sino-Vietnamese negotiations at the vice-ministerial level start around March 28.

● Vice-Premier Deng Xiaoping met with Fritz Honegger, Member of the Swiss Federal Council and Head of the Federal Public Economy Department. The Vice-Premier said political relations between the two countries were very good, and there were broad prospects for economic cooperation.

Mar. 21

● Xinhua reported: A proposal for nationwide "We Like Science" activities among Chinese children was put forward by the Young Pioneers in Changzhou, Jiangsu Province. The Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Youth League, the National Scientific and Technical Association and the Ministry of Education jointly called on all Chinese children to respond to the proposal.

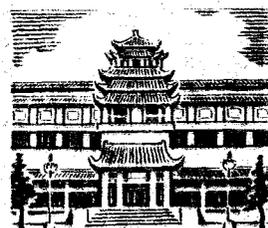
● Vice-Premier Deng Xiaoping met the Delegation of the Executive Committee of the Great Britain-China Centre led by its President Malcolm McDonald. The Vice-Premier spoke with him about China's modernization, democratic centralism and some important international issues.

Mar. 23

● *Renmin Ribao* published the memorandum on Vice-Premier Li Xiannian's talks with Vietnamese Premier Pham Van Dong on June 10, 1977 (see p. 17).

Mar. 26

● The Chinese Foreign Ministry note to the Vietnamese Ministry of Foreign Affairs pointed out that the Vietnamese authorities have placed serious obstacles in the way of negotiations. This only further exposed the Vietnamese authorities' intention of continuing to create tension, and their lack of a sincere desire for a negotiated settlement of disputes. The Vietnamese side must bear the full responsibility if negotiations fail to begin in the near future, the note said.



Greetings to Frontier Troops in Guangxi and Yunnan

Two central delegations, led by Comrades Wang Zhen and Fang Yi, Members of the Political Bureau of the C.P.C. Central Committee and Vice-Premiers of the State Council, left Beijing on March 25 and went separately to the Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region and Yunnan Province to extend greetings to the commanders and fighters of the frontier troops, the militia and the local people supporting the front who have returned in triumph after a self-defensive counterattack against the Vietnamese aggressors.

The delegation that went to Guangxi is led by Wang Zhen and the other that went to Yunnan is led by Fang Yi. On behalf of the Party Central Committee, the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, the State Council, the Military Commission of the Party Central Committee and the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, the delegations will extend warm greetings to the commanders and fighters of the frontier troops, militia and local people supporting the front, conveying messages of greetings and souvenir badges in recognition of their heroic deeds. In welcoming their triumphant return, the delegations will extend to them the warmest greetings and the highest salutations.

Among the members of the two delegations are literary and art workers from various parts

of the country who will give special performances for the frontier troops, militia and local people.

On March 26, *Renmin Ribao* published an editorial entitled "Salute to the Heroes." It said: "The comrades who took part in the fighting have made great contributions to defending the frontier regions and upholding the honour of the motherland and safeguarding the progress of the four modernizations. They have written a new, brilliant chapter in the annals of the revolutionary struggles of the Chinese people."

The editorial added: The Chinese people love peace. Since the conclusion of the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, the focus of work in the whole country has been shifted to socialist modernization. For this we need a peaceful international environment and a stable frontier. But we must be soberly aware of the existence of Soviet hegemonism and an "oriental Cuba" which is beside us and which claims that China is its "No. 1 enemy." Although we need a peaceful environment for construction and our people want peace, it is not up to us alone to decide whether to fight or not. We cannot carry out the four modernizations behind closed doors, oblivious of what is happening outside. Throughout the historical period of the new Long March now being undertaken by the Chinese people, the international environment will not be tranquil and the frontier will not be all quiet. In time of peace we must keep an eye on the lurking danger and be pre-

pared against any eventualities. We must always maintain high vigilance and be ready at all times to repulse any enemy who dares to invade our country, defend the security of our frontiers and safeguard socialist modernization.

Vietnamese Authorities Obstruct Negotiations

As the Chinese Government Delegation headed by Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs Han Nianlong was getting ready to go to Hanoi to attend the first round of the Sino-Vietnamese negotiations to be held around March 28, the Vietnamese authorities have all at once backed down from their professed position of agreeing to the holding of the negotiations. The March 21 note of the Vietnamese Foreign Ministry to China was an obvious negation of the projected negotiations.

China had completed the withdrawal of its troops on March 16, but the note alleged that there were still Chinese forces stationed at three sectors and 16 places on the Vietnamese side, with some of the places located 10 to 20 kilometres deep inside Vietnamese territory. The note demanded that China withdraw these troops to the Chinese side of the historical boundary line which the two sides have agreed to respect, and said that only in this way can the negotiations be held.

This is a sheer lie on the part of the Vietnamese authorities.

There is not a single Chinese soldier in Viet Nam as of March 16. However, Hanoi alleges that up to ten thousand



Vietnamese inhabitants in the border area bid farewell to the withdrawing Chinese frontier troops.

Chinese troops are still stationed in Viet Nam. The Chinese frontier troops have withdrawn to the Chinese side of the boundary line delimited by treaties between the then Chinese and French governments and respected by both China and Viet Nam. But the Vietnamese authorities now choose to say that this will not do and that the negotiations cannot start unless the Chinese troops are withdrawn further to the boundary line claimed by Viet Nam.

The purpose of holding negotiations is to solve disputes. Since there exist disputes between China and Viet Nam on the question of boundary line — which are created by the Vietnamese side out of certain motives — it is necessary therefore to hold negotiations to resolve these differences. Now Viet Nam says that China should first of all pull back to

the boundary line claimed by Viet Nam, otherwise the negotiations cannot begin. Isn't this tantamount to demanding that China agree to the Vietnamese authorities' claim over Chinese territories and then acknowledging it at the negotiating table?

In fact, the Vietnamese authorities have long undermined the historical boundary line which used to be respected by both sides, and have been nibbling away at Chinese territory. The Vietnamese Foreign Ministry's note tells another lie that China

has moved three boundary markers. This shows that the Vietnamese authorities have an endless source of pretexts. How could they expect that China would comply with these territorial claims before the negotiations can start?

After China had proposed the holding of negotiations to solve Sino-Vietnamese disputes, Hanoi had agreed in words. Facts now show that Hanoi's verbal agreement is a purely deceptive manoeuvre. At no time have the Vietnamese authorities had the sincerity to solve disputes through negotiations. The reason why the Vietnamese authorities have advanced unjustifiable pretexts to obstruct the holding of negotiations is to use the fictitious "Chinese aggression" and "China wants to occupy Vietnamese territory" to fan up anti-China hysteria, so as to continue to enforce the general

mobilization order, maintain their fascist rule over the Vietnamese people and stabilize the internal situation. The Vietnamese authorities' obstruction also stems from the need in their foreign policy. First of all they want to serve the Soviet policy of a southward thrust. It is also related to their attempt to step up military action in Kampuchea before the rainy season sets in so as to complete the annexation of the country and set up the "Indochina federation." To alleviate the pressure of world opinion calling on Viet Nam to withdraw its troops from Kampuchea and to divert the attention of the people of the world, the Vietnamese authorities find it necessary to spread lies about the presence of Chinese troops in Viet Nam.

While obstructing the holding of the Sino-Vietnamese negotiations at an early date, the Vietnamese authorities are intensifying their general mobilization for an anti-China war. They are deploying troops on the Sino-Vietnamese border, making preparations for a war with China, and continuing their provocations on the border.

Do the Vietnamese authorities really want to hold negotiations, or do they want to obstruct the negotiations? People will have to wait and see.

A Shock Force in the New Long March

The Chinese people have embarked on another epic Long March. They are out this time to accomplish socialist modernization at an early date. In this endeavour the nation's

youths, numbering more than 170 million, are playing an important role. Some have done remarkable work and have been commended in the press.

• Yang Yongqing, deputy secretary of the Youth League committee of the Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region, is one of them. In her letter to Vice-Premier Wang Renzhong who is in charge of agricultural work, she requested that she be allowed to return to her former post in agricultural production. She said: "We are determined to continue the Long March carried out by the revolutionaries of the older generation. Lin Biao and the 'gang of four' smothered our revolutionary ideal. It's time for us to work for its realization."

Yang Yongqing went to Xinjiang to work on a state farm after graduating from a Shanghai middle school in 1964. In



Yang Yongqing (left) chatting with other farm workers during a break.

1968 she married a demobilized armyman working on the same farm. Four years later, however, her husband found life on the farm too hard for him and returned to his home village in Henan Province with their three-year-old child. But Yang Yongqing remained on the farm and persisted in taking part in productive labour. Meanwhile, she often wrote to her husband asking him to return to take part in building up the border regions. Her patient persuasion paid off. Her husband returned to Xinjiang with their child in 1977.

Competent in work and with a high level of political consciousness, Yang was admitted into the Chinese Communist Party and later transferred to work in the Youth League committee of the autonomous region. At the national conference on afforestation recently held in Yanan, she requested to return to the farm, which had suffered damages at the hands of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," and contribute her share in turning it into a new oasis. Her request which was granted was an inspiration to the youths taking part in agricultural production in the frontier areas.

• In the Changzhou No. 3 Cotton Mill in east China, five young workers (three women and two men) succeeded in making a new loom after three years of study and experiment. Its productivity proved to be about 20 per cent higher than that of automatic looms now widely used in China. All the five workers were born in 1955 and graduated from the junior middle school in 1971. At that time education was seriously undermined by Lin Biao and the

"gang of four," so they had not learnt much at school. But like many other young people, they were not discouraged and refused to resign themselves to being the "lost generation." Together they studied, did their best to acquire new scientific knowledge, learnt from the technicians and veteran workers, and co-operated in introducing technical innovations.

• Senior middle school graduate Yan Honghua who has settled in the countryside in east China's Anhui Province has been studying technology over the last ten years. This young man from the city formed an agricultural research group with two other middle school students and started trial-producing a kind of pesticide. Having gained initial success, they went on and achieved fruitful results in more than a dozen items of research. Apart from this, they helped train a number of agro-technicians for their people's commune. During their spare time, they have over the years studied special subjects such as microbiology, electronic technology and chemical industry. With their scientific knowledge they have helped their commune boost its production and accumulate 60,000 yuan of funds. Moreover, with their own money they have bought microscopes, refrigerators and over 100 other instruments and articles as well as 2,000 reference books for the commune.

In recommending the Yan Honghua Group's outstanding deeds to the nation's youths, the national monthly *Zhongguo Qingnian* (China Youth) pointed out that one of the reasons accounting for the group's successes lies in the fact that its

members refused to be lagging behind and worked indomitably for the realization of their ideal. The monthly expressed the hope that other young people will learn from Yan Honghua and follow his example in making contributions to the state.

The Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Youth League has decided to launch a movement urging the young people of the country to strive to be a shock force in the new Long March. The achievements of Yang Yongqing and other youths show that a new generation of young people, competent in work and with high revolutionary ideals, are coming to the fore.

Last Group of Tibetan Prisoners Taking Part in Rebellion Released

The last group of 376 prisoners who took part in the armed rebellion in Tibet in 1959 have been set free as an expression of leniency by the judicial organ of the Tibet Autonomous Region.

In March 1959, the reactionary clique of the upper strata in Tibet violated the agreement on the peaceful liberation of the region, colluded with the international reactionary forces and staged an armed rebellion in total disregard of the patient education and persuasion by the Central People's Government.

After the quelling of the rebellion, democratic reform was carried out in Tibet. Towards those who had taken part in the rebellion, the judicial organ adopted the policy of combining punishment with leniency and reform through labour with

ideological education and providing them with the opportunity to earn a living. This has achieved good results. The overwhelming majority of the criminals admitted their crimes and were later released in groups. They have switched from their former reactionary stand to one of loving the motherland and the people and supporting socialism.

The prisoners just released are those who committed the worst crimes. Among them are 16 officials above the seventh rank in the former Tibetan local government and nine living buddhas and *kanpo* (abbots) from various big lamaseries.

In celebrating the 20th anniversary of the launching of democratic reform in Tibet, mass rallies were held in Lhasa, Qamdo, Xigaze and other places on March 17. At the meetings it was announced that the last group of criminals were to be released and the designations of some 6,000 rebels, who had served their sentences and been assigned work or had undergone reform through labour under surveillance in society, were to be removed. Thus all those who began serving their sentences in 1959 for having taken part in the armed rebellion have now been given lenient treatment. The releasees and the other rebels whose designations have been removed now enjoy the rights of citizens while proper arrangements have been made for their life and work. Prior to this, they visited the rural areas, factories and historical relics in Tibet and saw for themselves the tremendous changes that had taken place. Deeply moved by the enormous progress in the last two decades, they have made up their minds

to contribute to the socialist construction in the region.

Speaking at the mass rally in Lhasa, Vice-Chairman of the Revolutionary Committee of the Tibet Autonomous Region Raidi once again expressed the hope that Tibetan compatriots abroad, including Dalai Lama, would realize their mistakes and return to the motherland at an early date. He also reiterated the Party's consistent policy that they would not have to account for their past mistakes and they would have the freedom to return and leave the country again.

Zhou Enlai on Literary Work and Democracy

We have published in this issue excerpts from a speech made by the late Premier Zhou Enlai in 1961 to participants of a forum on literary and art work and a meeting on scenario writing (see p. 9). Summing up the experience and lessons to be learnt in literary and art work in the first 12 years of the People's Republic, the speech systematically expounded the question of democracy in socialist literature and art. Last February *Wenyi Bao* (Literary Gazette), a national theoretical journal on literature and art, published this important speech for the first time. It has drawn strong response from literary and art circles across the country.

Background. Literary and art work in China was carried out under the personal guidance of Chairman Mao and Premier Zhou after the founding of the People's Republic. This speech by the late Premier was directed against interference from the "Left" which,

contrary to Chairman Mao's line in literature and art, impeded the normal development of socialist literature and art.

Chairman Mao put forward the policy of "letting a hundred flowers blossom, weeding through the old to bring forth the new" in 1951 and the famous slogan of "letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend" in 1956. This slogan encouraged the free development of different forms and styles in literature and art and advocated free discussion on controversial issues so that conclusions could be drawn discreetly and not in an off-handed manner. It was a slogan that gave expression to socialist democracy, emancipated the minds of the people, inspired creative endeavours and spurred the flourishing of literature and art.

But before long, interference came from the Right and, in particular, the "Left." During the 1957 nationwide struggle against the bourgeois Rightists, for instance, the "Left" deviation of enlarging the scope of attack emerged in some literary and art units. Differing views came under attack, literary works with certain wrong ideas were branded anti-Party and anti-socialist "poisonous weeds," and comrades with ideological mistakes were considered enemies of the people. Even things that were in the main correct were said to be reactionary and consequently banned. Two years later, more writers and artists and their works were harshly attacked under the pretext of "opposing Right deviationist tendency." At the same time, writers and artists were required to produce a certain amount of works with themes

and subject materials arbitrarily imposed on them.

In view of these abnormal phenomena, Premier Zhou stressed in his speech that there should be democracy for writers and artists in their creative endeavours and opposed the view that only what the leading comrades said counted while the writers and artists themselves had no say at all. He stressed that attention should be paid to the characteristics of artistic creation and maintained that with regard to literary and artistic work there should be the freedom to criticize and counter-criticize.

After Premier Zhou's speech, the cultural departments, under the direct concern of Comrades Mao Zedong and Zhou Enlai, took a series of measures to readjust the Party's literary and art policy and improve work in this field.

Renewed Interference. Unfortunately, efforts to rectify the erroneous tendency met with strong resistance, a major aspect of which was the sabotage carried out by several conspirators inside the Party.

Jiang Qing and her cohorts began to keep a heavy hand on literary and art circles in the early 60s. When the "Left" deviation was being criticized, they stirred up trouble from the Right and instigated others to stage in Beijing, Shanghai and other cities theatrical works that had long been discarded by the Chinese literary workers, thereby causing a great mess.

In 1962, Comrade Mao Zedong called on the whole Party to unfold a class struggle, and literary and art circles began clearing up the mess in the repertoire of the theatrical com-

panies. Jiang Qing and her gang of conspirators changed their stance overnight and made an onslaught on the leading cadres and workers in the literary world by blaming them for the mess in the repertoire. At the 1964 National Festival of Beijing Opera With Contemporary Themes, Jiang Qing went so far as to assert that the repertoire of the nation's 2,800 theatrical companies was bad. Later, she and her cohorts branded a large number of films, operas and plays, which were either welcomed by the public or had not yet been released and staged, as "poisonous weeds."

Their ultra-"Left" tricks intensified and came to a climax in the Cultural Revolution. In the decade when Jiang Qing and her followers could do what they pleased, there was no democracy at all in the realm of literature and art and socialist literature and art was approaching near-extinction. As Chairman Mao said in 1975: The hundred flowers are no longer in blossom!

Today, as the pernicious influence of the "gang of four's" ultra-"Left" line is being swept away and the Party's democratic tradition is being restored, people are more aware than ever of the importance of Premier Zhou's speech and its significance in guiding the development of literature and art in the days to come.

Burundi President Visits China

Colonel Jean Baptiste Bagaza, President of the Republic of Burundi, concluded his 4-day visit to China and left Beijing on March 20.

President Bagaza is an old friend of China and this was his third visit to China. During his stay in Beijing, an agreement on economic and technical co-operation between China and Burundi was signed. Leaders of both sides expressed satisfaction at the relations of co-operation between the two countries. Colonel Bagaza said that "the People's Republic of China is our friend" and that "our two sides respect each other's sovereignty." Premier Hua said: "Relations between our two countries have developed satisfactorily. We should continue to learn from, help and support each other." Premier Hua expressed his conviction that so long as the Chinese people, the Burundi people and the people of other African countries free themselves from invasion, exploitation and oppression by the imperialists and colonialists and become masters of their own destinies, they will surely be able to catch up with the developed countries in industry, agriculture, science and technology.

During their talks, the leaders of the two countries also discussed the international situation and they shared identical or similar views on many important questions.

China has consistently supported the just struggle of the African people. At present, racists of South Africa and Rhodesia are struggling desperately and Soviet hegemonism, in particular, has been unscrupulously fanning flames everywhere on that continent, sowing dissension, splitting the Organization of African Unity, deliberately engineering armed conflicts and even dispatching

Cuban mercenaries to carry out direct armed intervention there. These mercenary troops are now still hanging on in Africa. All this seriously threatens the independence and security of the African countries and brings untold sufferings to the African people. At his meeting with President Bagaza, Premier Hua expressed the hope that the African countries would unite further and fight against hegemonist interference in their affairs.

The Chinese people are convinced that Africa belongs to the African people. The schemes of the hegemonists to split and control Africa will surely end up in a debacle and the racist regimes will certainly be wiped out.

Huang Hua Reiterates China's View

Foreign Minister Huang Hua met U.S. Ambassador to China Leonard Woodcock on March 16 and reiterated the Chinese Government's view that on a number of points the bills passed by the U.S. Senate and House of Representatives on March 13 on U.S.-Taiwan relations contravened the China-U.S. agreement on the establishment of diplomatic relations.

Foreign Minister Huang Hua pointed out that at the time of the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and the United States, the U.S. side explicitly undertook to recognize the Government of the People's Republic of China as the sole legal government of China and acknowledge that Taiwan is a part of China, and that only unofficial relations would be maintained between the Ameri-

can people and the people of Taiwan. At the same time, the U.S. side further acknowledged that the return of Taiwan to the motherland was a matter within the scope of China's sovereignty. However, on a number of points the bills due to be adopted by the Senate and the House of Representatives contravene the principles agreed upon by the two sides and the undertaking of the U.S. side at the time of the establishment of diplomatic relations; they constitute, in essence, an attempt to maintain to a certain extent the U.S.-Chiang "joint defence treaty," continue to interfere in China's internal affairs and give official status to future U.S.-Taiwan relations. This is of course unacceptable to the Chinese Government. If the bills are passed as they are worded now, and are signed into law, great harm will be done to the new relationship that has just been established between China and the United States.

Foreign Minister Huang Hua said in conclusion that it is incumbent on the U.S. Government to exercise its influence and powers to ensure that nothing in the legislative readjustment of U.S.-Taiwan relations will contravene the agreement between the two countries on the establishment of diplomatic relations.



Zhou Enlai on Literature and Art

The text of the speech made on June 19, 1961 by the late Premier Zhou Enlai to participants of a forum on literary and art work and a meeting on scenario writing was published this year in the February issue of "Wenyi Bao" (Literary Gazette) and in other literary journals.

The 16,000-word address is divided into an introduction and six sections dealing with material and mental production, class struggle and the united front, whom should literature and art serve, the laws governing the development of literature and art, inheriting and creating, and the question of leadership. The speech concludes with a few words on modern drama.

Following is an abridged translation of the text of the address. — Ed.

Introduction

There is a bad tendency around, and that is, the lack of a democratic style of work. We had asked people to emancipate their minds, break with blind faith and dare to think, to speak and to act. However, many people now do not dare to do so. Of course, people still think, but they do not dare to speak or act. So two "dares" are missing. Why is this so? Chairman Mao proposed daring to think, speak and act at the Nanning Meeting in 1958 and later, at the Second Session of the Eighth Party Congress, he officially raised the issue, saying that daring to think, speak and act must be combined with seeking truth from facts and be based on scientific foresight. But, actually not everyone can achieve this. It is unavoidable for people to err a little in thought, speech or action. It doesn't matter as long as free criticism is allowed.

If only one person were allowed to speak and all others forbidden, wouldn't that be "What one man says goes"? How did this "What one man says goes" come about? It has something to do with the leadership. So, we must create a democratic atmosphere. Let me state

now that what I say today can be thought over, discussed, criticized, negated or affirmed. No one in the world speaks correctly 100 per cent of the time. When people are mistaken they say wrong things. But even when they are correct, they can still say something inappropriate, or go a little too far. So criticism should be allowed.

In order to create a democratic atmosphere and change the style of work in literature and art, we must first of all change the style of work of our cadres. To do this, we must first of all change the leading cadres' style of work; and this must start with the few of us. We are constantly meeting with friends in the literary and art circles and if people are not allowed to doubt or discuss the views we put out, then what is the point of having discussions? What we say is not something the Party has officially approved. Even if they were studied and approved by the Party, different views should still be allowed. Even things officially approved and passed by the working conference convened by the Party Central Committee can be discussed and can be revised. So I don't see why my personal views cannot be discussed and revised. Questions are being discussed within the bounds of a socialist stand, in an endeavour to do a good job in literature and art and to properly carry out the policy in this field. On these, we each have our own views, so why can't they be discussed? If you have views contrary to what I am saying today, then write to me. Your views can help me make a better speech on the next occasion.

We should learn from Chairman Mao. Chairman Mao constantly reiterates his views on a question. We have heard him repeat his views on a question and each time there has been refinements added. He wants us to put forth our views. He absorbs our views and revises his own. This style of work of upholding truth and correcting errors of Chairman



Premier Zhou with some film workers during the forum on literary and art work in 1961.

Mao's is something from which we should learn. It is precisely this style of work of Chairman Mao's from which we must learn. In a word, we must allow others to have their own opinions. This is socialist freedom and ease of mind.

A man is not a stone. He will certainly think. We must get people to speak about what they are thinking, and put it into practice. In recent years, there has been another way of doing things. Whatever a person said would be judged by prescribed patterns, and if it didn't fit them, it was held against him, his past was dug up, he was labelled and attacked. First of all, there were the patterns. People were expected to speak and act according to these patterns. To do otherwise was unacceptable. Once someone subjectively decided the criterion, he went nitpicking. Everything was then assessed in a subjective, one-sided, metaphysical way. He made no investigations. He subjectively decided something was "Right deviationist" and it became "Right deviationist." And all this began from subjective patterns and erroneous definitions which had nothing at all to do with Marxism-Leninism.

Still another doing is: No matter what was said, it had all to be linked with one's past and family origin. We hold that motive and effect are unitary. We must not just infer from the

motive without taking the effect into consideration. Digging back into the past has its place, but what should count is a person's present behaviour. It is all right to look into a person's family origin and social relations, but what counts chiefly should be the person himself. A person should be judged mainly on his present behaviour, his own behaviour.

Marxism has patterns and we are not against patterns in general. We want to transform the whole society, proletarianize it. We want to transform nature. The proletarian world outlook is the most scientific. Only we can transform the whole society, the whole world and unfold the future. What we have are grand patterns.

It is wrong to reduce the great patterns into small metaphysical, subjective ones. If those who have been labelled Rightists are really Rightists, then they should be labelled. But one must not randomly tag anyone a Rightist. The problem at present is just that. An occasional mistake in speech, an erroneous idea, or even an idea or an utterance that should be permitted, is termed poisonous and evil. That is not right. We must be even more careful in taking action against any person. Even if someone is wrong, so long as he is willing to mend his ways, we must allow him to do so. If he is unable to mend his ways at once, we should wait and not expel him from the Party offhand. That is not a prudent way of doing things.

I. Material and Mental Production

Certain laws governing material production also hold good for mental production. When pressed too far mental production will suffer, perhaps even more seriously. Quotas and pressures of time are vexing problems for mental workers. Take the writing of poetry as an example. Among our leading cadres, Comrade Chen Yi likes to write poems. He composes very quickly and is a prolific writer. He is a genius in this respect. But, it is different with Chairman Mao. He writes only after much deliberation. Though he writes less, he writes with such magnificence and vitality and

produces extremely concentrated poems. We should not demand a poem a day from Chairman Mao, nor should we interfere with Comrade Chen Yi and ask him to write less. Mental work cannot be uniform. However, when we add up the mental production of the whole country, our socialist culture is rich and colourful.

II. Class Struggle and United Front

I will explain a bit about the tortuous nature of class struggle in the period of socialist revolution and construction. The Party pointed out at the Second Plenary Session of its Seventh Central Committee that the struggle between two roads exists during the socialist revolution and construction. In this period, the scope of class struggle might have diminished but sometimes the struggle could still be very acute. Class enemies may unleash frenzied attacks when we have difficulties, shortcomings, or weaknesses. However, the existence of class struggle should not lead us to neglect the united front, deal with the bourgeoisie without analysis and waver or be biased when dealing with contradictions among the people.

There are political and ideological class struggles and there are those derived from the force of habit from the old society.

Politically, anyone hostile to socialism, who attempts to restore capitalism, must be resolutely opposed, like the frenzied attacks launched by the Rightists and the counter-revolutionaries' attempt to usurp power in a few rural areas. Of course, this happened only in a small number of places. With the nationwide consolidation of the people's regime, those people were unable to stir up a major event. These class struggles belong to the category of contradictions between ourselves and the enemy and we must remain vigilant and must not be caught offguard. Such problems exist in all areas in the country but are nevertheless very few in number. We must stand with the people and be on our guard at all times.

Ideological struggle is a long-term task. Writers and artists must pay special attention to ideological problems and style of work. The elimination of old

thinking and style of work takes a long time. We come from the old society and were educated in old schools. Even the young people today are influenced by remnants of the old ideology of their families and society. So, old ways of thinking and old styles of work exist in our heads to varying extents. The elimination of the remains of old ways of thinking will become possible only after an entirely new base has been founded.

The remoulding of a person's world outlook takes time and cannot be done in a hurry. This is even more the case with people working on natural sciences. Everybody has his shortcomings. Our Party is a great, glorious and correct Party. But, as for us as individuals, we are still not mature, not completely Marxist. If this is true of Communists, how can one blame ordinary non-Party friends? We should be more modest, then we can be of more help to others. Ideological remoulding is a long-term task, how can a new society, born out of the old, be remoulded all at once?

This force of habit is something that comes from the feudal and bourgeois classes of the old society. People have been accustomed to it from childhood and never think of it as wrong. For example, wherever we leading comrades go, people are held back to make way for us. You want to treat people as equals, but it seems you can't. Some people want to put you in a very special position. I am not against necessary security measures. But since we have sat together, why must we be separated? I think it is the force of habit. It is feudal, and sometimes just comes out unconsciously. There are a lot of old habits in China. Some country people beat others when they get angry. That's a kind of force of habit. It is one left over from the old society and there are still some people

Chinese and foreign writers meet over the Spring Festival this year.



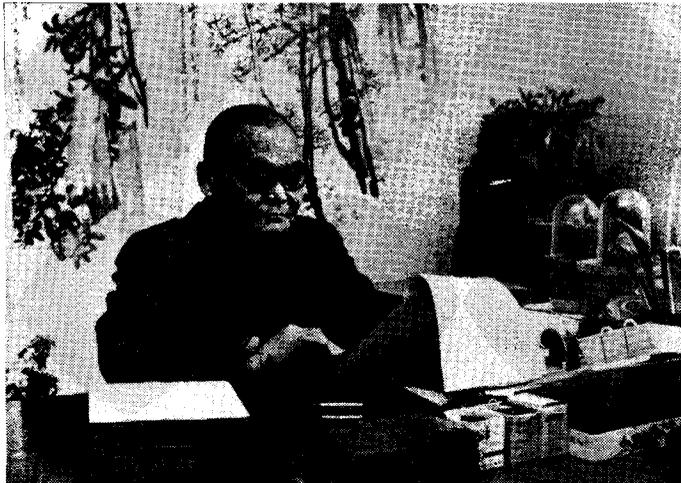
who like to use it against the masses. In opera, you can still see flogging. In our handling of counter-revolutionaries, Chairman Mao consistently opposed the use of torture. Even with counter-revolutionaries we use education, so shouldn't that apply all the more within the ranks of the people?

I heard recently that many operas have been banned. This is also the result of the force of habit. For example, some people even consider the opera *Qin Xianglian*¹ unfit to be performed. This is arrant nonsense! The opera criticizes the villainous Chen Shimei for trying to murder his wife and children. Why shouldn't it be staged?

People are all in agreement when we reason things out. But when concrete matters come up, old habits assert themselves. Don't think that the force of habit can be weeded out in our generation. Perhaps new habits will be developed in the 21st century. Anyway, we must not expect the complete eradication of all the old habits within this century. This is related to the question of class struggle. Sometimes, we say something which is not quite right, or say something wrong in jest. This is quite common. If this is taken as a serious political problem and dealt with as such, life would be impossible. In short, we should make a concrete analysis of class struggle and not confound vigilance against counter-revolution with the ideological remoulding of the people.

Ideological remoulding takes a long time. Remoulding here implies starting from unity and reaching a new unity on a new basis. Don't be afraid of the word remoulding. It includes the remoulding of non-Marxist ideas and the force of habit. If a Communist Party member thinks that he has completed his ideological remoulding and there is no need to go on re-

Liang Bin, working on the third volume of the novel "Keep the Red Flag Flying."



moulding, then he is not a good Party member. Remoulding, I have often said, is a process without end, and will last until one dies. Up to one's death, one cannot complete one's ideological remoulding. It can only be said that one is just a little bit better than before. Remoulding is a good thing and not a bad thing. It is conducive to unity and to the struggle against counter-revolutionaries.

The great unity of the people of the whole country excludes class enemies. Whether or not people have idealism and are affected by the force of habit is a question which falls within the ranks of the people. We should unite with them all. Socialist society is the period of transition from capitalism to communism. It will exist for a fairly long period. Somebody has estimated that it would take only four years and 80 days. Thirteen years have passed since 1949. In my view, even several times 13 would be short. It may take longer. It's not in the horoscope. The goal of ideological remoulding is to further our cause, do a better job in literature and art and improve unity among literary and art workers, and not to make them tense. The work should be carried out in the manner of a gentle breeze and mild rain. It cannot be done with haste. It should be done over a long period and done patiently. Only thus can people have ease of mind.

On the one hand we must carry out class struggle; on the other we must consolidate the united front. The Communist Party plus the democratic parties and democrats make up a united front. This was true during the period of the democratic revolution and is true also during the period of socialist revolution and construction. The united front should be broadened and not narrowed, and the work should be done more thoroughly and not less. There should be no doubt about this. In order to develop our economy and culture better, we must politically heighten our vigilance against class enemies at home and abroad and, at the same time, we must expand and strengthen internal unity.

III. Whom Should Literature and Art Serve?

Whom to serve is a political criterion. This applies to all literary and art forms. Chairman Mao pointed out that literature and art must serve the workers, peasants and soldiers. That is our political criterion. To serve the workers, peasants and soldiers, serve the labouring people and serve the masses under the dictatorship of the proletariat — this is only the political

criterion for literature and art. Political criterion does not mean everything. There must still be the artistic criterion and the question of how to serve. Here service is performed through literary and artistic forms which are multifarious and should not be stereotyped.

Literature and art serve politics through images, for only through images can ideas be expressed. Without images, literature and art would cease to exist. Then how can one speak of them serving politics? Sloganeering is not art. If literature and art are to serve the people well, they must be tested through practice. They must be tested by the masses. Whether the images you have created are successful or not and whether they are appreciated or not by the people, is not decided by the approval of the leadership. At present, however, there are more decisions by the leadership than by the masses. Whether a work of art is good or bad must be decided by the people and not by the leadership. Of course, we must speak out if a work errs politically or is anti-socialist. We cannot allow it to spread unchecked. But, after all, works of this kind are very few.

Art must be approved by the people. So long as the people like it, it has its value. So long as it is not anti-Party and anti-socialist, it should be allowed. No one has the right to ban it. Artists must have the people in mind and not only the leadership. Is this advocating opposition to leadership? No, not at all. The leadership have the right to state their views on political questions. Politics must be in command. This means chiefly to determine whether the work is a fragrant flower or a poisonous weed, whether it is anti-Party and anti-socialist. Political acuity should be focussed on these aspects. As far as artistic aspects are concerned, we know very little.

Since we know very little, we have little right to speak. Therefore we should not interfere unnecessarily. All comrades present are leaders. I hope you will interfere less. Of course, I do not mean that you should be irresponsible. In the first place, you should assume responsibility, but secondly, you should interfere less. By responsibility, I mainly mean political responsibility. We should not let poisonous weeds and revisionism run riot. How-



Veteran painters (from left to right) Wu Zuoren, Li Keran, Xiao Shufang and Huang Yongyu.

ever, we must make clear distinctions. We should not label everything revisionist.

Someone asked me: Is the educational role of literature and art compatible with its recreational role? Dialectically speaking, yes. The masses who go to see plays or films want to be entertained and to relax and you can educate them through the typified images presented. Education is conducted through entertainment. Of course, there should be a wide diversity of subjects; not always about war. Comrade Zhu De said: "I've been fighting all my life. I want to see some films which are not about fighting." If you show war films every day, people will get fed up and will want to watch Xianggang (Hongkong) films. This shows that the film bureau has not done its job properly. On the other hand, it would not be good either if there was not a single war film and young people were to lose their militancy. In general, there should be a balance between films on contemporary themes and on historical themes.

As to subject matter, the writers should be allowed a free choice. In ancient times there was no socialism but there were fine traditions among the Chinese people. The people created many ideal characters. There were also quite a number of myths. All these are suitable for writing about. Yes, there should be proportions. But they should vary for different areas and art forms. Some opera forms are only suitable for lyrical themes and can present war themes only occasionally. For instance, all the performers in Shaoxing opera are women and when it presents the *Dream of the Red Chamber*,² the



Famous actor Diao Guangtan and actress Zhu Lin of the Beijing People's Art Theatre.

performance is apt and fine. But this opera form is not entirely suitable for presenting operas featuring fighting.

In the cinema, for example, we need to make different arrangements for the rural areas and for the factories, and give them films particularly suited to them. But on the whole, we must give them something to enrich their lives. On the one hand, we should praise the glory of labour; on the other hand, we need things that are lyrical and entertaining. We should tell young people about the hardships of making revolution and show that it was not easy to come to socialism. More plays and operas on the trials and hardships of revolutionary struggles should be performed so that they will not forget the miserable past.

The Ministry of Culture should do more work to bring about a general balance as far as subject matter is concerned, but it should not do so by compulsion or commandism and should not interfere too much with regard to subject matter. I have read the story *Daji and Her Fathers*³ and I have seen the film under the same title. Each has its strong points. The novel is less restrained and does bring out the true character of the Yi people, but it is somewhat rough. The film's treatment is better, but towards the end when the characters should be crying, they don't. They are inhibited. Maybe the director was afraid of being labelled "excessively soft-hearted."

We proletarians have our proletarian human nature. Why should we be afraid of showing it? There is some kind of pressure which is confusing the "theory of human nature," "love of humanity," "humanitarianism" and "utilitarianism." We are not against utilitarianism in general; we have our proletarian utilitarianism, human nature, friendship

and humanitarianism. The way it is being done now is not looking at things from a proletarian stand or from a class point of view. Rather, it is from an idealist viewpoint. If politics is substituted for culture, then there would be no culture. What then is there to attract anyone?

Another thing. Those engaged in cultural work should study the economic base. Ideas lead the way, but the upsurge of cultural construction will come after that of economic construction. The development of cultural undertakings should not be unrestricted. If there were too many cultural undertakings, universities and colleges and they exceed the level of economic development, the economic base and production would be affected. They are supposed to serve production but the result would be just the opposite. Production in the service of culture, and culture for the sake of culture would destroy culture in the end.

IV. Laws Governing Literature and Art Development

Like industrial and agricultural production, literature and art have their own objective laws of development. Of course, literature and art are products of the intellect and therefore more complex and more difficult to master. I think that at present the following problems have to be solved:

1) The problem of quantity and quality. Over the past few years many works of literature and art have been produced but few of them are up to the mark. We have a large contingent of literary and art workers today, but it is not of a high standard. The same theatrical work is imitated and performed everywhere, so the choice becomes very narrow. The same subject matter is written up everywhere so that works differ very little from each other. Improving the quality calls for meticulous work and that cannot be done overnight. Not everybody is capable of creating a successful work, and such works do not appear every day. There were not many eminent writers nor many fine works in the feudal and capitalist societies. Of course, we will have to do better than they. But it is just not possible to have "everybody become a writer and everyone become a painter," nor can "every county produce a Guo Moruo."⁴ These slogans are erroneous. But the number of works of a high quality is far too small today. Literature and art demand that ideological content be dialectically combined with artistic quality. A fine work calls for more adequate preparations.

2) The problem of raw materials and how to refine them. Only after refining can everyday scenes of actual life become works of art. Stress, today, should be more on refining. More time should be given them. If Comrade Mei Lanfang⁵ had polished the opera *Women Generals of the Yang Family*, it could have been even better.

3) The problem of ideology and professional skill. Ideology is very important. It is the guide. Greater efforts must be made in ideological studies. Because you are "engineers of the soul," your ideological level should be higher. If ideological level doesn't go up, it is impossible to put out fine works. But apart from raising the ideological level, you must have a thorough grasp of what you are doing. Otherwise, how can you give expression to your ideas? If one knows only politics and fails to master one's profession, then whatever is written is bound to sound like "posters and slogans" and lack any appeal. It is impossible to have a good mastery of professional skills without basic training. An artist must have experience and talent and must be highly cultivated and trained, otherwise, he can't be an artist, or a critic. But at present people do not dare to talk about experience, talent and skill. The mere mention of skill is liable to be regarded as an

Young actresses of a Guangdong troupe practising.



expression of bourgeois ideas. This obviously is wrong.

The slogan against the "white and expert road" is quite in vogue at the moment. We didn't put out this slogan.

What is "white"? Anyone who works heart and soul for socialism on socialist soil but who doesn't spend much time studying politics should not be called "white." Only those avowedly against socialism are "white." Take a surgeon for example. He is a good surgeon; he has healed many patients. But he is not very active politically. It is preposterous to castigate him as "taking the white and expert road." Take another example. A man works devotedly for socialism. He does not know much about politics, but in two years he gets out a missile. It is a big contribution he's made to his country. Another person spouts politics every day, but after five years he still hasn't got out a missile. Who's going to get your vote? Mine would go to the first. The second man can only be asked to go and teach politics. He can't stay on to work in the missile institution, for he would only "make trouble" instead of making missiles there.

4) The problem of criticism and discussion. Criticism of literary and art works must be allowed. There should be freedom to publish works and freedom to criticize them; likewise, there should be freedom for both criticism and discussion. Neither one should monopolize the literary world. We encourage criticism and also encourage the contention of a hundred schools of thought and free discussions. You may pronounce something as good and I may say it is not. Both views should be allowed, so long as the debate is carried out within the framework of socialism. If only criticism is allowed and free discussion is not, then people will say it is very easy to be a critic.

V. Inheriting and Creating

Chairman Mao said we should place more stress on the present than on the past. We believe that each generation surpasses the previous one. Historically, the contemporary always surpasses the ancient. However, there are things of old worth inheriting. That is why Chairman Mao urged us to take over the fine things in our cultural legacy and absorb critically whatever is beneficial, "discarding the dross and selecting the essential," so that our culture will develop and be enriched by each generation and come into a new effulgence in the future communist society.

In dealing with the relationship between Chinese and foreign things, we should always lay stress on things Chinese because we are Chinese. But we must not reject foreign things and close our doors. That would be the doctrine of "back to the ancients." We should assimilate good things foreign and incorporate them into our national culture. Our nation has always been good at absorbing the best in the culture of other nations. We have absorbed things from the cultures of India, Korea, Viet Nam, Mongolia, Japan as well as Western Europe. But we must emphasize our own traditions and, first of all, thoroughly understand our national heritage before we absorb foreign things. Things from abroad must be merged with ours and not imposed. I am for acquiring a thorough understanding of our national heritage first and then drawing on foreign things and gradually incorporating them with our own. This should be a chemical combination and not just a physical mixing, not simply welding foreign things to Chinese things.

VI. Question of Leadership

In the last three years, we have made great achievements. These achievements far outweigh shortcomings and errors. How can we correct the shortcomings and errors? The key lies in the leadership, in education and in going among the masses. Briefly, investigation and study are needed. Chairman Mao's working method is to make investigation and study. Leaders should conduct investigation and study and be ready to make self-criticism rather than pick on the lower ranks.

Correction of shortcomings and errors should begin with the leadership. The leadership should be the first to make self-criticism and shoulder more responsibilities. Problems generally lie with people in the upper ranks. I hope you will do this on your return. Leaders in the literary and art bodies should do some self-criticism.

Self-criticism alone is not enough. You must also go among the masses. Only when you go among the masses can you find out whether or not your opinions are correct. Whatever the problems, they should be put before the public. In this way, we can get everyone to help. Investigating and studying must be conducted in the spirit of seeking truth from facts. Don't go about it in a slapdash way. Others' achievements must be affirmed. Prob-

lems should be appropriately assessed. The situation varies from place to place and from department to department. In some places, the entire leadership is wrong; in some places, a few of the leaders are wrong; and in other places, the leadership is entirely correct. We must make the assessments accordingly in a down-to-earth way and deal with each case differently.

What is all this for? To educate the cadres. Chairman Mao said that in the past 11 years, we were busy with construction and did not pay enough attention to educating the cadres. I have spoken at such length today because I want to explain this question clearly, to create the kind of atmosphere in which everyone dares to speak. Even if some views are not in agreement with the thinking of others, people should speak their minds as long as their words are beneficial to socialism. Say all you know and say it without reserve; blame not the speaker but be warned by his words; and correct mistakes if you have committed them and guard against them if you have not. In this way, our cadres will be educated, a healthy atmosphere will prevail, socialist literature and art will develop better and there will be a very broad scope for action.

NOTES

1. *Qin Xianglian*: A well-known traditional opera. Qin Xianglian's husband, Chen Shimei, came first in the imperial examinations held in the capital and marries one of the emperor's daughters. Chen abandons his wife, Qin Xianglian, and even tries to murder her and their children. Qin appeals to Bao Zheng, an upright official, who executes Chen.

2. *Dream of the Red Chamber*: A well-known classical novel by Cao Xueqin about the rise and fall of a noble family in the declining phase of feudal society.

3. *Daji and Her Fathers*: A novel by Gao Ying, it was later made into a film of the same name. Through a girl's joys and sorrows, separations and reunions with her real father and adopted father unfolds a story about the profound friendship between the Yi and Han working people.

4. Guo Moruo: A celebrated man of letters and scientist in China. He was Member of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, Vice-Chairman of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, President of the Chinese Academy of Sciences and Vice-Chairman of the All-China Federation of Literature and Art. He died in June 1978.

5. Mei Lanfang: A famous Beijing opera actor who died in August 1961.

Memorandum on Vice-Premier Li Xiannian's Talks With Premier Pham Van Dong

June 10, 1977

"Renmin Ribao" on March 23 released the memorandum outlining Vice-Premier Li Xiannian's talks with Premier Pham Van Dong on June 10, 1977, prefaced by an editor's note which said:

In recent years, the Vietnamese authorities deliberately worked to undermine the traditional friendship between the Chinese and Vietnamese peoples and kept poisoning Sino-Vietnamese relations. The Chinese side was greatly pained by this. The problem was repeatedly raised with the Vietnamese leaders by Chinese leaders with admonitions and in the earnest hope that the two countries would remain friendly to each other. On September 24, 1975 Comrade Deng Xiaoping talked to Le Duan, General Secretary of the Vietnamese Party, in Beijing about the problems existing in the relations between the two Parties and states and expressed the hope that they would be solved through joint efforts. On June 10, 1977 Comrade Li Xiannian, on behalf of the Chinese Party Central Committee, further held candid discussions with Premier Pham Van Dong on these problems and

gave him a memorandum on the statements made. The Chinese side hoped that Sino-Vietnamese friendship might be protected from further damage and preserved through joint efforts.

But most regrettably, the Vietnamese authorities completely disregarded the sincere desire of the Chinese side and have never replied to the Chinese leaders' views aimed at preserving the relations between the two Parties and states. Aided and abetted by the Soviet Union, they picked China as their No. 1 enemy, and have been pursuing with ever greater vigour a policy of opposition and hostility to China. That Sino-Vietnamese relations should have worsened to such an extent today is wholly the making of the Vietnamese authorities.

We now publish the full text of the memorandum handed by Vice-Premier Li Xiannian to Premier Pham Van Dong on June 10, 1977, with a few footnotes, to set forth the historical facts. This will help people to know more about the true course of development of Sino-Vietnamese relations.

IN mid-April 1977, as he stopped at Beijing on his way to Europe, Premier Pham Van Dong expressed to Comrade Chen Xilian his desire to stay for a few days in Beijing on his way back and have a talk with us. This was most welcome. The day before yesterday Chairman Hua Guofeng met Premier Pham Van Dong and had a cordial conversation with you, during which he informed you of developments in China. You talked about problems in the relations between our two Parties and states, and Chairman Hua repeated our consistent stand and said that we shared the desire to further develop our friendship with the Vietnamese Party and people. I am instructed by Chairman Hua and entrusted by my Party's Central Committee to discuss candidly and in a comradely way a number of problems in the relations between our two Parties and states.

The relations between our two Parties, states and peoples have been close and friendly for years. Our deep friendship was forged and

promoted personally by Chairman Mao Zedong and President Ho Chi Minh, whose revolutionary friendship was a concentrated expression of Sino-Vietnamese friendship. Our friendship stood the severe test in the long period of revolutionary struggles. Both in the years of arduous struggle in our respective countries and in the two decades or so of wars of resistance against imperialism, we shared weal and woe and helped each other, "uniting together, fighting together and winning victories together," as Premier Zhou Enlai said. Our revolutionary friendship is sealed in blood. The Communist Party of China and the Chinese Government have always valued the friendship and unity between our two Parties, states and peoples. In our dealings with the Vietnamese Party and Government, both under the late Chairman Mao and President Ho and afterwards, we have always strictly implemented Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, done our best to fulfil our internationalist duty and

made unremitting efforts to preserve and strengthen this friendship.

In recent years, however, our relations have undergone certain changes which cause us anxiety. Seeking an early solution to this problem, Premier Zhou had talked with Vietnamese comrades more than once, and so did Comrade Deng Xiaoping on behalf of our Party's Central Committee in 1975. On all those occasions the Vietnamese comrades said they would preserve Viet Nam-China friendship and would not do anything to harm it. So we thought our relations would gradually improve. But contrary to our expectations, our relations, instead of improving, have come up against more serious problems. We are disturbed to see this trend of development in our relations. That is why we wish to take this opportunity to talk with you again while you are in Beijing.

I

Certain words and deeds of the Vietnamese side have badly hurt the Chinese people and impaired the friendship between our two countries. Senior cadres of Viet Nam made public remarks maligning China. For instance, Comrade Hoang Tung said something very unfriendly about China in his interview with the Swedish journalist Erik Fierre last year. He said:

"During the war, it was vital for Viet Nam that both China and the U.S.S.R. helped north Viet Nam to the full. Today, it is no longer so vital for this country to follow that policy. True, Viet Nam borders on the southern part of the big country China, and this neighbourhood has both a positive and a negative aspect. Anyway, the political and cultural pressure from the north must be removed. Therefore, the rapprochement with the U.S.S.R. plays a very important role for Viet Nam today. There is a tangibly strong Soviet interest coinciding with Vietnamese interests — to reduce Chinese influence in this part of the world."

Another example, Comrade Hoang Quoc Viet, in answering questions of a Japanese journalist in 1973, made an unwarranted attack on our foreign policy, saying that China's invitation to Nixon to visit the country was like "throwing a lifebelt to the drowning Nixon," and that "sometimes dealings between big nations may be made at the expense of a small nation and crush it." Their statements appeared in the newspapers of more than one country, and they attracted much international attention. At first, we thought that they might be rumours as they

came from the reports of Western journalists, but we have seen no denials of any kind from your side. Comrade Hoang Tung was a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Viet Nam, editor-in-chief of the Party paper and Deputy Chairman of the Propaganda Commission under the Party's Central Committee; and Comrade Hoang Quoc Viet was also a member of the Vietnamese Party Central Committee and President of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Viet Nam Fatherland Front. What is more, he was President of the Viet Nam-China Friendship Association. Their statements cannot be considered as something accidental. To be frank, in the past, we were somewhat puzzled by the prevalence in Vietnamese society of many slanders against China, some of which were even directed against our great leader Chairman Mao, our esteemed and beloved Premier Zhou and our Party's domestic and foreign policies. In retrospect, it was not fortuitous that such slanders spread in Vietnamese society. How can these remarks be reconciled with President Ho Chi Minh's statement that "Profound is the friendship between Viet Nam and China, who are both comrades and brothers," or with the avowed desire of Vietnamese comrades to "uphold Viet Nam-China friendship"?

II

Vietnamese comrades have hurt the friendship between our two countries not only in their words, but also in their deeds.

The Vietnamese side has continually provoked disputes on the land boundary question, causing increased tension on the border. The boundary line between China and Viet Nam was delimited by treaties concluded between the then Qing Dynasty government and the French Government. After people's political power was established in our country, both sides expressed their willingness to respect this boundary line. Although local comrades of the two sides did not agree on the location of certain sections of the boundary line, the problem was not big and should not be difficult to settle. In 1957-58 the Central Committees of the Chinese and Vietnamese Parties exchanged letters which affirmed the principle that the status quo of the border should be maintained and that the boundary question should be settled by the two Governments and the local authorities had no power to do so. This approach was followed by both sides before 1974, and no big dispute

ever arose at the border. The border inhabitants and border guards of the two countries had always lived in amity and helped each other. The Sino-Vietnamese boundary had for years been one of friendship. However, as a result of the change in the attitude of the Vietnamese side in the last few years, border disputes kept increasing and the boundary question has become a rather conspicuous one in Sino-Vietnamese relations. We proposed in 1975 that our two Governments should hold boundary negotiations as soon as possible so as thoroughly to resolve through friendly consultations the existing issues concerning the Sino-Vietnamese land boundary on the basis of the Sino-French treaties. We have repeated our proposal last year and this year. But you, while stalling negotiations with us, continued to let your men enter Chinese territory illegally, claim this or that place as belonging to Viet Nam, unreasonably interfere with and obstruct routine activities of our border guards and disturb and disrupt normal production activities of our border inhabitants. They even engaged in fist-fighting and other acts of violence. These attempts at unilateral and forcible changes in the status quo of the boundary resulted in a drastic increase in the number of border incidents and increased tension and even shooting incidents by Vietnamese border guards in Chinese border areas in Yunnan and Guangxi. According to incomplete statistics kept by our border defence authorities, the number of border incidents was 100 in 1974, increased to over 400 in 1975 and exceeded 900 in 1976. Of course, some of these incidents were caused by violations of our policies by our local personnel. We have taken, and will continue to take, measures to enjoin those involved and the border inhabitants to earnestly safeguard Sino-Vietnamese friendship and strictly adhere to our border policies, and to prevent them from crossing the border to invite trouble. However, we hold that your actions concerning the boundary question contravene the agreement reached between the Central Committees of the two Parties and can help solve no problem but will only harm the traditional friendship between our two peoples to the grief of friends and the delight of enemies. With a view to safeguarding the friendship between our two countries and settling boundary disputes once and for all, we now propose once again that our two Governments hold negotiations on the land boundary as soon as possible. Pending a negotiated settlement, each side should strictly maintain the status quo on the border and should not in any way unilaterally change the extent of

its actual jurisdiction.* By "maintaining the status quo on the border," we do not mean that in the future boundary negotiations ownership of territory in the disputed areas will be decided according to the line dividing the actual jurisdiction of the two sides. It is entirely for the purpose of avoiding conflicts and safeguarding the all important cause of unity and friendship, pending a negotiated settlement.

III

Regarding the medium repairs of the Sino-Vietnamese railway on the Chinese side of the junction, there have also arisen questions which should not have arisen. According to the Sino-Vietnamese Border Railway Agreement, the Vietnamese side has no right to interfere in the management and maintenance of this section of the railway which is the responsibility of the Chinese side, just as the Chinese side has no right to interfere in the way the Vietnamese side maintains the railway section under its management. And in point of fact, the above-mentioned railway section was already in a serious condition and incapable of ensuring the necessary traffic safety. Without repairs, traffic had to stop or else ran the risk of train overturns. However, when our railway authorities organized the manpower and materials for repairs to ensure traffic safety and the smooth operation of the railway, they came up against repeated Vietnamese obstructions and sabotages. The Vietnamese comrades went so far as to provoke an unprecedented clash, in which 51 Chinese comrades were wounded, six of them badly.

* Maintaining the status quo on the border is one of the principles affirmed in the letters exchanged between the Chinese and Vietnamese Party Central Committees in 1957 and 1958. For a long period of time, this principle was followed by the two sides, so the Sino-Vietnamese border was peaceful. In recent years, the Vietnamese authorities, while wantonly instigating hostile anti-China feelings in their country, have been trying in every way to expand the extent of their jurisdiction, nibbling at, intruding into and occupying Chinese territory. In order to ensure peace and tranquillity in the areas along the Sino-Vietnamese border and maintain friendly and good-neighbourly relations, the Chinese side has repeatedly proposed that, pending a negotiated settlement of the boundary question, the two sides strictly maintain the status quo on the border and refrain from unilaterally changing the extent of their actual jurisdiction in any form and under any pretext. But the Vietnamese side turned a deaf ear to our proposal and with intensified efforts made even more armed provocations and incursions and created more bloody conflicts. Its brutality and arrogance has become simply intolerable.

Some of your people may have got wounded too.

Completed after the Vietnamese people's victory in their war against French rule,* this railway has since then served as a tie of friendship between our two socialist countries. During the days of the Vietnamese people's war against U.S. aggression and for national salvation, our two peoples defended it with blood to ensure its smooth operation round the clock. We did not expect that today, after the Vietnamese people's victory in that war, there should have occurred incidents of Vietnamese comrades sabotaging our efforts for the maintenance of the railway, culminating in a large-scale clash, right on this railway symbolic of Sino-Vietnamese friendship. How are we to explain this to our people?

This railway is still serving the socialist construction and external economic and cultural exchanges of our two countries. It not only links our two countries, but connects Viet Nam with many other countries in Asia and Europe. More freight are shipped over this railway to Viet Nam than to China. Suspension of traffic would hurt China, but even more so Viet Nam. It is beyond us why the Vietnamese side keeps refusing to let us maintain this railway section and does not seem to worry at all that trains might overturn and traffic be halted. We suspect that there may be people who deliberately want to blow up the matter into a major issue and bring it under international spotlight, so as to accuse China of "big-nation chauvinism" and "bullying a small country." It is not our wish to see the problem thus magnified, but if this should happen contrary to our wishes, there is nothing we can do about it.

We took a prudent approach on the question of maintenance of the section of the Sino-Vietnamese railway on the Chinese side of the junction. We did not take for granted the reports we received, but sent a Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs, together with competent experts from the railway administration, for a special on-the-spot investigation, during which films were taken of the conditions. Facts show that the repeated proposals of the Chinese side to the Vietnamese side were fully justified. We

* Prior to 1954, this section of the railway was not open to traffic. In December 1954 the railway from Hanoi to Dong Dang began to be restored with Chinese help. Subsequently, the section of the railway from China's Munan Pass to Viet Nam's Dong Dang was completed and through traffic formally opened on March 1, 1955. On May 25, 1955 the first border railway agreement between China and Viet Nam was signed.

earnestly hope that the Vietnamese comrades will change their previous attitude and no longer obstruct and sabotage the efforts of the Chinese side to repair the railway. As for the Vietnamese side's differing understanding of the location of the sector of boundary line there, it should be left for resolution through consultation by the two Governments in the boundary negotiations. If, through the boundary negotiations, it should be decided that this sector was Vietnamese territory, we would unconditionally turn over to the Vietnamese side territory that belongs to Viet Nam together with the section of railway situated thereon.

If Premier Pham Van Dong agrees, we would like to show you the film we took indicating the bad condition the railway section was in. Since this is a rather urgent matter, we hope Premier Pham Van Dong will look into it as soon as possible, so that it may be settled appropriately.

IV

Regarding the Nansha Islands and the Xisha Islands, many things the Vietnamese comrades have done in the past two years are also detrimental to the friendly relations between our two countries. These islands have always been Chinese territory, and this is supported by numerous indisputable historical records. The Chinese Government has made statements to this effect on many occasions. In the past the Vietnamese comrades, too, recognized that these islands were Chinese territory. On June 15, 1956 one Vietnamese Vice-Foreign Minister formally said to us that "from the historical point of view, these islands are Chinese territory." On September 4, 1958 the Chinese Government issued a declaration on China's territorial sea, in which it clearly stated that the territory of the People's Republic of China "includes the Chinese mainland and its coastal islands, as well as Taiwan and its surrounding islands, the Penghu Islands, the Dongsha Islands, the Xisha Islands, the Zhongsha Islands, the Nansha Islands and all other islands belonging to China which are separated from the mainland and its coastal islands by the high seas..." On September 14 of the same year Premier Pham Van Dong stated in his note to Premier Zhou Enlai that "the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam recognizes and supports the declaration of the People's Republic of China on China's territorial sea made on September 4, 1958," and that "the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam respects this decision." On May 9, 1965 the Government

of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam in its statement again recognized that the Xisha Islands belonged to China.* But in 1974, the Vietnamese comrades began to change their stand. Notably in 1975 the Vietnamese side, using the opportunity of the liberation of southern Viet Nam, invaded and occupied six of China's Nansha Islands and proceeded to make a formal territorial claim to our Nansha and Xisha Islands. Meanwhile, it whipped up public opinion both internally and externally, asserting that the Nansha and Xisha Islands are Vietnamese territory. Owing to your action, the Nansha and Xisha Islands, over which there never was any issue, have now become a major subject of dispute in Sino-Vietnamese relations.** Before 1975 the Soviet Union had always recognized that the Nansha and Xisha Islands were Chinese territory. They too changed their attitude as soon as you created this dispute, being bent on using it to undermine Sino-Vietnamese relations. We hope that the Vietnamese comrades will return to their original stand on this question.

V

The Vietnamese comrades' attitude on the division of the Beibu Gulf sea area cannot be considered as friendly, either. The sea area here

* On May 9, 1965 the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam issued a statement with reference to the designation by U.S. President Lyndon B. Johnson of the "combat zone" of the U.S. armed forces in Viet Nam, recognizing the Xisha Islands as belonging to China. The Vietnamese statement said:

"U.S. President Lyndon Johnson designated the whole of Viet Nam, and the adjacent waters which extend roughly 100 miles from the coast of Viet Nam and part of the territorial waters of the People's Republic of China in its Xisha Islands as 'combat zone' of the United States armed forces . . . in direct threat to the security of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and its neighbours. . . ."

** When Vice-Premier Li Xiannian referred to this question, Premier Pham Van Dong produced the untenable argument that: "In the war of resistance we of course had to place resistance to U.S. imperialism above everything else." "How should one understand our statements including the one in my note to Premier Zhou Enlai? One should understand it in the context of the historical circumstances of the time." Vice-Premier Li Xiannian promptly pointed out that this explanation was not convincing. He said, the territorial question between our two states should be dealt with seriously, war could not justify a different interpretation, and a serious attitude was called for. Moreover, there was no war going on in Viet Nam when on September 14, 1958 Pham Van Dong, as the Premier of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, acknowledged in his note to Premier Zhou Enlai that the Xisha and Nansha Islands are Chinese territory.

has never been divided, yet you assert that it has. You insist on drawing a dividing line close to our Hainan Island, so as to occupy two-thirds of the Beibu Gulf sea area. Being neither fair nor reasonable, this is unacceptable to us. We have suggested more than once that the two sides should settle the division of the gulf sea area on a fair and reasonable basis. We hope that the Vietnamese comrades will consider our suggestion.

VI

We would also like to outline our views on the question of Chinese residing in Viet Nam. Owing to historical reasons, there are more than one million Chinese residing in Viet Nam. Acting on proletarian internationalist principles, we agreed with the Vietnamese Party in 1955 on gradually encouraging the Chinese residents to adopt Vietnamese nationality. This could only be done on a voluntary basis, not by coercion. Over a long time in the past, the problem was handled fairly well through mutual consultation and co-operation. But since the liberation of southern Viet Nam, your side has resorted to coercion and treated Chinese in southern Viet Nam, regardless of their own wish, as being all Vietnamese nationals. You have imposed high taxes on Chinese residents who want to retain their Chinese nationality, prepared to deny them continued residence in Viet Nam and take other measures. All these depart from the long-established practice of co-operation and consultation between our two countries and contravene the agreement between the two Parties on gradually encouraging Chinese to change their nationality. As you know, after the Ngo Dinh Diem puppet regime tried in 1956 to compel Chinese to adopt Vietnamese nationality, our Overseas Chinese Affairs Commission issued a statement in 1957 seriously protesting against it. Every country has the duty to protect the legitimate rights and interests of its nationals residing in other countries. But you have now unilaterally taken measures to compel Chinese to adopt Vietnamese nationality without consulting us, thus placing us in an awkward position politically. Here I would like to refer also to the question of establishment of Chinese consulates in Viet Nam. The Vietnamese residing in China numbering five to six thousand have all along been taken good care of by the Chinese Government, and we long ago gave our consent to your establishing three Vietnamese consulates-general in China and have accorded them facilities and favourable treatment. Yet when we requested to set up three consulates-general in Viet Nam, you

delayed your reply for half a year, and then gave your consent to the setting-up of two consulates-general instead of three. We have taken a friendly attitude and made special allowances for you in the treatment of nationals and the establishment of consulates, but you have failed to reciprocate.

VII

The Vietnamese comrades have been impairing Sino-Vietnamese friendship not only through present issues but also by making use of historical problems. For many years, the Vietnamese side, using the past to disparage the present, extensively propagandized the so-called opposition to "invasion from the north" in its newspapers, magazines, films, plays, etc., and incited hostility against China among the people, thus causing very bad consequences. All people who sincerely care for Sino-Vietnamese friendship are disturbed by this. But some people in other parts of the world, out of ulterior motives, clapped and cheered and took advantage of this situation to sow dissension. The Soviet news agency TASS for one made use of your propaganda to foment discord and incite anti-China sentiments. We freely admit that China's feudal dynasties did invade Viet Nam, and we always condemn such aggression. Premier Zhou Enlai personally visited the Temple of Heroines Trung Trac and Trung Nhi in Hañoi to pay tribute to these fighters against aggression by the Han Dynasty. But, as you know, invasion of Viet Nam by Chinese feudal dynasties took place when the Chinese people had no power and when they themselves were under the feudal rulers' brutal oppression and persecution. Therefore, the Chinese Communist Party and the Government and people of the People's Republic of China cannot be held responsible. Soon after the victory of the Russian October Revolution, Comrade Lenin said that the imperialist powers, Britain, France and the United States "tried to arouse Poland's ancient hatred towards her Great-Russian oppressors, tried to transfer the Polish workers' hatred of the landowners and tsars, a hundred times deserved, to the Russian workers and peasants, and tried to make the Polish workers think that the Bolsheviks, like the Russian chauvinists, dream of conquering Poland." (V.I. Lenin, *Speech to Students of the Sverdlov University Leaving for the Front*, October 24, 1919.) This, as we see it, is Lenin's approach to historical problems. Viet Nam is a socialist country. Do the Vietnamese comrades act in the spirit of Lenin's teaching in doing the above? We hope that you will stop this.

Today, I have been frank with Premier Pham Van Dong about some problems existing in the relations between our two Parties and states, hoping that a solution will be found to these problems through a comradely and in-depth conversation so that the revolutionary friendship and unity between our Parties and countries can be upheld and enhanced. China and Viet Nam are linked by common mountains and rivers and closely related as lips and teeth. We believe that unity and friendship are in the interests of our two peoples while disunity and antagonism are harmful to the interests of both. We should follow the behests of Chairman Mao Zedong and President Ho Chi Minh and make great efforts, as always, to uphold and promote our traditional friendship and unity and not let them be weakened and damaged by interference from any quarters. We believe that so long as we have the sincere desire of safeguarding our friendship and translate this desire into action, our friendly relations can grow and the Chinese and Vietnamese peoples can live together in friendship from generation to generation.

We request Premier Pham Van Dong to convey to the Central Committee of the Vietnamese Communist Party and Comrade Le Duan the wishes Chairman Hua expressed in his meeting with you on June 8 and the points I have discussed today. We sincerely hope that you will seriously consider our opinions so that a satisfactory solution may be found to the problems existing between our two Parties and states.

As for the question of aid, Premier Pham Van Dong sent a list in his letter of November 15 last year. We have not been able to satisfy your requests. On behalf of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese Government I talked about this matter with Vice-Minister Nguyen Tranh on February 24 this year, explaining that interference and sabotage by the anti-Party "gang of four" and the natural calamities last year have caused many difficulties to our national economy, and that over 2,000 million yuan earmarked for our aid to Viet Nam remains unused, and more than a hundred projects for complete sets of equipment are yet to be constructed, whose completion will take us great efforts in the coming period of time. Therefore, we are in no position to provide new aid to the Vietnamese comrades. And I asked him to report this to Premier Pham Van Dong. On March 17, 1977 Vice-Minister Nguyen Tranh conveyed Premier Pham Van Dong's reply and his understanding of the matter. So I am not dealing with this question at length today.

How to Deal With Soviet Hegemonism

WITH Cuba and Viet Nam as its falcon and hound, the Soviet Union has started a southward offensive from Africa, the Middle East to Southeast Asia to seek strategic war materials, occupy strategic military bases and control oil transportation lines. It is trying as best it can to complete its global deployment to attain world supremacy. The hawkish Soviet challenge poses the peace-loving countries and people all over the world with a pressing question: How is the Soviet Union's hegemonist aggression and expansion to be met? Make compromises and concessions, or unite and struggle against it?

The answer is not hard to find if one reviews, even briefly, the frenzy of the Soviet hegemonists in recent years and the lessons the people of various countries have learned in combating Soviet hegemonism.

Compromise Is Dangerous

The Soviet hegemonists are insatiable. Their ambition is to dominate the whole world. Compromises or concessions will not get the Soviet hegemonists to call a halt to their expansionism, much less to put away their murderous knives and become a Buddha. On the contrary, they will only become even more arrogant and

greedy. As a recent article in the French paper *Le Figaro* said: When the Kremlin strategists undermine the stability of parts of Africa and Asia on land (backed by tanks, planes and troops), it is hoped that the Soviet Union would agree to change its global objectives if we manifest a little compromising spirit. "Such optimism (better described as suicidal refusal to face reality) will make us underestimate the determination of the Russians. There is nothing more dangerous than this."

This has been proved by facts. In 1975, when the Soviet Union dispatched Cuban mercenaries to intervene in the newly independent Angola and plunged the country into war and suffering, no effective measures were taken internationally to check Moscow's criminal actions. After attaining its goal in Angola, the Soviet Union sent more and more Cuban mercenaries to more and more African countries. It provoked a large-scale armed conflict in the Horn of Africa. And now, Soviet military advisers and Cuban mercenaries are found even as far as the southern tip of the Arabian Peninsula at the entrance to the Red Sea. The whole Arab world is uneasy. In West Asia, the Soviet Union, exploiting the chaotic situation in Iran, is preparing to extend its infiltration and expansion into that country with a view to seizing the Persian Gulf, threatening the West's energy sources and getting an ice-free port in the south.

Its appetite whetted by having met with no obstruction in using Cuba to rampage and wreak havoc in Africa, the Soviet Union is now fostering a "Cuba of the East" — Viet Nam — as its advance guard in carrying out its hegemonist global strategy in Southeast Asia and the rest of Asia. When Viet Nam, aided and abetted by the Soviet Union, carried out large-scale aggression against Kampuchea and started its anti-China and anti-Chinese campaigns in 1978, some countries earnestly advised Viet Nam not to interfere with the domestic affairs of its neighbouring countries and to improve its relations with them. In the face of the Vietnamese authorities' armed provocations and hostilities, China exercised the greatest forbearance and self-restraint, and repeatedly counselled and



by Ding Cong

warned them in the hope that they would mend their ways. However, the Vietnamese authorities turned a deaf ear to all this. Emboldened by the strong backing behind them, they dispatched more than 100,000 troops to invade Kampuchea. They occupied that country with a blitzkrieg of the Hitlerite type and spread the flames of war to the Kampuchean-Thai borders, thus gravely threatening the peace and stability of the whole of Southeast Asia and the Pacific region. At the same time, they again and again provoked armed conflicts along the Sino-Vietnamese borders, and became ever more unrestrained in their attempts to occupy Chinese territory and sabotage China's socialist construction and modernization.

The unscrupulous and unbridled Soviet actions have made people worried. According to a UPI report, former British Prime Minister Harold MacMillan said that the Russians today seemed to be able to get away with anything, "just like Hitler got away with anything," "I do feel more and more worried about it (threat). . . ."

How to Frustrate the Aggressors

What should be done? Countries all over the world, especially the third world countries, in their struggles against Soviet hegemonism have much useful experience to offer: if the peace-loving countries strengthen their unity, support each other and dare to fight, any aggressive schemes of the Soviet Union and its lackeys can be smashed.

In May last year the Soviet Union, together with Cuba, engineered the "second Shaba incident" in the heart of Africa in an attempt to overthrow the Zairian Government with mercenary troops and cut the African continent in the middle. Zaire immediately announced a nationwide general mobilization. The Zairian armed forces and people fought back. Their just actions won vigorous support from other African countries. In addition to giving material assistance, Morocco and other African countries also sent troops to the Shaba front to fight the mercenary troops together with the Zairian army and people. France and Belgium sent paratroopers to assist Zaire. In the end, the mercenary troops were completely driven out of Zaire and the Soviet plot was foiled.

In Asia, Democratic Kampuchea resolutely resisted the Vietnamese authorities' attempt to create by military might an "Indochina federation." Time and again it defeated Viet Nam-plotted subversions, coups and armed incursions.

Even after the Moscow-backed Vietnamese aggressors occupied Phnom Penh and vast tracts of Kampuchean territory, the Kampuchean army and people remained indomitable. They have unfolded a widespread people's war and have the Vietnamese authorities bogged down in a quagmire. But under the aegis of the Soviet Union, the Vietnamese aggressors today are still clinging to Kampuchea. The world is expecting the United Nations and its member states not to be perplexed and bewildered by the Soviet veto, but to take effective measures to stay the hands of the Soviet and Vietnamese aggressors. Recently the Chinese frontier troops rose in counterattack against the armed provocations of the Vietnamese aggressors when the situation became intolerable. They have defended the frontiers of the motherland, deflated the arrogance of the Vietnamese authorities in their wanton aggression and exploded the myth of Viet Nam's invincibility. This has also been a blow to the Kremlin which attempts to use the "Cuba of the East" to push its scheme of aggression and expansion in Southeast Asia.

Form a Broad United Front Against Hegemonism

Positive and negative lessons demonstrate that any ideas of winning over or curbing big or small hegemonists by means of compromises, concessions, connivance, or by trade, loans, economic aid and passing on technical know-how are illusionary. The Canadian weekly *The Forge* in an editorial said, "The world's people are not going to stop the present Soviet offensive by sitting down and letting them invade one country after another. The bully only gets more aggressive if not opposed." "This is exactly what happened in the 1930s when concessions to Hitler gave the German fascists a big boost." The Omani newspaper *Times of Oman* in an article on February 1 pointed out that in the face of the Soviet threat countries in the West should not "appear to be suffering from the delusion that all will be well so long as the U.S.S.R. is bought off with a gift here and a concession there." "Unless rapid counter action is taken, this part of the world (Gulf area) is in danger of being surrounded and cut off." The article proposed that the Western countries use the economic weapon to check the Soviet threat. The Thai paper *United Daily News* in a March 10 commentary said, "No connivance or concession should be given to hegemonism, big or small. What it should be given is a lesson. Otherwise, it will want a yard after having got an inch."

Today, the situation urges all peace-loving countries and people to close their ranks and form a broad united front against Soviet hegemonism, take effective, practical steps to deal with Soviet aggression and expansion and upset its global strategy. Soviet aggression and expansion must be checked wherever it appears.

Only by doing this can we check its rampancy, ease the tense situation and put off the outbreak of a world war and safeguard the peace and security of the world.

(A commentary by Xinhua Correspondent)

Egyptian-Israeli Peace Treaty Signed

THE Egyptian and Israeli peace treaty was formally signed on the afternoon of March 26 in Washington, thus ending a state of war that existed between Egypt and Israel for more than three decades. The treaty was signed by Egyptian President Sadat and Israeli Prime Minister Begin. U.S. President Carter signed the treaty as a witness.

President Sadat, Prime Minister Begin and President Carter also signed the agreed minutes which contained each side's interpretations on aspects of the treaty.

In addition, Sadat and Begin signed a joint letter dealing with how the two parties would handle negotiations over the future of the Palestinians on the West Bank of the Jordan River and the Gaza Strip. These negotiations are expected to begin within a month or so.

A Tortuous Course

President Sadat's visit to Israel on November 19, 1977, was the first by an Arab head of state since Israel was "founded" 30 years ago and the beginning of a direct dialogue between Egypt and Israel.

Sadat and Begin met again in December in the Egyptian city of Ismailia. In January and July, 1978, the Egyptian and Israeli foreign ministers also held talks which were attended by U.S. Secretary of State Vance. On every occasion, the Egyptian side insisted on an overall settlement and realization of a just peace in the Middle East which could only be achieved by solving the question of Palestine and respecting the inviolability of sovereignty and territorial integrity. However, as Israel stubbornly refused to withdraw from the Arab territories it had occupied in 1967 and to recognize the national rights of the Palestinian people, the meetings and talks were deadlocked.

In August 1978 Carter sent Vance to Egypt and Israel with personal messages to Sadat and

Begin. Both leaders accepted Carter's invitation to attend a summit conference in the United States, which began on September 6 at the U.S. presidential retreat of Camp David. After more than 12 days of heated talks, two agreements — "Framework for Peace in the Middle East" and "Framework for the Conclusion of a Peace Treaty Between Egypt and Israel" — were finally signed at the White House on the evening of September 17. The two accords merely touched on certain principles, leaving many concrete problems to be resolved later. The main contents of the first agreement were: a five-year transitional period of self-rule for the West Bank of the Jordan River and the Gaza Strip (an administration of self-rule would be elected by the inhabitants during the transitional period to replace the Israeli military government and civil administration while Israel would be responsible for security and Israeli troops would be withdrawn to specified points); the participation of Jordan in the police force; at the same time, talks among Egypt, Israel, Jordan and elected West Bank and Gaza representatives to decide the final status of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip; and the conclusion of a Jordanian-Israeli peace treaty. The main contents of the second agreement were: the conclusion of a peace treaty between Egypt and Israel within three months of the signing of the agreements; the withdrawal of Israeli troops from the Sinai and its return to Egypt; the establishment of normal diplomatic relations between Egypt and Israel after the signing of the peace treaty and the withdrawal of Israeli forces from the Sinai.

According to the Camp David agreements, the United States, Egypt and Israel were to send representatives at the ministerial level to Blair House, which is near the White House, on October 12 to begin negotiations for an Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty. But these negotiations im-

mediately deadlocked. The main obstacles again came from Israel which clung to its expansionist stand over the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, accelerated its building and expansion of settlements on the West Bank and deliberately poisoned the atmosphere of the negotiations. During the sessions, Israel flagrantly rejected Egyptian proposals, leading to a breakdown in the Washington talks. Even though Egyptian Prime Minister Mustafa Khalil went to the United States in mid-December and expressed Egypt's willingness to resume the talks, and President Sadat wrote to Begin, and Vance returned to the Middle East in early December to try and get things going, Israel remained intransigent, bringing all efforts to nought. When the three sides met again in Brussels in the latter part of December, it produced no results.

In an attempt to get Egypt and Israel to resume negotiations, Carter on February 7 of this year again invited both sides to the United States for talks at the foreign minister level. The two sides accepted the invitation and on February 21 resumed the talks at Camp David which had been broken off for three months. There was, however, not much progress. On March 1, Begin visited the United States and from March 1 to 4, Carter and Begin held a number of meetings in Washington. However, there was still no headway. Then Carter put forward a new set of proposals to break the deadlock at the last session which were reported to have been accepted by the Israeli cabinet at the recommendation of Begin. Meanwhile, on March 5, Carter telephoned Sadat three times to discuss ways to end the stalemate. Finally, Carter decided to visit Egypt and Israel again to try and get the two sides to conclude a peace treaty.

U.S. President Carter's journey to the Middle East began on March 8. He discussed American proposals with President Sadat in Egypt from March 8-10 before going to Israel to present proposals for settling some outstanding issues to Begin. On March 13, President Carter flew back to Cairo and briefed Sadat on his talks in Israel. The main points Carter was reported to have discussed with the Egyptian and Israeli leaders were: a guarantee for supplying Israel with petroleum from the Sinai oil fields; a timetable for the exchange of ambassadors between Egypt and Israel; and details of self-rule for the Gaza Strip. At the end of his "exhausting" six-day mission, Carter announced at Cairo airport on March 13 that a major break-

through had been achieved. Earlier, President Sadat had said that Egypt and Israel were about to sign a peace treaty which would not only defuse the explosive situation but also open the way for a complete settlement.

Thus the new developments came only after a long and tortuous course.

Different Reactions

Sadat's first visit to Israel in November 1977 and the resulting direct talks between Egypt and Israel became a major event in the world and had great repercussions in the Arab countries. Some supported Sadat's efforts, some adopted a wait-and-see attitude, and some joined together with the Palestine Liberation Organization in resolutely opposing Sadat's action and formed an "Arab Steadfastness and Confrontation Front." The members of this "front"—Syria, Algeria, Libya, South Yemen and the Palestine Liberation Organization—attended a summit conference from September 20-23 in Damascus to discuss the Camp David talks and the events afterwards. The summit issued a communique expressing its "rejection of the Camp David accords and results" and "support for the Palestine Liberation Organization." A resolution was adopted at the summit which stated that the participating heads of state would "break off political and economic relations with the Egyptian regime" and "authorize President Assad to make contact with the Soviet Union in the name of the front to examine the possibility of developing the Soviet Union's ties with the front so as to re-establish military and political balance in the region, and make closer and deepen the Soviet Union's relations with the countries of the front." At the Arab summit held in Baghdad from November 2 to 5 last year which included all the Arab countries except Egypt, the Camp David accords were again criticized. Recently, members of the "Steadfastness and Confrontation Front" attacked Carter's March trip to the Middle East and the conclusion of a peace treaty between Egypt and Israel. The P.L.O. Executive Committee convened an emergency meeting and called for an Arab foreign ministers' conference and strikes to oppose Carter's visit. The Iraqi Foreign Minister said that if the Egyptian-Israeli treaty was signed, Iraq would call for an emergency meeting of Arab foreign and economic ministers to implement the Baghdad summit's resolutions to remove the headquarters of the Arab League from Cairo, to freeze Egypt's membership in the

(Continued on p. 28.)

KAMPUCHEA

Hammering Vietnamese Invaders

Fighting the Vietnamese aggressors on various battlefields in Kampuchea goes on. Following the fierce attack west of Kompong Speu City on March 15 that killed 450 invaders and wounded many more, the Kampuchean Revolutionary Army (K.R.A.) on March 17 killed another 100 and wounded several hundreds and completely liberated Kompong Speu. The following day the Vietnamese invaders tried unsuccessfully to seize it back. They only lost 57 more men killed, including one Russian.

The K.R.A. and the guerrillas have also been annihilating enemy effectives in Nimit, Siso-phon, Chakrei Ting and Kratie. The K.R.A.'s attack on the battlefield northwest of Phnom Penh dealt an especially hard blow at the aggressors.

This battlefield, only some ten kilometres from the capital, is nearest the general headquarters of the invading troops. For the past two months the Vietnamese aggressors have been trying to achieve a breakthrough and seize control of the area to secure the Pochentong Airport and protect their general headquarters in Phnom Penh from attack. Backed by

fighter planes, artillery and tanks, Vietnamese infantrymen attacked the K.R.A. positions from all sides. They have gained nothing so far.

Under the blows of the K.R.A., the Le Duan-Pham Van Dong clique and the Phnom Penh puppet regime are beset with difficulties. Pensovan, the "defence minister" of the quisling regime, in a March 14 speech acknowledged that Kampuchea was "a land in continuing turmoil" and that "immediate measures had to be taken" to solve these problems because these were shaping up into a "dangerous situation." He also had to admit that operations to wipe out the widely scattered guerrilla groups had not been "completely successful."

AFGHANISTAN

Armed Clashes

Moslem forces and government troops recently clashed in 15 out of 29 provinces, with fierce fighting reported in the provinces of Paktia, Kunar, Nuristan, Uruzgan and Mazar-i-Sharif. Herat, the third largest city in the nation, is now in the control of the Moslem armed forces and some government troops there have gone over to the Moslem side.

On March 18 Reuter reported: "Soviet advisers have been airlifted into Herat to take control of the government army there," and "Soviet-built government aircraft have bombed parts of Herat Province."

To divert attention from the real situation in Afghanistan, *Pravda* and *Izvestia* churned out articles purporting that Iran, Pakistan and China were meddling in Afghanistan's internal

affairs. Articles appearing in the two Soviet papers on March 19 alleged that the Karakorum Highway was being used to transport arms, ammunition and propaganda materials from China for subversive purposes. They also charged that Chinese instructors were training Afghan guerrillas.

Such allegations are nothing but a Soviet smokescreen to mask its own interference in that nation. An Iranian government spokesman pointed out on March 18 that his country would never interfere in the internal affairs of any country. On March 20 a spokesman for the Pakistan Ministry of Foreign Affairs told the press that these allegations were entirely groundless and that he regretted that false charges had been made in complete disregard of the facts. Afghan Moslem leaders also refuted the Soviet lie.

Soviet social-imperialism's infiltration and expansion in South and West Asia has brought turmoil as well as bitter disaster to these regions and people. Hence the strong popular opposition there to the Soviet Union. In an attempt to maintain its control in Afghanistan for fresh expansion, the Soviet Union has resorted to every possible devious means, including shifting the blame to divert people's attention.

News From Latin America

Economic Growth. Latin American countries, with an annual growth rate of 5.5 per cent in the past 30 years, are growing faster than other developing countries, excluding the oil exporters, according to a survey conducted by the U.N. Economic Commission for Latin America (CEPAL) issued on March 8 in



Santiago, Chile. The survey showed that the continent's gross domestic product doubled in the last 28 years, reaching a per-capita level of 1,300 U.S. dollars. This was achieved mainly by relatively intensive investments, changes in the structure of production and the introduction of new technology.

Poverty. Nearly 40 per cent of the population (estimated at 120 million) of Latin America are in poverty. Half of them are in dire poverty. A recent CEPAL document pointed out that this is because "the fruits of economic growth have not been fairly distributed among the different sections of the population," and "the system of production has not been able to provide enough jobs for an expanding work force."

Trade Deficit. A CEPAL survey issued in Lima, Peru, said that the unit prices for Latin America's imports rose by 7 per cent in 1978 while the unit prices for the continent's exports fell by 3 per cent. As a result, the trade deficit reached 4,400 million U.S. dollars, more than double that of 1977.

Profits remitted by foreign companies from Latin American countries totalled 9,800 million dollars in 1978. But with an increase in foreign investments, the continent's 1978 international balance of payments as a whole was favourable and Latin American foreign exchange reserves rose to 30,000 million dollars in 1978 from 26,600 million dollars in 1977.

Strike. On March 13, 200,000 metallurgical workers in Brazil's

Sao Paulo industrial area, the largest in the nation, downed tools for an indefinite period of time. They are demanding a restoration of trade unions in enterprises and a 34 per cent wage increase which is based on the 44 per cent annual wage increase set by the government.

Land-Seizures. In early March Mexican peasants seized 20,000 hectares of land in the states of Hidalgo and Chiapas. There were 15 incidents of land seizing in San Felipe Orizatlan Municipality, Hidalgo, alone.

CORRECTION: In our last issue on page 27, the 2nd last paragraph on the left-hand column should read: "Nevertheless, we have noted that the wording of operative Paragraph 1 which 'calls upon all parties to cease all hostilities forthwith' and that of operative Paragraph 3 which 'calls upon all parties to the conflicts to withdraw their forces to their own countries' undoubtedly..."

(Continued from p. 26.)

Arab League and to freeze their relations with Egypt.

After the signing of the Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty, Yasser Arafat, leader of the Palestine Liberation Organization, denounced the treaty as posing a threat to peace in the Middle East and the world. A one-day general strike took place in the Moslem districts of Beirut protesting the treaty. In Damascus, there was a government-organized demonstration by hundreds of thousands of people on March 27. In Baghdad, more than 100,000 people demonstrated.

Soviet Attitude

The Soviet authorities have consistently been opposed to direct Egypt-Israel contacts. When President Sadat visited Israel, the Soviet press raised a hue and cry, attacking Sadat for "currying favour with imperialism" and "betraying" the Arab people. Brezhnev personally attacked the Egyptian-Israeli talks as "exacerbating the explosive situation" in the Middle East. President Sadat sharply refuted these Soviet attacks and pointed out that Brezhnev himself had previously advocated direct talks between Egypt and Israel. Sadat vividly described the Soviet game as "hoping to have me

suspended by my feet in mid-air . . . in a state of no war, no peace" so that Egypt would be "bogged down in difficulties." "The Russians have never played a constructive role. In the past they never wanted us to work out a solution for this part of the world and now they don't want to see the problem being settled," he declared.

The Soviet media have unleashed a torrent of wild attacks on the progress achieved by Carter's visit to Egypt and Israel. TASS claimed the Egyptian-Israeli treaty might "ignite new flames of war" and that a "just and lasting peace settlement" of the Mideast question could only be "guaranteed within the framework of the Geneva conference." This shows how rankled the Soviet Union is at being left out of the Mideast peace talks and how it is doing its utmost to disrupt U.S. activities in that region so as to be able to have a hand in the Mideast question. The U.S. paper *Christian Science Monitor* pointed out that "the Kremlin is reacting to President Carter's visit to the Middle East with public diplomacy aimed at undermining him," and that "basically, it's the Soviets who don't really want peace. They want to keep up just enough tension to benefit their own cause."

— Rong Jiu



ART

A Flowering of Creative Themes

Visitors to the Museum of Chinese Art in Beijing were struck by an oil painting showing Chairman Mao in deep mourning before a portrait of Marshal Chen Yi who had been persecuted to death by the "gang of four." Surprisingly different from the usual portrayal of Chairman Mao, it made the leader seem closer to the people. Ye Qianyu, a veteran artist, gave this appraisal of the painting by a middle-aged artist in northeast China: It breaks away from the pattern set by Jiang Qing and her like, which has prevailed for the past decade and more.

Two P.L.A. artists published an article in the recent issue of *Meishu* (Fine Arts) criticizing the foolish way the "gang of four" deified Chairman Mao. Under their rule, the revolutionary leader was always painted with a shining complexion against a blue sky. He stood in the centre of the picture, high above the people, high above the mountains.

Their absurd theories severely undermined the artists' creativity and limited their

imagination. As a result, creative works became too generalized and the image of Chairman Mao became distorted.

Now artists are endeavouring to break away from the influence of the "gang of four" and to revive socialist literature and art.

At a forum for the creation of vocal music held last month, Lu Ji, Chairman of the Union of Chinese Musicians, urged the speedy elimination of those ideas still stifling creation, such as the view that song lyrics should be written only with editorial language, music is just for marches and an empty "big issue" should be the theme of every song. He called upon composers to be bold and present life with colour and richness.

Lu Ji had composed many excellent popular songs during the Yanan days. At the forum he stressed that the present task of musicians is to reflect the grandeur of socialist revolution and construction. Songs can praise the beautiful motherland and the greatness of labour; they can depict friendship, love, reunion and parting too. Composers may also stir up people's enthusiasm for building the new society by depicting the glories of past revolutionary struggles. Anything poetic and beautiful in life, including aspects of people's innermost lives, can be used in composing a good song.

Lu Ji encouraged musicians to dig deep into people's lives, and learn from folk, foreign classical and progressive music to enrich their own creations.

Wudao (Dance) magazine recently called for a wider range of dance themes. The "gang of

four" had termed love stories, mythology, fairy tales, classics, lyrics and praises of nature as devoid of any revolutionary spirit, and "feudalist, capitalist and revisionist." As a result, it was forbidden to compose dances on many topics.

Choreographers and critics argue that while many dance themes may not directly reflect major events in China's socialist revolution and construction, they often show the triumph of truth, kindness and beauty over falsehood, viciousness and ugliness. They imply the prosperity of life and the happiness of the people, and have the effect of encouraging people to love life and their country. Graceful dances delineating the beauty of nature appeal to people's sense of aesthetics, and lyric pieces praising labour or unfolding the private world of a worker give expression to people's sentiment in a healthy way. Children need mythology, fairy tales and fables. All these topics should have a place in China's socialist literature and art.

SOCIAL SCIENCES

Chinese Society of Sociology Founded

Professor Fei Xiaotong, an eminent Chinese sociologist, was elected President of the Chinese Society of Sociology at its founding meeting which was held recently in Beijing. Some 60 people, including senior sociologists and young research workers, attended the meeting.

Hu Qiaomu, President of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, delivered the opening

address. Stressing the importance of sociological research, he said that various social phenomena and the interrelations of various aspects of social life were all subjects of scientific study. In terms of the relations between Marxist historical materialism and the social sciences, Hu Qiaomu noted that historical materialism provided the basic approach, method and theory for studying society, but it could not supersede those branches of science that specifically dealt with various aspects of social phenomena. He expressed the hope that sociologists would primarily concentrate on current social problems, facts and phenomena inside China and try to furnish some answers.

Hu Qiaomu contended that sociology is a branch of science and it is wrong to forbid its existence and development. This was particularly significant because no sociology courses have been taught in Chinese institutes of higher learning since 1952 when they were dropped from the curriculum. Research was suspended after sociology came under heavy criticism in 1957 during the nationwide campaign against the bourgeois Rightists.

Representatives at the meeting held extensive and enthusiastic discussions on issues of sociological research. According to the consensus of their opinion, it is absolutely necessary that sociological research be put on the agenda now that the country has shifted the emphasis of its work to socialist modernization. They also proposed that where possible departments of sociology be set up in institutions of higher education, that more sociological workers be trained and that sociological periodicals be published.

The Chinese Academy of Social Sciences has decided to

set up institutes of sociological research.

REVOLUTIONARY PHOTO

Wedding at the Execution Ground

A snapshot of Zhou Wenyong (left) and Chen Tiejun (right), two Communists who worked underground during the late 20s. Chen Tiejun, a college student and later a leader of the Party's women's work, was assigned to assist Zhou Wenyong, a secretary of the Guangzhou municipal workers' movement committee, in planning a key armed uprising in the city soon after Chiang Kai-shek subverted the Kuomintang-Communist united front in April 1927 and began killing large numbers of Communists. They disguised themselves as husband and wife and set up a secret liaison centre in their home. When the uprising failed, they were betrayed to the reactionary Kuomintang authorities. Arrested, they did not crack under torture and were sentenced to death.

At the execution ground, Chen Tiejun bid farewell to the crowds and then put her shawl around Zhou Wenyong's shoulders. Stepping close to him, she declared in a loud voice: "Very soon we will shed our blood for the liberation of the people and the cause of communism. We are not in the least regretful. In order to wage revolution, we were asked by the Party to share the same house. We worked well together and we developed deep emotions for each other. But in the interests of revolution, we did not have the time to express our love. Only comradely relations existed between us. Now I want to announce our wedding cere-



mony. Let the enemy's bullets be our wedding salvoes!"

The hero's and heroine's last words were: "Compatriots and comrades, farewell! We hope that you'll fight on bravely. . . . Communism will win, the future belongs to us!"

Now a half century later, the true story of these martyrs has been written into a play and is being made into a film.

PUBLICATIONS

Preserving Minority Cultures

• Among the new books is the Tibetan-language *Medical Codex in Four Volumes* on physiology, pathology, pharmacology and diagnosis and treatment of diseases. The earliest version of this well-known classical medical magnum opus was written by nine 8th-century local doctors.

A great deal of importance has been attached in New China

to the discovery and rearrangement of the time-honoured treasure house of traditional Tibetan medicine. The results of recent efforts to combine traditional Tibetan medicine with modern medicine are partly reflected in the newly published *A New Edition of Tibetan Medicine*, an incorporation of experiences gained over the years by utilizing new developments in traditional Tibetan medicine in clinical practices.

• *Elementary Tibetan Astrology* is a popular reader about Tibetan astronomy applied for weather predictions. The distinctive Tibetan ephemeris developed through long years of practice furnishes weather prognostications and seasonal suggestions that guide

local peasants and herdsmen to determine the proper dates and seasons for sowing and other farm work and take preventive measures against impending natural adversities.

• *The Tale of the Monkeys and Birds* is a superb piece of Tibetan folk literature. The 78,000-word poem which is told in elegant language is punctuated here and there with pithy and witty proverbs. It represents a crystallization of the Tibetan labouring people's tremendous talent in literature and art. It is not the least surprising that its publication not long ago was so well received. *Gesangla*, a compilation of Tibetan folk songs, has also been published recently and been warmly acclaimed.

• The Han language version of *Selected Uygur, Kazakh and Kergez Proverbs* has come off the press in Urumqi, the capital of the Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region. The 640 proverbs which contain vivid metaphors of pastures, deserts, streams, horses, glaciers, snow lotuses and other things familiar to the 13 minority nationalities inhabiting Xinjiang are of profound philosophical value. The book is a product of extensive efforts to collect and sort out the folk cultural legacies of this vast northwest region. New publications as such have helped enrich the treasure house of folk literature and promote the cultural intercourse and unity among the different nationalities.

ON THE STAGE AND SCREEN

Concert

• Boston Symphony Orchestra, the first cultural delegation to China from the United States since the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries, entertained audiences with *An American in Paris* by George Gershwin, *Sisters of the Grasslands*, a Chinese concerto, as well as classical works by Beethoven, Tchaikovsky, Liszt and Berlioz. Conducted by the world famous Seiji Ozawa who was born in China 44 years ago, Liu Shikun, pianist, Liu Dehai, pipa (traditional Chinese plucked musical instrument) soloist and other members of the Central Philharmonic Orchestra took part in some of the performances.

Film

Fifty films shot in recent years were shown during the one-month scientific documentary film exhibition. Among them were:

• *Li Siguang* (the famous Chinese geologist) and *Quaternary Glaciers of China*;

• *The Hirsute Boy*. About a peasant baby born in September 1977 in northeast China's Liaoning Province;

• *The Formation of Celestial Bodies*;

• *Laser and Programming*;

• *Rural Aviation and Desert Vegetation*;

• *Chinese Stamps, Traditional Tibetan Medicine and Ancient Swords*.

Opera

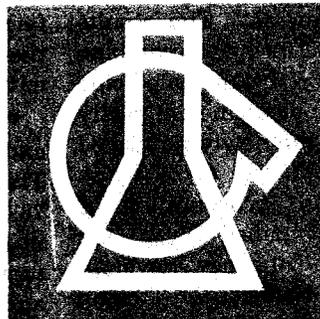
• *Marriage of Xiao Erhei*. About two young people in a Shanxi revolutionary base during the 1940s and their fight for free marriage. The opera is adopted from the novel of the same name by Zhao Shuli (1906-70), a well-known writer on rural themes. Both the opera and the novel were banned for over ten years by Jiang Qing and her cohorts. The Cen-

tral Opera and Dance Drama Theatre is now rehearsing under the guidance of the famous folk-singer Guo Lanying. Her student, Li Yuanhua, has the main role. The opera is full of rustic charm and humour.

Song and Dance

• A programme of Asian, African and Latin American songs and dances were presented by the Dongfang (Oriental) Song and Dance Troupe. This troupe once had the patronage of the late Premier Zhou Enlai and the late Foreign Minister Chen Yi.





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