

Mistakes Must Be Corrected Whenever Discovered



北京

報

New Hanoi Hoax

# PEKING REVIEW

此京周教

BEIJING ZHOUBAO

### Vol. 21, No. 50 December 15, 1978

Published in English, French, Spanish, Japanese, German, Arabic and Portuguese editions

3

31

# CONTENTS

#### THE WEEK

President Bongo in Peking China Supports Kampuchean Struggle Against Aggression A Heavy Blow to Soviet-Vietnamese Hegemonism Premier Hua Greets Masayoshi Ohira Annual Targets Met Ahead of Schedule Foreign Trade Increases China Signs Agreements With France and Sweden Agreements Between Chinese and British Banks

#### **ARTICLES AND DOCUMENTS**

Mistakes Must Be Corrected Whenever Discovered	7
Historical Lessons in Redressing False Charges	10
Chinese Press Survey:	
Study Anew Stalin's Two Articles	12
Deputy Provincial Party Secretary Under Fire	13
Szechuan Today (III): Biogas: An Inexhaustible Energy Resource — Our Co pondent Chou Chin	res- 15
Explanatory Notes to Volume V of "Selected Works of Mao Tsetung" (26)	18
New Hanoi Hoax	21
Soviet-Vietnamese Treaty: An Alliance of Aggression Warsaw Pact Moscow Meeting: Kremlin's Highhandedness	22
	25
Cuba: From Economic Dependence to Political Submission	26
ROUND THE WORLD	<b>29</b> ·
Eritrean Guerrillas: Soviet Naval Bombardment U.S.S.RAfghanistan: Military Co-operation	

Japan: New Cabinet Formed U.S.A.: The People's Temple Tragedy

## ON THE HOME FRONT

People's Procuratorates Re-Established Tientsin's New Industrial Projects Warehouseman, Special Grade

> Published every Friday by PEKING REVIEW, Peking (37), China Post Office Registration No. 2-922 Printed in the People's Republic of China



# **President Bongo in Peking**

El Hadj Omar Bongo, President of the Republic of Gabon, paid an official visit to China from December 4 to 6. This is his fourth trip to this country.

Hua Kuo-feng, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and Premier of the State Council, met and had a cordial and friendly talk with President Vice-Premier Teng Bongo. Hsiao-ping went to the Guest The Vice-House to see him. Premier had met the President in 1974 when they were attending a U.N. special session, and that meeting resulted in the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries.

At the banquet given by the State Council in honour of President Bongo, Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien spoke highly of the development of friendly relations and co-operation between China and the African countries in recent years. Increasing contact between China and Africa, he said, is conducive to the strengthening of friendly relations between the peoples of China and Africa and to the cause of the people of the world in their united struggle against hegemonism and in defending peace.

President Bongo pointed out in his speech that there exist the most friendly and most fruitful relations between Gabon and China in the economic, scientific, political and diplomatic fields. Such good relations, he said, stem from their many common

December 15, 1978

views. He expressed the hope that existing co-operation between the two countries would continue to develop.

# China Supports Kampuchean Struggle Against Aggression

Yeh Chien-ying, Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, sent a letter of reply on December 5 to Khieu Samphan, President of the Presidium of the State of Democratic Kampuchea, expressing firm support for the Kampuchean people's just struggle against aggression by the Vietnamese expansionists. The letter reads:

"I have received your letter of November 24, 1978. The Kampuchean people's struggle in defence of their country's independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and national dignity is a righteous struggle. The Chinese Government and people fully support the solemn and just position you have stated in the letter on behalf of the Government of Democratic Kampuchea and firmly support the Kampuchean people in their just struggle against aggression by the Vietnamese expansionists. Your struggle has won and is winning increasingly wide sympathy and support among the people all over the world. We are convinced that under the leadership of the Communist Party of Kampuchea, the Kampuchean people will

defeat Vietnamese aggression and win final victory."

# A Heavy Blow to Soviet-Vietnamese Hegemonism

Chairman Yeh Chien-ying of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, in his speech at the December 7 meeting of the N.P.C. Standing Committee over which he presided, said that the Chinese Party and Government Delegation with Vice-Chairman Wang Tung-hsing as the leader and Vice-Premier Yu Chiu-li as its deputy leader visited Democratic Kampuchea at a time when the Vietnamese expansionists were preparing for another massive invasion of that country following the conclusion of the "friendship and co-operation treaty" between the Soviet Union and Viet Nam. The delegation reiterated the Chinese people's firm support for the Kampuchean people in their just struggle against the Soviet-Vietnamese hegemonists. The further enhanced the visit revolutionary friendship and militant unity between the two Parties, countries and peoples of China and Kampuchea.

Chairman Yeh went on to discuss the significance of Vice-Premier Teng Hsiao-ping's visit to Thailand, Malaysia and Singapore. On his way home, Vice-Premier Teng held talks with Burmese President U Ne Win in Rangoon.

Chairman Yeh stressed that the visits by Vice-Premier Teng Hsiao-ping and Vice-Chairman Wang Tung-hsing were a heavy blow to the Soviet-Vietnamese hegemonists, and were of great importance to the expansion of the united front against hegemonism and the defence of peace and security in Southeast Asia and the rest of Asia.

Vice-Premier Yu Chiu-li made a report at the meeting. He said that during its visit to Democratic Kampuchea, the Chinese Party and Government Delegation had talks with the Kampuchean side, reaching unanimity on all the questions discussed.

The Communist Party of Kampuchea is a staunch Marxist-Leninist Party. Vice-Premier Yu said. With powerful support from the Soviet revisionists, the Vietnamese expansionists are now carrying out rabid armed aggression and activities against subversive Kampuchea. The Communist Party of Kampuchea, from the central down to the local levels. is determined to fight a war of resistance to the finish. Confident of victory, it has made preparations in every field for a protracted struggle.

The Vice-Premier went on to say: The Communist Party of Kampuchea has matured in struggle. The Kampuchean Revolutionary Army has rich experience in fighting and great combat strength. The Kampuchean people owe their victory entirely to their own struggle. We are convinced that, with such a good Party, such a staunch revolutionary army, such a heroic people tempeređ in the war and the correct leadership by the Party Central Committee headed by Comrade Pol Pot, the Kampuchean people will certainly win final victory even though they have to fight a fierce, protracted and arduous war against Soviet-Vietnamese aggression.

Foreign Minister Huang Hua said in his report at the meeting that Vice-Premier Teng Hsiao-ping's recent visit to Thailand, Malaysia and Singapore has increased mutual understanding and co-operation between China and the three countries, strengthened China's with the ASEAN relations countries and dealt a heavy blow to the Soviet Union and Viet Nam which were stepping up their collusion in their infiltration and expansion in Southeast Asia and trying to sow discord between China and the Southeast Asian countries. The visit, he added, has broadened the united front against hegemony and boosted the struggle in the region.

# Premier Hua Greets Masayoshi Ohira

Premier Hua Kuo-feng on December 7 sent a message to Masayoshi Ohira, congratulating him on his assumption of the office of Japanese Prime Minister. The message reads in part:

"Your Excellency has made outstanding contributions to the

realization of the normalization of diplomatic relations between China and Japan and to the development of the relations between the two countries. The Sino-Japanese Peace and Friendship Treaty, which was signed on the basis of the China-Japan joint statement, has opened up broad vistas for the further consolidation and development of the friendship and cooperation between the two countries. May the two governments join their efforts in making new contributions to the steady development of the relations between China and Japan and to the maintenance of peace and stability in Asia. the Pacific region and the world."

# Annual Targets Met Ahead Of Schedule

54

**Coal.** China has produced 550 million tons of coal, thereby fulfilling this year's state plan 34 days ahead of schedule. This is 50 million tons more than in 1977. At present, coal-miners are working hard so as to produce 600 million tons for this year.

There has been marked improvement in quality and mechanization in coal mining this year is higher than last year.

**Chemical Fertilizer.** The chemical fertilizer industry met this year's production plan 33 days ahead of schedule. By

Peking Review, No. 50

November 28, output had reached 44 million tons. It is expected that at the end of the year total output will reach 48 millions, or 10 million tons more than 1977.

Of the seven large plants equipped with imported machinery, three — the Taching Chemical Fertilizer Works, the Szechuan Chemical Works and the No. 2 Chemical Fertilizer Plant of the Shengli General Petrochemical Works in Shantung — have reached or exceeded their designed capacity of 300,000 tons of synthetic ammonia a year.

**Construction Materials.** China has fulfilled its 1978 production plans for 14 major building materials one or two months ahead of time. These include cement, plate glass and asbestos. Eleven products upped output more than 15 per cent, compared with last year. The nation's cement industry reached the yearly target of 54 million tons 49 days ahead of time.

**Rail Freight.** The railways fulfilled the 1978 freight plan 33 days ahead of schedule. The amount of freight in the first 11 months was 6.5 per cent higher than the whole of 1977. Transport of major materials like coal, steel and oil had also overfilled the annual plan.

Sea Freight. The sea ports met their 1978 plan 37 days in advance, having handled 250 million tons of cargo. The Shanghai harbour, which handles 40 per cent of the national total, has overfulfilled its target each day.

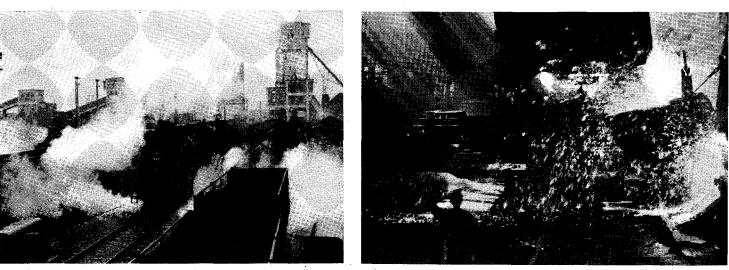
# Foreign Trade Increases

China met its 1978 foreign trade plan one month ahead of schedule. By the end of November, import and export volume was 39 per cent over the same 1977 period and 20 per cent higher than last year's annual figure.

The development of the national economy has provided an abundance of products of high quality and better packing for export. To meet the demands of foreign markets, the production of some commodities is based on the amount of sales.

A national conference on foreign trade was convened in Peking in mid-November.

In its December 4 editorial *Renmin Ribao* called for a big boost in foreign trade so as to accomplish the four modernizations at an early date. China's export, the editorial said, now only accounts for six-thousandths of the world's total. This, it declared, is incongruous



Left: Coal from Yenchow in Shantung Province for other parts of the country. Right: A workshop of the Wuhan Iron and Steel Company which has fulfilled its annual production plan ahead of time.

December 15, 1978

with China's international status.

# China Signs Agreements With France and Sweden

**Sino-French Agreement.** The Chinese and French Governments on December 4 signed a seven-year agreement on developing economic relations and co-operation. According to the agreement, the total volume of trade between the two countries for this period will tot up to 60,000 million francs.

Vice-Premier Teng Hsiaoping attended the signing ceremony. He said that the agreement signified a good beginning of co-operation between China and France. Trade relations between them, he went on to say, must be developed on the basis of mutual benefit and trust, for this is the way for such relations to last. He added that there are broad prospects for many-sided co-operation between the two countries.

In answering questions raised by French correspondents, Vice-Premier Teng said that China had decided to buy from France equipment for two nuclear power stations.

French President Valery Giscard d'Estaing pointed out at the December 6 cabinet meeting that the agreement "has a very positive result." French Prime Minister Raymond Barre said on December 4 that the agreement "has not only economic but also political significance." In replying to questions from newsmen, the French Prime Minister pointed out that the agreement "has very positive medium and long-term elements." He expressed the hope that "it is just the first stage."

The agreement signed by the foreign trade ministers of the two countries points out that the two governments will do everything possible to create the best conditions for the strengthening of economic relations and co-operation between the two countries, and promote the rapid growth of bilateral exchanges. The agreement stipulates that extensive co-operation and exchanges will be conducted in the spheres of agriculture. animal husbandry. energy resources, mining, iron and steel, aviation, space technology and machine building.

**Sino-Swedish Agreement.** The Chinese and Swedish Governments on December 5 signed a ten-year agreement on co-operation in industry, science and technology.

Vice-Premier Kang Shih-en attended the signing ceremony. He said that on the basis of this agreement China and Sweden will co-operate on a still more extensive scale in industry science and technology.

# Agreements Between Chinese And British Banks

Agreements between the Bank of China and banks of the United Kingdom for seven separate "deposit facilities" totalling 1,200 million U.S. dollars were signed in London on December 6. This was announced by Britain's Export Credits Guarantee Department (E.C.G. D.) in London.

The announcement said that these deposits will enable U.K.

exporters of capital goods and associated services to finance their trade with China. These are the first inter-bank facilities of their kind concluded with the Bank of China, supported by an official credit insurance organization.

Welcoming the signing of these agreements, Mr. John Smith. British Secretary of State for Trade, said: "The way is now clear for a big increase in our trade with China and one that will be of advantage both to British exporters and to China's programme to modernize and re-equip her industries. I know that British exporters are already actively pursuing a number of export opportunities in China. I hope that the financing arrangements today with the Bank of China will smooth the way and encourage other exporters to follow."

#### IN THE NEWS

• Vice-Premier Teng Hsiaoping on December 6 met with Moudud Ahmed, Bangladesh Minister of Posts, Telegraphs and Telephones, and the delegation of posts, telegraphs and telephones he led.

 When meeting with the U.S. Congressional Delegation on December 6, Vice-Premier Keng Piao pointed out that the normalization of relations between China and the United States is the common aspiration of their peoples. Increasing contact between the peoples, Vice-Premier Keng went on to say, will further deepen their mutual understanding and friendship, and help the normalization of relations between both countries at an early date.

Peking Review, No. 50

# Mistakes Must Be Corrected Whenever Discovered

**F**OLLOWING the downfall of the anti-Party Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao "gang of four," the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua has repeatedly stressed the need to energetically carry out the Party's policy towards cadres. A major issue in this respect is to redress cases in which people have been wronged, misjudged or framed.

Taking the Party as a whole, much work has been done in this respect over the past two years and a number of such cases have been redressed. Many comrades who were wantonly persecuted by Lin Piao and the "gang of four" have had their wrongs redressed and have been rehabilitated, and quite a number of veteran cadres who had for a long time to "step aside" have taken up new posts. There have been great achievements in this work, and this has produced favourable results throughout the country, giving impetus to various fields of endeavour. This must be fully affirmed.

But progress in redressing these cases is very uneven. In some places the work leaves much to be desired, and in others there is much shilly-shallying; in many places only ordinary cases have been handled while some cases which have significant influence but have not been dealt with for many years remain unsettled to this day.

#### **Seeking Truth From Facts**

Why is it that in some places the work of redressing these wrongs has been well handled and in some places progress is not satisfactory?

December 15, 1978

The crux of the matter is whether one is able and has the courage to seek truth from facts.

The principle formulated by Chairman Mao that "counter-revolutionaries must be eliminated wherever found, mistakes must be corrected whenever discovered" is one of seeking truth from facts. Chairman Mao taught us that we must neither regard the enemy as our own people nor magnify contradictions between ourselves and the enemy to such an extent as to include in them certain contradictions among the people and regard as counter-revolutionaries persons who are actually not.

Out of their need to usurp the Party and state leadership, Lin Piao and the "gang of four" incited people to "suspect everything and overthrow everything." They worked out a counterrevolutionary political programme declaring that "veteran cadres are democrats and democrats are capitalist-roaders," thereby deliberately making a mess of the relationship between ourselves and the enemy and trampling underfoot the Party's principle of seeking truth from facts by practising idealism and metaphysics. In this way they concocted many cases in which people were wronged, misjudged or framed on false charges. When they wanted to frame someone, they didn't bother about facts but fabricated charges; in some cases, by simply saying "I think you're a bad fellow" they could pass the decision that someone was a turncoat, an enemy agent, a spy, a traitor, a counter-revolutionary or a capitalist-roader. Their cohorts even openly said: In ferreting out counterrevolutionaries, even if we should wrong 99

persons out of 100, we would still consider it a great achievement if we succeed in uncovering one counter-revolutionary.

At the time when Lin Piao and the "gang of four" abused the power they had seized to serve their own ends, thousands upon thousands of good and very good cadres, especially leading cadres at all levels from the central authorities down who had long been following Chairman Mao in the revolutionary struggle as well as cadres who were the mainstay on various fronts, were brutally attacked and persecuted. Many were wronged and were not allowed to defend themselves.

Our work to redress these cases has won the hearts of the people.

### **Based on Facts**

Facts constitute the main basis for judging whether a cadre is dealt with correctly.

However, some claim that a case which has been recorded in a document, commented on or approved by top-ranking leaders cannot be redressed even if it is proved to be false. This is wrong because it ignores facts and believes only in documents on file. Documents, too, must be tested in practice. Any document which does not tally with facts can be revised or overruled through legitimate organizational procedure.

As to leading comrades examining and giving directives regarding a case, generally speaking, they are doing it on behalf of an organization at a certain level. If their opinion on a case is found to be wrong, no matter who they are, the organization at the same level has every right to correct it. This is in conformity with the Party Constitution and the Party's principle of democratic centralism.

Chih Chun and other henchmen of the "gang of four" in Tsinghua University had attacked and persecuted many cadres and intellectuals there. To legitimatize this criminal act of theirs, they told lies and in January 1969 concocted a report entitled "Firmly Implement the Policy of 'Re-educating' Intellectuals and 'Giving Them a Way Out.'" That report was approved by Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee for circulation.

As the struggle to expose and criticize the "gang of four" develops in depth, the facts have become increasingly clear. Shouldn't this false report be invalidated so as to rehabilitate those comrades unjustly charged by Chih Chun and others in the report? Some refused to reverse the verdict in the name of "upholding the banner of Chairman Mao." With the approval of the Party committee at a higher level, the reorganized Party committee of Tsinghua University explicitly declared that all those who were wronged on false charges in that report are to be rehabilitated without exception. In so doing, they have adhered to Chairman Mao's principle that "mistakes must be corrected whenever discovered" and have thus defended and upheld the banner of Chairman Mao.

It is quite certain that if Chairman Mao were still alive, he himself would have corrected it when he had found out that the contents of this document were false. Now Chairman Mao is no longer with us, so when we discover that this document is wrong and still do nothing to correct the mistakes and do not give those comrades wronged by Chih Chun and others a chance to defend themselves and speak out their grievances, certainly we are not defending the banner of Chairman Mao but are doing just the opposite.

As a matter of fact, Chairman Mao himself had during the Cultural Revolution corrected a number of cases fabricated by Lin Piao and the "gang of four" and those wrong cases resulting from their interference and sabotage. The remarks written by Chairman Mao on May 17, 1975 on a report concerning the case of Ho Cheng and Fu Lien-chang, former Vice-Ministers of Public Health, are an outstanding example. Chairman Mao wrote: "Ho Cheng is innocent. Of course he should be given work. All the slanders and false charges [heaped on him] in the past should be overturned." "Fu Lienchang died as a result of persecution. His wrongs should be redressed at once. Ho Cheng has luckily survived, but Fu is in the dust. Alas." Here Chairman Mao put forward the correct principle for dealing with cases in which people are wronged, namely, "all the slanders and false charges in the past- should be overturned."

The fact that Chairman Mao himself attended the memorial meeting for former Vice-Prentier Comrade Chen Yi was a demonstration of his trong disapproval of the calumnies heaped on this by Lin Piao and the gang. Chairman Mao had on many occasions given instructions that Comrade Ho Lung be rehabilitated. And it was Chairman Mao who personally approved the rehabilitation of ranking officers of the Liberation Army Comrades Yang Cheng-wu, Yu Li-chin and Fu Chung-pi.

All this shows that Chairman Mao, in resolutely carrying out the principle that "mistakes must be corrected whenever discovered," had set a fine example for us in seeking truth from facts.

#### All Wrong Cases Must Be Corrected

In reversing the wrong cases, we mean, at present, all the cases fabricated by Lin Piao and the "gang of four" or resulting from the interference and sabotage of their erroneous line, cases in which the people have been wronged, misjudged or framed on false charges. What about those earlier wrong cases?

Let us see what Chairman Mao said in 1962 at an enlarged working conference convened by the Party Central Committee. "There were cases where we too handled some cadres incorrectly," he pointed out, "and no matter whether their handling was completely incorrect or only partially so, after re-examination they should be rehabilitated according to the merits of each case." Counter-revolutionaries must be eliminated wherever found, mistakes must be corrected whenever discovered - this is our Party's consistent policy. Therefore, all cases in which people have been wronged, misjudged or framed, irrespective of the time of these cases, must all be redressed once they are found to be wrong.

Recently, in view of the fact that after long years of education and remoulding most of the Rightists (who attacked the Party and socialism in 1957) have changed and given a good account of themselves, the Party Central Committee decided to remove the designation of Rightist from the last group of them. At the same time, it was decided that those who actually were not Rightists but were mistaken for Rightists, must be rehabilitated even though 21 years have passed. Thus the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua has set us another example of seeking truth from facts.

Some people think that to redress the wrong cases in the Cultural Revolution is to negate its achievements, and to reverse the wrong cases in the past political movements is to negate the achievements of these movements. This is entirely wrong. It must be noted that the main current in the past political movements led by the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao was good, but there were also some wrong cases in certain movements mainly owing to the interference by erroneous lines. If we refuse to face the facts and correct these mistakes, we would be doing a disservice to the past political movements and that would mean we are not protecting the achievements made under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line but are leaving the evil consequences of the erroneous lines untouched.

We must be aware and admit that, owing to the existence of classes and class struggle and the interference of erroneous lines, there is the likelihood of wrong cases. They may also be caused by the discrepancy between man's subjective knowledge and objective reality and by some people having this or that weakness in their way of thinking and style of work, such as subjectiveness, one-sidedness, carelessness, listening to and believing only in certain people's opinions and allowing emotion to sway judgment. We must uphold the principle that "mistakes must be corrected whenever discovered," no matter under what circumstances these wrong cases took place. To do so only shows that our Party is impartial and selfless, open and aboveboard, and thoroughly materialist. This is also a manifestation of our Party's strength.

> (Excerpts from an article by "Renmin Ribao" Commentator, November 15)

December 15, 1978

# Historical Lessons in Redressing False Charges

**E** XPOSING and repudiating Lin Piao and the "gang of four" includes, as an important aspect, rehabilitating victims to their false charges, frame-ups and wrong decisions. This work, carried out according to the principles and policies of the Party Central Committee, involves a serious political task of clearing up what has been confounded and setting things right. Whether we can do this well concerns whether we can win complete victory in this big political revolution, and it will exert a far-reaching influence on the future historical development of our Party and state. In this respect, the historical lesson of the Soviet Union merits our attention.

In the 1930s, mainly up to 1937, mammoth struggles were launched throughout the Soviet Union to purge undesirable members from the Party and comb out counter-revolutionaries from the ranks of the people. Through these struggles, a group of Trotskyites, spies and other hostile elements of various descriptions who had sneaked into the Party and the Soviet state apparatus were liquidated, the Party organizations were purified and the dictatorship of the proletariat was consolidated. This was an obvious fact, recognized even by some imperialists. Davis, once U.S. ambassador to the Soviet Union, said in 1941 that the trials and liquidation, which seemed so world-shaking at the time, were now understood as part of a resolute effort by the Stalin government to prevent not only insurrection from within, but attack from abroad. He especially pointed out that in 1941, Russia had no Fifth Column, the liquidation had purified the country and there were no more rebellions in the country.

However, in the course of the struggles, serious mistakes were made: Large numbers of Party members were expelled indiscriminately; especially as a result of the broadening of the target of struggle, many innocent Party members, cadres and non-Party citizens were per-

secuted on false charges, including old Bolsheviks and senior cadres who had been tested in the long years of revolution. That is to say, while counter-revolutionaries were duly punished, many innocent people were wronged because of false charges or frame-ups; hence serious losses were incurred. Stalin and the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. (B.) perceived this at that time. On this account, the Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. (B.) held in January 1938 passed a special resolution which said that in the course of purging and suppressing counter-revolutionaries, serious mistakes and deviations occurred. Party organizations at all levels were enjoined to punish according to Party discipline anyone who had slandered Party members, to fully restore the reputation of those who had been slandered; and any Party organization which had published a dossier harming the reputation of a Party member was asked to publish its new decision in the press. Stalin's report to the Party's 18th Congress held in March 1939 stated in explicit terms that it could not be said that the purge had been done without any grave mistakes; unfortunately there were more mistakes than had been expected.

In accordance with instructions from Stalin and the Party Central Committee, mistakes were corrected. Some people's Party membership was restored and certain people who had been arrested were released. But the work of rehabilitating the victims was never carried out in real earnest before Stalin's death. This gave rise to two problems: (1) Discontent and indignation on the part of Party and non-Party people, incurred by false charges, remained. (2) Just as the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. (B.) had correctly pointed out, a handful of careerists within the Party, who had made trouble and were therefore responsible for the widespread committing of mistakes during the purge, were able to hide themselves in the revolutionary ranks because of the failure to

thoroughly rehabilitate those wrongly accused. This planted a hidden danger. It was not only possible for these careerists to hide themselves, but provided them with a chance to succeed in their schemes. Sure enough, after Stalin's death, Khrushchov made use of some people's discontent over the broadening of the target of attack during the suppression of counterrevolutionaries to kindle opposition to Stalin, viciously slander the socialist system and attack the proletarian dictatorship of the Soviet Union.

Khrushchov was at once a careerist and a highly accomplished double-dealing conspiratorare During the purge in the Soviet Union, he was responsible for the grave mistake of broadening the target in suppressing counterrevolutionaries in Moscow and the Ukraine where he held leading posts at one time and another. The Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. (B.) criticized him for this. Khrushchov himself had to admit at the time that after the Party Central Committee had criticized cadres for expelling too many Party members, the Moscow Party committee in fact did not give any guarantee that it would correct its grave mistakes. This, too, he admitted, was a serious mistake. However, it was exactly because of his exceptionally active support and implementation of the policy on suppressing counter-revolutionaries that he got himself into Stalin's confidence. During that period, he was promoted to the high post of member of the Party Central Committee Political Bureau. After Stalin's death, this culprit in fabricating charges took advantage of the broadening of the target in suppressing counter-revolutionaries to attack Stalin, for this served his counterrevolutionary plot to usurp Party and state leadership. This historical lesson of the Soviet Union is very profound and thought-provoking.

Of course, China is different from the Soviet Union. Chairman Mao had formulated for us the policies of suppressing counter-revolutionaries: Emphasis on evidence, on investigation and study; strict prohibition of exacting confessions and giving them credence; killing none and arresting few when eliminating counter-revolutionaries from Party and government organs; elimination of counter-revolutionaries wherever found, correction of mistakes

December 15, 1978

whenever discovered. Under Chairman Mao's leadership, we achieved great success in suppressing counter-revolutionaries. At the same time, we have paid serious attention to dealing with cadres who were wronged, especially to rehabilitating comrades who had been persecuted under the erroneous line. The resolution adopted by the Seventh Plenary Session of the Sixth Party Central Committee held in April 1945 solemnly proclaimed: "Towards those comrades who were wrongly punished because of the erroneous line, we must, in accordance with the actual situation, lift this punishment, or whatever part of it that was mistakenly im-After investigation, all comrades who posed. had been harmed due to wrong decisions should be exonerated and remembered as comrades, and their Party membership restored." Comrades of the older generation in our Party can still recall how Chairman Mao rehabilitated comrades who had been persecuted by Wang Ming's line.

During the Great Cultural Revolution, Lin Piao and the "gang of four" pushed a counterrevolutionary revisionist line, enforced a fascist dictatorship, perpetrated frame-ups and false charges in great numbers and mishandled many political cases. Since the downfall of the "gang of four," the Party Central Committee and Chairman Hua have time and again stressed the need to seriously implement the Party's policy on cadres, and called for the revoking of all slanders and false charges imposed by Lin Piao and the "gang of four." All victims to frame-ups, false charges and wrong decisions should be rehabilitated. A large amount of work has been done in this respect in the past two years and more.

From the historical experience of the Soviet Union, we can see that by doing a good job of rehabilitating victims to the crimes of Lin Piao and the "gang of four," we can, in the years to come, effectively prevent anti-Party careerists from making use of wrong, unrehabilitated cases to oppose Chairman Mao, Premier Chou, Chairman Hua, and other leaders who practise Marxism. By doing large-scale rehabilitation work, we have not only thoroughly settled accounts with Lin Piao and the "gang of four" for their counter-revolutionary crimes, but have laid bare the true features of

those who followed Lin Piao and the "gang of four" in doing evils. This will enable the cadres and the masses to discern between right and wrong. If someday any careerist exploits wrong decisions to engage in schemes, the people will see through them and frustrate their schemes. Therefore, this is a cardinal question

CHINESE PRESS SURVEY

# Study Anew Stalin's Two Articles

ZHONGGUO QINGNIAN BAO (Chinese Youth Gazette) recently published an article written by a reader after he had studied anew a speech by Stalin. Guangming Ribao (Kwangming Daily) also published an article by one of its readers on what he had learnt after studying another speech by Stalin. The two papers reprinted the full texts of the speeches which, they considered, are of immediate significance.

### Lenin Acknowledged His Miscalculations

In his speech delivered on April 23, 1920 at a meeting called by the Moscow Committee, R.C.P. (B.) on the occasion of V.I. Lenin's 50th birthday, Stalin spoke of two occasions when Lenin admitted that he had been in the wrong.

The first case took place during a discussion on the Party's attitude towards the Duma at the All-Russia Bolshevik Conference held in December 1905. Several people who were close to Lenin said that Ilyich was against boycotting the Duma and favoured taking part in the elections. But the delegates from various provinces were for boycotting. A debate ensued. After everyone had spoken, Lenin admitted that he was wrong and agreed with the delegates from the provinces. A resolution on boycotting the Duma was therefore adopted.

Another case of a similar nature happened in September 1917. During the rule of the bourgeoisie headed by Kerensky, the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries, in a bid to stem the mounting revolutionary tide, convened relating to whether we can defend the igreat banner of Chairman Mao. We must have Marxist farsightedness.

> (An abridged translation of "Renmin Ribao" Special Commentator's article of November 20)

the Democratic Conference and established the Pre-parliament. Their aim was to divert the country from the revolutionary road of the Soviets and embark on the road of bourgeois constituency. At that time, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Russia (Bolsheviks) in Petrograd decided not to disperse the Democratic Conference but to go ahead strengthening the Soviets, convene a Congress of Soviets, launch an uprising and issue a proclamation to the effect that the Congress of Soviets was the organ of state power. As Ilyich was not in Petrograd, he wrote to say that he did not agree with the Central Committee and that the scum (meaning the Democratic Conference) should be dispersed and arrested right away. Taking into consideration the actual situation at that time, the Central Committee did not follow Lenin's instruction but went on strengthening the Soviets until the uprising was successfully carried out. By then, Ilvich was already back in Petrograd. He told the Central Committee Members: "Yes, it seems you were right."

In this speech, Stalin said: "Comrade Lenin was not afraid of acknowledging his mistakes. It was this modesty and courage that particularly captivated us."

Chen Chien, the reader in Sinkiang's Shihotzu Prefecture who sent in his notes on studying this speech by Stalin, had this to say: What Stalin said was intended to be a birthday gift to Lenin. That was the way the great teacher and his student treated each other. How sincere and how open and aboveboard they were!

As the Communist Party and the revolutionary people see it, for revolutionary teachers and leaders to be in the wrong at a time on certain matters in the course of making revolution is something normal and unavoidable during the process of cognition. From the corrections and supplements made by their com-

Peking Review, No. 50

rades<sup>2</sup>in-arms and students, the revolutionary teachers and leaders drew wisdom and strength; they modestly listened to their students, 'scourageously admitted their own mistakes) and corrected them. This did not in the least tarnish the names of revolutionary teachers and leaders but added to their prestige and greatness.

By trumpeting "absolute authority" and "one remark overriding all others' remarks," Lin Piao and the "gang of four" in fact deified the revolutionary teachers and leaders, and Stalin's speech will help us clarify the confusion they created and set things to rights ideologically and theoretically. Herein lies the immediate significance of the speech.

### Don't Be Bogged Down by Revolutionary Teachers' Individual Conclusions

"Revisionism According to Zinoviev" is the title of section 7 of part I of Stalin's "Reply to the Discussion" made at the Seventh Enlarged Plenum of the E.C.C.I. on December 13, 1926.

In this speech, Stalin pointed out: According to Zinoviev, any improvement, any refinement of old formulas or individual propositions of Marx or Engels, and still more their replacement by other formulas corresponding to new conditions, is revisionism. All this, of course, is comical.

He gave several examples showing how revolutionary teachers changed their old formulas in the light of new experiences gained in class struggle.

• In the mid-19th century, Marx said that when capitalism was on the upgrade the victory of socialism within national boundaries was impossible, and Lenin in 1915 said that when the development of capitalism was on the downgrade, when capitalism was moribund, such a victory was possible.

• In the middle of the 19th century, Marx said that a socialist revolution in the economic relations of any country on the European continent, or of the whole European continent, with the exception of England, would be a storm in a teacup, and Engels, in view of the new experience of the class struggle, later altered this proposition and said of the socialist revolution that "the Frenchman will begin it and the German will finish it." Later, in view of the

December 15, 1978

experience of the victory of the revolution in the Soviet Union, Lenin changed this formula of Engels' and replaced it with another one, saying that the Russians began the socialist revolution and the Germans, Frenchmen and Englishmen would finish it.

• In the period prior to the imperialist war, Lenin said that federation was an unsuitable type of state structure. But in 1917, in view of the new experience of the proletarian struggle, he altered this formula, saying that federation was the appropriate type of state structure during the transition to socialism.

Stalin noted: Marxism is a science. Marxism cannot persist and develop as a science if it is not enriched by the new experience of the class struggle of the proletariat, if it does not digest this experience from the standpoint of Marxism, from the point of view of the Marxist method. There is nothing in common between genuine Marxism and the practice of replacing, as Zinoviev did, the basic line of Marxism by the letter of individual formulas and quotations from individual propositions of Marxism.

In his notes on studying this part of Stalin's speech, Hsin Kwang-min wrote: Zinoviev died long ago, but his anti-Marxist viewpoints have spread far and wide and have not yet been done away with. What Lin Piao and the "gang of four" advocated — "each and every remark represents a truth" and "we must act according to all remarks without exception" — was, in fact, the same as Zinoviev's views.

# Deputy Provincial Party Secretary Under Fire

**P**EOPLE were asked by the Honan Provincial Committee of the Chinese Communist Party to expose and criticize the mistakes of one of its senior members for the role he played in violating financial regulations, *Renmin Ribao* reported. An editorial accompanying the report was entitled "Strictly Observe Party Discipline and State Law."

He is Wang Wei-chun, formerly deputy secretary of the committee and in charge of the province's economic work.

In summer 1975, the Chumatien Prefecture (embracing a number of counties) in the province was hit by a serious flood. Some leading cadres in the locality embezzled and misused relief funds and material allocated by the state. Large sums from this fund as well as relief material were diverted to building de luxe meeting halls, theatres, hostels and so on. Some county leaders seized the chance to build themselves luxury apartments. (In issue No. 38 this year, in this column we carried the article "A Major Struggle" which reported the Party Central Committee's circular on the decision of the Honan provincial Party committee concerning this affair. Su Hua, the former first secretary of the prefectural Party committee, Yang Tso-kung, its former deputy secretary, and four other persons were expelled from the Party and handed over to the people's court to be dealt with according to law.)

Today, it has been ascertained that Wang was behind Su Hua and others who had violated financial regulations. During the flood, Wang was in charge of the relief work in Chumatien Prefecture. He had supported and abetted Su Hua and others in their misdeeds. Wang had taken the lead in violating state law and Party discipline.

Renmin Ribao reported that Wang was a faithful follower of the revisionist line of Lin Piao and the "gang of four" which had sabotaged unified planning of the national economy. He had acted against the Party's important policies and principles on economic work. In the years immediately preceding 1976, the province had invested 3,360 million yuan in some 1,000 construction projects not listed in the state plan. This had gravely held up key urgent projects in the state plan.

After the "gang of four" was overthrown in October 1976, Wang persisted in his error. Last year, Honan Province started another 577 projects outside of the state plan, despite repeated emphasis by the Party Central Committee and Chairman Hua Kuo-feng on strict observance of financial regulations.

Under his influence and sometimes with his approval, the province diverted to unauthorized uses a total of 600 million yuan of state loans for agriculture and 940 million yuan of taxes, profits from state-run industrial enterprises and circulating funds. Economic work was seriously disrupted by this.

By deception, Wang Wei-chun withheld a large part of the province's output of important industrial products earmarked for distribution by the central authorities under a unified plan. As Wang reported to the central authorities, output of coal for the 1974-76 period was 5.3 million tons less than the amount actually produced, and the number of tractors produced between 1973 and 1976 was reduced by 32,900.

Investigation has shown that Wang is guilty of graft and taking bribes. Once when Wang was on an inspection tour in a county, he took gifts of local products amounting to the value of 1,100 yuan. He also promoted a number of people who had given him gifts and had bribed him to leading posts. An example was his promoting a newborn bourgeois element to a leading post in the provincial academy of agricultural science.

Why could Wang Wei-chun do what he wanted, wilfully trampling underfoot the interests of the state and the people? Why could he violate the law and Party discipline with impunity for so long? The *Renmin Ribao* editorial pointed out that it was due mainly to the continuing influence of Lin Piao and the "gang of four." These scoundrels had ridden roughshod over the people, totally heedless of the law, Party discipline and the principle that the people's rights are inviolable.

The editorial also said that many of those who had been corrupted and had committed mistakes were themselves victims of Lin Piao's and the "gang of four's" revisionist line. If they admit their mistakes on their own initiative, make good the losses as best they can and show that they are sincerely repentant and willing to mend their ways, the people will forgive them. But as to people like Wang Wei-chun, who had seriously violated the law and yet refused to mend his ways after repeated education, leniency is out of the question. This is the only way to improve the effectiveness of the socialist legal system.

The editorial stressed that it is the duty of all Party and government functionaries at all levels to strictly observe the Constitution, the law, decrees and regulations like anybody else. Nobody can violate the law and escape punishment.

# Szechuan Today (111)

# Biogas: An Inexhaustible Energy Resource

# by Our Correspondent Chou Chin

### 

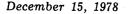
C HINA follows an energy policy of "vigorously tapping all forms of energy resources and utilizing them rationally." As ours is a vast, populous country with a relatively backward economy, it will be some time before our big power grids and coal, petroleum and gas industries are able to provide all the energy the country needs. For this reason the energy problem must be solved by every means, just as the Party and government advocate for other undertakings.

In Szechuan there are huge coal deposits and plenty of other energy resources. Natural gas has been used for 2,000 years but utilization of its water resources has just begun. In recent years, while continuing to exploit natural energy resources, much has been done to popularize biogas, a cheap and easily obtainable fuel and source of energy.

Biogas, or marsh gas, is a product of anaerobic bacterial decomposition of such organic matter as night-soil, vegetation, crop stalks and sludge isolated from oxygen. It con-



A biogas plant.



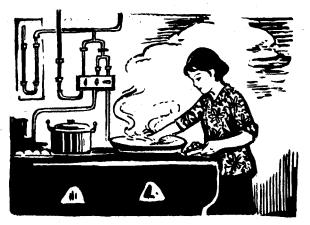
tains 60-70 per cent methane, an inflammable gas.

In 1972, when the Chinese Academy of Sciences organized an on-the-spot meeting in Chungchiang County, Szechuan Province, to popularize biogas, there were some 3,000 marsh gas digesters in use in this province and a small number of trial ones in some other provinces and municipalities. By 1975, when the first national conference to swap experience and popularize biogas was convened in the city of Mienyang in Szechuan, there were 460,000 digesters in use in the rural areas of the nation. The number of biogas digesters has now multiplied 15 times to 7 million.

### Four Out of Five Rural Households Use Biogas

Mienyang again figured prominently when the second national conference was held there in summer this year. The city was among the first in this country to use marsh gas extensively as a fuel and a source of energy. Three years ago some 80 per cent of Mienyang's suburban households agricultural population 610,000) were already using biogas for lighting and cooking.

I was among the second national biogas conferees who visited the No. 5 team of the Yunghsing commune's No. 7 production brigade. We were told that 45 of the team's 47 households had their own small digesters to generate biogas with human and pig excrement. Most of the air-tight digesters are 7 to 8 cubic metres big. There is an opening on either end for adding and removing organic matter. Plastic tubes lead the gas to a stoye in the kitchen and living rooms. There is a gas-gauge



A biogas stove.

and a tap on the wall near the stove. Switch on the gas, strike a match, and the biogas burning with a bluish flame will cook a meal in 40 minutes.

At the No.<sup>5</sup>5 team I also saw a 136-cubicmetre digester not far from the team's collectively owned pig farm. Its gas powers the diesel engines working rice-huskers, foddercrushers and machinery for processing other farm and side-line products. In evenings and early mornings, the gas drives generators producing electricity for lighting.

Sealed digesters effectively dispose of night-soil and animal droppings, and cooking by biogas has got rid of choking smoke and soot. The result is a much cleaner environment. During my stay in the village I saw few mosquitoes and flies in the peasant houses, whose windows and furniture were whistle clean.

#### A Boon to the Peasants

In a courtyard of the No. 4 production team, I had an interesting chat with Wen Shou-chih, the old team leader, and his neighbour Liu Houkun, a team member.

As a housewife, Liu Hou-kun no longer worries about cooking fuel. Fuel is no problem for villagers near coal mines or in forested mountains, but it is a problem for people living in flat country like the outskirts of Mienyang, where the peasants once depended heavily on stalks for fuel. Before biogas came into her household, her family's share of the crop stalks from the team was only enough for six months' cooking. Her family had to buy coal from the city or gather firewood up in the hills 20 kilometres away. On wet days it was a trial to get a meal cooked. Gone now are the smoke, soot and tears. With her biogas stove she has a hot meal ready with a minimum of effort after she gets back from work.

Wen Shou-chih who is in his sixties told me how extensive use of biogas helped boost farm production in his team of 323 people. For fertilizer the team's 17 hectares of farmland depend mainly on composting excreta and stalks. Several years ago, team leader Wen said; the team wanted to grow two crops a year instead of just one on their paddy-fields, but they were stumped by a shortage in manure because most stalks had to be used to cook meals.

In 1974, he continued, when his team began using marsh gas, the position changed. For the first time the stalks were not burned but crushed and treated to feed the team's collectively owned pigs. The dung, mixed with night-soil, is dumped into digesters to produce biogas. The left-over is an ideal organic fertilizer. This led the team to start growing two rice crops in 1976 on part of its paddy-fields.

Rural sanitation in Szechuan has greatly improved. I was told that this was due in part to the popularization of biogas. Eggs of parasites in human and animal excreta are destroyed by fermentation in the air-tight digesters. A biogas research group in the Yunghsing commune showed that 93.7 per cent of these eggs were effectively destroyed in the digesters. Snail fever once rampant about Mienyang has become much rarer due to night-soil being treated in this way and other extensive medical and preventive measures. A study showed that viable schistosomes were found at the inlets of marsh gas digesters but not at the outlets.

#### **Great Potentials**

Szechuan peasants are now using biogas for other purposes. In a commune-run mill I saw diesel engines using biogas and diesel oil as fuel which provided power for pumps, ricehuskers, fodder-crushers and noodle-making machines. An 80 per cent saving in diesel oil was effected. Some production teams even used marsh gas to fire bricks and make bean curd. Absistate orchard I visited in Tehyang County was using marsh gas to turn diesel engines. The orchard was in a hilly area. It grew fruit trees and essential oil plants and had azfine dairy herd. Cowsheds stood on the side of a hill and below them were eight digesters totalling 1,560 cubic metres to receive and treat the cow dung. The dung was flushed to the digesters through pipes. These digesters produced biogas and the end product of decomposition was channelled down to manure the orchard and farmland.

Biogas and diesel oil fuelled the orchard's three 6-kw., 12-kw. and 50-kw. diesel generators. The electricity is used to lift water into a storage pond up on a hill which feeds a sprinkler-system in the orchard at the foot of the hill. I saw the seven jet sprinklers spraying a heavy mist over the fruit trees.

#### **Reasons for Wider Application**

The use of biogas is not new. But its widespread use today in many rural areas was not due to chance.

Szechuan's first marsh gas digester was started privately back in 1935 in Neichiang County by someone who had studied abroad. Its popularization, however, was out of the question in the old, poverty-stricken China. The fruits of science and technology were not immediately available to the working people of China in those days. After liberation, in 1958, the bigleap-forward year of the national economy, an

( )



Biogas lamp.

December 15, 1978

attempt was made to popularize biogas in some villages but it petered out owing to a lack of expertise in building and managing the digesters.

Then in the 70s, people in the Mienyang Prefecture, summing up past experience, began a mass drive to popularize biogas. The prefecture (encompassing 17 counties and one city) built 10,000 digesters in 1973 and 1974. The prefecture had only 500 in 1971. Today, digesters are no longer built here and there by peasants. The construction is undertaken in an organized and planned way by local authorities at various levels. In 1975 and 1976, some 800,000 new ones were built. Today, whole communes, whole districts and even whole counties are using biogas.

Government departments concerned are constantly summing up experience in building and managing biogas digesters and organizing research in this field in research institutes and colleges. Visits and meetings are organized and classes are held to train technicians for building, operating and managing digesters. Today, many production teams have had their own biogas technicians.

The early digesters were square and surfaced with stone slabs. They were too big and costly for household use. Now the pits are built of indigenous materials — such as pebbles, hewn stones, inexpensive cement or lime, sand and clay — with their interior sealed by a mixture of cement and sand. Most of them are round, and some are oblong or egg-shaped. Familysize digesters with capacities ranging from 8 to 10 cubic metres which used to cost about 100 yuan are now 40 or 50 yuan.

In the past, when digesters were privately managed, many were often out of commission because some people did not know how to refill or empty their digesters correctly, or how to prevent water leakage. Most digesters today are collectively managed. In many production teams there are people assigned to look after them. Fermented stalks are now added at regular intervals to night-soil and animal dung. Apart from routine emptying and filling, the digesters are given a thorough clean out and restocked twice a year before each busy season begins. The things cleared from the digester



Rice-husker powered by a biogas-diesel generator.

(good-quality organic manure) were piled up for later use. Thus the contradiction between production of biogas and manure for the fields is now not nearly so acute. The method used in popularizing the production and use of marsh gas is known as "going in for mass movements in a big way" and "strengthening leadership." This means mobilizing the peasant masses to build digesters together instead of entirely waiting for professional help and state funds; at the same time the government earnestly organizes and helps the peasants in their efforts. This is the way people in this country today do many things.

At the second national conference to swap experience in popularizing biogas, I heard that development in this field across the land was quite uneven. And there are still problems. Some digesters worked unsatisfactorily and those which produced a constant supply of biogas must be made to perform better. These were all discussed at the conference which also decided to set up a national biogas research institute in Szechuan.

# Explanatory Notes to Volume V of "Selected Works of Mao Tsetung" <sup>(26)</sup>

#### 

This is the last instalment of "Explanatory Notes to Volume V of 'Selected Works of Mao Tsetung.'" The first instalment was carried in our issue No. 1, 1978.

# The imperialists stirred up two storms against communism, and there were two stormy debates in the international communist movement

# (See p. 354, Vol. V, Eng. Ed.)

At the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in spring 1956, Khrushchov completely negated and attacked Stalin on the pretext of "combating the personality cult." He advocated the so-called "parliamentary road" of peaceful transition to socialism, thereby betraying the revolutionary principles of Marxism-Leninism. The imperialists and other reactionaries in various countries seized the opportunity to stir up a storm against communism. At the same time, a stormy debate over a series of major issues resulting from the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U. was carried out between Marxists and revisionists in the international communist move-In autumn that year, the imperialists ment. churned up another storm against communism after the failure of the counter-revolutionary rebellion in Hungary. During this period, there was another great polemic in the international communist movement over such questions as the Hungarian counter-revolutionary rebellion, the appraisal of Stalin and the socialist system. In view of this situation, the Chinese Communist Party in April and December 1956 published two articles "On the Historical Experience of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat" and

Peking Review, No. 50

"More don the Historical Experience of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat" which made a comprehensive appraisal of the life of Stalin, summed up the historical experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat and defended the revolutionary principles of Marxism-Leninism.

# This time when our delegation went to the Soviet Union, we came straight to the point on a number of questions

(See p. 365.)

In January 1957 when the Government Delegation of the People's Republic of China headed by Premier Chou En-lai visited the Soviet Union, Premier Chou explained to the leaders of the C.P.S.U. our viewpoints concerning Stalin and criticized the Khrushchov revisionist renegade clique's mistakes, including its failure to make "a comprehensive appraisal of Stalin," its "lack of self-criticism" on the question of Stalin and its failure to "consult the fraternal Parties in advance." Premier Chou also systematically expounded our views regarding the erroneous slogan of "peaceful transition" raised at the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U., the international situation and problems of strategy concerning the international communist movement.

# The article "More on the Historical Experience of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat" deals precisely with a major case of unavoidability

(See p. 370.)

This article was written by the Editorial Department of *Renmin Ribao* on the basis of a discussion at an enlarged meeting of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and published in the same paper on December 29, 1956. It made a comprehensive summing-up of the basic experience gained in following the road of the

December 15, 1978

October Revolution and affirmed the achievements of the Soviet Union in socialist revolution and socialist construction under the leadership of Stalin. It also pointed out: "No country can ever avoid these [mistakes and failures] entirely, though they may vary in form and degree. And it was even more difficult for the Soviet Union to avoid them, because it was the first socialist country and had no successful experience of others to go by." "The international communist movement has a history of only 92 years, reckoning from the establishment of the First International in 1864. Despite many ups and downs, the progress of the movement as a whole has been very rapid." "However many twists and turns may await us on our forward journey, humanity will eventually reach its bright destiny -- communism. There is no force that can stop it." This article gave a powerful rebuff to the hysteria whipped up by the imperialists and modern revisionists against communism and Stalin.

# For a long time Stalin denied that contradictions between the relations of production and the productive forces... exist under the socialist system

(See p. 376.)

After agricultural collectivization was completed in the Soviet Union in 1936, Stalin declared in his report On the Draft Constitution of the U.S.S.R. that all exploiting classes had been eliminated in the Soviet Union. In his Dialectical and Historical Materialism in 1938, Stalin said that under the socialist system, the relations of production completely corresponded to the character of the productive forces. Again in his report to the 18th Congress of the C.P.S.U. (B.) in March 1939, he further described the conformity between the moral and the political factors in Soviet society as the motive force propelling it forward. That is to

say, there were no longer any contradictions in the Soviet Union, in socialist society, but only "conformity."

It was not until 1952, a year before his death, that Stalin in his Economic Problems of Socialism in the U.S.S.R. admitted: "It would be wrong ... to think that there are no contradictions between our productive forces and the relations of production. There certainly are, and will be, contradictions, seeing that the development of the relations of production lags, and will lag, behind the development of the productive forces." "Given a correct policy on the part of the directing bodies," he added, "these contradictions cannot grow into antagonisms, and there is no chance of matters coming to a conflict between the relations of production and the productive forces of society. It would be a different matter if we were to conduct a wrong policy, such as that which Comrade Yaroshenko recommends. In that case conflict would be inevitable, and our relations of production might become a serious brake on the further development of the productive forces."

But Chairman Mao pointed out: "Even then he [Stalin] did not pose the question of the contradictions between the relations of production and the productive forces and between the superstructure and the economic base under the socialist system as a question of overall importance, nor did he realize that they are the basic contradictions which propel socialist society forward."

# Such incidents as . . . what is happening in Poland

(See p. 504.).

This refers to the disturbances created by students in Poland in early October 1957. Prior to this incident, the press censorship department of the Polish Government discovered some anti-

government articles in a Polish weekly. Its proposal that the weekly be closed down was approved in a decision by the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Polish United This aroused dissatisfaction Workers' Party. among the students. On the evening of October 3. thousands of students of an engineering university in Warsaw rallied at their dormitory in protest against the decision, and clashed with police sent by the Polish Government to stop them. About 100 students were arrested Following this, protest rallies were held in Warsaw and elsewhere by students who took to the streets demanding the release of the arrested students and the revocation of the decision to close down the weekly. They put up slogans calling for freedom of speech. This incident lasted several days and were not called off until the students resumed classes.

# This declaration of our 12 countries

#### (See p. 514.)

This is the Declaration of the Meeting of Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties of the Socialist Countries, held in Moscow, November 14-16, 1957. Signatories to this declaration were delegations of the Albanian Party of Labour, the Bulgarian Communist Party, the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, the Workers' Party of Viet Nam, the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, the Communist Party of China, the Workers' Party of Korea, the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, the Polish United Workers' Party, the Romanian Workers' Party, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. Hence it was called the declaration of the 12 countries for short.

The declaration adhered to the principles of upholding Marxism-Leninism and opposing revisionism and imperialism, but it was later betrayed by the Soviet revisionist renegade clique. I N a statement issued in Phnom Penh on December 9, the spokesman of the Ministry of News and Propaganda of Democratic Kampuchea pointed out that Hanoi's creation of a "Kampuchean national front for national salvation" — a puppet organization — was "to serve its strategy of aggression, expansion, annexation and genocide against the Kampuchean nation, and was nothing new at all."

Hanoi Hoax

**ly**. we tri

ew

The Vietnamese authorities announced the setting up of this puppet organization on December 3 and this was swiftly followed by a barrage of statements and editorials from Hanoi's propaganda machine hailing this as a "major political event" and "a great turning point." Why all this hullabaloo from Hanoi? It is a signal announcing Hanoi's launching a full-scale aggression against Kampuchea, another step in its bid for regional hegemonism.

To realize its strategy of creating an "Indochina federation," Viet Nam has for years employed a dual tactic towards Kampuchea: armed aggression coupled with political slanders and subversion. It engineered one counterrevolutionary coup after another to topple the Government of Democratic Kampuchea. But they were all smashed by the Kampuchean people. Hanoi was beaten soundly by the Kampuchean army and people in its large-scale armed intrusion at the end of 1977.

### **Covering Up Aggression**

Instead of learning their lesson and drawing in their horns, the Vietnamese authorities have completely sold themselves to Soviet social-imperialism in the hope of getting more support. Last month, it concluded with the Soviet Union a "treaty of friendship and cooperation" which is actually a military alliance. The treaty has emboldened Hanoi to seek the occupation of more Kampuchean territory. In the past few weeks, Viet Nam's regular army

December 15, 1978

has carried out a new ground offensive against Kampuchea and Vietnamese aircraft have pounded peaceful Kampuchean villages and dropped anti-personnel devices. It even used poison gas against the civilian population. Hanoi's military venture has met heroic resistance from the Kampuchean people, and has been roundly condemned by world public opinion.

The Vietnamese authorities have been preparing public opinion to cover up their aggression. They gave out that there were "insurgence" and "general uprising" in Kampuchea. However, these lies have been exposed by the press in most countries. One Western newspaper pointed out that the "insurgence" was fabricated by Viet Nam as a camouflage to "attack an enemy neighbour." One Western news agency said the fabrication was aimed at covering up "the aggression . . . by the Soviet Union and Viet Nam."

### Hanoi's Dodge

The so-called "Kampuchean national front for national salvation" organized by Hanoi is in reality a Vietnamese task force for enlarging its aggression against Kampuchea.

Hanoi's clumsy canard was at once seen through by world public opinion. The New York Times pointed out that the creation of the "front" "portends a full-scale Vietnamese military political and campaign . . . and provides a Cambodian [Kampuchean] 'cover' for the operation." Reuter quoted observers in Bangkok as saying that one reason for establishing the puppet "front" was a try "to give legitimacy" to further moves by Vietnamese troops, "portraying the actions as genuinely Cambodian [Kampuchean] in origin." The Thai paper Bangkok Post noted that the aim of the Vietnamese move was to "set up a pro-Hanoi gov-



ernment in Phnom Penh. Such a government would bring Cambodia [Kampuchea] into the Indochina federation." Hanoi's purpose, of course, is to describe its armed aggression as an "uprising" of the Kampuchean people, the Kampuchean territories it has occupied as areas "liberated" by that puppet organization, and thus its war of aggression against the

**The Asian Cuba.** by Chiang Fan and Mei Lu

Kampuchean people as a "civil war." Hanoi tries to escape being branded the aggressor even as it occupies Kampuchea.

## Plot by Big and Small Hegemonists

The above-mentioned steps of aggression and subversion carried out against Kampuchea were jointly plotted by the Soviet Union and Viet Nam, big and small hegemonists. The Soviet Union has been boosting Viet Nam's morale in its aggression against Kampuchea by sending a stream of military personnel and arms there. Rumours have been created and spread by Brezhnev and Soviet publications, radio and TASS to whitewash the aggression. Good Soviet-Vietnamese teamwork was displayed in forging and bringing out the puppet organization. TASS relayed the story



# Soviet-Vietnamese Treaty: An Alliance of Aggression

A number of Marxist-Leninist Parties and organizations and journals have exposed the nature of the Soviet-Vietnamese "treaty of friendship and co-operation" since its signing and called for strengthening the unity among

on the "front" immediately after vit was released by the Viet Nam News Agency. The Viet Nam party paper Nhan Dan in an editorial expressed "delight" over the formation of the "front," saying that it is a moment of "big hope" for Viet Nam. At the same time it let slip who the boss behind the scenes was. The paper said: "The Kampuchean revolution has become part of the international revolutionary current and has won the tremendous support of the revolution and the progressive world." The "progressive world" in the vocabulary of the Vietnamese authorities is synonymous with the "big international community" controlled by the Soviet Union. It must be noted that when relaying the VNA news item, TASS highlighted the intention to set up a "government" in Kampuchea. This shows that the Soviet Union and Viet Nam are certainly planning to create a puppet government in Kampuchea at some date they think appropriate.

Creating a puppet regime in order to annex a country is what the Soviet Union has done in the past. The Vietnamese authorities today are following this example with Kampuchea. An AFP dispatch from Hanoi on December 5 said that the appeal by the "front" to all countries for "active support in all fields" offers "objectively a legitimate, if not legal, basis for a possible 'Prague-style action' by Viet Nam." If successful in Kampuchea, the Vietnamese authorities will certainly duplicate their performance elsewhere in Asia, Southeast Asia in particular. People are closely watching the next move of this Asian Cuba.

the people of Asia and the rest of the world, broadening the international united front against hegemonism and smashing the plot of the Soviet social-imperialists and their lackeys. Here are excerpts of some of these statements. — Ed.

• The statement of the Central Committee of the Marxist-Leninist Communist Party of France which appeared in the December 1 issue of *l'humanite rouge* says: "To realize their annexationist project, the Vietnamese leaders have given their full allegiance to the Soviet

Peking Review, No. 50

superplower which harbours hegemonist ambitions in the region. This is proved by the entry of Viet Nam into the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (C.M.E.A.), the signing of the Soviet-Vietnamese treaty (which is in fact a treaty of aggression against the peoples of neighbouring countries) and the influx of civilian, and military Soviet 'advisors.'"

The statement adds that the new aggression against Kampuchea being prepared by the Soviet Union and Viet Nam, and the purported "general uprising" in that country loudly announced by Hanoi Radio remind one of the situation preceding the invasion of Czechoslovakia by Warsaw Pact forces led by the Soviet Union ten years ago.

The present policy pursued by the Hanoi leaders "is in all respects against the aspirations and fundamental interests of the Vietnamese people and other Southeast Asian peoples," the statement points out.

• The Call, organ of the U.S. Communist Party (M-L), in an editorial of its November 20 issue entitled "Soviet-Viet Nam Treaty, a Pact of Aggression," says: "The so-called 'Treaty of Peace and Friendship' recently signed between the Soviet Union and Viet Nam has nothing to do with 'peace' nor with the 'friendship' of these two countries towards the peoples of the world. On the contrary, it is a boost to hegemony seeking and military aggression in Asia."

The editorial points out: "The treaty formalizes a reactionary alliance between Viet Nam and the U.S.S.R. to dominate all of Southeast Asia as part of Moscow's preparations to launch a new world war. In addition to economic wealth in the area, the U.S.S.R. especially wants control of the sea routes between the Middle East oilfields and the Sea of Japan, and Southeast Asia is key to this control. This treaty is also part of a Soviet plan to encircle and isolate socialist China, which is a major obstacle standing in the way of the social-imperialists' war drive."

• Octobre, organ of the Communist Party of Switzerland (Marxist-Leninist), says in an article of its latest issue: "Hanoi is using every means at its disposal to conquer Democratic Kampuchea so as to establish a so-called

December 15, 1978

'Indochina federation.'" Once the aim is achieved, Hanoi would try to gain hegemony over the whole of Southeast Asia, the article goes on to say. "This is the underlying cause for the conflict and instability of the region, and there is no use for the Vietnamese expansionists to deny it."

The article adds: "Today, Viet Nam is neither a revolutionary, socialist state nor a non-aligned country. It has become part of the economic, political and military system of Soviet social-imperialism."

The Soviet Union wants to lord it over Southeast Asia, the article stresses, "to plunder the resources there, control the passage linking the Pacific and Indian Oceans and seize more footholds in its rivalry with U.S. imperialism for world hegemony."

• O Comunista, organ of the Central Committee of the Portuguese (M-L) Communist Party, points out in a recent article: "Democratic Kampuchea is directly threatened by the treaty. Viet Nam and the Soviet Union which pursue an expansionist policy are committing aggression against Kampuchea." The article states that the treaty between the Soviet Union and Viet Nam is "to ensure their political and military co-operation when they were preparing a largescale aggression." "The offensive mounted by the Soviet Union in Southeast Asia today is directly threatening the peace and security of the countries in this region," it adds.

"The ambition of the Soviet revisionists and their flunkeys is inordinate, but the determination of the peoples throughout the world to fight for the independence and sovereignty of their countries is invincible," says the acticle.

• Jinmin Shinpo, organ of the Provisional Central Committee of the Communist Party of Japan (Leftist), in a November 15 article points out that since Viet Nam has signed a de facto military alliance treaty with the Soviet hegemonists, the Soviet Union will drive Viet Nam to push hegemonism in Southeast Asia. "The conclusion of the Soviet-Vietnamese treaty of friendship and co-operation will pose a grave danger to peace and security in Asia." "Viet Nam is not only posing a military threat to Kampuchea and China; it is also becoming a grave military threat to other Asian countries including Japan, through making Cam Ranh Bay and other base facilities available to the Soviet navy," the article adds. The Japanese people must further strengthen solidarity with the people of other Asian countries, oppose Soviet hegemonism and Vietnamese regional hegemonism and prevent them from starting a new war in Asia, the article says.

• Rono Senbo, organ of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Japan, editorialized recently: "The aim of the pact is to legalize the military collaboration between the Soviet Union and Viet Nam and further carry out hegemonism, aggression and expansion in Southeast Asia." By concluding the treaty, the leadership clique of Viet Nam have tied their country to Soviet social-imperialism's war chariot for aggression and sold to it the fruits of liberation gained by the Vietnamese people in their struggle against U.S. imperialism. They have also invited the major source of another world war — the Soviet Union — deep into Southeast Asia, and, backed by Soviet military strength, have themselves carried out regional hegemontsm in a more vicious way.

"Viet Nam has become the Cuba in Asia in its true sense," the editorial adds. "However, counter-revolutionary collaboration between the big and small hegemonisms will come to no good end. The Brezhnev clique and Le Duan and his ilk have revealed themselves for what they are to the people of Asia."

The editorial calls upon the Japanese people to unite with the people of the rest of Asia and the world to further strengthen and expand the international anti-hegemony united front and thoroughly frustrate the machinations of the Soviet social-imperialists and their henchmen.

• The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Sri Lanka (Marxist-Leninist) in a recent statement says: "Since its degeneration into an imperialist power, the Soviet Union, in its global contention with the United States, is doing its utmost to have the Asian region under its thumb." With this aim in mind, the Soviet Union some time ago put forward a so-called "collective security system for Asia."

The statement notes that the Soviet authorities are making use of the regional hegemonist ambitions of the Vietnamese .authorities in order to achieve their aim of subjugating the countries of Southeast Asia.

"The Soviet-Vietnamese treaty is notionly for assisting Vietnamese aggression against Kampuchea. Its main aim is to subvert governments of Southeast Asia and destroy the liberation movements of the peoples of the region until ultimately this entire area is under Soviet-Vietnamese control."

The statement says in conclusion that "the countries and peoples of the whole of Asia must unite to oppose the manoeuvres of the Soviet hegemonists and their Asian pawn, the Vietnamese authorities."

• The Central Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Movement of Greece says in a recent letter to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kampuchea: "The Vietnamese leading clique recently ordered the armed invasion of Kampuchea, the looting of the country's wealth and the disruption of its national economy; at the same time, it was trying to impose the shackle of its regional hegemonism on Democratic Kampuchea in a bid to incorporate it into Viet Nam's 'Indochina federation.'"

The letter points out that in the past Moscow had flirted with the fascist Lon Nol clique. After Kampuchea was liberated, Moscow and its pawn in Asia, the Vietnamese leading clique, colluded in forcing Kampuchea to its knees so that their hegemonist plan could succeed.

The Revolutionary Communist Movement of Greece resolutely supports the Communist Party of Kampuchea and the Kampuchean people in their struggle to defend their revolutionary achievements, national independence and the territorial integrity of their motherland, the letter concludes.

# Kremlin's Highhandedness

# 

I N the name of the Politburo of the C.P.S.U. Central Committee, the Supreme Soviet Presidium and the Soviet Council of Ministers, the Soviet leading clique on November 29 issued a communique on the Moscow meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Pact. The communique stresses a number of important points not found in the declaration of the meeting signed by all seven participating countries. The Kremlin bosses who failed to impose their views on others at the meeting are trying to set forth their designs as if they represented the spirit of the meeting.

Kremlin tried at the meeting to set up a Soviet-controlled unified command under the guise of "military co-operation" and strengthening "integration." The aim was to divest all other member states of the Warsaw Pact of their right to control their own armed forces. The communique is indicative of the Kremlin's resolve to involve the Warsaw bloc's military might in its own pursuit of world hegemony, despite the objections of other member states.

# Points Not Mentioned Before

The following points are in the Soviet communique but not in the declaration of the Moscow meeting:

— The communique says: "In view of the armament race steadily intensified by the NATO countries, it is necessary to maintain and increase the defence potential of the combined armed forces of the Warsaw Pact." It was noted in the Western press that the essence of this statement is a call to the other member countries of the Warsaw Pact to boost their military budget, accept tighter Soviet control and unified command of their armed forces and allow the holding of combined military exercises on their soil. This gives the lie to what the Kremlin has trumpeted — "an end to the armament race and disarmament." At

December 15, 1978

least one of the countries participating in the Moscow meeting has already declared its firm opposition to the Kremlin's demand which means a heavier military burden for the other countries of the bloc and a damage to their sovereignty.

— The declaration of the Moscow meeting makes no mention of Viet Nam or Cuba. Yet, the communique stresses "the enormous significance" of the conclusion of the Soviet-Viet Nam treaty, the U.S.S.R.'s "all-round cooperation" with Cuba and Viet Nam and their "support to each other" and "indestructible unity." This shows the Kremlin's attempt to link Viet Nam and Cuba up with the Warsaw Pact and extend the treaty's commitments to areas well beyond Europe, a development which the other countries of the bloc do not wish to see.

-- The statement on the Middle East was issued by six, not all seven, participating countries of the Moscow meeting. It is obvious that there were differences at the meeting over whether to attack the Egypt-Israel talks. Yet, the Kremlin's communique plays up "the vital significance" of the six-nation statement.

- The Kremlin's communique vilifies the Chinese leaders as "outright accomplices" of "the forces of imperialism and reaction." Not reconciled with their failure to write into the Moscow meeting's declaration this threadbare anti-China lie customary in Soviet documents, the Kremlin occupants have now decided to emphasize it in their own communique on the meeting. This is a heavy setback they have suffered in pressing other Warsaw Pact countries to toe their anti-China line.

It is well known that the Soviet leaders have not always had their own way at the past meetings of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Pact. But it is a development without parallel that so many propositions vital to the Soviet strategy of hegemonism were rejected by other countries at the Moscow meeting.

This has been pointed out by the Western press and news agencies in their commentaries.

The London Financial Times in a November 28 article held that the difference reflected at the Warsaw Pact meeting was the gravest crisis for this bloc since the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia in August 1968 and that it would also greatly influence East European political developments.

# Cuba: From Economic Dependence to Political Submission

C UBAN leaders have recently been boasting about how their "close" relations with the Soviet Union serve as a "model" for other countries in their future international relations.

What kind of relationship exists between Cuba and the U.S.S.R.? Let facts speak for themselves.

Of all countries in the world, Cuba receives the largest amount of Soviet "aid" and consequently depends on Moscow the most. This island country with a population of less than 10 million subsists on several million U.S. dollars per day in "aid" from Moscow which provides it with 80 per cent of the grain and all the petroleum and cotton it consumes. Although more than half of its sugar and two-thirds of its nickel are sold in "exchange," its debt to the Soviet Union reaches 700 to 800 dollars per capita.

Cuba's growing economic insolvency has enabled the social-imperialists to undermine its independence and turn it into a source of mercenaries for Soviet expansion in Africa and a Soviet Trojan horse within the non-aligned movement.

### A Soviet Trap

A review of the history of Soviet-Cuban relations reveals that the Soviet Union began to impose a neocolonial rule on this Caribbean island in 1960 by concluding an agreement to buy huge quantities of Cuban sugar at a time when the United States had adopted a measure cancelling its quota of sugar imports from Cuba.

In the ensuing years, the Soviet Union and Cuba signed several agreements under which Cuba was to sell most of its sugar, nickel, tobacco and fruit in exchange for all or most of the oil, cereals and industrial products it needed. These agreements have in effect maintained and aggravated Cuba's single-product economy and made the country economically dependent on the Soviet Union. The latter, on the principle of "international division of labour" in the "big community," encouraged the inappropriate expansion of Cuban sugar production so that the island's dependence on this single product is even more serious than during the reactionary rule of the U.S. puppet regime. According to statistics, sugar exports in 1957 accounted for 80 per cent of Cuba's total export earnings; since 1974 the figure has increased to 86.5 per cent.

In these circumstances, Cuba must throw itself on the mercy of the Soviet Union in the economic fields. In 1977, Cuban-Soviet trade totalled 4,400 million U.S. dollars, accounting for over 60 per cent of Cuba's foreign trade, a ratio which would reach about 70 per cent if Cuba's trade with other member countries of the "Council for Mutual Economic Assistance" is added. The sharp drop in sugar prices on international markets since 1975 has drastically reduced Cuba's hard currency income from the free sales of the small remaining portion of its sugar. Consequently, Cuba has had to cut down on badly needed imports from Japan and Western Europe.

Peking Review, No. 50



Accomplices.

by Chiang Fan

For the past ten years or more, the Soviet Union has been strengthening its hold on Cuba, and each time it tightens its grip, Cuba is forced to move further in pursuance of Soviet hegemonic aims.

In the early 1960s, the Soviet Union took the initial step to put Cuba under its wing by signing trade and "aid" agreements with the island country. Later in 1968, the Cuban leaders' open support for the Soviet social-imperialists' armed invasion of Czechoslovakia was an important indication of their political submission to the Soviet Union.

Then in 1972, the Soviet Union formally "integrated" Cuba with the "C.M.E.A.," in other words, institutionalized its neocolonial status. The next year, the Cuban leader put on an inglorious performance in trying to vindicate social-imperialism at the non-aligned summit held in Algiers.

### **Complete Economic Control**

Following Brezhnev's visit to Cuba in 1974, the two countries entered into "all-round cooperation." The following year, they signed a protocol which stipulated that Cuba's first fiveyear plan (1976-80) should be geared to the Soviet tenth five-year plan. As a result, Cuba, deprived of its right to develop its national economy independently and to work out its own economic plans, found itself subjected to the complete economic control of the Soviet Union. That was the year in which Cuban armed forces began to intervene in Angola.

For more than ten years, the Soviet Union has staked large sums of money on its efforts to dominate Cuba. Subsidies provided up to

December 15, 1978

1976 by the Soviet Union in purchasing sugar and nickel from Cuba and selling it oil were estimated at more than 3,630 million U.S. dollars. The main reason why the new tsars, the greediest plunderers in the world, have put such high stakes on Cuba is that they are seeking political and strategic advantages from the island.

In 1962, soon after the special relations between the two countries were established, the Soviet Union shipped missiles to the island country as a threat to the United States from the back door. The Soviet Union has gradually since then turned Cuba into a bridgehead for infiltration and expansion in the Western Hemisphere. In recent years, the Soviet Union has forced Cuba to send cannon fodder for Soviet military expansion in Africa. In so doing, the Russians don't have to shed a drop of blood themselves or risk the worldwide condemnation which would have ensued if they had sent their own soldiers there. Furthermore, to worm their way into the non-aligned movement to split and sabotage it is beyond the power of the Russians themselves, who have to depend on countries like Cuba to do it for them.

In the past few years, Moscow's rewards to Cuba for services rendered have increased to the tune of 580 million dollars annually from 1970 to 1973. In 1975 after Cuba sent troops to Africa, Soviet "aid" swelled to more than 1,000 million dollars and will reach 2,300 million this year.

It is estimated that Cuba's accumulated debt to the Soviet Union amounts to 6,000 or 7,000 million U.S. dollars. Under an agreement between the two countries, it will be repaid in 25 years, beginning from January 1986. This huge obligation, plus the new debts Cuba may incur in the future, represents an irredeemable indenture by which Cuba sells itself to the Soviet Union.

These special economic relations between the two countries are bound to influence Cuba politically. This is an obvious fact that even the Cuban leader himself finds it impossible to deny. In an interview with U.S. TV broadcaster Barbara Walters in May 1977 discussing Cuba's economic relations with the United States in the past and with the Soviet Union at present, Fidel Castro said: "Historical experience shows, just as our own experience does, that once economic bonds are established between two countries, any responsible government, any government truly concerned about its people must really think over these interests and connections. Economic bonds, in one way or another, actually do exercise a certain influence on the government's attitude."

The case in point illustrates the tragedy of a small country like Cuba which has been reduced to a new dependency under socialimperialism because of failure to uphold its independence after having ended its dependency on another imperialist power.

#### **Bridgehead and Lackeys**

Cuba's population is less than 10 million, but its regular armed forces have been expanded to 189,000. Of these 160,000 are in the army, 9,000 in the navy and 20,000 in the air force. This makes Cuba's standing army one of the largest in Latin America, and second only to that of Brazil, a nation with ten times the population of Cuba. Mexico, with seven times Cuba's population, has an armed force only half as large. Even Fidel Castro cannot but concede that the number of "regular effectives in the revolutionary armed forces far exceeds the limits warranted by the economic and demographic conditions of the country." One-fourth of this standing army has now been sent overseas to serve as Soviet mercenary troops in Africa.

The Soviet Union supplied all the arms and equipment now used by the Cuban armed forces, including 600 tanks, 200 armoured personnelcarriers, artillery and anti-aircraft missiles, more than 60 naval vessels, and 100 MIG-21s, 50 MIG-15s and 50 MIG-17s. Recently, the Kremlin has shipped to Cuba MIG-23s with a range of 1,200 miles. Castro revealed that the value in pesos of the "modern means of defence" supplied to the Cuban armed forces by the Soviet Union "is in the order of thousands of millions."

The Soviet Union has built many modern military bases and installations in Cuba. They include air force bases, nuclear-powered submarine bases and arms depots as well as command telecommunication centres. It has also built arms assembly and repair bases, modern ports and strategic railways and highways.

Soviet military specialists and advisors including some generals have infiltrated into all the military setups of Cuba's three services. They now hold positions at all levels ranging from general staff to company units. They exercise direct or indirect control over command, training and even the maintenance and use of armaments.

Almost all high-ranking Cuban military officers including department heads and army unit commanders were trained in the Soviet Union. The same is true of the majority of the naval engineering technicians, one half of the air force's ground crew and all pilots. The Cuban daily Granma on December 2, 1974 had this to report: "The Soviet Union has contributed to the training of our commanders in its military schools and has provided (the Cuban armed forces) with the distinguished advisory service of its experienced specialists." The Cuban army's military guiding thought, the principles governing its build-up, its strategy and tactics, and its intelligence system have all been adopted to the advantage of the Soviet Union

As a matter of fact Cuba has become the Soviet Union's military springboard in the Caribbean. At present, more than 20 Soviet TU-95B long-range reconnaissance bombers are stationed at Cuban air bases. From their bases in this country, they often fly missions over places near U.S. territory. Cienfuegos in Cuba has become a base for Soviet naval task force manoeuvring in the Caribbean.

Castro said: "The history of the development of our military power is a history of cooperation with the Soviet armed forces." Essentially, the history of the military co-operation between the two countries is a record of how the Soviet Union turned Cuba into a bridgehead for hegemonic expansion in Latin America.

The relations between Cuba and the Soviet Union are no different from those between imperialism and its colonies and dependencies; between master and servants. Cuban leaders who are boasting about this have really become "model" lackeys to serve the needs of the Soviet Union's strategy for world domination.

Peking Review, No. 50

# ROUND THE WORLD

#### ERITREAN GUERRILLAS

# Soviet Naval Bombardment

Soviet warships anchored off the Red Sea coast pounded Eritrean guerrilla positions in northern Eritrea on December 2. The Soviet attempt to land men and material was repulsed by the guerrillas. Once more the nature of Soviet socialimperialism is exposed.

In the war between Eritrean guerrillas and Ethiopian government troops, two highranking Soviet generals, one air force and the other infantry, 200 high-ranking Soviet officers and over 2,000 Cubans were engaged in directing and coordinating the war at all levels. An Eritrean People's Liberation Front spokesman at its Paris office said: "We are at war with the Soviet Union." An AFP dispatch quoted observers as saying that the latest Sovietbacked Ethiopian offensive coincided with the signing of a "treaty of friendship and cooperation" in Moscow between the Soviet Union and Ethiopia.

During fierce fighting with Ethiopian government troops, Eritrean guerrillas destroyed 20 and captured five Soviet-made tanks manned by Soviet personnel. The guerrillas also shot down a helicopter with a senior Russian army officer on board. The intervention of Soviet and Cuban military personnel in the offensive against the Eritrean guerrillas has enabled Ethiopian government troops to occupy the important city of Keren in

December 15, 1978

Eritrea, the last important city to fall into government hands.

The offensive to capture Keren was the second launched this year by Ethiopian government troops against the guerrillas. In June, the Ethiopian Government had hurled 200,000 troops and militiamen into the biggest offensive in that region and occupied most of the cities controlled by the guerrillas.

Eritrea is in northern Ethiopia. According to the December 2, 1950 decision by the U.N. General Assembly, Eritrea is an autonomous community forming a ""union" with Ethiopia. In November 1962, the Congress of Eritrea adopted a decision to turn Eritrea into an Ethiopian province, which has now become an administrative region. The armed struggle for independence waged by the Eritrean people since 1961 developed rapidly and by 1977 more than 90 per cent of the territory was in the hands of the Eritrean guerrillas.

#### U.S.S.R.\_AFGHANISTAN

# Military Co-operation

The Soviet Union and Afghanistan will "continue to develop co-operation in the military field" and facilitate "the creation of an effective security system in Asia," says the "treaty of friendship, goodneighbourliness and co-operation" signed by the two countries in Moscow on December 5. The treaty is the third of its kind signed by the Soviet Union since the beginning of November.

Article four of the treaty stipulates that "in the interests of strengthening the defence capacity of the high contracting parties they shall continue to develop co-operation in the military field on the basis of appropriate agreements concluded between them." Article ten states, "The high contracting parties shall consult each other on all major international issues affecting the interests of the two countries." Article eight says, "The high contracting parties shall facilitate the development of co-operation among Asian states and the establishment of relations of good-neighbourliness peace. and mutual confidence among them and the creation of an effective security system in Asia on the basis of joint efforts by all countries of the continent."

Speaking at a December 5 dinner given by the Soviet side in honour of Taraki, Chairman of the Revolutionary Council and Prime Minister of Afghanistan, Brezhnev said, "The treaty is an outstanding political act." "The Soviet Union stands for the deepening and expansion of international detente, for its extension also to the most populated continent of the planet — Asia," he added.

In reply, Taraki said, "The Democratic Republic of Afghanistan strives to have relations of good-neighbourliness and friendship with its neighbouring countries and other countries of that area."

#### JAPAN 🚽 🗄

# **New Cabinet Formed**

A new Japanese cabinet, with Masayoshi Ohira as its prime minister, was formed on December 7 and included Minister of Justice Yoshimi Furui, Minister of Foreign Affairs Sunao Sonodà and Minister of Finance Ippei Kaneko.

Masayoshi Ohira, Secretary-General of the Japanese ruling Liberal Democratic Party, was elected new party president at the 35th special party convention held on December 1. The Fukuda cabinet resigned on December 6 and an ad hoc session of the Japanese Diet was to have been called the same day. but due to disagreements within the Liberal Democratic Party over the selection of its secretary-general, the election of prime minister was postponed to December 7 when Masayoshi Ohira was formally elected prime minister by a majority vote in the House of Representatives and House of Councillors.

According to an Asahi Shimbun report, the main contents of Ohira's "policy outline" are described as: Taking a comprehensive security and defence strategy to safeguard peace; working out a joint pan-Pacific diplomacy; establishing economic contacts acceptable to the international community; and developing unofficial economic relations. Ohira on December 1 emphasized that Japan should endeavour to upgrade its selfdefence force.

Ohira said: "To my mind, Japan has made no mistakes with regard to its option in the matter of security assurance. That is expansion of the selfdefence force and the maintenance of the Japanese-U.S. security assurance system which is supplementary to Japan's self-defence force. We have all along relied on all this, coupled with other factors of strength, to guarantee Japan's security."

In September 1972, Ohira had visited China as Minister of Foreign Affairs with Prime Minister Kakuei Tanaka. The visit brought about normalization of relations between China and Japan. He came to China again in January 1974 to sign a Japan-China trade agreement. The new Prime Minister of Japan is known for his important contributions to normalizing relations between China and Japan.

# U.S.A.

# The People's Temple Tragedy

On November 18 more than 900 members of the U.S. People's Temple killed themselves at their camp near Georgetown, capital of Guyana. The U.S. public was shocked. People everywhere have been discussing this mass suicide and the cult. People were puzzled. How could such a tragedy take place among a group of citizens of a country with such a high material civilization as the United States?

People's Temple was founded 15 years ago by its leader James Jones who led his adherents to live as an agricultural community cut off from the rest of the world. Deluded and deceived by Jones, some 1,200 members of this cult later moved to Guvana. Jones proclaimed that the end of the world was imminent and that suicide was a "holy death." Adherents were physically punished for failing to observe the cult's strict and savage There were growing rules. complaints about this from the public. When a fact-finding mission led by Representative Leo Ryan of the United States was about to leave the cult's camp in Guyana for California, about 20 members of the cult asked to leave with him. Jones ordered his followers to kill Ryan and the reporters who were with him. Then Jones ordered all cult adherents to commit suicide.

That such a tragedy took place is not hard to understand. Since World War II, the corroding, mounting economic and social crises in the United States have made a growing number of Americans lose faith in their social system. Manv were led to think that life was meaningless and there was no truth in the world. Traditional morals and standards of value were upset. In the United States, this has led to widespread disillusion and nihilism, and has given rise to nearly a hundred kinds of new cults. The People's Temple was one. This cult was born of the American social system and prevailing social trends. The tragedy sheds some light on what passes for "freedom" and "civilization" in the United States today. It is also a reflection of the hollowness, mental repression and disillusionment of life in the capitalist system.

# ON THE HOME FRONT.

People's Procuratorates Re-Established

C HIEF and deputy chief procurators have been appointed to 29 provinces (except Taiwan Province), municipalities and autonomous regions in China. Similarly, 60 per cent of the prefectural and city people's procuratorates (a province has several prefectures) and 40 per cent of the more than 2,100 county people's procuratorates have had chief and deputy chief procurators appointed.

This accords with the 1978 Constitution and the Party Central Committee directive to strengthen the socialist legal system. According to Article 43 of the Constitution, the people's procuratorates exercise procuratorial authority ensuring observance of the Constitution and the law by all state organs and their personnel and all citizens. The procuratorial organs, public security organs and people's courts complement and restrict each other in their work.

Competent people who have a strong Party spirit and a good style of work are selected to work in the people's procuratorates at various levels.

The Supreme People's Procuratorate and local people's procuratorates ceased functioning during the Cultural Revolution after Lin Piao and the "gang of four" called for

December 15, 1978

"smashing the public security organs, the people's procuratorates and the people's courts."

# Tientsin's New Industrial Projects

IN north China's key industrial city of Tientsin, more capital construction projects are under way in the power, metallurgical, chemical, oil, transport and textile industries. Some projects have already gone into production.

Of the two sets of 320,000kw. generators imported by this port city to supply power for off-shore oil drilling, one is already in use and the other now under trial operation will go into service next spring.

construction and Capital equipment installation are well under way at the Tientsin Petrochemical Complex, one of the state's key projects. It will produce 80,000 tons of polyester cut film and 50,000 tons of dacron short fibre each year when completed. With a total building floor space of 480,000 square metres, it will have 2,000 pieces of imported equipment and 14,000 imported instruments and meters. A further 5,200 pieces of China-made equipment will be put in.

A quarry to supply 600,000 tons of stone a year for the projects went into production this year in Chihsien County in Tientsin's northern suburb.



Chang Huai-hu.

# Warehouseman, Special Grade

THE Ministry of Communications recently conferred the title of Labour Hero on Chang Huai-hu, a Communist Party member, and made him "warehouse keeper, special grade." The promotion carried higher wages.

This former stevedore in Wuhan, central China's river port city, got a job as warehouseman after recovering from injuries sustained at work in 1956. For 21 years he has never asked for a single day off work. Even during the period when Lin Piao and the "gang of four" were spreading anarchist ideas and some people stopped going to work, Chang Huai-hu was at his post as usual.

Devoting every effort to his work, he has not made one mistake in all the 21 years he has been working as a warehouseman. Millions of pieces of goods, ranging from confectionary to prized ginseng and highly leopard bones, from needles to television sets, have colour his hands through passed without damage or loss.

# SELECTED WORKS OF MAO TSETUNG Volume V

English Edition

This volume contains 70 of Comrade Mao Tsetung's important writings from September 1949 through 1957.

520 pp.  $22.2 \times 15.2$  cm. Hardback or paperback

Also available in French, German, Japanese, Russian and Spanish.

Published by: FOREIGN LANGUAGES PRESS, Peking, China Distributed by: GUOZI SHUDIAN (China Publications Centre), Peking, China

Order from your local dealer or write direct to Mail Order Dept., GUOZI SHUDIAN, P.O. Box 399, Peking, China