

BEIJING REVIEW

- Chinese Frontier Forces Counterattack Vietnamese Aggressors
- Ensuring Full Democracy Inside the Party



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COVER: Despite repeated warnings from the Chinese Government, the Vietnamese authorities continue to dispatch large numbers of armed personnel to invade China's territory, shooting and wounding Chinese frontier guards and border residents. The picture shows Wei Jiakui, a commune member of the Hulong production brigade, Longbang commune, Jingxi County, Guangxi, denouncing the Vietnamese attacks.

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CHRONICLE

Feb. 12

• Hua Guofeng, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, and Ye Jianying, Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, send a message to Josip Broz Tito, President of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia and President of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, extending condolences over the death of Comrade Edvard Kardelj.

Feb. 14

• Premier Hua Guofeng sends a cable to Mehdi Bazargan, recognizing the Provisional Government of Iran and congratulating him on his assumption of the office of Prime Minister.

Feb. 16

• Premier Hua Guofeng, Chairman of the N.P.C. Standing Committee Ye Jianying and Vice-Chairman of the N.P.C. Standing Committee Deng Yingchao give a banquet in honour of Samdech and Madame Sihanouk and Samdech and Madame Penn Nouth. Samdech and Madame Sihanouk arrived in Beijing on February 13 from New York.

Feb. 17

• The Sixth Session of the Standing Committee of the Fifth National People's Congress opens in Beijing. Members of the Standing Committee hear and approve Foreign Minister Huang Hua's report on Vice-Premier Deng Xiaoping's visit to the United States and Vice-Foreign Minister He Ying's report on Vice-Premier Li Xiannian's visit to Tanzania, Mozambique, Zambia, Zaire and Pakistan. Chairman Ye Jianying said: Vice-Premier Deng's visit to the United States was one of far-reaching significance and had achieved major results. He added that Vice-Premier Li Xiannian's visit to the four African countries and Pakistan had promoted China's friendly relations with these countries and had achieved complete success.

• The frontier forces of the Chinese People's Liberation Army in Guangxi and Yunnan are forced to counterattack the Vietnamese aggressors and defend the frontier regions.



Frontier Forces Counter-attack Vietnamese Aggressors

On February 17 the Chinese frontier troops launched a counterattack against the Vietnamese aggressors.

The counterattack took place when the Vietnamese armed intrusions had seriously threatened the peace and security of China's southern borders. Driven beyond forbearance, the frontier troops were forced to rise in counterattack.

The Vietnamese authorities have in the past two years recklessly pushed an anti-China and anti-Chinese policy and, at the same time, incessantly carried out armed provocations in China's border areas. Treasuring the friendship between the Chinese and Vietnamese peoples, China has exercised restraint and forbearance; but the Vietnamese authorities, emboldened by the support of the Soviet Union, have become more and more unscrupulous. From January through December last year, Vietnamese armed personnel intruded into Chinese territory and created disputes on more than 1,100 occasions, and from last August to the eve of China's counterattack, they carried out armed provocations on 705 occasions, made armed incursions into China's border areas at 162 places and killed or wounded more than 300 Chinese frontier guards and civilians.

Chinese leaders and the Chinese Foreign Ministry have repeatedly issued appeals and warnings, but the Vietnamese authorities have turned a deaf ear to all this. In its February

16 note to the Vietnamese Embassy in China, the Chinese Foreign Ministry lodged a strong protest and warned the Vietnamese authorities that "they must immediately and completely stop all their armed provocations, assaults and killing of Chinese army men and people in the border areas, or they should bear full responsibility for all the consequences arising therefrom."

China's permanent representative to the United Nations Chen Chu sent a letter on February 15 to the President of the Security Council of the United Nations, pointing out that the armed provocations carried out by the Vietnamese authorities along the Sino-Vietnamese borders gravely threaten the security of China's border areas. The letter expressed the hope that the United Nations will uphold justice, exercise its functions and authority and take necessary measures to halt the Vietnamese authorities' armed incursions and provocations against China, and immediately stop all their acts jeopardizing the peace and security of Southeast Asia and the world as a whole.

While launching a massive invasion of Kampuchea and making incessant provocations against China, the Vietnamese authorities have tried to capitalize on its status of a "small country" for blatant abuses and slanders against China, alleging that China "harbours ambitions" against Viet Nam, and so on and so forth. But such tactics of an evil-doer levelling a pre-emptive false charge against others are utterly futile. China is working hard for the

realization of the "four modernizations." She needs a peaceful international environment and does not want a single inch of Vietnamese territory. All China wants is a peaceful and stable border. The February 17 statement of the Xinhua News Agency upon authorization from the Chinese Government pointed out: "After counterattacking the Vietnamese aggressors as they deserve, the Chinese frontier troops will strictly keep to defending the border of their own country." "The Chinese Government now proposes again that the two sides speedily hold negotiations at any mutually agreed place between representatives of an appropriate level to discuss the restoration of peace and tranquillity along the border between the two countries and proceed to settle the disputes concerning the boundary and territory. The Chinese Government is prepared to enter into concrete negotiations on any constructive measures that can ensure peace and tranquillity along the border between the two countries." (For full text of the statement see p. 8.)

Sino-Indian Relations

Indian External Affairs Minister Vajpayee's visit to China from February 12 to 18 has produced positive and beneficial results. Attesting to this are:

— Premier Hua Guofeng has extended an invitation to Morarji Ranchhodji Desai, the Prime Minister of India, to visit China at a time convenient to him.

— External Affairs Minister Vajpayee has invited Foreign Minister Huang Hua to visit India.

— Both Huang Hua and Vajpayee have agreed that China and India should work for the improvement of bilateral relations.

During his meeting with the Indian External Affairs Minister, Premier Hua made clear China's attitude. He said: "More contacts between leaders of China and India will help deepen mutual understanding and friendship between our two countries." He added: "As long as both sides abide by the Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence, our relations will develop satisfactorily. We have broad prospects for expanding co-operation in many spheres. China is willing to take positive steps to develop friendly relations and co-operation with India."

When he met External Affairs Minister Vajpayee, Vice-Premier Deng expressed the hope that steps be taken promptly to improve the relations between the two countries. He said: "We should seek common ground while reserving our differences. As for the boundary question between our two countries, we can solve it through peaceful consultations. This question should not prevent us from improving our relations in other fields." Vice-Premier Deng pointed out that China and India have much in common on international issues.

Foreign Minister Huang Hua held talks on three occasions with his Indian counterpart. They exchanged views in a sincere and frank manner on

the international situation and bilateral questions. Discussions were also held between Chinese and Indian officials on promoting exchanges and co-operation in trade, culture, science and technology and other fields.

The Indian External Affairs Minister's visit was the first high-level contact between the two Governments in more than ten years. China and India have been friendly neighbours since ancient times. Relations between them were good following China's liberation. Then there was a period of setback, but this is after all only a short episode in the long years of history. Trade between the two countries has resumed in the past two years, and cultural exchanges and contacts between the two peoples have increased. For China and India to live together in amity is in the fundamental interest of the two peoples and accords with their common wishes. Though differences still exist, they should not be an obstacle to the development of bilateral relations.

Vice-Premier Deng Answers Questions by Indian Correspondents

Vice-Premier Deng Xiaoping on February 14 answered questions put to him by more than a score of Indian correspondents who accompanied External Affairs Minister A.B. Vajpayee on his visit to China.

On Improving Sino-Indian Relations. Vice-Premier Deng said that China and India should "shelve those issues on which there actually are differences" and that they should "take their time in negotiating." He suggested that they "do some prac-

tical things to develop their relations," adding: "China and India are the two most populous countries in the world. How can they afford not to be friendly to each other!"

Joint Efforts of Asian Peoples Needed. "The international situation," said the Vice-Premier, "is not tranquil, so is the situation in Asia. Hegemonism is now vigorously pushing its policy of southward advance and we are very much concerned over this. The developments in Indochina are causing great anxiety. To solve these problems requires the joint efforts of all the Asian peoples. Without such joint efforts, it would be difficult to achieve peace, security and stability in Asia and the world as a whole."

Nuclear Weapons. "We stand for destroying all nuclear weapons completely," Vice-Premier Deng declared. "The nuclear powers, however, have no right to prevent non-nuclear countries from possessing nuclear weapons unless these powers commit themselves to destroy their nuclear weapons completely or guarantee not to be the first to use them."

Vice-Premier Deng pointed out that both China and India need a peaceful international environment so as to carry on their national reconstruction and that China hopes no world war will break out again in this century.

Vice-Premier Deng reiterated the Chinese Government's consistent position of supporting the Kampuchean people in their just struggle against Vietnamese aggression. He also stressed the need for China to learn the advanced things in other countries with an open mind in the

course of achieving the four modernizations.

Strive for "Four Modernizations" With One Mind

"When people are of one mind, they can move Mount Tai." This is how the Chinese people graphically describe the importance of determination and unity of purpose. Under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, they succeeded through concerted efforts in removing the three big mountains — imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism — that had lain like a dead weight on them. Now, to accomplish socialist modernization, the concerted efforts of the whole nation are of prime importance in removing another two mountains — economic and technological backwardness.

This is the call issued by *Renmin Ribao*, organ of the Party, in its February 9 editorial. Since the downfall of the "gang of four," the editorial noted, there has been a fundamental turn for the better in

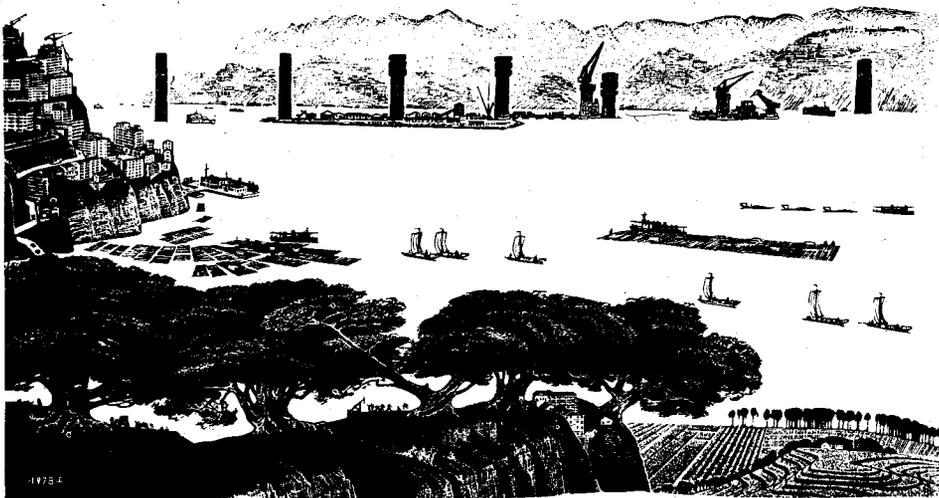
the national situation, and conditions are now ripe for shifting the focus of work to socialist modernization. But owing to the havoc wrought by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" over the past ten years and more, the losses cannot be made up and the numerous problems crying for solution cannot be solved overnight. In the next two or three years, great efforts have to be made in every field of endeavour so as to further improve the political, economic and ideological situation (including people's thinking and style of work) and lay a more solid foundation for socialist modernization.

To accomplish this, the editorial stressed the following three points.

- Mobilize all the positive factors for the cause of modernization. Proceeding from this basic need, we must promptly and thoroughly implement the Party's policies towards cadres, intellectuals, national minorities, overseas Chinese affairs and the national bourgeoisie as well as various economic policies. Frame-ups and wrong cases should be redressed with-

out delay, and this includes reversing the verdicts on those who were wrongly designated as Rightists, landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries or bad elements. If these errors are not corrected and if a large number of people should continue to be labelled and a still larger number of people involved in one way or another continue to be weighed down by such burdens, there would be no ease of mind for the masses. How then can we unite the people of the whole country to work with one mind for the four modernizations? The question of solving issues left over from the past is one of bringing the people's initiative into play and strengthening the unity of the revolutionary ranks. It is, in fact, a major question which should not be ignored today.

- It is imperative to show concern for the people's livelihood and solve problems of immediate interest to them. To take a bureaucratic attitude on these matters is impermissible. The settlement of many problems, however, requires time and certain material conditions. Our economy is still very back-



Building another bridge spanning the Changjiang River.

Woodcut by Feng Zhongtie

ward and the living standard of the people cannot be raised very quickly. A better life hinges, for the most part, on increased production. We must not seek a good living without any consideration for production or go after personal interests at the expense of national and collective interests. The fundamental interest of the Chinese people lies in the accomplishment of socialist modernization. Whatever we do or think, we should take this point into consideration.

• For people to work with one mind for socialist modernization, there must be a sound and healthy democratic life. The people are now animatedly discussing Party and state affairs and the question of perfecting the democratic and legal system. This is commendable and understandable, for there was too little democracy in the past few years. Putting the stress on democracy today does not mean that we will do away with centralism. While giving scope for democracy, we should see to it that there is proper social order and that daily work and production are not disrupted. To negate centralized leadership and practise democracy without any regard to discipline is anarchism, not genuine people's democracy. We suffered enough from anarchism in those years when Lin Biao and the "gang of four" had their way. It is time for us to make a clean sweep of anarchism once and for all.

Why People Come to Beijing to Appeal

The people are the masters in our country. They have, according to the Constitution, the right

to lodge complaints with organs of state and the leadership of a higher level or appeal to them by way of writing letters or making visits. Party and state organs have recently received more letters than before from the masses and the number of people coming to Beijing to appeal to the higher authorities is visibly increasing.

What accounts for this? In those years when Lin Biao and the "gang of four" were in power, they encroached on the fundamental rights of the people, and the victims could appeal to no one for justice. Since last year, however, the Party Central Committee has issued a series of instructions on redressing grievances and wrong sentences and solving problems left over from the past, and many victims of major frame-ups have been rehabilitated. Now people dare to speak up and appeal to the higher authorities. This is a good thing and a normal phenomenon. But a number of places and departments have been slack and tardy in implementing the Party's instructions, which is why an increasing number of people have come to Beijing.

To help correct shortcomings and mistakes in this work, Comrade Hua Guofeng recently called a special meeting. He pointed out that the majority of those who have come to Beijing are good people and that help should be given them to solve their problems promptly and in a reasonable way. The Party Central Committee has summoned leading comrades from those provinces and cities concerned to Beijing to handle the matter.

A *Renmin Ribao* commentary stressed the need for leading

comrades at all levels to attach importance to this work, pointing out that listening to criticisms and suggestions from all quarters is vital to improving our work. It called upon the comrades handling the cases to regard the majority of the appellants as their class brothers and sisters and help them solve their problems without delay. The commentary drew attention to the fact that there are a few who have come to Beijing to make trouble or bring false charges against others. We should be on guard against them. Adequate explanation should be given with regard to issues which cannot be solved for the time being because they involve policies that have a bearing on the situation as a whole.

Memorial Meeting for Su Zhenhua

Comrade Su Zhenhua, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, died of a heart attack on February 7 in Beijing.

A long-tested and loyal fighter of the proletariat, Su was a Standing Committee Member of the Military Commission of the C.P.C. Central Committee, First Secretary of the Party Committee of the Naval Forces and First Political Commissar of the Naval Forces of the Chinese People's Liberation Army.

Comrade Hua Guofeng presided at a memorial meeting for Su Zhenhua in Beijing's Great Hall of the People on February 15. Comrades Ye Jianying, Deng Xiaoping, Li Xiannian, Chen Yun, Wang Dongxing and other Party and state leaders attended.

Comrade Deng Xiaoping delivered the memorial speech. He said: For half a century Comrade Su Zhenhua, under the leadership of the Party Central Committee, followed Comrade Mao Zedong in fighting north and south and made great contributions to the cause of the Chinese people's liberation, the socialist revolution and construction, the revolutionization and modernization of our army and the strengthening of our national defence. He waged resolute struggles against Lin Biao and made major contributions to the smashing of the "gang of four."

Though he was ill, Comrade Su Zhenhua called meetings just before his death to study the ways and means of shifting the focus of the navy's work on to modernization and preparation against war.

According to his wish, his ashes were scattered on the seas of the motherland.

"Iron Rice Bowl"

A hot topic of discussion among the Chinese people nowadays is the so-called "iron rice bowl." In vernacular Chinese speech, "rice bowl" is the synonym for "job" and "wages," and "iron rice bowl" means a secure job and guaranteed income.

The discussion was touched off by the article "A Few Words About 'Iron Rice Bowl'" published last September in *Zhejiang Ribao* in east China's Zhejiang Province.

The writer who contributed that article told the following story. One day he saw a restaurant attendant, who happened to be a woman, arguing

with a customer. A few words were exchanged, then without rhyme or reason she snatched a bowl of noodles from the customer. In so doing she dropped the bowl and broke it. What surprised the onlookers was that she behaved as if nothing had happened. An old worker close by said angrily: "In the old society, she would have broken her own rice bowl (meaning "got fired") the way she behaved and scoffed at a customer." Another worker giped: "Don't worry. We are now living in a new society. What she has is an iron rice bowl."

That article produced immediate response among the readers. Many people in the province and elsewhere wrote to the paper expressing their views. Everyone agreed that the article was timely and that it pointed up some of the malpractices that should not be allowed to go on unchallenged. They added that the issue raised is significant because if it is not solved, it will hamper the modernization of our country.

China has abolished the system of exploitation by the landlord and capitalist classes and done away with serious social injustice as described in an ancient poem: "Behind the vermilion gates of the rich, meat and wine go to waste; but along the road are bones of the poor who have frozen to death." The people are now accustomed to describe the superior socialist system as an "iron rice bowl," for they have jobs and their basic needs are guaranteed.

There is no denying, however, the fact that some people with backward ideas are irresponsible in their work and they never worry because their jobs are

guaranteed and they get the same wages whether their work is good or bad. This phenomenon became more widespread in the past few years as a result of absolute equalitarianism and anarchism advocated by Lin Biao and the "gang of four."

Participants in the discussion maintain that such malpractices reflect defects in certain links of our state system. They point out in particular that the socialist principles of distribution — "He who does not work, neither shall he eat" and "from each according to his ability, to each according to his work" — have not been properly implemented, with the resultant defect that no distinction is made between merits and demerits and that good work is not duly awarded and bad work punished. To safeguard the socialist system for which countless revolutionaries have laid down their lives, it is imperative to take effective measures against those who sponge on socialism, in addition to criticizing and educating them. If such erroneous ideas were allowed to spread unchecked, it would be impossible for us to bring about modernization and, with people sitting back and eating away the nation's resources, it would be difficult to keep intact the "iron rice bowl" of socialism itself.



Authorized Statement By Xinhua News Agency

The Vietnamese authorities have continually sent armed forces to encroach on Chinese territory, and Chinese frontier troops have been forced to rise in counter-attack.

THE Xinhua News Agency was authorized by the Chinese Government to issue the following statement on February 17:

Ignoring China's repeated warnings, the Vietnamese authorities have of late continually sent armed forces to encroach on Chinese territory and attack Chinese frontier guards and inhabitants, causing a rapid deterioration of the situation and seriously threatening the peace and security of China's frontiers. Driven beyond forbearance, Chinese frontier troops have been forced to rise in counterattack.

While recklessly pushing an anti-China and anti-Chinese policy, the Vietnamese authorities have in the past two years carried out incessant armed provocations and hostile activities in China's border areas. Treasuring the friendship between the Chinese and Vietnamese peoples and exercising restraint and forbearance, the Chinese side has repeatedly given advice and served warning to the Vietnamese authorities with a view to avoiding a worsening of the situation. But the Vietnamese authorities, emboldened by the support of the Soviet Union and mistaking China's restraint and desire for peace as a sign of weakness, have become more and more unscrupulous and kept escalating their armed incursions into China's border areas. They have concentrated massive armed forces along the Sino-Vietnamese border and repeatedly encroached on China's territory. They have flagrantly laid mines and built defence

works on Chinese territory, wilfully opened up with rifles and guns to destroy Chinese villages and kill Chinese soldiers and civilians, plundered Chinese properties and attacked Chinese trains, thus causing grave incidents of bloodshed. In the past six months alone, the Vietnamese have made armed provocations on more than seven hundred occasions and killed or wounded more than three hundred Chinese frontier guards and inhabitants. By such rampant acts of aggression the Vietnamese authorities have meant to provoke military conflicts and heighten tension along China's southern border and disrupt China's socialist modernization programme. Such acts of aggression of Viet Nam, if allowed to go unchecked, will no doubt endanger the peace and stability of Southeast Asia and even those of the whole of Asia.

It is the consistent position of the Chinese Government and people that "we will not attack unless we are attacked; if we are attacked, we will certainly counterattack." The Chinese frontier troops are fully justified to rise in counterattack when they are driven beyond forbearance. We want to build up our country and need a peaceful international environment. We would not like to fight. We do not want a single inch of Vietnamese territory, but neither will we tolerate wanton incursions into Chinese territory. All we want is a peaceful and stable border. After counterattacking the Vietnamese aggressors as they deserve, the Chinese frontier troops will strictly keep to defending the border

of their own country. We believe this Chinese position will enjoy the sympathy and support of all the countries and people who love peace and uphold justice.

The Chinese and Vietnamese peoples, sympathizing with and supporting each other in their long revolutionary struggles, have forged a profound friendship. The occurrence of today's grave armed conflict between China and Viet Nam is wholly the making of the Vietnamese authorities acting contrary to the will of the Chinese and Vietnamese peoples. The Chinese Government and people treasure and uphold the friendship between the two peoples. They have done so and will continue to do so in future.

The Chinese Government solemnly demands that the Vietnamese authorities at once stop the armed incursions and all acts of provocation and sabotage in Chinese border areas, withdraw all their armed personnel from the Chinese territory they have illegally occupied and respect China's sovereignty and territorial integrity.

The Chinese Government has always stood for a fair and reasonable settlement of the disputes between the two countries through peaceful negotiations. Past negotiations have all failed because of lack of good faith on the Vietnamese side. The Chinese Government now proposes again that the two sides speedily hold negotiations at any mutually agreed place between representatives of an appropriate level to discuss the restoration of peace and tranquillity along the border between the two countries and proceed to settle the disputes concerning the boundary and territory. The Chinese Government is prepared to enter into concrete negotiations on any constructive measures that can ensure peace and tranquillity along the border between the two countries.

At this time when Chinese frontier troops are forced to repulse Vietnamese armed incursions, the Chinese Government appeals to the Vietnamese authorities to stop on the precipice, retract from the wrong path and not to go any farther.

Counterattack in Defence of Our Frontiers

THE frontier forces of the Chinese People's Liberation Army were compelled to rise in counterattack against the Vietnamese invaders who have been making incessant armed encroachments upon Chinese border areas.

The Chinese frontier forces counterattacked when the situation became intolerable and there was no alternative. To make China a prosperous and strong socialist state and attain the magnificent target of four modernizations by the end of this century, the Chinese people urgently need an international situation of peace and stability. However, the trees may prefer calm but the wind will not subside. Instigated by Soviet social-imperialism and with its support, the Vietnamese authorities escalated their armed encroachments upon China to intolerable dimensions, compelling us to take action much against our will.

The Vietnamese authorities are nationalist expansionists. To achieve their ambition for setting up an "Indochina federation" and dominate Southeast Asia, they have acted perfidiously and have unscrupulously committed aggression and expansion. While accepting massive aid from the Chinese people who were able to provide it only by dint of practising strict economy and at the cost of sweat and blood, the Vietnamese authorities slandered socialist New China which consistently upholds proletarian internationalism, and fanned up national hatred by making distorted interpretations of historical events and even seized Chinese territory by force of arms. Their expansionist ambition has inflated in the past two years. They openly trampled underfoot all norms of international relations, flagrantly invaded Kampuchea and frantically intensified their anti-China campaign. They have persecuted, plun-



Chinese frontier guard Liu Yongguang's right leg was blown off by a mine that Vietnamese had planted in Nanpo Commune, Jingxi County, Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region, China.

dered and expelled with extreme cruelty Chinese residents in Viet Nam, who had for many years shared weal and woe with the Vietnamese people, and Vietnamese citizens of Chinese origin. Two hundred thousand people have already been driven out to China. Furthermore, they even declared that China, which they called a country of "comrades and brothers" not very long ago, is their No. 1 enemy and they called for a war with China. They massed troops along the Sino-Vietnamese border, made incessant provocations, encroached upon China's territory, created incidents of bloodshed, killed Chinese border inhabitants and frontier guards, plundered and looted, attacked Chinese trains and undermined production in China's border areas. Armed provocations and incursions into China's border areas by Vietnamese armed personnel sharply increased to more than 700 cases in the past six months and over 300 Chinese army men and civilians were killed or wounded in these incidents. Military personnel and civilians in the Chinese border areas have suffered casualties practically every day, and large numbers

of Chinese border inhabitants have been unable to work in peace and their lives and property are in constant danger. By making frequent incursions across the border, Hanoi intends to plunge the whole expanse of the Chinese border areas into a state of prolonged intranquillity and tension, menace China's security, impair its sovereignty and territorial integrity and hamper its socialist modernization.

The Chinese people have all along exercised forbearance and restraint towards the Vietnamese authorities' deliberate encroachments upon Chinese territory. Over a long period, our frontier forces were instructed not to hit back at Vietnamese attacks so as to avoid an aggravation of the situation. But the Vietnamese authorities have gone farther and farther down the road of aggression. China has repeatedly warned them that we will not attack unless we are attacked; if we are attacked, we will certainly counterattack. But relying on Soviet backing, they have been bent on pursuing their course and kept escalating their provocations and incursions into Chinese border areas. Facts have proved that in dealing with the Vietnamese authorities, restraint and forbearance were regarded as an invitation to more bullying, and all appeals, advice and warnings have fallen on deaf ears. Their bullying has gone beyond the limit of our forbearance. Under such circumstances, our frontier forces could not but rise in counterattack in order to check the armed invasion of China by the Vietnamese authorities so as to defend our frontiers and protect the lives and property of the people in our border areas and ensure smooth development of China's socialist modernization. We don't want a single inch of Vietnamese soil. What we want is a peaceful and stable frontier. After hitting back at the aggressors as far as is necessary, our frontier forces will turn to guard strictly the frontiers of our motherland.

The Chinese and Vietnamese peoples have regarded each other as brothers, supported each other and established a profound friendship in the protracted revolutionary struggle. Unfortunately, this friendship has been deliberately sabotaged by the Vietnamese authorities in recent years. This has caused losses to the

Chinese people and deepened the suffering of the Vietnamese people. The existence of a peaceful boundary between China and Viet Nam conforms with the fundamental interest of the two peoples. The Chinese people will continue to exert efforts to uphold the friendship between the two peoples and restore peace and tranquillity in the Sino-Vietnamese border areas. The Chinese Government's proposal that the two sides enter into negotiations as quickly as possible fully demonstrates the good faith of the Chinese Government and people.

The counterattack our frontier forces were compelled to carry out is a just action in defence of our frontiers. It is in the interest of checking Vietnamese aggression and expansion and defending peace and stability in Southeast Asia as well as the Asian and Pacific region. We are

convinced that our stand will enjoy the sympathy and support of the justice-upholding and peace-loving people in Southeast Asia, the Asian and Pacific region as well as in the whole world.

The Chinese people, filled with immense indignation at the frenzied intrusions into our territory ordered by the Vietnamese authorities, warmly support our frontier forces in launching a counterattack. At present, the people throughout the country are rallying more closely round the Party Central Committee headed by Comrade Hua Guofeng, increasing production, doing a good job in all fields, heightening their vigilance, intensifying preparedness against war and maintaining good social order, all for the purpose of accomplishing the socialist modernization of our country.

(*"Renmin Ribao" editorial, February 18.*)

Vietnamese Authorities Agitate For War Against China

THE Vietnamese authorities have recently carried out war mobilization throughout the country, intensified their troop deployment in areas along the Sino-Vietnamese border and even openly agitated for a war against China "on any scale."

Instead of striving for economic restoration and improving the living conditions of the Vietnamese people after the war of resistance against the United States, the Vietnamese authorities have made use of the political capital and military equipment gained from the war and depended on Moscow's backing to hastily push ahead their plan for establishing an "Indochinese federation" in an attempt to dominate Southeast Asia. They have dispatched 50,000 troops to Laos to control the country. They have used 150,000 troops to launch a large-scale war of aggression against Kampuchea. At the same time, they have dispatched armed personnel to repeatedly intrude into Chinese

border areas and provoke incidents of bloodshed, and made frequent war cries against China, making China the "main enemy."

War Mobilization

The reactionary Vietnamese authorities have put the whole country into the orbit of arms expansion and war preparations for their aggressive expansion abroad. In 1978, they decided to launch a campaign for "strengthening combat effectiveness" which was regarded as the main task of the Vietnamese army and people for 1979 and 1980. At the Vietnamese Army Day celebration rally on December 21, 1978, Vietnamese Defence Minister Vo Nguyen Giap openly called on the nation to be "aware of the new antagonist in war," "always ready to fight" and "ready for a large-scale war." In an editorial the following day the *Quan Doi Nhan Dan* even openly called for "applying the offensive strategy so as to strike at the enemy under



Chinese commune member Nong Mujin in Guangxi tells frontier guards how Vietnamese aggressors shelled her home.

advantageous circumstances," and called on all the officers and men of the Vietnamese army "to be ready to sacrifice at any time" for their armed aggression and expansion abroad.

At the same time, "compulsory service committees" have been set up in various parts of the country. Last year alone, the Vietnamese authorities drafted recruits three times, which far surpassed the most intensive period of the war of resistance against the United States in terms of the number of recruits, the scope of the efforts involved and the tense atmosphere. The total number of recruits last year was estimated at about 400,000. Besides, 200,000 ex-servicemen have been called back into service. A number of military units engaging in economic construction have been turned into combat ones. According to Western news agencies, the total strength of the Vietnamese army has reached 1.5 million, about 50 per cent more than that at the end of the war of resistance against the United States.

Meanwhile, the Vietnamese authorities have organized "shock teams" with the participation of 5 million youths who were ordered to be ready for combat. Military training has been imposed upon the teachers and students in colleges and middle schools. A course on "national defence education" has been started in high

schools. Militia and guerrilla organizations are being expanded and local cadres are constantly called up for military training. A reporter for the Canadian paper *Toronto Globe & Mail* wrote in a dispatch that wherever you go in Viet Nam, you can see that military affairs occupy a place of prime importance, and that no man can be found in the fields.

The Vietnamese troops frequently carried out large-scale military exercises in areas bordering on China and made China their target. Last October, the Third Military Zone Command conducted exercises according to its combat plan against China. The "Quick Victory Corps," a principal unit of the Vietnamese army, also carried out large-scale exercises, and clamoured that it will be built into a powerful corps that will win in all circumstances.

Whole Army Ready for Combat

Since early this year, the Vietnamese authorities, while stepping up intrusions into Chinese border areas, have ordered the whole army to enter into combat-readiness. They concentrated more troops in the north and "purified" the areas bordering on China. It was reported that several hundreds of thousands of troops were massed in the area north of Hanoi. Since late January, many Vietnamese units have

entered into first degree combat-readiness from second degree combat-readiness. The Vietnamese authorities recently ordered all residents in Mong Cai and Dong Dang townships to evacuate before January 20 and placed all the buildings at the disposal of the armed forces and all the areas under military control. Some Vietnamese personnel in charge of the evacuation openly clamoured, "Be ready to fight against China. This is the task set on us by the whole world."

In an editorial on January 24 entitled "Get Organized and Be Ready to Fight," the Vietnamese paper *Quan Doi Nhan Dan* called on the army units to "get yourselves and your arms ready to the extent that you can act at short notice — whether on days off or holidays, or during the Spring Festival." "Those units stationed in border areas or on islands or entrusted with special combat missions in important areas should take more effective measures to ensure a quick and effective implementation of the tasks," the paper said. An editorial of the same paper on February 3 urged the army "to grasp the initiative under any circumstances to ensure victory in battle." Obviously their daggers have been drawn for a real fight.

Recently, a number of foreign news agencies and newspapers reported that the Vietnamese

authorities had intensified their activities to fan up a war mania against China.

Quoting an article carried in the Indonesian newspaper *Merdeka* written by Indonesian columnist Supeno Sumardja who visited Viet Nam recently, an AFP Djakarta dispatch, datelined January 17, pointed out that the Vietnamese authorities had deployed large numbers of troops along areas bordering on China. The Vietnamese authorities have vacated the city of Lao Cai in Hoang Lien Son Province (situated on the Vietnamese side of the river opposite Hekou of China's Yunnan Province) and moved the provincial administration to Yen Bai.

Kyodo News Agency of Japan reported from Bangkok, "Viet Nam announced Tuesday (January 23) it was suspending passenger service on the Hanoi-Ho Chi Minh City railway from Wednesday (January 24) to February 1. Observers took this as an act designed for massive transfer of troops and ammunition." The report said, "The observers speculated that Hanoi was using the trunk railroad exclusively for mass transport of troops from south to north."

Kyodo also reported from Bangkok in another dispatch, "It was disclosed by tourists returning from Hanoi that Viet Nam, particu-



Vietnamese inhabitants being driven over to China's Dongxing Ford, Guangxi, by the Vietnamese authorities.

larly north Viet Nam with the capital of Hanoi as the centre, seems to have strengthened its combat-readiness against China." The air force has started to use half the installations at the Hanoi international airport. In the forests around the airport, ground-to-air guided missiles have been installed and Mig-21 fighters

have had their cover taken off. Quoting informed sources from Bangkok, the report said, "There is information indicating that in Da Nang, central Viet Nam, Soviet supply vessels have been unloading logistic materials recently. That means Viet Nam is determined to confront China."

The National Independence Movement Surges in the Caribbean

IN the vast Caribbean region small and underdeveloped nations hitherto under British control are moving towards independence after protracted struggles.

This new development which shakes the colonial system to its foundation is changing the face of the area.

The east Caribbean island of Dominica took the lead by proclaiming nationhood on November 3, 1978. St. Lucia became independent on February 22, 1979 and its neighbouring island St. Vincent is preparing to celebrate its independence as a sovereign state this year. St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla and Antigua, Britain's oldest West Indian territories which were colonized in the first half of the 17th century, are striving to achieve independence within 1979. With the support of many third world countries, Belize, in the northwestern part of Central America, has been fighting hard for independence with "full sovereignty and territorial integrity."

The End of a Historical Period

The six are among the world's smallest and weakest nations, with populations ranging from 60,000 to 140,000. With the exception of Belize, all are less than 800 square kilometres in area. For them independence would mean the end of a historical period of enslavement and oppression. As St. Lucian Premier John Compton has pointed out: "It is only by looking back through

the long corridors of history that one can fully appreciate the immensity of this great achievement."

The distress of the people there can be traced back to the end of the 15th century when European powers began to conquer by fire and sword the Western Hemisphere following the "discovery" of the new continent. According to historians' estimates, there were at least one million industrious and generous American Indians in the West Indies when they were invaded by the Europeans. However, because of genocide, enslavement and eviction by the colonialists, the aborigines died out swiftly, leaving only 5,000 "Caribs" on Dominica today.

English is the common language of the people of the six territories. But a local French patois, or Spanish, is also spoken by some of the population. This is a vestige of the contention among the European powers for the slave labour of the local people. St. Lucia, for instance, has changed hands 15 times, but one thing did not change: subjugation of the local people. The history of Nevis as a slave market and the preponderance of black people in the composition of the six territories' populations remind one of the criminal record of the colonialists who brought in large numbers of black people from Africa as slave labour in place of the American Indians whom they had decimated. Foreign economic control has resulted in lopsided economies depending on a few farm products—bananas, sugar, sea island cotton and tropical

fruits. This shows that these territories have been reduced to mere plantations and cheap labour sources of the metropolitan countries.

Striving for Independence

Where there is oppression, there is resistance. The history of the six territories is also one of never-ending resistance to foreign domination and oppression and tenacious struggle for national self-determination and independence. In 1640, the St. Lucian aborigines wiped out all the 400 British colonialists not long after their settlement. The French invaded the island in 1651 and also met with fierce resistance and later a French governor was killed. Courageous resistance put up by the American Indians on Dominica in the 17th century time and again forced Britain and France to give up the occupation of the island. Later, the British, in the face of the protracted struggle of the local people, modified their rule several times in a bid to retain their colonial interests. But these changes, which centred around a slight extension of the autonomy of the local people, proved a failure as a result of a boycott by the local people. The semi-independent status these six territories have enjoyed — internal self-government with Britain retaining responsibilities for foreign and defence affairs — was won in the middle of the 1960s. But the local people have not since relaxed in their struggle. One after another, all these territories have embarked on the march towards full nationhood since the early 1970s. Having no alternative but to go along with this irreversible trend, Britain agreed to the independence of these territories.

Over the past few years, these territories, while fighting for independence, have to various degrees nationalized foreign enterprises, exercised state control over the economy and have rejuvenated the production of traditional goods coupled with diversification of their economy and agriculture to lessen dependence on foreign countries. St. Kitts' sugar production, a major economic crop of the country, in 1978 increased 74 per cent after several years of careful management since the industry was nationalized in 1972. It is now more than self-sufficient in peanuts and some vegetables and has a surplus for export. Dominica has become more self-suffi-

cient in food after the introduction of fine-strain cattle and the setting up of poultry and pig farms. Belize has started large-scale cultivation of soya beans in co-operation with fraternal countries in the Caribbean. The six territories have all begun to build small factories for making metalware and daily necessities. St. Lucia, with a sound economy, is tapping geothermal resources with the help of Trinidad and Tobago. Proceeding from these achievements, the governments of these territories are planning future economic development in accordance with their national needs.

All these territories which have become members of the Caribbean Community have considerably increased their ties and co-operation with other English-speaking Caribbean countries and enhanced their political and economic might in the fight for full independence. Premier of St. Lucia John Compton said: "I hope one day the Caribbean islands will come together and form one nation." This expresses the wish of the small nations in the region for greater strength through unity.

A Universal Call

During the past 16 years, six larger British Caribbean territories with a total population of 4.5 millions have achieved independence. After the above-mentioned six territories become sovereign countries, British dependencies in the Caribbean and its vicinity will only include Bermuda, with a population of 55,000 (which has also won the status of internal self-government) and four other small colonies with a total population of 40,000. There are seven other territories in the area which are ruled by the United States, France and the Netherlands. However, calls for independence have also rung out from Bermuda, U.S. Puerto Rico, the Netherlands Antilles and French Guyana. It can be predicted that the independence movement in the six British territories will greatly inspire the people of the other dependencies. Neither the traditional colonial powers, nor other foreign forces which have turned their covetous eyes to this area, will be able to contain the national-liberation process in the Caribbean and its vicinity.

Ensuring Full Democracy Inside the Party

by *Renmin Ribao* Special Commentator



The historic significance of the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party held from December 18 to 22, 1978 lies in part in its restitution of full democracy inside the Party.

In Chinese Communist Party history, the rectification campaign of 1942 and the Enlarged Working Conference convened by the Party Central Committee in 1962 were models of full inner-Party democracy which ensured victory for the revolution and construction.

How could such a great Communist Party as ours have tolerated the tyranny of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" for ten long years? The fundamental lesson drawn is that there must be full democracy inside the Party.

AN abnormal situation existed for some dozen years in the political life both inside and outside the Party because of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" crushing democracy, demolishing the legal system and instituting a fascist "all-round dictatorship" over the Party and the people so as to usurp Party and state leadership. We are now working to set things to rights and bring about an early accomplishment of the four modernizations. And politically, the pressing task is to ensure inner-Party democracy and bring socialist democracy into full play.

Central Committee Role Crucial

The Chinese Communist Party is the ruling party in this country and if Party cadres do not know what democratic centralism is about and inner-Party democracy is in an abnormal state, then democracy and legality in the political life of the state will merely be vacuous talk. Within the Party, the discipline is that the lower level is subordinate to the higher level, and the entire Party is subordinate to the Central Committee. If democracy does not exist at the lower level, it is comparatively easy to correct this so long as the higher level is correct. If there is no democracy at the higher level, especially if there is no full democracy within the Party Central Committee, its effect will be widespread and it will be more difficult to rectify. Therefore, whether or not there is normal democratic life within the Party Central Committee plays

a decisive, leading role. Only when this leading role is taken hold of can the key to solving the question of democracy be grasped.

A review of our Party's history will demonstrate this. Whenever there was full democracy within the Party Central Committee, the correct line could be fully implemented, the revolutionary cause could move ahead smoothly and the Party could flourish and grow; conversely, whenever the political life of the Party Central Committee was abnormal and wilful, counter-revolutionary destruction of democratic centralism emerged, such as that caused by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," the revolutionary cause suffered a serious setback.

During the period of democratic revolution, the third "Left" line represented by Wang Ming dominated the Party Central Committee the longest and caused the heaviest damage to the Party. The exponents of this line brought out an anti-democratic method in inner-Party struggle and a factionalist policy towards cadres organizationally in order to push Wang Ming's erroneous line politically, militarily and ideologically. The Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party adopted by the Seventh Plenary Session of the Party's Sixth Central Committee in 1945 has made a correct analysis of this.

"In order to enforce their will, the exponents of the third 'Left' line invariably

and indiscriminately branded all Party comrades who found the wrong line impracticable and who therefore expressed doubt, disagreement or dissatisfaction, or did not actively support the wrong line or firmly carry it out; they stigmatized these comrades with such labels as 'Right opportunism,' 'the rich peasant line,' 'the Luo Ming line,'* 'the line of conciliation' and 'double-dealing,' waged 'ruthless struggles' against them and dealt them 'merciless blows,' and even conducted these 'inner-Party struggles' as if they were dealing with criminals and enemies. This wrong kind of inner-Party struggle became the regular method by which the comrades who led or carried out the 'Left' line raised their own prestige, enforced their own demands and intimidated the Party cadres. It violated the fundamental principle of democratic centralism within the Party, eliminated the democratic spirit of criticism and self-criticism, turned Party discipline into mechanical discipline and fostered tendencies to blind obedience and docility; thus the development of living and creative Marxism was hampered and damaged. A factionalist policy towards cadres was combined with this incorrect kind of inner-Party struggle. The factionalists did not regard veteran cadres as valuable assets of the Party; instead they attacked, punished and dismissed from the central and local organizations large numbers of veteran cadres who were experienced in work and had close ties with the masses but were uncongenial to the factionalists and unwilling to be their blind followers and yes-men. Nor did they give proper education to new cadres nor handle their promotion seriously (especially those of working-class origin); instead they rashly promoted new cadres and cadres from outside who lacked working experience and close ties with the masses but were congenial to the factionalists and were merely their blind followers and yes-men, substituting them for veterans in the central and local organizations. Thus, they not only attacked old cadres but spoiled new ones.

* Luo Ming was the acting secretary of the Fujian Provincial Committee of the Central Red Base Area in 1933. He was attacked by the "Leftists" because he held that as the Party was in a rather difficult situation in the outlying parts of western Fujian, its policy there should be different from that in the stable base areas. The "Leftists" wrongly carried out a "struggle against the Luo Ming line."

Moreover, in many places where an incorrect policy for suppressing counter-revolutionaries became entangled with the factionalist policy towards cadres, large numbers of fine comrades were unjustly dealt with under false charges, and this caused the Party most grievous losses. Such factionalist errors very greatly weakened the Party, causing dislocation between higher and lower organizations and many other anomalies in the Party." (See *Selected Works of Mao Zedong*, Vol. III, first edition.)

Examples of Inner-Party Democracy

The Zunyi Meeting in 1935 built up the leadership of Comrade Mao Zedong's correct line within the Party. To eliminate the adverse influence of Wang Ming's line, the Party Central Committee headed by Comrade Mao Zedong, after much preparatory work over a long period, initiated a Party-wide rectification campaign from 1942 onward to combat subjectivism, sectarianism and stereotyped Party writing. At the same time, from 1942 to 1944, the Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee first discussed and then led the senior cadres of the whole Party to discuss the Party's history, especially that period from the beginning of 1931 to the end of 1934 when Wang Ming's line emerged dominant. At these discussions, full scope was given to democracy, and sincere criticism and self-criticism were made. As to the erroneous line, emphasis was on analysing the environment obtaining then, the content of the errors and the social, historical and ideological origins which gave rise to the errors, and not on the responsibility of individual comrades. The Marxist method of concrete analysis of concrete question was adopted and the spirit of seeking truth from facts and the approach of neither regarding everything as all positive nor everything as negative were encouraged. In this way, correct centralism was applied, on the basis of extensive democracy and an all-round, scientific summary was arrived at on certain questions in the history of the Party when Wang Ming's line held sway. This unified the thinking of the whole Party and greatly raised the Marxist ideological level of the Party cadres. It was an unprecedented, deep-going, great, democratic movement within our Party. It set an example of correctly unfolding inner-Party struggle, conducting inner-Party education and giving play to normal political life within the Party. This kind of ideological and political unity within the Party on the



basis of democratic centralism ensured our great victory in the War of Resistance Against Japan and the War of Liberation within a short space of several years and, after nationwide liberation, significant victory in socialist revolution and construction.

From 1958 to 1962, China's socialist construction met a major setback and tremendous difficulties were encountered by the national economy. Both subjective and objective factors were responsible, but the major cause was the lack of normal democratic life within the Party and the damage of the Party's democratic centralism. Some leading cadres abandoned the Party's fine style of work — making investigation and study and seeking truth from facts. They arbitrarily issued orders, refused to listen to differing views, would not countenance criticism and freely carried out character-assassination. Consequently, certain mistakes and failures in work which could have been quickly and easily corrected grew more and more serious.

At the Enlarged Working Conference convened by the Party Central Committee in 1962 and attended by more than 7,000 cadres above the level of county Party committee secretary, the Party Central Committee put forward the principle of "three no's" — no picking on others' faults, no stigmatizing, and no flaying out at others with a big stick — to permit all participants to speak their minds freely and air their views fully. At the meeting, Comrade Mao Zedong made an important speech centring on democratic centralism. He elabo-

rated the importance of democracy, without which there could be no correct centralism, and he shouldered the responsibility for the mistakes in work in the preceding period, which set an example for cadres at various levels. In explaining the dialectical relationship between the realm of necessity and the realm of freedom, Comrade Mao Zedong said that to a very large extent we were still acting blindly in our work because our knowledge of the law governing socialist construction was still very inadequate. He called on all Party members to go among the masses, carry out deep-going investigation and study and find out the objective laws governing the development of things.

This was another meeting which witnessed the Party Central Committee giving full play to democracy. After the meeting, the democratic style exhibited at this meeting was taken down to the various levels by the cadres and implemented throughout the Party. Democracy in the Central Committee promoted democracy in the whole Party, and democracy within the Party furthered democracy in society. This lively political situation enabled us to swiftly overcome our difficulties and a vigorous atmosphere once again emerged in socialist construction.

Why Lin Biao and the "Gang of Four" Could Run Amok for So Long

However, after Lin Biao and the "gang of four" had usurped a portion of power in the Party and over the Cultural Revolution, they launched a violent counterattack to foul up the

democratic atmosphere inside and outside the Party which had been created at the 7,000-people meeting. They turned the relationship between ourselves and the enemy upside down and maliciously magnified the mistakes of veteran cadres and other good comrades, framed charges against them, wilfully put innocent people into prison and even made all members of their family and relatives, running into millions, suffer along with the innocent victims. They substituted factionalism for Party spirit, stirred up conflicts among the masses and for a time even paralysed the Party organizations. The result was widespread social chaos and unbridled terrorism. Their attitude to Mao Zedong Thought and Comrade Mao Zedong's words was self-serving. They established all sorts of fetishes and taboos so that it was impossible, inside and outside the Party, for the masses in general and leaders at the top level to speak out. Comrade Mao Zedong predicted at the 7,000-people meeting: Without giving full scope to people's democracy and inner-Party democracy, "the dictatorship of the proletariat will turn into a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, and a reactionary, fascist dictatorship at that." This prophecy of Comrade Mao Zedong's unfortunately came true when Lin Biao and the "gang of four" climbed into the saddle.

The deeper the exposure and criticism of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" went, the more the people asked themselves: How could Lin Biao and the "gang of four" run amok for over ten years inside such a great Party as the Chinese Communist Party? The Party has millions of members, in particular a large group of tested veteran cadres who could effectively cope with the Kuomintang reactionaries and the imperialists. But why were they powerless against a handful of scoundrels like Lin Biao and the gang? What lessons must be drawn from this? There is only one answer: Political life inside the Party had been abnormal for years and democracy had been missing inside the Party. These had led to an absence of democracy in society as a whole. So, the most fundamental lesson to be drawn today is the necessity to have full democracy inside the Party.

Historic Significance of the Third Plenary Session

Since the end of the "gang of four," the Party Central Committee has taken a number of important measures to eradicate the in-

fluence of Lin Biao and the gang. The 11th Party Congress and the Fifth National People's Congress were convened and the Marxist line, principles and policies were formulated. The national economy has been fast developing, and an excellent situation of unity and stability has emerged. The Party Central Committee has pointed out the necessity to revive the fine traditions of seeking truth from facts and following the mass line, of comprehensively and accurately understanding and applying Mao Zedong Thought, of adhering to the principle that "mistakes must be corrected whenever discovered," and rehabilitating those who had been wrongfully accused and branded by Lin Biao and the "gang of four." These were essential to ensuring full democracy and normal political life inside the Party. The discussion in recent months on practice being the sole criterion in testing a truth has played a positive role in emancipating the mind and smashing fetishes. But up till now, only a very few have really emancipated their minds. Many cadres, especially some senior cadres, still have misgivings. They look warily right and left at each step and cannot uphold principle and truth. If minds are not emancipated and democracy is not given full play, bureaucracy is sure to hold down the pace of the four modernizations.

It was precisely under these circumstances that the Party Central Committee recently convened a working conference and the Third Plenary Session. At these meetings, the fine tradition dating back to the days of Yanan was restored and every participant aired his views freely. A lively atmosphere prevailed at these meetings. Senior cadres adhered to the principled stand that a Party member must uphold



truth and correct mistakes. They said what they had not dared to say in the past. They raised and settled questions which had been impossible to settle for many years. Since their minds were emancipated, they used their heads and offered many effective suggestions and proposals to do our work better and to swiftly bring about the four modernizations. It was precisely on the basis of ensuring full democracy inside the Party that many important decisions were able to be adopted at the session. The Third Plenary Session decided that this practice must be introduced into the whole Party, the whole army and the people of all nationalities throughout the country.

The meeting is of far-reaching significance in the history of our Party. It not only made the historic decision of shifting the focus of the work of the Party to realizing the four modernizations, but organizationally provided reliable guarantee to that end, by giving full scope to inner-Party democracy, first of all ensuring full democracy in the Party Central Committee.

Comrade Mao Zedong had pointed out long ago: "Ours is a country in which small-scale production and the patriarchal system prevail,

and taking the country as a whole there is as yet no democratic life; consequently, this state of affairs is reflected in our Party by insufficient democracy in Party life. This phenomenon hinders the entire Party from exercising its initiative to the full. Similarly, it has led to insufficient democracy in the united front and in the mass movements." (*The Role of the Chinese Communist Party in the National War*). This was said 40 years ago. During this time, our Party has acquired much experience and many lessons on this, but up till now, this question is still not entirely solved. Reality today compels us to solve it in real earnest. Now that the Party Central Committee has set an example, the whole Party must learn from this and give free play to democracy and ensure full democracy and normal inner-Party political life. So long as democracy is ensured and upheld, there is great hope for our Party and for the early accomplishment of the four modernizations.

(A slightly abridged translation of an article in "Renmin Ribao," January 11. Subheads are ours.)

Uphold the Principle of Collective Leadership In the Party Committee



The Party's fine tradition of collective leadership has reappeared in the last two years and is being carried forward. However, there are still some units where everything is decided by a single individual and there are still instances of certain individuals in the higher and lower echelons being given inordinate publicity.

This "Renmin Ribao" editorial discusses the causes and effects of this phenomenon, the significance of adhering to the principle of collective leadership and upholding democracy, as well as the relationship between collective leadership and personal responsibility.

THE Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party has decided that Party committees at all levels, from the Central Committee down, must truly exercise collective leadership. At the

central working conference held prior to the plenary session, Comrade Hua Guofeng proposed: "The Party Central Committee is a collective leadership and, from now on, when the local authorities and various units send reports to the Central Committee for its views, these reports should not be addressed to Chairman Hua and the Central Committee, but just to the Central Committee. When the Party, government and military organs at the central level send official communications to organs at lower levels, the same should apply. Don't call me the wise leader, just call me comrade. I wish literary and art works would extol the Party, and eulogize the heroic deeds of the revolutionaries of the older generation, the workers, peasants and soldiers and not publicize me."

This proposal of Comrade Hua Guofeng's is very important because it not only expresses

the modesty of a leader, but also conforms with Marxist principle. This indicates that the life of our Party is returning to its desired normalcy. At the two meetings, where democratic centralism and the Party's collective leadership were adhered to, everybody said what he wanted to say, engaged in animated discussions and practised criticism and self-criticism. The two meetings genuinely absorbed correct opinions, pooled the wisdom of the participants and really took the lead in putting our Party life on a sound and healthy basis. We must carry on this fine practice, make it prevail throughout the Party and all over the country.

Guarantees Victory of the Revolutionary Cause

Collective leadership has always been a glorious tradition of our Party. In the years when the Red Army was still in its infancy and there was continual fighting, our Party adhered to collective leadership. In the 1942 rectification movement in Yanan and the Seventh Party Congress in 1945, both positive and negative experience in handling inner-Party relations was summed up in an all-round way, the principle for political life inside the Party was further perfected and the system of collective leadership was also further strengthened and placed on a sounder basis. This was followed by a Party Central Committee decision in 1948 on strengthening the Party committee system (see *Selected Works of Mao Zedong*, Vol. IV), which played a still more important role in consolidating the Party's collective leadership.

Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out emphatically again in 1955: "In view of the various lessons of the past and the fact that only through being integrated with collective wisdom can individual wisdom be turned to better account so that fewer mistakes are made in our work, the Central Committee and the Party committees at all levels must adhere to the principle of collective leadership." (*Speeches at the National Conference of the Communist Party of China.*)

However, at one period democratic centralism was not adequately carried out and Lin Biao and the "gang of four" were allowed to run amuck and demolished this principle of democratic centralism. They were higher than the Party Central Committee, so they had merely to say so and people, units and mass organizations become stigmatized as counter-revolutionary. With a scribbled note they could start

a movement rolling through the country. The most sinister, barbarous fascist dictatorship existed in places, departments and units under their control. Only after exposures and criticisms of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" in the last two years or so and after leading groups had been reshuffled has the Party's fine tradition of collective leadership returned and been carried forward.

But the foul influence of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" has not yet been completely eliminated. In some places, there are still single individuals deciding everything. In such places, not everyone has his say but only one man, and what he says goes. There is no centralized leadership but individual leadership. Some leaders are so domineering and despotic that they fly into a rage if they hear a dissenting voice. This conduct completely contravenes Party democratic centralism and collective leadership and must be firmly corrected.

Adhering or not adhering to collective leadership is a major question of principle affecting the nature of our Party and state. The Party and state of the proletariat are founded on the principle of democratic centralism; collective leadership must prevail in their leading bodies, from the central authorities down to the grass roots. The cause of our Party is a collective one; it is the cause of millions upon millions of the people. Only collective leadership can assemble the wishes, wisdom and experience of the masses, ensure the correctness of the leadership and victory for the revolutionary cause. It is impossible for mistakes not to occur if a single individual makes all the decisions.

Comrade Mao Zedong once said: "How can we justify the idea that what one person says goes? I am referring to important matters here, not to the routine work coming after decisions. If a matter is important, it must be discussed collectively, different opinions must be heeded, and the complexities of the situation and the dissenting opinions must be analysed seriously. Thought must be given to the various possibilities and estimates made of the various aspects of a situation, what is good and what bad, what is easy and what difficult, what is possible and what impossible. This should be done as carefully and thoroughly as possible. To act otherwise is just one-man tyranny." (*Talk at an Enlarged Working Conference Convened by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China.*)

This one-man tyranny is impermissible, for the ability of any individual is limited. Even the minds of fairly experienced leading comrades, when they become separated from collective leadership and the popular masses, will invariably become stereotyped and will inevitably make impractical and wrong decisions. Of course, mistakes are also bound to crop up under collective leadership, but if the leading collective follows the mass line and keeps to the principle of collective leadership, these mistakes can be discovered and corrected fairly quickly without being developed into long-term mistakes of an overall nature.

Less Publicity for Individuals

To safeguard collective leadership, it is imperative to enforce the principle of giving less publicity to individuals as decided on at the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee. This is also a question of one's fundamental attitude towards Marxism. Marxists hold that the people are the makers of history, for theirs is the decisive role in propelling history forward, but at the same time the important role outstanding figures play in promoting the development of history should be fully affirmed. Victory is impossible in the revolutionary struggles of the proletariat and the broad masses without a group of long-tested revolutionary leaders of great prestige to give concentrated expression to the people's wishes, to lead them and to organize them to fight.

The history of our Party itself convincingly testifies that the victory of the Chinese revolution is the outcome of the outstanding leadership of Comrades Mao Zedong, Zhou Enlai, Zhu De and other proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation and the outcome of the guidance of Mao Zedong Thought. It is extremely wrong and harmful to refuse to acknowledge, or to underestimate the great role of the revolutionary leaders in a revolutionary cause. It is also extremely wrong, certainly not Marxist, to deify a leader, extol him beyond the limits of reality or exaggerate his individual role.

It was rare in the international communist movement before the 1930s to give great prominence to an individual. This sort of thing came into vogue in the Soviet Union and was started by Khrushchov and his company. Our Party rarely gave great publicity to any single

individual in the 30s, 40s and 50s. In 1949 Comrade Mao Zedong moved that celebrating the birthdays of Party leaders should be prohibited and naming places, streets and enterprises after them should be interdicted.

Lin Biao and the "gang of four" later worked might and main "to establish in a big way the leader's authority" and propagated the idea of "boundless loyalty to the great leader" and so on to serve their wild political ambitions to usurp Party and state power. All this was thoroughly anti-Marxist and bred blind faith. Even at that time Comrade Mao Zedong had pointed out: "What is this 'to establish in a big way'? Nominally, it is said to establish my authority, actually goodness knows whose authority it is to establish. To put it bluntly, it is meant to establish his own authority." This had succinctly exposed their criminal intention. Unfortunately, Comrade Mao Zedong's suggestion repeated on many occasions to give less publicity to individuals was not properly acted on.

It must be pointed out that this phenomenon of giving individuals a big build-up still exists from top to bottom. Some eulogies are so unprincipled that they have reached the point of vulgarity. For instance, should a leading comrade go to the grass roots to take a look at things there, it is: "Despite his heavy work schedule he has come deep down to the grass roots to give advice in person." Or, if he puts in an appearance somewhere, it is: "This is the biggest solicitude and the biggest inspiration." His casual remark becomes "an important directive" or something "of both great immediate and far-reaching historic significance"! And achievements are invariably accredited to the top leader. When an advanced unit is being commended the number one in charge invariably gets the spotlight.

In many units there are invariably some sycophants around the leading comrades. Vulgar flattery is a strong corrosive on the Party and leading cadres. It is precisely in such a climate of praises and applause that some leading comrades with unhealthy minds grow so swelled-headed and conceited that they simply forget themselves and become more arrogant than ever.

Flattering the leaders, to put it mildly, is vulgar. Putting it strongly, it can be said that the flatterers harbour ulterior motives. Which-ever the case may be, this must be stopped resolutely. Leading comrades at all levels must

make great efforts to guard against arrogance, be modest and prudent and consciously resist the corrosive ideas and style of work of the feudal and capitalist classes. They must keep sober and level-headed when they hear praise from all around them, and must be particularly vigilant against nauseating compliments paid with selfish objectives in mind. If a leading comrade likes being flattered, and the more he is flattered, the more he is pleased, then he will surely become isolated from reality and the masses and will take a tumble.

Full Democracy

To exercise collective leadership, a climate of full democracy must prevail inside the leading body. In this regard, the secretary of a Party committee has an especially heavy responsibility. The relationship between the secretary and members of a committee is certainly not one between the head of a family and his dependents, nor that between superior and his subordinates, but one between an individual and the collective, in which the principle of the minority subordinating to the majority and the individual to the organization must apply. It is not permissible to hold formalistic Party committee meetings, at which only what the secretary says counts as he refuses to countenance any dissenting opinions and all the other members of the Party committee are there only in name. All major issues — involving the Party's line, principle and policy, the arrangements, checking up and reviewing of work, the promotion, appointment, removal, transfer or handling of responsible cadres, as well as issues which involve the interests of the masses — must be collectively discussed by members of the committee. Participants must be allowed to express their views fully so that a common understanding is arrived at and a decision made on that basis. It is absolutely impermissible for one individual to make arbitrary decisions.

For a collective leadership to function properly, all members of a Party committee should inform each other what is going on in the field each is in charge of, exchange views, support and help each other, supervise each other and treat each other with understanding. Within a Party committee, there must be measures to ensure a healthy democratic life as well as criticisms and self-criticisms, especially the self-

criticism by the secretary and criticism of the secretary by committee members. The committee should continually sum up experience and find out its shortcomings and mistakes in work. When a problem crops up or a deviation occurs in work, the leading cadres must first criticize themselves and accept responsibility. They must never try to lay the blame on others, or worse still, hold their subordinates responsible, and attention must be paid to safeguarding the latter's enthusiasm.

Collective leadership must be built on the basis of full democracy inside the Party and among the people. Correct leadership means coming from the masses and going back to the masses. When we say collective leadership, we certainly do not mean relying merely on the wisdom of a few members of the leadership. On the contrary, every member of the leadership is required to have wide contacts with the masses, make repeated investigations, pool together the wisdom and talents of the masses, and fully reflect their opinions and wishes.

A leading body is no more than a factory for processing the raw materials coming from the people. If members of a leading group do not keep in touch with the masses and listen to their opinions, but shut themselves up in conference rooms to "manufacture things," they cannot produce anything good. They must constantly go to the grass roots, mix with the masses, read carefully the letters from the masses, meet the people calling on them, study the views and proposals of the masses and pay attention to what is said in big-character posters.

The leading bodies must regularly carry out open-door rectification for the rank and file inside and outside the Party to assess their work, make criticisms and suggestions — all this greatly helps to improve the quality of leadership. This is something that should be encouraged.

Personal Responsibility

Collective leadership and personal responsibility are two sides of a coin. We practise personal responsibility and division of labour under collective leadership. While all important matters should be discussed and decided on by the Party committee collectively, the actual work of carrying out the decisions should be the responsibility of different individuals. One must not expect that each and every minor detail

should be discussed by the Party committee, for this will lead to too many meetings and inordinately long meetings which will hold up the committee from dealing with the important issues. All Party committee decisions should also be entrusted to particular individuals for implementation. Collective responsibility must not be interpreted as nobody's responsibility.

We advocate the spirit of boldly taking on responsibility so that every member of a leading group, under collective leadership, will bring his enthusiasm and initiative into full play and attend meticulously to the work he is in charge of. Not everything is to be submitted to the Party committee for discussion, and for the first secretary to give or not give his approval to. Party committees at all levels must have this spirit of boldly shouldering up responsibility; guided by the Party Central Committee's general line and principles, they are expected to emancipate their minds, get on with their work confidently, dare to bring up new problems, study them and handle them, instead of leaving problems they should settle themselves to their superiors.

At the moment, the Party is shifting the emphasis of its work. To speed up the work of socialist modernization is an unparalleled new undertaking. Although it is nearly 30 years since the founding of our People's Republic, for a considerable period of time we put our main effort into political movements. Even now, many comrades still have an inadequate knowledge and little experience in socialist construction work. In fact, it is something completely strange to some of them, and they are doing things more or less in a blind way. In order to provide competent leadership as soon as possible in this great revolution, leading comrades at all levels must, while working hard to acquire mastery of their job through study and practice, pay the utmost attention to bringing the collective wisdom and strength into full play and adhere to the principle of collective leadership so that this glorious tradition of our Party will become a more powerful force in this new historical period.

*("Renmin Ribao" editorial, February 1.
Subheads are ours.)*

Are All These Wastes?

by Our Correspondent Zhou Jinghua

SPEAKING of wastes, people usually turn their minds to garbage heaps in the streets and industrial wastes in the suburban areas. But are the huge quantities of refuse daily discharged really useless?

Recycle Wastes

Refuse is not really worthless and useless, proclaims a recent Shanghai exhibition on recycling waste and rejected matter. Scrap steel and iron are valuable, useful raw material for the steel industry. Waste paper and rags can be recycled into fine writing paper, and precious raw materials for the pharmaceutical factories are extracted from clippings from the barber-shops. Old bones give bone oil and glue, essential ingredients for more than 1,000 kinds of industrial products. Garments, quilts, mattresses and even pictures in great demand at home and

abroad are made from duck down and bird feathers. A sizable amount of silver can be recovered from used fixing agents of photo studios. Restaurant sewage gives fats for soap. The list could go on.

The Industrial Wastes and Discarded Materials Company in Shanghai and its affiliated organs have done much in recovering and recycling wastes. Over the last two decades, wastes and discarded materials purchased from factories, shops and homes have been recycled into useful products which made a 680 million yuan profit for the state, the values of the products themselves excluded.

The Harmful Converted Into the Beneficial

Pollution caused by industrial waste gas, waste liquid and waste residues ("three wastes")

for short) has always been a headache for industrially developed countries. In China, industrial development has also increasingly menaced the environment. This problem is understood and environmental protection has now become an item high on the agenda.

The Constitution of the People's Republic of China stipulates: "The state protects the environment and natural resources and prevents and eliminates pollution and other hazards to the public." Chairman Hua Guofeng has called upon all departments concerned to "pay great attention" to this. A joint decision made last year by the leading group in charge of environmental protection under the State Council and the departments concerned requires 167 offending factories and mines to dispose of their "three wastes" within a specific date and some industrial enterprises under construction to take effective measures against pollution before they will be commissioned.

In Shanghai, nearly 1,000 factories use sulphuric, hydrochloric or nitric acid in one stage of production or another and discharge as much as 240,000 tons of waste acids into the Huangpu River every year. To cope with water pollution, the Industrial Wastes and Discarded Materials Company in 1958 set up the Donghai Chemicals, Fats and Grease Factory, which specializes in recovering effluents. After investigating all factories in Shanghai which use and discharge acids, it helped them cycle the use of acids according to the various concentrations needed. For example, waste sulphuric acid from chemical works, which is suitable for cleaning rolled steel, is recovered and sent to steel plants first and then used by pharmaceutical factories to produce iron tablets (ferrous sulphate). Waste hydrochloric acid from electro-plating factories is being used by chemical works to produce calcium chloride and other reagents, and waste sulphuric acid of low concentration discharged from dyestuff factories is being employed to neutralize basic effluents from paper mills and printing and dyeing mills before the "waste" is sent to the countryside for use as fertilizer.

This small factory of some 300 workers and a low level of mechanization has saved the state



Loading scrap iron and steel at a junk shop in Zhabei District, Shanghai.

large quantities of sulphuric and hydrochloric acids every year, as well as directly extracted many useful materials from effluents. Last year, it recovered 2,000 kilogrammes of silver, over 900 tons of chemicals and 650 tons of fats and grease, making a profit of 2.07 million yuan for the state.

Ni Ganqing, director of the repair factory under the Shanghai Electrical Machinery Company, told me how a waste collecting centre helped improve the factory's working conditions. This is a small factory, but its metal refuse, scraps and chips come to some 170,000 tons a month. There was little room to keep the piled-up wastes which adversely affected production. On its initiative, the collecting centre in Changning District joined efforts with workers of this factory to design and make a bundling machine mounted on an elevated platform. Refuse was carried by a conveyor to the machine, which then pressed it into blocks and stored it before being moved away by the centre at regular intervals. This has helped make the factory much tidier, cleaner and left more space to work in.

Refuse Collection Network

In China, collection and utilization of wastes and discarded materials are an integral part of the socialist planned economy. The "three wastes" from factories are listed in the purchasing plans of junk companies whose recycled products, in turn, are important raw materials for some industrial enterprises.

The Industrial Wastes and Discarded Materials Company in Shanghai has set up waste collecting shops and centres in the city proper, suburban areas and residential quarters, according to the division of administrative districts and the distribution of industrial and commercial enterprises and population, averaging one collection point to 20,000 inhabitants.

Altogether there are 19,000 people engaged in this trade, handling wastes mainly from the big and medium-sized factories. Special personnel are assigned to do the job in big enterprises and contact the smaller ones. So far 90 per cent of the industrial enterprises in the metropolis have established the system of collecting wastes and selling them periodically. The best opportunity for purchasing wastes usually comes at stock-taking or general clean-up time in factories or government organs.

Some of the wastes purchased can be put back to use right after being sorted out and put into order. Some need repairing and refitting and others have to be recycled. Those materials under the state plan such as iron, steel and non-ferrous metals are handed over to the department in charge of allocating materials for distribution according to a unified plan. As for some industrial raw materials, such as discarded rubber and those for paper-making, contracts are signed with the buyers and supplies delivered according to plan. Machinery parts and accessories and other commodities are sold in retail shops.

Selling prices are set by the municipal company and are, in principle, much cheaper than those of new products. Everything is done at a low profit. The general aim is to make fuller use of wastes and discarded materials, save raw materials and create wealth for the state and improve environmental sanitation.

Household wastes are usually purchased by widely distributed collecting centres or by

teams of collectors who make the rounds of urban and rural areas at regular intervals.

New Practice

The Chinese people are known for their fine tradition of diligence and frugality. But to retrieve as much refuse as possible, effective propaganda work must be constantly carried out among the masses. Over the years, the Industrial Wastes and Discarded Materials Company in Shanghai has made use of the newspapers, TV, films, slides and exhibitions to drive home to the masses the significance of utilizing wastes and to foster among the people the fine habit of practising economy.

A good example is the Caoyang Village, a residential area of 19,000 households on the outskirts of Shanghai. The two dozen workers and staff members of a waste collecting centre there have made slides and composed ballads to acquaint the residents with the advantages of collecting wastes when the residents have their study sessions or are outdoors on a summer evening. Today 99 per cent of the families have receptacles for holding household wastes. Many retired workers have got into the habit of picking up scrap iron while out taking a walk, and pupils have learnt to economize on paper. An old lady, who used to regard picking up waste materials as disgraceful, has now changed her ideas. She once sold 100 kilogrammes of scrap iron to the collecting centre.

For six years running, the streets in Caoyang Village have been free from litter and, it has become a common practice among its inhabitants to keep their houses and environment clean and to practise economy. For this, the collecting centre which has helped bring about the new look was cited in 1978 as an advanced unit in Shanghai.

A Glorious Occupation

"Collecting wastes is a lowly job." This old conception is deep-rooted in people's minds, for they think the working conditions are poor. But what I saw in Shanghai gave me the impression that the working conditions have been improved gradually thanks to the efforts made by those engaged in this trade. More than half of the collecting centres have been renovated and some are even equipped with conveyors and bundling machines.



The Six-Girl Team.

The above-mentioned junk shop in Changning District in the west of Shanghai is an advanced model. It is a newly completed three-storeyed building, white-washed and with a flower-bed in front of it. Behind it is a yard where one heavy-duty truck after another drives on to a platform scale while a statistician records the amount of scrap iron each has brought in. An overhead crane with a huge magnetic disc then piles up the scrap.

A responsible member of the shop, proud of the new building, told me that it was built by the workers and staff themselves with only a small fund provided by the company. In the past, however, there were only bamboo or tin sheds which could hardly shelter the workers from wind and rain, not to speak of the mud and dirt all around. No wonder that everyone looked down upon this trade and no one wanted to work here. Apart from offices, they now have a canteen, a conference room, a locker room and a bathroom. With more and more machines, labour intensity has been greatly lessened. All these improvements in working conditions have made the workers and staff willing to stay on and have helped recast public opinion.

This junk shop has a team of six girls averaging 20 years of age. When they first came here, all were unwilling to do this dirty job. Later they were cited as an advanced group for their outstanding achievements. Team leader Chen Aiping, a delegate to the seventh congress of the Shanghai municipal Youth League, told

me how she felt when she was assigned to work in this shop in 1973 upon graduation from middle school. At that time people sneered at girls collecting wastes and called them "garbage girls." She herself was also depressed because the trade had a bad reputation and the job was dirty and tiring. But as a result of the education by the Party branch and help from old workers, she and the other girls gradually came to understand that what they did saved large quantities of materials and created wealth for the state. The harder they worked, the greater became their enthusiasm. Now all of them have a sense of pride in their work. They often go to the 28 factories to which they have been assigned to collect refuse, do propaganda work and help work out measures for retrieving wastes. Diligent study of their work has made them competent junk dealers. They have fulfilled their tasks every year and in 1978 they met the target of purchasing 300,000 yuan worth of wastes 40 days ahead of schedule.

* * *

Much has been achieved in collecting and utilizing wastes and discarded materials, but there is still a long way to go to meet the needs due to limited equipment and technology. In the case of Shanghai, for instance, only 80 per cent of the waste acids have been recovered. A considerable amount of other wastes remains untouched. All these problems will have to be solved step by step in the days to come.

WORLD OPINION

The "Oriental Cuba" Condemned

The Philippine *Sunday Express* said on February 18 that both Viet Nam and Cuba were serving the interests of the Soviet Union in helping to sow the seeds of war all over the world.

Viet Nam has joined the Soviets and the Cubans to form a Moscow-Havana-Hanoi triangle, it went on, and "the Vietnamese already hold Laos in an uncomfortable embrace, and now control at least Phnom Penh and Cambodia's other major cities and highways."

"Will the Soviet Union order the Vietnamese into non-communist countries in Southeast Asia? The prospect is definitely enough to make Asia quiver with apprehension," it said.

The *Times of Oman* on February 15 put out an editorial condemning the Soviet-backed Viet Nam's aggression against Kampuchea. The editorial said, "The Southeast Asian states are especially concerned and many elsewhere join with them because they consider that Viet Nam would not have invaded Kampuchea without a clear go-ahead from the Russians. Viet Nam's crumbling economy depends on Comecon support, just as its armed forces are supported by the U.S.S.R. to the extent of Soviet crews even flying the aircraft used in the invasion. Viet Nam, therefore, is seen as the Cuba of the East, the Soviet surrogate in Asia."

On February 13, the Zairian newspaper *Elima* said in a commentary that the Soviet-Vietnamese treaty for "friendship

and co-operation" "has harnessed Viet Nam on to the Soviet war chariot." The commentary said that the Soviet Union was giving increasingly more military equipment to Viet Nam. Most of the weapons the Vietnamese troops used in their invasion of Kampuchea were Soviet-made. In return, Viet Nam's Cam Ranh Bay, a port used by the United States ten years ago, had been placed at the Soviet Union's disposal.

The Chilean magazine *Cosas* commented that by organizing the invasion of Kampuchea, the Vietnamese "have served as the cat's-paw for Soviet interests." The Vietnamese Government, the commentary went on, "wants to realize its dream of an Indochinese federation by swallowing up Kampuchea and Laos" and bring certain South-eastern countries "under its domination."

El Heraldo de Mexico in an article entitled "Another Cuba: Viet Nam — Soviet Protege in Southeast Asia" said that Viet Nam was playing the role of a Soviet surrogate in Asian countries which the Soviet Union is trying to exert an influence over. "The Vietnamese Government is a thoroughgoing Cuban-type Soviet servant," the Mexican article said.

DEMOCRATIC KAMPUCHEA

Demands Emergency Security Council Meeting

Thiounn Prasith, Permanent Representative of Democratic Kampuchea to the United Nations, on February 14 wrote to the Chairman of the U.N. Security Council demanding the calling of an emergency coun-

cil meeting to discuss Viet Nam's aggression against Kampuchea and to adopt necessary measures to stop this aggression. On February 17, he was instructed by his government to address another letter to the Chairman of the U.N. Security Council reaffirming this demand.

The letter informed the Chairman of Viet Nam's intensification of its aggression against and invasion of Democratic Kampuchea in disregard of the Security Council vote and condemnation from all peace-loving, justice-upholding and independent countries and peoples. It said, "In the military field, while sending several additional divisions to Kampuchea, the Vietnamese aggressor troops (about 150,000) are multiplying their barbarous attacks and crimes against Kampuchea and the people of Kampuchea." "Wherever the Vietnamese horde passed there was devastation, death and suffering."

"In the political field, the Vietnamese leaders are directing a farce about holding talks and concluding treaties with the Vietnamese administration rigged up in Phnom Penh in order to legalize their aggression against and invasion of Kampuchea and Viet Nam's annexation of Kampuchea. The Vietnamese delegation currently inspecting in Phnom Penh included the Prime Minister, Vice-Prime Ministers in Charge of Foreign Affairs and of Economy, the Chief of Staff and the Cultural Minister. This shows clearly that Viet Nam is preparing to 'legally annex' Kampuchea and to annihilate the Kampuchean nation and people militarily, politically, economically and culturally."

In the letter Thiounn Prasith asked the Security Council to take necessary measures to stop Viet Nam's aggression and invasion of Democratic Kampuchea and to urge the withdrawal of all the invading troops from Kampuchea.

INDIA

Industrial and Agricultural Increases

Indian industrial and agricultural production went up last year and built up the country's foodgrain and foreign exchange reserves and mitigated price rises.

Agriculture registered an increase of 11 per cent, with foodgrain output reaching a record 125.6 million tons. Output of major cash crops including oilseed, cotton, sugarcane and tobacco also showed large increases in the 12 months ending June 1978.

Though 6 million hectares of cultivated land were affected by floods last summer, the autumn yield equalled the previous year's 77 million tons, thanks to the efforts of the Indian Government and its people. However, the per-hectare yield was low, being only 1,125 kilos in 1977-78.

Indian industrial growth rate in 1977-78 was 3.5 per cent, with the production of steel, crude oil and chemical fertilizers showing substantial increases. The production of steel was 8.04 million tons in 1977-78, (7 million tons in 1976-77) and crude oil output reached 11 million tons (8.6 million tons in the previous year).

The total value of India's foreign trade in 1977-78 was 114,400 million rupees, which is 12 per cent better than in the

previous year. Foreign exchange reserves reached 50,000 million rupees last December, an increase of 25 per cent compared with the previous corresponding period.

Indian price rises were mitigated in the last two years thanks to improved agricultural production. Wholesale prices showed an annual average increase of 11.8 per cent in the six years from fiscal 1971-72 to 1976-77. But the figure in the last fiscal year was 5.1 per cent, a 56 per cent drop against the previous average. Consumer prices also went down.

Wholesale prices of daily necessities, however, are still rising. During the third quarter last year, textile prices went up 2.4 per cent, and milk, milk products and meat also increased over the corresponding previous period.

IRAN

Measures to Stabilize Situation

Since coming to power on February 12, the Iranian Provisional Government has made a concerted effort to restabilize the country and restore the economy.

On February 12, the Iranian radio broadcast a six-point communique by religious leader Khomeini and a statement by the Provisional Government, which appealed to supporters to return to work, to stop all sabotage, to turn in weapons seized from army and police arsenals and to co-operate with the government. The Provisional Government, headed by Prime Minister Bazargan, held its first cabinet meeting on February 14 and decided to call for an end to the general

strike and the resumption of work throughout the whole country on Saturday (February 17). Also discussed at the meeting were ways of restoring order and of calling in the weapons held by tens of thousands of Iranians, and the fate of dozens of military and political figures of the former government arrested over the past few days. On the same day, Khomeini said that unless steps were soon taken to restore the economy, "internal enemies" might try to take advantage of the situation. Another Iranian religious leader, Shartiat Madari, also appealed to Iranians to relinquish their weapons so as "to avoid chaos, insecurity and distress."

The situation in Teheran is calming down now, but many people have ignored the new government's call to hand in weapons. On February 14, dozens of armed guerrillas occupied the U.S. Embassy in Iran and took the Ambassador and all the staff members of the Embassy into custody. Just prior to the incident, the Soviet news agency TASS accused the American Embassy of providing refuge to members of the Iranian state security and intelligence organization. This accusation was categorically refuted by a spokesman of the U.S. State Department.

Khomeini's spokesman stated that the attack was inspired by "Communists." The U.S. State Department spokesman also pointed out that the Embassy's attackers had close ties with the People's Party of Iran. A TASS dispatch from Teheran on the same day quoted a message of the People's Party of Iran which asserted that this current triumph was "but a first stage towards achieving the final victory."

● *Train Managerial Personnel*

The Party school of the Anhui provincial Party committee in Hefei, the provincial capital, recently ran a course to train industrial managerial personnel. This was the first time this Party school had done so.

For years the Party school only ran study courses on fundamental theories of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, and on Chinese Communist Party history and the history of the international communist movement. With the shift of emphasis of Party work to socialist modernization, Party schools in China are now re-vamping their curricula to train red and expert cadres. The managerial personnel courses run by the Anhui provincial Party school are a pioneering effort in this.

Anhui's one-month training course has 60 trainees — Party secretaries, heads of plants and mines, engineers, accountants from large and medium-sized enterprises and industrial department management cadres.

They study socialist economic laws, the principle of distribution according to work, and economic management. Their study combines theory with practice, and they are asked to study, sum up experience and draw appropriate lessons. Through this study, they are expected to clear away the confusion in economic management created by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and learn to run enterprises according to objective economic laws.

● *Xinjiang Uses Solar Energy*

The climate of the Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region in the hinterland of Asia is arid with very little rain. The region has anywhere between 2,500 and 3,200 hours of sunshine annually, and the intensity of solar radiation there is as high as 130 to 150 kilocalories per square centimetre. This makes it one of China's potentially richest regions in solar energy.

In Urumqi, capital of the region, Kashi, Turpan and Aksu, inhabited mainly by people of Uygur nationality, and in the Ili Kazakh Autonomous Prefecture, various kinds of solar ovens and solar boilers are being used for cooking and heating water. And a "bath train" using sun-heated water moves up and down the Xinjiang-Lanzhou line providing its workers with refreshing baths.

Last August, the research institute under the region's grain bureau with the help of other units developed a solar grain-drying machine that can attain temperatures of up to 180 degrees centigrade and dry a ton of grain per hour.

A research institute was recently set up in the autonomous region to study the harnessing of solar energy to produce electricity, to pump water and to desalinate local brackish water.

● *Large Tin Mine*

The first phase of a mining and ore-dressing project for a large tin mine with known reserves of over 800,000 tons is almost completed and will soon begin trial operations.

Chinese technicians planned and supervised the first phase of

this project, and most of the equipment was domestically made. And construction of the second phase of the project is already underway.

The mine is in the northwest part of the Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region in south China. It is one of China's nine large non-ferrous metal complexes scheduled for commissioning by 1985.

In addition to tin, a dozen other minerals have been found in the mine. The first phase of the project has a designed handling capacity of 1 million tons of tin ore annually. From such an amount of dressed ore the metallurgical plants can produce 4,000 tons of tin, 20,000 tons of zinc, 5,000 tons of lead, 3,000 tons of antimony as well as rare and precious metals. A by-product will be enriched sulphur ore containing about 70,000 tons of sulphur.

● *Expanded Tianjin Airport*

Tianjin Airport has reopened after work to enlarge it was completed. It is one of China's major airports and also serves as an alternative airport for Beijing Airport. The main runway is 3,200 metres long and 50 metres wide. The 57,600-square-metre apron accommodates 7 large passenger planes at a time. There is a 3,200-metre-long, 27-metre-wide taxi way. Air traffic control is quite up-to-date.

A new waiting lounge and a hotel have been added.

In addition to Tianjin's Airport, others elsewhere in China



A snack bar in Beijing.

are also being expanded and improved.

● **More Snack Bars**

Many cities took measures last year to solve this problem of serving better and faster meals to more people. Beijing has set up bakeries to make bread, and opened up hundreds of new restaurants and snack bars along main thoroughfares. But people eating out still have to wait too long. This led two news agency journalists to write to *Renmin Ribao* suggesting more snack bars.

They said that it generally took an hour to have a meal in a restaurant, whereas it is only 15 to 20 minutes in a snack bar. Customers like this and the same restaurant could quadruple its capacity.

CORRECTION: The 12th line in the right-hand column on p. 6 of issue No. 6 should read "after the start of the Cultural Revolution."

It is not true that snack bars are suitable only for serving Western style food, the writers declared. Warm Chinese meals offering several ready-to-serve dishes are being served already in snack bars of restaurants. The trouble is that insufficient attention is being paid to running more snack bars and running them more efficiently.

More snack bars will help modernize China's food industry, the writers claimed, and snack bars and fast food shops are needed in modern life.

More snack bars will give added impetus to transforming the present food industry into one employing modernized, large-scale production. That would raise productivity and cut costs, the letter writers pointed out.

● **Lantern Festival Celebration**

The Lantern Festival, always hugely popular in the countryside, has been revived in all parts of the country after a ban of a decade or so by Lin Biao and the "gang of four."

The festival which marks the fifteenth day, the end, of the Spring Festival and the beginning of spring farming fell on February 11 this year and was full of fun and folk entertainment as ever. In the capital that day, more than 100,000 people gathered in the Summer Palace for a gala day of festive activities.

Highlighting the party was an item by a dozen peasants in festival costume performing the *yangge* dance on stilts 1.5 metres high to the accompaniment of drums and gongs. Thousands of spectators greeted the dancers with cheers and laughter. Children set off firecrackers and the younger children trailed the procession. There were the traditional lion dances and dragon dances, acrobatics, kite flying and other items.

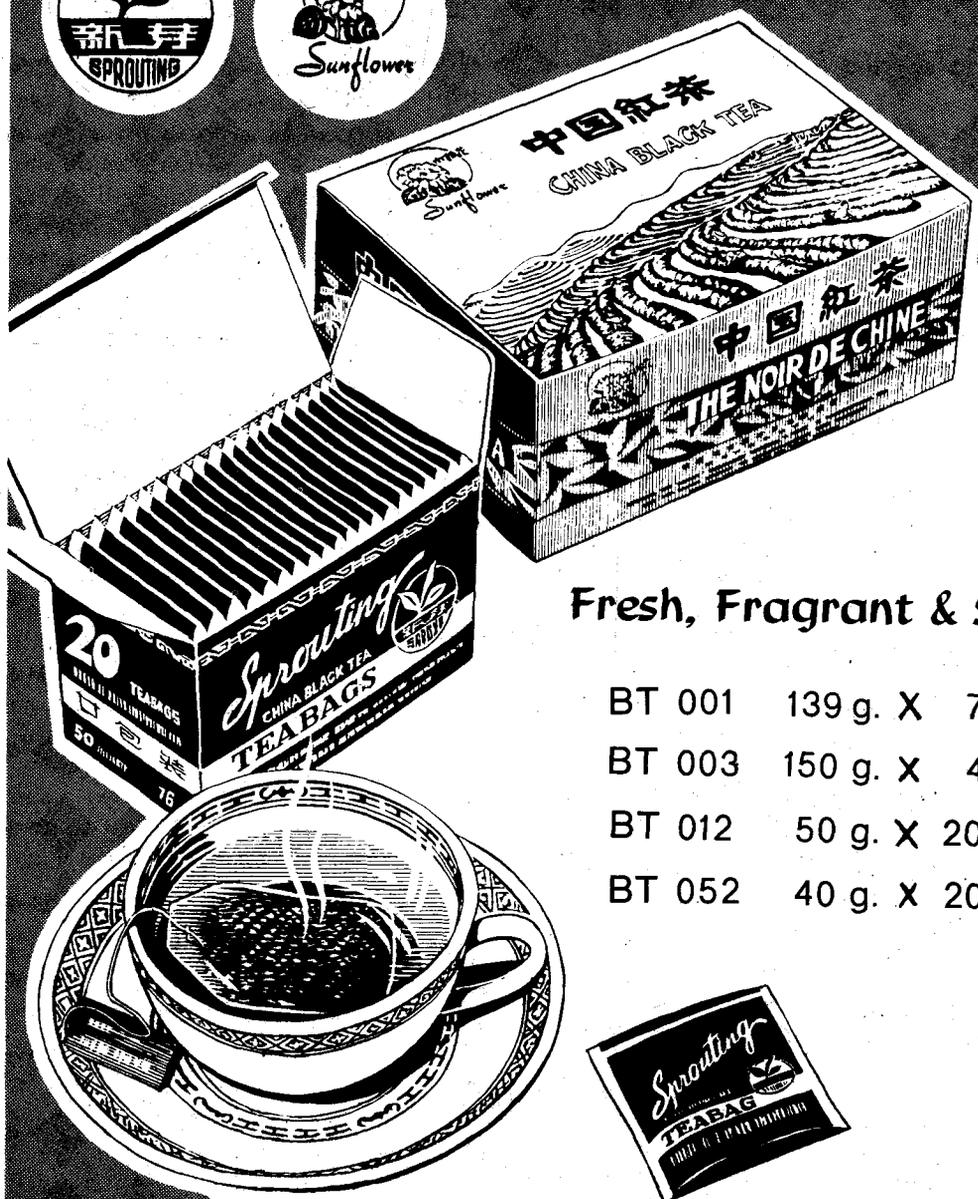
The items were mainly put on by 600 peasants from Daxing County on the outskirts of Beijing. They included Party branch secretaries, commune chairmen and advanced commune members. Some professional artists, dancers and actors were also present to give the celebration added sparkle.



The dragon dance.

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