

PEKING REVIEW

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January 21, 1977

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報

**Chairman Hua Meets Honduras
Marxist-Leninist Communist Party
Central Committee Delegation**

**Premier Chou in the Great
Cultural Revolution**

***A Big-Character Poster That Denounced
The "Gang of Four"***

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Chairman Hua Meets Honduras Marxist-Leninist Communist Party Central Committee Delegation

HUA Kuo-feng, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, recently met in Peking the Delegation of the Central Committee of the Marxist-Leninist Communist Party of Honduras. He had a cordial and friendly talk with the members of the delegation.

After the meeting, Chairman Hua Kuo-feng gave a banquet to welcome the delegation.

Speaking at the banquet, Chairman Hua praised the Marxist-Leninist Communist Party of Honduras for its efforts to combine the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the revolution in Honduras, for its persistent struggle against revisionism and for the encouraging progress it had made in recent years in Party building and mass work.

Chairman Hua reiterated: "The Communist Party of China, which is determined to carry out Chairman Mao's behests, will firmly adhere to Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and his revolutionary line in foreign affairs, uphold proletarian internationalism and unite with the genuine Marxist-Leninist Parties and organizations throughout the world to carry the struggle against revisionism and hegemonism through to the end."

Chairman Hua expressed sincere thanks to the Marxist-Leninist Communist Party of Honduras for firmly supporting the struggle of the Communist Party of China in smashing the Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao "gang of four" and expressed full confidence that the delegation's visit would further consolidate and develop the revolutionary friendship and militant unity

between the two Parties and the two peoples of China and Honduras.

In his toast, the head of the Honduras delegation warmly greeted the appointment of Comrade Hua Kuo-feng as Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and of the Military Commission of the C.P.C. Central Committee and the great victory in smashing the Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao anti-Party clique. He said: "These two related events signify that on the one hand Chairman Mao Tsetung's proletarian revolutionary line has been affirmed and the proletarian dictatorship in China consolidated and, on the other hand, the attempt of the bourgeoisie and the revisionists to restore capitalism in China has again been frustrated."

He hailed the gigantic contributions made by Chairman Mao Tsetung to the Chinese revolution and to the cause of liberation of the proletariat and the oppressed people and oppressed nations of the world. He said: "Comrade Mao Tsetung dedicated his whole life to the revolution and the cause of socialism and made immeasurable contributions to all aspects of the science of Marxism-Leninism and strengthened and developed this science."

Comrade Hua Kuo-feng, he noted, is a worthy successor to Chairman Mao Tsetung, a loyal adherent of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and a loyal follower of the revolutionary domestic and foreign policies of China which have won extensive sympathy throughout the world. He expressed confidence that under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and its Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua Kuo-feng, the Chinese people would continue to carry their revolution forward and score new victories in socialist

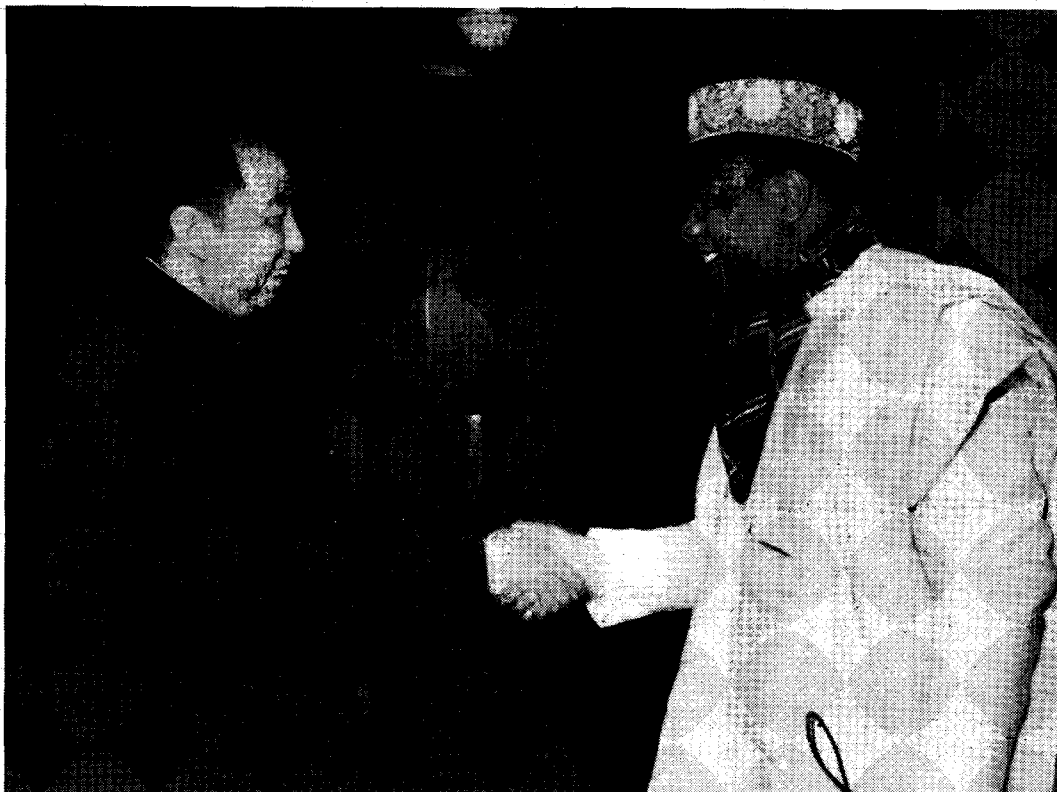
construction and in the struggle against the bourgeoisie and revisionism. In conclusion, he expressed the hope that the friendship and solidarity between the Chinese Communist Party and the Honduras Marxist-Leninist Communist Party would develop and grow stronger in their common struggle against revisionism, imperialism and hegemonism.

Present on the occasion were Wang Tung-hsing, Member of the Political Bureau of the C.P.C. Central Committee, Keng Piao, Member of the C.P.C. Central Committee and Head of its International Liaison Department, and Shen Chien, Deputy Head of the International Liaison Department of the C.P.C. Central Committee.

Chairman Hua Meets Liberian Delegation Leader Tolbert

HUA Kuo-feng, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and Premier of the State Council, on the evening of January 14 met Adolphus Benedict

Tolbert, Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee of the House of Representatives of Liberia, and the Liberian Goodwill Delegation he led.



Present on the occasion were delegation members George Flama Sherman, former Minister of Education, Augustus Caine, Assistant Secretary-General of the Liberian True Whig Party, Ansumana Cooper, Assistant Minister of Foreign Affairs in Charge of Asian Affairs, and Lami Kawah, senior economist of the Ministry of Planning and Economic Affairs.

The meeting was filled with an atmosphere of cordiality and friendship. When the distinguished guests from Liberia arrived in the brightly-lit meeting hall of the Great Hall of the People, Chairman Hua came forward and shook hands with them, extending a warm welcome to the distinguished guests from afar. Guests and hosts posed for a group photo, after which Chairman Hua had a sincere talk with

delegation leader Tolbert and other guests. Chairman Hua said: Your visit is very significant, and it will promote the development of the friendly relations between our two countries. The delegation leader conveyed to Chairman Hua the good wishes and regards of Liberian President William R. Tolbert, Jr. Chairman Hua requested the distinguished guests to convey his regards to President Tolbert and the regards of the Chinese Government and people to the Liberian Government and people after they returned home.

Present on the occasion were Huang Hua, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Chen Mu-hua, Minister of Economic Relations With Foreign Countries, and Ho Ying, Vice-Foreign Minister.

Liberian Goodwill Delegation Visits China

The distinguished Liberian guests arrived in Peking on January 10. Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien met with them after their arrival and Foreign Minister Huang Hua held talks with delegation leader A.B. Tolbert.

In his speech at the banquet in honour of the Liberian guests on January 11, Foreign Minister Huang Hua praised the Liberian Government and people for the fact that they have made progress in recent years along the road of national independent development under the leadership of President W.R. Tolbert, supported the African national-liberation movements and opposed white racism, thus having made contributions to Africa's cause of unity against imperialism and colonialism.

He said: The peoples of China and Liberia have always

sympathized with and supported each other in the common struggle. When the Chinese people were deeply mourning the passing of their great leader Chairman Mao Tsetung, President Tolbert sent a message extending the sympathy and condolences of the Liberian people to the Chinese people. And when the Chinese people rejoiced at having their own wise leader in Chairman Hua Kuo-feng, President Tolbert sent a message extending congratulations and good wishes. Here, we would like to express heartfelt thanks to the Honourable President Tolbert and the Liberian Government and people.

Foreign Minister Huang Hua expressed the conviction that the current visit to China by the Liberian Goodwill Delegation would be a beneficial contribution to enhancing the mutual understanding between

the two peoples and promoting the development of friendly relations between the two countries.

Delegation leader Tolbert said at the banquet: "Over the years, we in Liberia have followed with keen interest and appreciation the many positive contributions made by your great country and your people to the African liberation struggle and to the consolidation and reconstruction of the national economy of a number of African states."

"The struggle in Africa has lost two of its greatest and ardent supporters. First, in the death of your esteemed and beloved Premier Chou En-lai and, most distressingly, in the recent demise of your great leader Mao Tsetung whose teachings have affected the lives of people everywhere. The Liberian people have mourned these losses with you, and my

delegation takes this opportunity in a personal way to reaffirm the sentiments of sympathy and condolences of the Liberian people expressed by President Tolbert to the Chinese people," the delegation leader said.

He said: "You have been fortunate to have men of great talent and vision. In this respect, I refer especially to your illustrious Chairman Hua Kuo-feng. Under his leadership, it is our hope that he will continue to inspire your people to even greater heights in the attainment of the goals you have set for them. We in Liberia look forward to an even closer and expanding relationship between the People's Republic of China, under his wise leadership, and the people of the continent of Africa."

Liao Cheng-chih Fetes

Kenzo Kono

Liao Cheng-chih, President of the China-Japan Friendship Association, gave a banquet on January 12 in honour of Kenzo Kono, Speaker of the House of Councillors of Japan, and his party.

Speaking of Sino-Japanese relations at the banquet, Liao Cheng-chih stressed: "The joint statement of the Governments of China and Japan is the criterion for handling the relations between our two countries and the political basis for developing Sino-Japanese friendship. It is the common wish of the people of our two

countries as well as the consistent attitude of the Chinese side to implement the stipulations of the joint statement and conclude at an early date the Sino-Japanese peace and friendship treaty on the basis of the statement. However, as is known to all, the responsibility is entirely not on the Chinese side for the fact that the treaty is not concluded to this day. In concluding the Sino-Japanese peace and friendship treaty, we should only advance on the basis of the joint statement and absolutely allow no backsliding. Article 7 of the joint statement stipulates: 'The normalization of relations between China and Japan is not directed against third countries. Neither of the two countries should seek hegemony in the Asia-Pacific region and each country is opposed to efforts by any other country or group of countries to establish such hegemony.' This article should be included in the treaty as it is and no equivocation is tolerated. This is our firm, principled stand which will never change."

"Sino-Japanese friendship," he added, "has long become an irresistible historical trend. So long as the people of our two countries adhere to the spirit of the joint statement of our two governments and continue to work with concerted efforts, no attempt at obstruction or sabotage will succeed, and the good-neighbourly and friendly relations between China and Japan are sure to advance continuously."

President Liao said: "Mr. Kenzo Kono has made positive

efforts in developing Sino-Japanese relations. We welcome the continued such efforts by Mr. Kenzo Kono and other gentlemen who are devoted to developing the good-neighbourly and friendly relations between the two countries."

On the domestic situation in China, he said: "1977 will be a year in which our country will go towards great order. The situation is getting better and better, and it certainly will develop faster and better than people can now anticipate. Some people in Japan are obviously wrong in spreading notions such as 'the situation in China is confused' and the 'administration there is not stable.' They have been and will continue to be frustrated by the development of events. We are determined to accomplish the sacred cause of liberating Taiwan and unifying our motherland. No word or action in creating 'two Chinas' or 'one China, one Taiwan' will be tolerated by the Chinese people."

Dwelling on concluding the peace and friendship treaty between Japan and China in his speech, Speaker Kenzo Kono said that he felt responsible for the fact that five years have passed but the treaty has yet to be concluded. He was determined, he added, to make greater efforts in the future for concluding the treaty between Japan and China.

Speaker Kenzo Kono and his party arrived in Peking on January 12.

Premier Chou's Magnificent Contributions in The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution

— Reminiscences by the people of Peking

IT is one year since Comrade Chou En-lai left us for ever. He was a great proletarian revolutionary, an outstanding communist fighter and an eminent and long-tested Party and state leader of the Chinese people.

Our esteemed and beloved Premier Chou was a close and long-tested comrade-in-arms of the great leader and teacher Chairman Mao. During the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution he was at Chairman Mao's side and helped in organizing and directing this great political revolution. He made indelible contributions and performed immortal deeds in resolutely fighting against interference and sabotage by the two bourgeois headquarters of Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao and the "gang of four" to win victory in the Great Cultural Revolution.

The perfidious criminal "gang of four" frenziedly opposed Chairman Mao and Premier Chou. They saw in Premier Chou the biggest obstacle to their usurping supreme leadership of the Party and the state. Right at the start of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution they teamed up with the Lin Piao anti-Party clique and misrepresented this great political revolution as "a struggle between the new cultural revolution group and the old government" and treacherously spearheaded their attack against the Premier. At every stage of the Cultural Revolution the gang fabricated charges and used every underhand trick known to smear and attack him. Even after the passing of our Premier Chou they went on trying to demolish the lofty image of Premier Chou who is held in high esteem by the people of all China. They feverishly cracked down on the activities of the masses to mourn Premier Chou and set themselves up against China's 800 million people. But the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua smashed at one blow the "gang of four" and the people triumphed!

Following are some reminiscences about Premier Chou during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

In the Van of the Mass Movement

In the summer of 1966 our great leader Chairman Mao set ablaze the flames of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. Workers, peasants, soldiers and revolutionary youths rose in their hundreds of millions to rebel against the counter-revolutionary revisionist line of Liu Shao-chi. Following Chairman Mao's instructions, Premier Chou took the lead to go deep among the masses, placed himself in the very front of this great revolution and fought staunchly against the bourgeois headquarters of that traitor, hidden agent and scab Liu Shao-chi.

For several days on end in the latter half of July 1966, Premier Chou appeared at four in the morning at the Peking No. 2 Institute of Foreign Languages to read their big-character posters. Although he had worked through the night, he read the posters intently and carefully and frequently took copies of some back with him to study. Teachers, students, staff and workers at the institute who had risen early discovered Premier Chou and the word was out. People came from all over the place and thronged around the Premier. He told them, "I'm here because Chairman Mao told us to investigate and study. I've come to read your big-character posters, learn from you, back you in making revolution and report back to Chairman Mao."

Later, Premier Chou went back to the institute twice to take part in the mass debates. Each time he arrived early, took a small stool and sat down amidst the others. He listened attentively to everything that was said and then precisely and clearly expounded the fighting tasks Chairman Mao had personally laid down for the Cultural Revolution.

The great call of Chairman Mao soon aroused the people of the entire country. Liu Shao-chi, who sensed disaster for himself, hastily dished up a bourgeois reactionary line in opposition to Chairman Mao's call just when the movement was getting under way (in June and July) to suppress the masses. Chairman Mao on August 5, 1966 wrote "Bombard the Headquarters (My Big-Character Poster)" and thoroughly exposed Liu Shao-chi's scheme. Tsinghua University at that time was a major battleground between the proletarian headquarters headed by Chairman Mao and the bourgeois headquarters under Liu Shao-chi. Liu Shao-chi sent a work team under his wife's command to Tsinghua University to push the bourgeois reactionary line and unleash a white terror. Several hundred teachers and students were labelled "counter-revolutionaries." Liu Shao-chi tried to hold his position there and get the work team's "experience" in Tsinghua applied elsewhere so as to put out the fiery Cultural Revolution then sweeping the whole country.

At this critical juncture, Premier Chou went, as Chairman Mao had directed, to Tsinghua University and led the teachers, students, staff and workers there to wage a tit-for-tat struggle against the bourgeois reactionary line of Liu Shao-chi. From July 30 to August 22, Premier Chou on more than 20 occasions received representatives of the teachers, students, staff and workers and members of the work team, and on four occasions went to the university to hold discussions and take part in mass rallies. Premier Chou himself rehabilitated the teachers and students who had been branded "counter-revolutionaries" under the bourgeois reactionary line of Liu Shao-chi and declared in no uncertain terms, "I have come to stir up the socialist wind, to light the fire of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. I wish to hold aloft with you the torch of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution!"

A mammoth meeting was called at Tsinghua University on the evening of August 22 to criticize the bourgeois reactionary line. It had been raining all day and when Premier Chou phoned in the evening to ask how things were going, the comrade responsible for the arrangements, with the Premier's health in mind, asked if the meeting could be put off to another day because of the rain. The Premier asked: Has

anybody started coming yet? When he was told they were already arriving for the meeting, Premier Chou answered: "Rain or wind, I'll be with you right away." It was pouring when he got there. Dressed as usual in his worn grey tunic, he had no raincoat or umbrella. He sloshed through the ankle-deep muddy water and, amidst thunderous applause, took his seat on the hastily put-up platform which was not made to be a shelter against the rain. Premier Chou took his seat on a wet stool. The rain trickled off his hair and soaked him. Autumn was replacing summer and even young people began shivering. But there was Premier Chou, nearing 70, sitting in the rain. It was extremely moving. The 100,000 people filling the football field began chanting: "An umbrella for the Premier! An umbrella for the Premier!" Smiling, Premier Chou said: Haven't you given me a Red Guard armband? You are being tempered in the wind and rain, so let me be tempered with you. The meeting went on for three hours before Premier Chou rose to speak. The applause was deafening. He spoke passionately of Chairman Mao's policies and principles for the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, called on everyone to study, get a good grasp of and apply the *Decision of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party Concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution** (the 16-Point Decision) adopted on August 8, 1966, firmly keep to the general orientation of the struggle and slam those Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road. The meeting ended with Premier Chou leading everybody in singing *Sailing the Seas Depends on the Helmsman*. The meeting was a thundering success under Premier Chou's personal attention. The criminal plot hatched by Liu Shao-chi in Tsinghua University to sabotage the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution was smashed.

The Premier's fierce-browed attitude towards capitalist-roaders in the Party and class

*This programme for the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution was drawn up under the personal direction of Chairman Mao. It laid down the principles and policies for the Cultural Revolution, stressed the necessity to have faith in the masses, rely on them and mobilize them to participate in this revolution. It pointed out that obstruction to the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution came from those inside the Party in authority taking the capitalist road.

enemies of every stripe, his principled stand of resolutely exposing them and his superb fighting skill to defeat them are indelibly engraved in the minds of the cadres and people of the Institute of Metrology.

In August and September 1966, Premier Chou met leading members of the movement in the institute three times and twice attended their "Mass Meeting to Bombard the Headquarters." The name of the meeting was given by Premier Chou. At the meeting, Premier Chou explained in detail that the main target of the movement was those people inside the Party in authority who were taking the capitalist road, and he guided the cadres and masses to sweep aside all interference and direct their attack against the bourgeois headquarters of Liu Shao-chi.

Amid the storm and stress of the Cultural Revolution, the great Red Guard movement sprang up. Chairman Mao warmly backed this revolutionary creation and in the short period of a few months he reviewed more than 10 million Red Guards from all over the country on eight occasions. When wave upon wave of millions of Red Guards poured into Peking, they found clothing, food, accommodations, transport and medical facilities available. Premier Chou had seen to that for he cherished these youngsters. When Chairman Mao invited Red Guards to move into and live in Chungnanhai, Premier Chou went in person to visit each and every room. Every time Chairman Mao reviewed the Red Guards, Premier Chou was there to oversee the arrangements so that this tremendous historic event was a complete success. In guiding the young revolutionaries to take the proletarian revolutionary path, Premier Chou constantly met group after group of Red Guards, talked with them long into the night, extolled their revolutionary spirit of daring to think, to speak out and to act, encouraged them to carry the Great Cultural Revolution through to the end and taught them by drawing on his own revolutionary experience covering several decades to conscientiously study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and always advance



Premier Chou addressing a mass rally during the Great Cultural Revolution.

valiantly along Chairman Mao's revolutionary line.

Courageously Defending Chairman Mao's Revolutionary Line

The surging Great Cultural Revolution soon swept the whole country. With ulterior motives, the Lin Piao anti-Party clique and the "gang of four" did their utmost to undermine Chairman Mao's strategic plan. Chairman Mao gave the instruction that when there is a debate, **"it should be conducted by reasoning, not by coercion or force,"** and issued the call **"Proletarian revolutionaries, unite."** But they tried in a thousand and one ways to incite bourgeois factionalism and created splits within the ranks of revolutionaries by bellowing: "You should attack by reasoning but use force in self-defence." They started beating, smashing and looting and provoked an "all-round civil war," all aimed at confusing the class alignment and taking advantage of the resulting disorder to seize Party and state power. Open and aboveboard, dauntless and selfless, Premier Chou struggled resolutely against them and courageously defended Chairman Mao's revolutionary line.

In early 1967, taking advantage of the dispute among the masses regarding the question of seizing power, Chiang Ching and Chen Po-ta instigated one group to fight against another. Under the influence of this evil trend, the different groupings at the Peking Hotel squabbled among themselves over the question of seizing power. One evening, Premier Chou went to the hotel and, sitting on the steps leading to the banquet hall, carefully listened to the opinions of both sides. He admonished them: You should act resolutely in accordance with Chairman Mao's teachings and seek major common ground while retaining minor differences. You should make more self-criticisms and never do things which will grieve our own people and gladden the enemy. You should unite on the basis of Mao Tsetung Thought and direct your attack at the common enemy. Premier Chou's words greatly enlightened the two mass groupings which soon formed a revolutionary alliance.

Wherever Premier Chou went those days, he implemented Chairman Mao's instruction on forming a revolutionary alliance. While accompanying foreign guests on a visit to the Peking No. 3 Cotton Mill on October 2, 1967, Premier Chou solicitously asked whether the different groupings in the mill had formed a revolutionary alliance. The workers and staff told the Premier that they had united, but the influence of bourgeois factionalism was still strong and that some people were trying to grab seats in the leading body, which of course impeded the fulfilment of the production quota. Having heard this, Premier Chou patiently explained to them Chairman Mao's teaching in his *On Coalition Government*: **"Conscientious practice of self-criticism is still another hallmark distinguishing our Party from all other political parties."** He encouraged them, saying: "You are workers in Peking where Chairman Mao lives. The working class listens most attentively to Chairman Mao's words. You should be the model in establishing a revolutionary alliance and become more united ideologically." Premier Chou's words warmed the hearts of the workers and the staff. They made conscientious self-criticisms to wipe out bourgeois factionalism, consolidated the revolutionary alliance and swiftly formed a three-in-one revolutionary committee.

In firmly implementing Chairman Mao's instruction, Premier Chou once told the crew

members of the "Mao Tsetung Locomotive" under the Peking Railway Bureau to propagate Mao Tsetung Thought and revolutionary alliance and the policy of grasping revolution and promoting production by their exemplary action. Acting on Premier Chou's instruction, the crew members did active propaganda work wherever they went and greatly helped promote the development of the excellent situation in railway transportation.

In Peking, Premier Chou received countless delegations of contending groupings from different parts of the country and resolved important problems in the various provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions, neglecting his meals and sleep. As the Premier often missed meals, those working by his side served him corn flour porridge in a cup as "tea." It was not uncommon for the Premier to have a snack in his car instead of a regular meal.

Once, the "gang of four" incited some people to argue with Premier Chou round the clock, not permitting him to go to bed. Firmly holding to his principled stand, he heroically waged a tit-for-tat struggle against them. All night, he explained Chairman Mao's instruction on establishing a revolutionary alliance. When he lost his voice, he asked the nurses to spray his throat and continued to work for the unity of the two different mass groupings. His effort proved to be a powerful impetus to the formation of the revolutionary alliance.

Chairman Mao consistently taught us that we must make a clear distinction between ourselves and the enemy and unite more than 95 per cent of the masses and the cadres, and that the more people we unite with the better. The "gang of four" worked hand in glove with the Lin Piao anti-Party clique. They bitterly hated the people and the masses of cadres, treating comrades as enemies, and vice versa. They made false accusations against veteran revolutionaries who had followed Chairman Mao in fighting north and south and shouted themselves hoarse: "Down with the whole lot." In this way, the "gang of four" hoped to fish in troubled waters and usurp supreme leadership in the Party and state. Premier Chou, who hated the enemies, loved the people and was warm towards comrades, was rock-firm in repulsing this counter-revolutionary adverse current.

Comrade Chen Yi supported Chairman Mao without reserve and took a firm stand. He had an iron will, was frank and aboveboard and straightforward. He was a veteran proletarian revolutionary who had made important contributions to the Party. But the Lin Piao anti-Party clique and the "gang of four" fanned up an evil wind to overthrow Comrade Chen Yi in the Great Cultural Revolution. In view of their criminal activities, Chairman Mao personally intervened and pointed out that Chen Yi was a good comrade. Resolutely implementing Chairman Mao's instruction, Premier Chou took a clear-cut stand in protecting Comrade Chen Yi.

In 1967, Lin Piao, Chen Po-ta, Chiang Ching and their followers in the foreign affairs departments dished out a programme for action which called for "creating turmoil in July and chaos in August and seizing power in September." The evil wind to overthrow Comrade Chen Yi increased in force for a time. On August 11, they instigated a handful of people to convene a meeting to criticize Comrade Chen Yi. Violating the instruction which Premier Chou made on behalf of the Party Central Committee concerning the meeting, they launched a surprise attack and shouted "Down with Chen Yi!" and displayed a streamer with the same slogan. They even tried making a physical assault on Comrade Chen Yi who was seated on the rostrum. On this matter of principle, Premier Chou did not yield an inch. To expose the enemy and educate those who had been hoodwinked, Premier Chou walked out in protest and ordered the guards to protect and escort Comrade Chen Yi from the meeting hall.

Not reconciled to their failure, Lin Piao, Chen Po-ta, Chiang Ching and their gang fell back on another scheme. On August 26, they sent a small group to engage in exhausting talks with Premier Chou, allowing the Premier neither meals nor rest for 18 successive hours. These roughnecks even threatened to intercept Comrade Chen Yi's car and storm into the Great Hall of the People to seize Comrade Chen Yi. The Premier indignantly replied: "If you dare try to intercept his car, I'll step forward to stop you. If you want to seize Comrade Chen Yi, I'll be at the gate of the Great Hall of the People and you'll have to step over my body to get him!" With our respected and beloved Premier

Chou remaining steadfast and unyielding in the storm, the scheme of Lin Piao, Chen Po-ta and Chiang Ching to overthrow Comrade Chen Yi met with ignominious failure.

When Comrade Chen Yi died in January 1972, Chairman Mao attended the memorial meeting for him with deep feeling for a lost comrade-in-arms. This action of Chairman Mao's was a powerful rebuff and criticism of the counter-revolutionary crimes of the Lin Piao anti-Party clique and the Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao "gang of four" as well as a firm support for Premier Chou's protection of Comrade Chen Yi.

With boundless love for the people, our Premier Chou waged a resolute struggle against the "gang of four" which, like the Kuomintang reactionaries, suppressed the masses.

Night soil collector Shih Chuan-hsiang, a well-known national model worker from Peking, led a miserable life in the old society. He fled from his native village in Shantung to Peking, a beggar all the way. Later, he lived by collecting night soil. He was ruthlessly bullied and exploited by the landlords and capitalists. It was Chairman Mao and the Chinese Communist Party who saved him from the abyss of misery. Cherishing deep love for Chairman Mao, Shih Chuan-hsiang made outstanding achievements at his very common work of collecting night soil and was elected a Deputy to the Third National People's Congress. Even a worker like him who had been among the most downtrodden and had deep hatred for the old society could not escape Chiang Ching's persecution. Shortly after the Great Cultural Revolution began, she labelled him a "scab," a "night soil despot" and a "counter-revolutionary," her reason was he once had shaken hands and had a photo taken with Liu Shao-chi. Later he was driven back to his native village in Shantung, severely harmed and humiliated body and soul. He suffered from a nervous breakdown, but when his mind was clear, he expressed the conviction that Chairman Mao's revolutionary line would ultimately triumph. He repeatedly said: "I'm not a scab. Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee will surely right this wrong for me."

The day Shih Chuan-hsiang looked forward to finally came. On August 20, 1973, when Premier Chou heard the work report by the secre-

tary of the Party committee of the Peking Municipal Bureau of Public Services, he anxiously asked about Shih Chuan-hsiang. When the Premier learnt how Shih was persecuted, he was very indignant and said: "Is the purpose of the Cultural Revolution to overthrow a night soil collector?" Premier Chou immediately instructed the Party secretary to bring Shih Chuan-hsiang back on behalf of the Party organization, apologize to him, make it known publicly that he had been wronged and give him medical treatment. In accordance with Premier Chou's instruction, a leading cadre of the bureau went to Shih's home in Shantung. Warmly holding Shih Chuan-hsiang's hands, he told Shih that Chairman Mao and Premier Chou were very concerned about his health and had given instructions to welcome him back. Shih was deeply moved and tears of joy rolled down his cheeks. Those present at the scene could not help shouting: "Long live Chairman Mao!"

Singer of the people Kuo Lan-ying is the daughter of a hired labourer in the rural areas before liberation. Tempered in the Great Cultural Revolution, she had undergone great changes ideologically and politically. Yet the "gang of four" and their close followers in the literary and art circles labelled her a "counter-revolutionary" through trumped-up charges because, as they said, "she's not one of us." She was not allowed to go home for a long time. When Premier Chou learnt from a document the injustice done to her, he wrote the instruction: If what this document says is true, she should be exonerated and rehabilitated immediately. Kuo Lan-ying was thus "liberated" as a result of Premier Chou's close concern. She gave her whole family a meal a hired labourer's family ate before liberation just to remind them of the bitter old days. She said that she would never forget her past sufferings at the hands of the exploiting classes and would for ever follow Chairman Mao in making revolution. In early 1976 when she learnt that the Premier was seriously ill, she sang several songs and tape-recorded them, thinking of sending them to the Premier. But it was too late, our esteemed and beloved Premier Chou had died. When the sad news reached her, she was deeply grieved. Our good Premier could no longer listen to the singing of this daughter of a hired labourer! During recent performances to praise Chair-

man Hua and denounce the "gang of four," she sang the northern Shensi folk song *Embroider a Golden Banner* for worker-peasant-soldier audiences. The first part of the song is for Chairman Mao, the second for Commander-in-Chief Chu Teh and the third for the Premier. The audiences were in tears when she sang: "The good Premier of the people has given his every bit for the revolution, we love you deeply." The singing and the tears show how the people cherish the memory of Premier Chou and how deeply they hated the "gang of four."

Warm Support for Newborn Things

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution has enabled socialist new things to bloom throughout the country. They have thrived thanks to Premier Chou's effort and care.

Always concerned about the people's health, Premier Chou paid close attention to the revolution in medical and health work. In the Cultural Revolution, he received cadres and other personnel working in this field on more than 70 occasions, explaining to them the great significance of Chairman Mao's instruction "In medical and health work, put the stress on the rural areas." He called on medical workers to follow Chairman Mao's instruction, go to the rural areas to serve the poor and lower-middle peasants, help them organize a co-operative medical service and train barefoot doctors, and to combine traditional Chinese medicine with Western medicine and do a good job in propagating birth control and ensuring medical care for women and children. In June 1967, he organized the first Peking medical team to go to the western parts of Kansu Province. Before the team set out, the Premier personally gave it instructions and set forth the concrete tasks. Among other things, he asked the team to help the local poor and lower-middle peasants to reconstruct their ovens, wells, latrines and barns so as to improve sanitation and hygienic conditions. On May 20, 1971, when he learnt that 16 medical personnel in Peking, who had volunteered to work in Tibet's Ari Prefecture where conditions were the hardest, were leaving that day, he asked them to postpone their departure. He received them the next day in the Great Hall of the People. On meeting these medical

workers who had matured in the Great Cultural Revolution, the Premier was really pleased. He applauded their revolutionary initiative and praised their revolutionary spirit of fearing neither hardship nor death. He said: "I admire you. It is really great that there are six women comrades among you! Are you all physically fit for the task?" He encouraged them to wholeheartedly serve the former serfs who had become masters of their land.

The "gang of four," accustomed to deceiving the public to win credit for themselves, shamelessly styled themselves as "representatives" of the newborn things and "standard-bearers of the revolution in literature and art." Actually, they were pickpockets who stole the fruits of the revolution in literature and art and vicious persons who cruelly persecuted the revolutionary literary and art workers. It is our Premier Chou who really worked with utter devotion for the revolution in literature and art. For years he earnestly enjoined literary and art workers to conscientiously study Chairman Mao's *Talks at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art* and keep to the orientation of making literature and art serve the workers, peasants and soldiers, and he urged them to temper themselves and remould their ideology in the countryside and army units. On many occasions he received actors and actresses and told them to portray heroes and heroines and at the same time learn from them so as to turn the presentation of a revolutionary play into practice in remoulding their own world outlook. He not only paid attention to training up-and-coming young people, but also showed concern for veteran actors and actresses, warmly protected those revolutionary literary and art workers who had served the people well and encouraged them to contribute their bit to the revolution in literature and art. He also personally gave concrete directions to the presentation of many revolutionary theatrical works and helped in continuously improving and perfecting them. But Chiang Ching, one of the "gang of four," killed all the literary and art works Premier Chou had affirmed or directed, and she unscrupulously opposed all matters in literary and art circles that Premier Chou had personally handled. In

this field, Premier Chou waged a long and tenacious struggle against the "gang of four" and won the wholehearted love and respect of the broad masses of revolutionary literary and art workers.

Our esteemed and beloved Premier Chou shouldered extremely heavy tasks during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. He attended to Party and state affairs, worked selflessly and often neglected meals and sleep. His aides and other comrades who had worked with him knew that Premier Chou often slept only two or three hours a day and worked from dawn to dusk and right through the night till next morning. His enduring enthusiasm, strong will-power, extraordinary resolve, bravery and militancy moved everyone. A responsible comrade once told him: "The Chairman asks you to look after your health." He replied: "The Chairman's health is more important." Premier Chou never flinched or stopped advancing but continued working indefatigably even when he was seriously ill.

But the dastardly insolent "gang of four" used every vile means to cruelly persecute this great proletarian revolutionary who never retreated and who worked tirelessly in the interests of the Chinese people and the world's people.

In the hospital ward our esteemed and beloved Premier Chou, in his critical days, had the comrades attending him recite time and again Chairman Mao's two poems published on New Year's Day 1976: *Reascending Ching kangshan* — to the tune of *Shui Tiao Keh Tou* and *Two Birds: A Dialogue* — to the tune of *Nien Nu Chiao*. He also had the comrades bring him a copy of *The Internationale*, saying: I am firmly convinced that communism will certainly be realized all over the world. Even in his last days, our Premier Chou, with the lofty feelings and militancy of a communist fighter, sang in a weak voice: "Let each stand in his place, the *Internationale* shall be the human race." As magnificent as high mountains and surging rivers, the song shakes the earth and proclaims that the old world will perish; it calls on us to greet with open arms the ever more splendid future of the Chinese revolution and the world revolution!

At 09:57 hours on January 8, 1976, our esteemed and beloved Premier Chou died of illness. He had staunchly defended Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and devoted all of the last ten years of his life to the Great

Proletarian Cultural Revolution. He left us amid the song of victory in struggle.

Time will pass and be forgotten, but the magnificent contributions of our esteemed and beloved Premier Chou to the cause of the proletarian revolution will shine for ever.

Journalists Accuse

The "Gang of Four" Sabotaged News Coverage of Mourning the Late Premier Chou

PREMIER Chou, held in esteem and loved by the Chinese people, passed away on January 8, 1976. The whole world was grief-stricken at the sad news.

Day and night, endless streams of mourners poured into Tien An Men Square where they placed row upon row of wreaths around the Monument to the People's Heroes. Thousands of veteran revolutionaries went there and bowed low to pay their respects; parents told children beside them to become worthy successors of the proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation.

In the capital as well as in factories, villages, barracks, government offices, schools and residential quarters across the land, people mourned and made the same pledge—they would carry on the unfinished cause of the late Premier.

All this, however, was never reported in our press, on the radio and television. During those days of great sorrow, we journalists, overwhelmed by grief ourselves, had turned in coverage of numerous heart-breaking scenes. But the "gang of four" was so vile as to use the power they had usurped to have it all censored.

Loyal to Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, our esteemed and beloved Premier Chou enjoyed very high prestige among the hundreds of millions; he was the insurmountable barrier standing in the path of the "gang of four" to usurp Party and state power. They hated him, feared him and rabidly persecuted him. They vainly tried to erase his lofty image from the

hearts of the people and left no stone unturned to suppress and sabotage news coverage of what was going on during the national bereavement.

Hsinhua News Agency's Accusation

On January 9 last year, Hsinhua, the Chinese state news agency, asked Yao Wen-yuan on how to cover the news about mourning the loss of the late Premier by the people in their hundreds of millions and how many articles should be published in his memory. Yao replied: "Pending publication of the [Party Central Committee's] memorial speech, no such articles should be organized."

According to arrangements made by the Party Central Committee and the State Council, all memorial activities throughout the country took place before January 15, the day of the mass memorial meeting. Between January 9 and 15, Hsinhua News Agency published only two news items reporting on the Party and state leaders and people in the capital paying their last respects to the Premier's remains and paying tribute to his memory. These two dispatches were the only ones they allowed, however reluctantly, to publish.

Following the mass memorial meeting, Hsinhua again asked Yao Wen-yuan for instructions. Yao's arbitrary reply was: "All news items on the funeral must be concluded immediately!" Thus, a Hsinhua news roundup of the nation's deep mourning scheduled for release on January 16 was killed. After that, the name of Premier Chou En-lai, which the Chinese people hold dearly, disappeared from the Chinese

press, although journals in other parts of the world continued to carry voluminous news accounts and articles by people of all lands in memory of Premier Chou. The way the "gang of four" trampled on the sentiments and wishes of the Chinese people was most intolerable.

Nevertheless, Yao Wen-yuan thought even this meagre reporting on the mourning activities was too much. He flew into a rage on seeing these reports on the front page and issued three orders on January 13. The first one was: "Let no news of the mourning of the death of the Premier overrun space reserved for day-to-day coverage on grasping revolution and promoting production." As was well known, the "gang of four" had always used the big stick of "criticizing" "the theory of productive forces" to disrupt production. But Yao Wen-yuan now actually talked about "promoting production" at that very hour. Obviously, what he was driving at was to leave no room for news reports on mourning the death of the Premier.

The second order was: "In the last few days, the press has devoted much of its space to large amounts of messages of condolences from foreign countries. Besides, they have all appeared in the front page." "They should be moved to the third and fourth pages." At the same time, he also told Hsinhua to cut down news dispatches on mourning activities in various countries. Moreover, nothing about the popular mourning activities abroad and no articles from the foreign press and radio stations in praise of Premier Chou were allowed to be released by Hsinhua.

The third order was: "News about the mourning should lay stress on how workers, peasants, soldiers, students and those working in commerce turned grief into strength. For instance, how students turned grief into strength by dealing counter-blows at the Right deviationist wind." His intention, of course, was to replace news of mourning Premier Chou with items on their "repulsing the Right deviationist wind."

Yao Wen-yuan, moreover, himself cut out passages in news dispatches about the mourning. On January 11, Hsinhua correspondents wrote an article, detailing how the capital's people paid their last respects to the remains of the

late Premier. They put into the item what they saw that day when a million people, some helping the elderly in the streets, some with toddlers in their arms, cried their hearts out as they lined the main thoroughfare to pay their respects as the hearse carrying Premier Chou's remains slowly moved to a crematory in the suburbs. It was a scene never witnessed in any other funeral procession in this country. In tears, our correspondents wrote down all they saw. But not a single line describing the scene appeared in the next day's papers, nor was it ever reported on the radio. Yao Wen-yuan killed the story which had already been shortened to an irreducible minimum. This provoked the people into great indignation.

"Renmin Ribao's" Expose

On the very morning of January 9 last year, when millions upon millions of people wept on hearing the sad news of the Premier's death, the "gang of four," through one of their sworn followers they had planted in the office of *Renmin Ribao*, told reporters not to go out and gather news of the event, nor to take pictures. Many comrades in the editorial office were incensed. They said: "The Premier worked so hard for the people all his life and dedicated himself wholly to the revolution. Now we're told not to gather, report and comment on the news! Why?" But all they could do at that time was walk to Tien An Men Square time and again to give vent to their grief and resentment.

Upon learning the news of the death of the Premier, the people all over the country wrote letters and sent articles to *Renmin Ribao* mourning the loss. But the "gang of four" sent out the order: "Don't publish them!" They and their cohorts also conspired regarding the paper's layout. Besides banning the expression "esteemed and beloved Premier Chou," they squeezed 15 photos showing the life of the Premier into one single page. Most intolerable was that in the photo showing people paying their last respects to Premier Chou's remains chosen by Yao Wen-yuan for release, one of those standing vigil by the catafalque was none other than the trusted follower they had planted in the office of *Renmin Ribao*, someone who showed hostility to the Premier. This was an outrageous insult to the late Premier.

On January 13 last year, Yao Wen-yuan issued many directives to that sworn follower who was told "not to give prominence to the Premier and all titles involving him should be printed in smaller type," "not to carry photos or news about the masses in mourning at Tien An Men Square," but "to carry some items on culture and on grasping revolution."

The memorial activities of the masses came to a climax on January 14 last year. *Renmin Ribao* did not mention Premier Chou's name on its first three pages that day but, instead, on Yao Wen-yuan's orders, carried a lengthy front-page article "Big Changes Brought About by Big Debate in Tsinghua University." "Of late," the article babbled, "the whole nation has been following Tsinghua's big debate on the educational revolution with interest." This was an outrageous flaunting of public sentiment and the meanest distortion of the feelings of Party members and the people at large as well. When the paper reached the public, the masses of readers were so enraged that some of them ripped that first page into shreds. They did so as an indignant protest against the bourgeoisie inside the Party who had usurped the leadership of the Party organ! Many of them rang up taking the editorial office of *Renmin Ribao* to task. They demanded: "Right now what the whole nation is focusing its attention on, what the people of the whole country are concerned about is the passing of the Premier, certainly not the big debate at Tsinghua. What's the idea of publishing an article like this one?" "Why don't you publicize the meritorious deeds Premier Chou performed?" Many comrades in the editorial office too were against the publication of that article, pointing out that running it at that time would hurt the feelings of the whole population. But Yao Wen-yuan retorted with sardonic laughter: This is an article "typical" of "this critical moment." At Tsinghua University, the gang's overjoyed trusted henchmen remarked in even greater mirth: "Hey, the timing of the publication of this article is even more meaningful than the article itself."

Some comrades in *Renmin Ribao* office in those days of grief tearfully edited and compiled a special issue mourning Premier Chou for a limited readership. It carried some historical episodes of Comrade Chou En-lai's revolution-

ary activities and some of his articles. It also dealt with the part he had played in Party journalism. Learning of this, Yao Wen-yuan phoned the editorial office twice and angrily reproached it: "What is all this about! Who told you to do this? Is this an attempt to reverse the verdicts and counter the revolution?" He added that publication of the special issue was "a mistake of following an erroneous line" and there should be an "investigation into this matter." In the following nine months, Yao's henchman in the editorial office again and again forced those comrades to make self-criticisms of their so-called "mistakes of following an erroneous line." The investigation went on until a few hours before the "gang of four's" downfall. Why was it that extolling Premier Chou's brilliant exploits was "a mistake of following an erroneous line," "an attempt to reverse the verdicts" and "to counter the revolution"? The answer can only be: The "gang of four" were so afraid of and hostile to Premier Chou and suppressed the people's mourning in such a highhanded manner that they themselves could be nothing but a bunch of counter-revolutionaries pure and simple.

Renmin Ribao is the organ of the Party, a people's journal, an instrument for the dictatorship of the proletariat. The perverse acts of the "gang of four" could only provoke the people's great indignation. When angry denunciations of *Renmin Ribao* came from all parts of the country, the "gang of four" were both panic-stricken and infuriated. Yao Wen-yuan growled and vilified the just voice of the masses as "a trend worth noting." Wang Hung-wen secretly told their henchman in the *Renmin Ribao* office to put the names and addresses of readers who protested on a blacklist so they could be hunted down as counter-revolutionaries. But all of this reign of white terror failed to suppress the people's ardent love for the Premier. In defending the truth, some readers never hesitated to give their name and their address. They simply said: "You want to make arrests? That doesn't frighten us!" One of the many letters of protest sent to *Renmin Ribao* named the names of the "gang of four" and their henchman. Written last March, it read in part:

"You people have trampled underfoot the organ of the great Communist Party of

China to such an extent. It is these vile acts that are really 'going against the will of the people.' You haven't the conscience of the Party, of a Party member at all; you don't even have the conscience of a human being, a good conscience. You are alien class elements who have wormed your way into the Communist Party. Your doomsday will come very soon. The eight hundred million in the country and the thirty million in the Party will put you on trial. You who control the mass media to rabidly oppose Premier Chou and shape counter-revolutionary opinion in an attempt to usurp supreme power in the Party, government and army will come to no good end."

Radio and Television Broadcasts

After Premier Chou's passing on January 8 last year, Yao Wen-yuan sent the radio stations and television studios one order after another whereby all musical programmes were not to be stopped and the television studio was not allowed to broadcast funeral music when Premier Chou's photo appeared on the screen or telecast pictures about the Premier's life, shoot scenes of the masses mourning in Tien An Men Square, or televise scenes of people crying bitterly and of a million people standing in silent tribute along the boulevard as the hearse passed by, or televise scenes of leaders of foreign states going to Chinese Embassies abroad to pay tribute to the memory of the late Premier, nor a particular documentary film with his image in it. . . . It was first planned that the film showing people paying their respects to the Premier would be televised for three days, but on the third day Yao Wen-yuan hastily ordered that it should be stopped at once. When the television studio was forced to withdraw the announcement of the programme, all the personnel working in the studio cried with deep grief and in great anger.

But the "gang of four" could never wipe out the brilliant image of the late Premier. Nor could they suppress the boundless esteem and loving memory the people of the whole country have for him. In the week following his death, Radio Peking and the Peking Television Studio received more than 1,000 phone calls from listeners and viewers all over the country, in addition to a deluge of letters. Many TV viewers

burst into tears over the phone, requesting that the film showing people paying their last respects to the remains of the Premier should be on more often. Many listeners strongly protested and angrily demanded an answer from the radio station: who the station represented? They wanted to know why it had failed to meet the wishes of the people. Some of them pointed out in their letters: "The people's memory and their love for the Premier cannot be contained, nor suppressed!"

The "gang of four" also used dirty tricks in their many orders to publishers and producers of photos, documentary films, and magazines. Whoever did anything counter to these orders was branded a counter-revolutionary. Under the control of the "gang of four," *Hongqi* magazine did not even carry the obituary notice and the memorial speech. The editorial department of the magazine *Workers, Peasants & Soldiers* published in Kiangsu Province in east China had written an article "Our Esteemed and Beloved Premier Chou at Meiyuan Hsintsun.*" The "gang of four" listed this as a "counter-revolutionary case" the "background" of which was to be looked into. The monthly *Shanghai Young Children* which carried an article recalling Premier Chou's tour of the Children's Palace and his loving concern for the younger generation was reprimanded.

The Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua, acting in accordance with the arrangements made by Chairman Mao and representing the wishes of the people in their hundreds of millions, smashed the "gang of four" at one stroke. Today, in the days of the first anniversary of the death of our esteemed and beloved Premier Chou, Chinese journalists are bringing to account the crimes the "gang of four" committed when they controlled the mass media. The journalists have pledged to do their work well and contribute their share in the effort to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and build China into a modernized strong socialist country.

* Premier Chou and Comrade Tung Pi-wu in 1946-47 headed a Chinese Communist Party delegation and, resourcefully and bravely, waged tit-for-tat struggles against the U.S.-Chiang Kai-shek reactionaries in Nanking, then the centre of Kuomintang reactionary rule. Meiyuan Hsintsun was the site where the delegation stayed.

World's People Cherish Memory of Premier Chou

A YEAR ago when the news of the passing of our esteemed and beloved Premier Chou En-lai was heard, millions upon millions of people in China and everywhere in the world were stricken with immense grief. But the "gang of four" banned reports on the deep mourning by people all over the world and their glowing tributes to the late Premier from appearing in our media.

Today, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China headed by the wise leader Chairman Hua has smashed the "gang of four," removing a scourge for the people. On the occasion of the first anniversary of Premier Chou En-lai's passing, we cherish even more profoundly the memory of our good Premier and hate more bitterly the towering crimes of the "gang of four" as we recall the deep mourning of the world's people for him.

Universal Grief

The sad news brought flags down to half-mast in many countries and a flood of messages of condolence to Peking. Newspapers, magazines and television in various countries featured articles and reports on the great life of Premier Chou. Throughout the world, people mourned his passing in one way or another.

Guerrilla fighters persevering in armed struggle in some Southeast Asian countries went into mourning for several days to learn from the revolutionary spirit and noble qualities of Comrade Chou En-lai.

Nearly 1,000 French working people assembled at the Wall of the Communards, a monument to the Paris Commune—the world's first proletarian revolution—to deeply mourn Premier Chou's passing.

In Tanzania, flags flew at half-mast for three days. Radio Tanzania rebroadcast the speech delivered by Premier Chou at Dar-es-

Salaam Airport when he visited that country. Newspapers reprinted photographs of Premier Chou in Tanzanian national costume together with President Nyerere and other Tanzanian friends.

At the memorial meeting sponsored by the Venezuela-China Friendship Association, a Venezuelan friend said: "The great people's leader Chou En-lai belonged not only to China, but to the whole world." "Chou En-lai is not dead; he lives on in the annals of history," he declared.

A veteran Yugoslav guerrilla phoned the Chinese Embassy in Belgrade to inquire about the sad news and burst out crying when it was confirmed.

An Indian postman wept as he delivered the mail. He said: "Premier Chou was the best friend of the Indian labouring masses."

When a little Pakistan friend brought a newspaper with the black-bordered photo of Premier Chou home, his whole family was grief-stricken as they recalled his three visits to Pakistan.

A well-known Ethiopian personage, who is over 80 and crippled in both legs, made a condolence call at the Chinese Embassy with the help of others.

On learning the sad news, a Romanian engineer wrote the following elegy: Dear Chou En-lai, the immortal, you will always live on in our hearts. The torch you kindled on earth will illuminate our victorious march!

In the Soviet Union and some East European countries under modern revisionist rule, many people broke through the obstructions put up by the authorities and expressed their mourning for Premier Chou in various ways. Some even risked going to Chinese Embassies to extend their condolences. Others sent letters

expressing deep condolences on behalf of their whole families, all their relatives and friends and in their own names. A young worker sent a wreath on which he wrote a poem in praise of Premier Chou's "exemplary militant life." "I'll faithfully cherish your memory," he pledged.

Tributes to Magnificent Contributions

In the days of deep sorrow after the passing of Premier Chou, the people of the world, with the most profound affection, recalled his immortal contributions to the Chinese revolution and the world revolution.

Marxist-Leninists of various countries recalled his dauntless revolutionary spirit in the tit-for-tat struggle, under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, against Soviet revisionism and U.S. imperialism and eulogized his outstanding contributions to the revolutionary struggle of the world's people and the international communist movement.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Burma, in a condolence circular to the whole Party, praised Comrade Chou En-lai as "a resolute valiant fighter against Soviet social-imperialism, U.S. imperialism and all reaction. He was loyal to the proletarian internationalist line set forth by the Communist Party of China, and thus won the respect and love of the oppressed nations the world over."

The comrades in the Communist Party of the Philippines praised Comrade Chou En-lai for "unflinchingly upholding Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, and waging tit-for-tat struggles against imperialism, revisionism and social-imperialism," and "immensely contributing to the great cause of promoting the revolutionary unity and development of the Marxist-Leninist Parties and organizations and advancing the world proletarian revolution."

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Peru held a special meeting to deeply mourn the death of Premier Chou En-lai. Thousands of Peruvian revolutionaries also held a memorial meeting. In a memorial article, *Patria Roja*, organ of the Communist Party of Peru, pledged "to follow the example of Comrade Chou En-lai and dedicate their whole lives to the revolutionary cause and the people."

The comrades in the Communist Party of Bolivia (Marxist-Leninist) said: "The life and struggle of Comrade Chou En-lai are of great historic significance to the entire world revolutionary movement, because he was a loyal, distinguished, selfless and talented revolutionary leader who devoted his whole life till the last moment to the sacred cause of the proletariat of China and the world."

The comrades in the Communist Party of Sweden said in deep sorrow: The death of Comrade Chou En-lai is an enormous loss to China and to the world proletariat. Other comrades, however, will definitely fill the great vacuum left by him. Inspired by his shining example and guided by Marxism-Leninism, further developed by Chairman Mao Tsetung, they will continue to carry out to the end the glorious task to which he devoted his whole adult life, all his power and all his great knowledge.

The broad masses of the third world were particularly grieved over the passing of Premier Chou En-lai. They regarded Premier Chou as their "constant and sincere friend," "the closest and sincerest comrade-in-arms" and said they would for ever remember his "brilliant contributions to the cause of liberation of the third world."

The news media of the third world countries highly praised Premier Chou for his unswerving support to the revolutionary struggle of the third world people in line with Chairman Mao's instructions:

Premier Chou "is esteemed and revered in countries on the five continents." His "revolutionary life embodies his heroism, dedication and loyalty to the Chinese people and the oppressed peoples of the world." "He is the closest and most reliable friend of the Kampuchean nation and people." — Radio Democratic Kampuchea.

"Following the teachings of Comrade Mao Tsetung, Comrade Chou En-lai regarded the revolutionary struggle of our people as the struggle of the Chinese people and always unflinchingly gave us energetic support in our difficult times." — *Rodong Sinmun* of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

Premier Chou "played a prominent role in the history of our East" and he visited Egypt

in 1963 and 1965 and warned both times against Soviet designs for domination in the area. — *Akhbar el-Yom* of Egypt.

Premier Chou "will be remembered in Africa as the true and complete embodiment of genuine and lasting friendship. He will be remembered in Africa as a man who loved the people of Africa from the depths of his heart and a man who worked for peace and true independence for the people of Africa." "As far as the people of Zambia are concerned, Mr. Chou will remain in our minds as a true friend who came to our assistance during our hour of need." — *Zambia Daily Mail*.

"Chou En-lai was very faithful to the spirit of Afro-Asian solidarity which was unfolded at Bandung." He contributed "to the liberation of the oppressed peoples of Africa and the rest of the third world." — *Radio Cameroon*.

While mourning the passing of Premier Chou En-lai with profound grief, the people of many countries treasured more than ever the immortal contributions he made under Chairman Mao's leadership to the militant unity, friendship and co-operation between the Chinese people and the people of the rest of the world.

It was only natural that Tanzanians and Zambians travelling by train on the Tanzam Railway recalled Premier Chou's efforts in building this railway. The Tanzanian and Zambian peoples clearly remembered that during the construction of the railway, it was Premier Chou who had given important instructions and made decisions on the technical standard, the progress of construction, the supply of equipment and materials, the dispatch of Chinese engineers and technicians and the training of Tanzanian and Zambian technical personnel. At a rally in July 1976 celebrating the successful completion of the railway, President Kaunda of Zambia asked those present to observe a silent tribute to show the Tanzanian and Zambian peoples' respect for the late Chinese Premier.

While mourning Premier Chou, the Sri Lankan people often referred to the international conference hall in memory of Solomon Bandaranaike which stands in the centre of

Colombo, the capital of Sri Lanka. They can never forget that Premier Chou told the Chinese architects that the magnificent hall should be built in the traditional style of Sri Lanka and suited to the local climate. Treasuring this lofty and sincere friendship, long queues of people come to visit the hall every day. They regard it as an excellent symbol of the unity and co-operation of the third world. Mourning the death of Premier Chou, Prime Minister Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike of Sri Lanka said Premier Chou had been sincerely sympathetic to the economic development of Sri Lanka and to the aspirations of the Sri Lankan people. In his death, Sri Lanka had lost a constant and sincere friend, she declared.

Revolutionaries of all countries praised Premier Chou for his "unswerving loyalty" to Chairman Mao and his "matchless steadfastness" in carrying out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. He was Chairman Mao's "close comrade-in-arms," they said. Foreign friends who had the opportunity to meet Premier Chou all admired his "tirelessness in work" and his "matchless spirit of self-sacrifice." A Japanese friend affectionately recalled that Premier Chou had said to him: Many comrades had laid down their lives for the people since the Long March, so he had to work hard to take up all the work left by these martyrs. This Japanese friend "was deeply moved by a revolutionary's rigorous demand on himself" as the late Premier made.

In Deep Memory

Premier Chou visited dozens of Asian, African and European countries after the founding of the People's Republic of China. He had sincere talks with the leaders of these countries and extensive contacts with the people. Through these visits, he made a magnificent contribution to the promotion of friendship among the people of the world and their cause of united struggle against hegemony. On hearing the news of his death, many people in different countries vividly recalled the days they spent with Premier Chou.

Korean comrades said his visits to Korea "will always be remembered by our people." His visit in the spring of 1970 — his last trip abroad — is still fresh in their memories. With great affection, they called him the friendly

envoy of the Chinese people who made "an outstanding contribution to the strengthening of the great militant friendship and unity between the two countries."

When the news of Premier Chou's death reached Albania, the capital, Tirana, and other parts of the country were plunged into sorrow. Many people sobbed on recalling Premier Chou's three visits to Albania. They could never forget that Premier Chou and Comrade Enver Hoxha spent a joyful New Year's Eve in 1963 together with Albanian workers, army officers and artists, a night of joy filled with friendship between the Chinese and Albanian peoples.

The Kampuchean people remembered that when Premier Chou visited Phnom Penh, Kam-pot, the Kompong Cham Textile Mill and the Longbo Reservoir, he was greeted with enthusiastic cheers everywhere. Two Kampuchean friends said in their letter of condolence after Premier Chou's death: "Throughout our Kampuchea, from the vast plains to remote hilly areas, everyone knows Comrade Chou En-lai was their great comrade-in-arms."

The Vietnamese people recalled Premier Chou's visits to their country on many occasions during the years of war. They said that the support extended by Premier Chou on behalf of the Chinese Government and people to the Vietnamese people in their struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation strengthened the militant friendship between the people of the two countries.

The Algerian people specially mentioned how Premier Chou cared for the children of revolutionary martyrs. In Algeria on December 24, 1963, he visited a children's home for those whose parents had laid down their lives in the war for national liberation. When a little girl in national costume presented him with a bouquet, Premier Chou bent down and warmly held both her hands in his.

In many cold winters and hot summers since the founding of New China, Premier Chou, with tireless enthusiasm, personally greeted and saw off groups of distinguished guests and friends from foreign lands. Many of them said they were "encouraged" by his remarks and described their meetings with him as "unforgettable."

The noted British woman writer Han Suyin had seen Premier Chou En-lai a dozen times. Grief-stricken by his death, she recalled their meetings in 1956, 1959 and 1971, saying that the reception accorded her was "cordial, helpful and instructive." When she saw Comrade Teng Ying-chao recently, she tearfully told her that seeing her brought back the memory of Premier Chou En-lai, whom the people of the whole world hold in high esteem.

Sabry Abuel Magd Mohamed, Editor-in-Chief of the illustrated Egyptian weekly *Al Mussawar*, interviewed Premier Chou on four occasions from 1955 to 1965, in Peking, Cairo and at the Bandung Conference. The moving scenes of the interviews were still "vivid in my mind," he said. He was deeply impressed by "his extensive learning, his profound study of the people's movement, his prudent judgement and foresight into the future, his comprehensive grasp of all world political and economic issues, and his unrivalled serenity and composure that allowed no sudden impulse to prejudice his thoughts." "In the past two decades or more," he said, "whenever any important international event took place, I would say at once: That was foreseen by Chou En-lai."

The well-known Dutch film director Joris Ivens, who made the acquaintance of Premier Chou as far back as 1938 while in Hankow, and was received by him in almost every visit to China, said that the late Premier's talks with him were still vivid in his mind. He recalled that Premier Chou had told him that a cinematographer should cover more of the activities of the people and advised him to film scenes showing the multitudinous achievements of China's Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. In his seventies, Ivens was so grieved on learning of the death of Premier Chou that he couldn't sleep that night and immediately went to the Chinese Embassy the next day where, in tears, he expressed his esteem and admiration for the late Chinese Premier.

Famous Japanese critic Yoko Matsuoka reminisced over her meeting with Premier Chou on the evening of New Year's Day 1971 in the Great Hall of the People in Peking. "Good evening," the Premier greeted the Japanese guests in Japanese, she recalled. "He was all smiles, beaming with affectionate feelings for

a close friend." She clearly remembered that in his talk the Premier had dwelt on the expansionist policy of Soviet social-imperialism and the struggle of the Japanese people. She was

greatly inspired by these words of encouragement and support for the Japanese people's struggle.

(Hsinhua and "Renmin Ribao" Correspondents)

A Big-Character Poster That Denounced the "Gang of Four"

AT a recent meeting to criticize the "gang of four" by the capital's literary and art circles, a representative of the Conservatory of Music of the Central "May 7" University of Arts exposed and repudiated the crime of the "gang of four" in persecuting Li Chun-kuang, a young teacher at the conservatory. The young man was persecuted for putting up a big-character poster he wrote in August 1975 to repudiate the gang's opposition to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in literature and art.

Presenting facts and reasoning things out, this hard-hitting poster won round after round of thunderous applause when it was read out at the above-mentioned meeting.

Cause of Events

The colour film *Pioneers* (see *Peking Review*, No. 47, 1976), which praises the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance and hard work of Taching's oil workers, was warmly acclaimed by the worker-peasant-soldier audiences when it was shown in February 1975. But it was wildly attacked by the "gang of four," particularly the self-styled "standard-bearer of the revolution in literature and art" Chiang Ching. She instructed her sworn followers to concoct 10 accusations against the film, alleging that it "prettifies" Liu Shao-chi in mentioning the Party Central Committee's concern about Taching and that it was intended to "glorify" somebody; they even smeared the hero of the film, oil worker Chou Ting-shan, saying

that his was the image of a "rash man." And they went so far as to say that "the language used by the principal characters is stereotyped," because the film quotes from Chairman Mao's statements and words from *The Internationale*. They did everything in their power to try to kill the film.

This was not a debate on the merits or demerits of a film. What the gang was really trying to do was to pull down the red banner of Taching that Chairman Mao had raised personally, oppose his revolutionary line in literature and art and persecute Premier Chou En-lai who consistently supported Taching.

Workers, peasants and soldiers and literary and art workers were incensed by this crime of the "gang of four." The scenarist of the film wrote a letter to the great leader Chairman Mao to report the truth.

On July 25, 1975, Chairman Mao wrote a directive on the letter: "There is no big error in this film. Suggest that it be approved for distribution. Don't nit-pick. And to list as many as ten accusations against it is going too far. It hampers the adjustment of the Party's current policy on literature and art." This directive severely criticized the "gang of four" and warmly supported *Pioneers* and its scenarist. Inspired by Chairman Mao's directive, the masses of literary and art workers rose to criticize the counter-revolutionary revisionist line pushed by the "gang of four" in

literary and art circles. It was in the course of this acute struggle that Li Chun-kuang wrote his big-character poster.

He spoke at two meetings of the Conservatory of Music to study and discuss Chairman Mao's directive on *Pioneers*. Afterwards, he turned his remarks into a big-character poster and put it up on August 8, 1975. He could not criticize the "gang of four" by name at the time the poster was written, but he repudiated the Ministry of Culture controlled by a few of the gang's followers. In this way, he pointed the spearhead of his criticism at the "gang of four."

The masses hailed the poster and quickly copied and spread it far and wide. But the "gang of four" tried by every means to blockade it and forbade it being reported to Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee. They even stepped up their persecution of Li Chun-kuang and his sympathizers. Last June they ordered Li to be put in custody and under investigation, and searched high and low for his sympathizers and the so-called "behind-the-scene plotters." They threatened to "track them down no matter who they are," directing the spearhead of attack at the Party Central Committee.

The Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua Kuo-feng smashed at one stroke the "gang of four" and Li Chun-kuang and his big-character poster were liberated. Following are excerpts from this revolutionary poster.

Excerpts From the Big-Character Poster

Chairman Mao's "July 25 directive" has spoken our minds. Step by step, its great significance will manifest itself with increasing clarity.

But what is the attitude of the Ministry of Culture towards it? Some leading members of the ministry have expressed their view, which I would say is empty talk. You have committed such glaring errors, but why haven't you said a word about mobilizing all the Party members, cadres, workers and students under the Ministry of Culture to criticize you and help you recognize and correct your mistakes? Why don't you arouse the masses to help you analyse and criticize the "ten points" (referring to the

ten accusations against *Pioneers — Tr.*)? In my opinion, the "ten points" are absurd theoretically, confused logically and overbearing in style, and noxious politically.

In cooking up the "ten points," you rejected Marxism, democratic centralism, the mass line and proletarian discipline. The present Ministry of Culture was set up during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, but you don't like what the workers, peasants and soldiers like, and your hearts don't beat in unison with theirs. Your "ten points" were a demonstration against the Party Central Committee, showing that you dare to throw overboard what it had decided. Isn't this outrageous?

Every sentence in this directive of Chairman Mao's is of the utmost importance. The first sentence is soul-stirring. "**Suggest that it be approved for distribution.**" Isn't it a shocking situation that a film (a good film welcomed by the workers, peasants and soldiers) could not be approved for distribution unless Chairman Mao himself intervened? "**Don't nit-pick. And to list as many as ten accusations against it is going too far.**" These words of Chairman Mao's have a tone of great anger. Which one of the ten insolent accusations can stand up, or has any ground at all? They add up to nothing but an attempt to reverse right and wrong and frame charges and a determination to kill the film. Why did you allege that to mention the Party Central Committee meant prettifying Liu Shao-chi? Who can have such a strange idea and draw such a ridiculous conclusion if he was not prejudiced?

You accused the film of "glorifying" someone. Whom does it glorify? Is there any one of the comrades here who was not moved when he visited the Taching Oilfield? The hundreds of thousands of oil workers, their leaders included, are loyal to Chairman Mao, to the Party Central Committee, to Marxism and to the people. Their tremendous contributions are indelible. They are glorious representatives of the Chinese working class. Speaking of "glorifying" someone, we may well say that the film glorifies the Chinese proletariat. Is this something that is unjustified or impermissible? Does it mean that doing such a completely righteous

thing makes one guilty of a crime punishable by death?! You have really gone too far!

Chairman Mao's instruction on **"the adjustment of the Party's current policy on literature and art"** is very important, wise, and incisive and came in good time. The current policy in literature and art followed by the Ministry of Culture is not keeping pace with the development of the revolutionary situation, nor does it meet the demands of the Party and the people, demands proceeding from Marxism. It should be adjusted.

Take the cadre policy for example. Chairman Mao said that it was wrong to replace rank-and-file cadres when leading cadres were changed. He stressed the need to unite 95 per cent of the cadres, and that in criticizing the erroneous line stress should not be placed on the responsibility of individuals. He said the Communist Party should appoint people on their merits rather than by favouritism. How far has this policy been carried out by the Ministry of Culture? How many veteran cadres under it have been used? Comrade Ma Ke, for instance, has been subjected to investigation for nine years and no evidence has been found to show that he had been an enemy, special agent or renegade. His case is roughly one of following the erroneous line. I'm not familiar with him, nor does he know me. In the past, he warmly responded to the great call Chairman Mao issued in the *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art* and was one of the composers of the modern opera *The White-Haired Girl* and had written a number of other good songs. These works have inspired millions of revolutionary fighters to storm the enemy citadel and perform meritorious service. Can't this be counted as having done a tiny bit of good? His merit is no match for yours, it is ten thousand times less than yours. But, anyhow, there still is a tiny bit. I heard that when he made a self-criticism before the masses, he concluded it with the remark: "If permitted to do so, I wish to do a tiny bit of work to the best of my ability for the Party and the people in the limited number of years remaining to me." Did you hear this remark? He committed some error, admitted it and was resolved to correct it. He asked for a tiny bit of work, hoping to make

amends for previous faults by some good services. Why don't you give a little consideration to his entreaties? Nine years are not short. How many nine years are there in a cadre's life? The masses have long been dissatisfied with such things but dare not speak out. Speaking out is itself a crime.

Our esteemed and beloved Premier Chou En-lai time and again has inquired about and expressed his concern over some writers and artists and their works, but some leaders of the Ministry of Culture just turn a deaf ear. You pay no heed to what the Premier says. Your institution is under the State Council but you dare to disobey the Premier of the State Council. You disregard the Premier's instruction. Our Premier Chou, so esteemed and beloved by the people throughout the country and the world, is loyal to the Party and the people and, under the leadership of Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee, has over the past decades worked indefatigably and with utter devotion in disregard of difficulties and peril. The attitude you take towards such a great proletarian revolutionary will never be tolerated by the people in their hundreds of millions!

Many comrades have pointed out in their speeches that the Ministry of Culture has not carried out the three-in-one combination of the old, middle-aged and young cadres. I agree with this. Talking only about the organizations I know of, I recall a remark of Lenin: **"In place of the old leaders, who hold the common human views on ordinary matters, new leaders are put forth who talk unnatural stuff and nonsense."** (*Left-Wing Communism, An Infantile Disorder*.) Do we have this situation? I can name names. Why should this be kept secret?

Criticism of "coteries." What are coteries? It is said that they refer to sectarian cliques. Very good. They should be criticized. There is no alternative but to criticize them. But is there any coterie among the leaders of the Ministry of Culture? Some comrades have sharply pointed out that you are the worst coterie in literary and art circles. I express admiration for the Marxist spirit of those who dare to state the case in such a straightforward manner!

A Fine Bombardment

HOW well-written is the big-character poster by the young teacher Comrade Li Chun-kuang! Daring to think, speak, write and put up posters and daring to criticize the counter-revolutionary revisionist line of the "gang of four" in literature and art, he displayed the true revolutionary spirit of going against the tide. What he opposed was the counter-revolutionary adverse current of the "gang of four"!

The "gang of four" imposed a white terror in the literary and art field which was under their tight control. Those who bowed to them prospered and those who resisted perished. They openly blockaded, discredited, distorted and even tampered with what our great leader Chairman Mao said. They overthrew all the revolutionary literary and art workers who did not follow in their footsteps, and rejected all literary and art works that did not meet their requirements. At the time when they were the "formidable giants" wearing the cloak of Marxism-Leninism and flaunting the banner of revolution, many revolutionary comrades were forced to hold back their anger and dared not speak out. Still many comrades used different ways to oppose and resist the gang and waged a tit-for-tat struggle against them. Comrade Li Chun-kuang is one of these staunch fighters. With his big-character poster, he set off a deafening bombardment against the "gang of four."

What a good, accurate and forceful bombardment! The poster categorically

presents facts and reasons things out. It is sharp, pungent, and dynamic; it hit the gang where it hurt. The poster is permeated with the author's infinite esteem for the great leader Chairman Mao and his warm support for the respected and beloved Premier Chou, his infinite contempt for the "gang of four" and their lackeys as well as his bitter hatred and stinging sarcasm for their counter-revolutionary revisionist line in literature and art.

The "gang of four" and their lackeys all along spared no effort to suppress the masses' revolutionary spirit of going against the tide. They made a relentless attack against Comrade Li Chun-kuang. This reactionary gang that always styled themselves "supporters of the young rebels" "going against the tide" tore off their masks. They put Comrade Li Chun-kuang "in custody and under investigation" and tried to pull out so-called "behind-the-scene bosses." They even cross-examined and investigated his comrades and other revolutionary masses who had read this big-character poster. This is a typical example of the out-and-out fascist dictatorship enforced by the "four-member gang" in literary and art circles.

The reactionary line may run wild for a time, but it is bound to be defeated by the revolutionary line in the end. The anti-Party "gang of four" cannot escape their ignominious end — being put in the dock of history.

(Excerpts from "Renmin Ribao" commentary, December 5, 1976)

Even if they have ten thousand shortcomings, weak points and errors and have done twenty thousand stupid things, at least they devoted some effort to the creation of certain works of literature and art; at least they are

Communists who are willing to advance and make revolution, who are honest people, open and aboveboard, engage in no intrigues and conspiracies and do not intend to plot against others. The criticism of coteries was directed

at none other than such people. What is really behind this criticism which is carried on in the guise of opposing sectarian cliques?

As to theoretical research, how many articles making a serious study of the writings of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Chairman Mao on literature and art have been published by the Ministry of Culture? How many articles making a serious study of the aesthetical thinking of Lu Hsun (a great man of letters and revolutionary [1881-1936] — Tr.) have been published? For instance, what is the fundamental principle for creative writing in revolutionary literature and art? Chairman Mao mentioned the integration of revolutionary realism and revolutionary romanticism nearly 20 years ago. This is the most fundamental principle for creative writing in proletarian revolutionary literature and art. When did you seriously study this question? You do not talk about Marx, Lenin, Chairman Mao and Lu Hsun. You only talk about some great inventions. You are even wiser than Marx! In some of your articles, which are beyond comprehension, even the rudiments of grammar and sentence structure and the basic concepts of language are ignored. For instance, the "ten points" has the phrase "serious errors in art." A work can be good or bad, refined or crude artistically, and so on and so forth. But what is right and wrong in art? Who can make this clear? What a splendid view of aesthetics, which has never been heard of before!

In respect of studying theory, narrowing the differences and restricting bourgeois right, you keep lecturing others about this every day. But what about yourselves? It seems that Lu Hsun's prediction fell far short of what actually happened. He told members of the League of Chinese Left-Wing Writers in 1930: Don't think that after the revolution succeeds, the masses of workers and peasants will invite you to ride in special cars and eat special food. It may be hard to have brown bread to eat. How lucky our revolutionary writers and artists are now! Special clothes, special food, special cars. Lenin punished the administrative cadre who raised his salary. Chairman Mao criticized his guard who caught a fish to serve him on the Long March. Marx often went hungry. But today everything is splendid. After the great

victory of the revolution, you have become heroes of a special sort and you are entitled to special food, special clothes and special cars. And this is still not enough. I was told that the literary and art workers will be further classified into those at the highest level, higher level, high and inferior levels, and so on and so forth. What nonsense! It's utterly ridiculous! Everybody is dissatisfied including many comrades in the troupes performing the model revolutionary theatrical works who are the "beneficiaries." But such things cannot be talked about. If anybody talks about them, it means "bombardment." What does it matter if we bombard the Ministry of Culture?! What I say today is a "bombardment." Is your Ministry of Culture really a tiger whose backside no one dares touch? I am deliberately touching it. When did the leading members of the ministry utter a word or two of self-criticism? When have you ever tolerated a few words of criticism or suggestions? Every remark of yours is like an imperial edict and everybody must respond "yes" and "all right." Even Chairman Mao had to say in his July 25 directive, "**Suggest that it be approved for distribution,**" because you are the ministry in charge of this work. So the Chairman of the Party Central Committee "**suggested**" that you handle the affair this way. On May 9, 1970, after giving completely correct and very important instructions on the Great Cultural Revolution in the Conservatory of Music, Premier Chou said to the masses: "Do you think these opinions of mine have some reference value for you?" When have you ever shown a tiny bit of such a great Marxist style?!

I hope you listen to these opinions. Retaliate if you like. This will temper me politically, theoretically and ideologically and also strengthen my will power and moral integrity. That's a good thing.

Chairman Mao's directive serves as a flame, the flame of the great truth of Marxism. Who ever wants to put this flame out will find it impossible. It seems that the Ministry of Culture intends first to reduce major issues to minor ones, and then minor issues to naught. I think this won't do. Don't underestimate Chairman Mao's strength. Don't underestimate the people's strength. Don't underestimate the strength of the truth of Marxism.

Stagnant Western Economy

A dismal and depressing economic situation continued to prevail in the Western capitalist world with the arrival of 1977. Facts showed that the economic upturn since the second half of 1975 was, to a large measure, fictitious and that the capitalist economy is more decadent than ever.

THE gravest economic crisis in 40 years came to the surface in various major capitalist countries at the end of 1973. Industrial production kept declining from then to the first half of 1975. An upturn started in most of these countries in the latter half of that year. But their economies hardly recovered to the pre-crisis level when they again became sluggish in the latter half of 1976. Numerous difficulties spelled a gloomy outlook. The Western press admitted in alarm that the capitalist economy again found itself "in the shadow of a new global slump" and "dark clouds are gathering over the horizon."

Slowdown in Upturn, Steep Increase in Unemployment

The dismaying economic situation was marked by a slowdown of the upturn. U.S. industrial production went up 3 per cent in the first quarter of 1976, 1.5 per cent in the second and 0.9 per cent in the third, but dropped in September and October. One U.S. journal admitted that "expansion has slowed to a crawl." Industrial production in Japan declined three months in succession, from last August to October. The situation was even worse in Western Europe. According to an annual economic report released by the European Economic Community (E.E.C.), industrial production last August was 4 per cent below the record level of 1974, and since then economic growth in various countries "has noticeably slowed down, falling now and then to stagnation."

With the pause in the economic upturn, the number of jobless, which had once dropped slightly, shot up again. The official unemployment rate in the United States went straight

from 7.3 per cent in June to 8.1 per cent in November, with the number of unemployed reaching 7.8 million, an increase of one million in six months. The situation in the E.E.C. countries was similar. It was reported that the total number of full-time unemployed stood at 5 million at the end of 1975, a postwar record. Since the beginning of last year, "employment has improved slowly, but only in a limited number of member states; in many countries, it has even deteriorated compared with the last year [1975]." The unemployment rate was 9.4 per cent in Belgium, 7 per cent in Italy, over 5 per cent in Denmark, the Netherlands and Britain, and 4.3 per cent in West Germany (nearly three times the figure of its pre-crisis level of 1.5 per cent at the end of 1973). Unemployment also was very serious in Canada, Japan and Australia.

Production in the Western world again sank into stagnation, and unemployment rose considerably after the current cycle of capitalist economic crisis had entered the recovery stage. This was a phenomenon rare in postwar economic crises. It showed that the economic upturn in the Western countries in the past year and more was, to a large extent, fictitious and that the capitalist economy is feebler than ever.

It is clear to all that the Western economic upturn was built chiefly on increased production of consumer goods and replenishment of stocks. Although consumer goods in the main recovered or even surpassed the pre-crisis level in the United States, West Germany and Japan, heavy industries, particularly capital goods such as factory buildings, machines and equipment, fell far behind the pre-crisis level. Steel production last September was 14 per cent lower than the pre-crisis level in the United States, 21 per cent

in West Germany, 17 per cent in Britain, 14 per cent in France, and 12 per cent in Japan.

No Real Improvement in Consumer Purchasing Power

More noteworthy is the fact that Western industry generally was operating at under capacity. In the third quarter of the year, U.S. factories were at only 73 per cent of capacity, or 12 per cent lower than the pre-crisis level. Meanwhile, West German and British factories operated at a capacity more than 10 per cent below their pre-crisis level. In such circumstances, the capitalists naturally were not eager for massive investments. The U.S. weekly *Time* noted that "businessmen in the U.S., Europe and Japan, still shaken by the 1974-75 recession, have failed to invest in new plant and equipment anywhere near as rapidly as had been expected." The U.S. *Business Week* reported last September that in the first half of 1976, capital spending in the United States was 9 per cent below the level of the second half of 1973 before the outbreak of the crisis. The fall was 24 per cent in Japan, an average of about 11 per cent in West Germany, Britain, France and Italy.

Though more consumer goods were produced last year, that did not signify any real improvement in consumer purchasing power. It was rather the result of stimulative government measures "to revive booms" through higher government spending, tax cuts and lower interest rates. Such measures produced only temporary and superficial results, and were fraught with more acute danger. As an immediate consequence, financial deficits reached new peaks in the major capitalist countries, throwing nearly all of them into worse financial crises.

Inflation harried the capitalist world throughout 1976, spiralling even more sharply in the second half. Official figures published in the major industrial countries showed prices going up at an annual rate of more than 10 per cent in Italy, Finland, Britain, Denmark, Sweden and Japan. The rate was 21.4 per cent in Italy, 15 per cent in Britain, and 9.9 per cent in France. Persistent inflation seriously weakened the position of these countries' currencies. Monetary markets in Western Europe

were frequently in a turmoil. The pound sterling and Italian lira dropped to new lows time and again. The French franc became so vulnerable that it was withdrawn from "joint floatation." To save their currencies and curb inflation, some governments reverted to restrictive policies to cut spending and to raise taxes and interest. Others dared not pursue their expansionary policies in a thoroughgoing way for fear of further inflation. The economic recovery petered out as soon as the stimulative measures were slackened. *Time* reported on November 29 that "worldwide [in the West], the consumer spending boom that opened the year has fizzled."

Fiercer Competition for Markets

West Germany and Japan enjoyed a comparatively quick economic pickup. Besides the increase of consumer goods, an important factor behind this was a bigger export volume. However, both countries also ran into export difficulties. As West Germany exports 60 per cent of the machines it produces and about half of its steel, non-ferrous metals, autos and chemical products, foreign trade was seriously affected by the economic stagnation of the Western world. Overseas orders received by West German capital goods industries dropped 35 per cent in value last September and October compared with the two previous months. This was a bad omen. As for Japan, its increased export trade, though easing the domestic scene to some extent, aroused loud complaints from many trade partners. The "foreign trade imbalance" between Japan and the European Economic Community, with the latter suffering a deficit of 4,200 million dollars in the past year, constituted one of the "focal points" of discussion at the November summit meeting of the E.E.C., Japan's Jiji Press reported.

While the economic situation went from bad to worse, more and more capitalist countries resorted to "protective" measures to curb imports. As there will be fiercer competition for markets, bigger exports cannot be regarded as a reliable means to economic recovery. A UPI dispatch said: "there were rising doubts even in [West] Germany about the future of the economic recovery."

(Continued on p. 30.)

ROUND THE WORLD

"VOICE OF THE PEOPLE
OF THAILAND"

Calling on the People to Unite in Struggle

In a New Year's Day editorial, the "Voice of the People of Thailand" called on the Thai people to unite in struggle.

The editorial said: "The tide of the national-democratic struggle of the broad masses of the people is pounding fiercely at the reactionary ruling clique, which is tottering and much closer to its doom. Our revolutionary ranks will grow ever stronger and advance forward victoriously."

Summing up the experience of the struggle of the Thai people, it pointed out: "The people have drawn the conclusion that since the enemy has rifles in his hands, our people must also have rifles in our hands. The reactionary ruling classes have reactionary armed forces to suppress and oppress the people. Therefore, our people should have our own revolutionary armed forces to overthrow the reactionary regime. The contradiction between the Thai people on the one hand and the reactionary ruling classes — big landlords, big capitalists and U.S. imperialism — on the other can only be thoroughly solved through people's war."

"The path of using the countryside to encircle the cities and seize political power by armed force, which is advocated by the Communist Party of Thailand,

has won the approval of the broad masses of the people and more and more inspires the people of the whole country," it added.

Reviewing the victories of the Thai people in 1976, the "Voice of the People of Thailand" said the people's armed forces had put more than 2,400 enemy troops out of action, captured large quantities of weapons and other war material, shot down and damaged many enemy aircraft and destroyed many vehicles.

Earlier, the radio station broadcast a statement issued by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Thailand on December 1 last year marking the 34th anniversary of the Party's founding. The statement pointed out that to meet the new situation, the Communist Party of Thailand had adjusted its policy made in 1968. A new ten-point policy stipulates that the Party will "unite with the forces of workers, peasants, the petty bourgeoisie and national capitalists of various nationalities, various parties and organizations and all patriotic democrats, expand the people's war, do away with the forces of U.S. imperialism, overthrow the reactionary fascist and traitorous regime, set up a people's government composed of representatives of all revolutionary forces, and build an independent, democratic and prosperous new Thailand."

PANAMA

Just Demand

January 9 was the 13th anniversary of the Panamanian people's 1964 world-shaking anti-U.S. patriotic struggle. More than 3,000 students and other sections of people in Panama City held demonstrations. Shouting such slogans as "sovereignty," "justice," "sovereignty or death," the demonstrators entered the Canal Zone. At a meeting that followed, one student representative declared: It shall be the Panamanian flag alone that will fly over this part of Panamanian territory.

This demonstration represented the latest development in the Panamanian people's just struggle to recover sovereignty over the Canal Zone. In his statement supporting the Panamanian people's patriotic struggle 13 years ago, the Chinese people's great leader Chairman Mao pointed out: "**Riding roughshod everywhere, U.S. imperialism has made itself the enemy of the people the world over and has increasingly isolated itself.**" The development of events has fully proved the correctness of this brilliant thesis. The United States, the superpower, has become increasingly isolated and found the going very tough for it. At the same time, the Panamanian people's just struggle has won the sympathy and support of the peoples of Latin America and the rest of the world.

Seeking world hegemony, the other superpower is trying hard to infiltrate Latin America. It is casting a covetous eye on the strategically important Panama Canal. While advocating that the canal be "internationaliz-

ed," it has posed as a "friend" of the Panamanian people, mouthing some honeyed words in an attempt to "have a hand in" the canal issue. The Panamanian people, however, will not allow U.S. imperialism to lord it over the Canal Zone for long, nor will they let the other superpower bamboozle the public. Regarding this, the Foreign Ministry of Panama issued a communique to refute the fallacy that the "canal be internationalized" and reiterate its firm determination to recover sovereignty over the Canal Zone.

The Panamanian people's struggle to recover this sovereignty is an important component of the struggle by Latin America and other third world countries against imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism. With extensive support from the peoples of Latin America and throughout the world, the Panamanian people will certainly be able to foil the plot of the two superpowers and surmount all obstacles on their road of advance to win final victory.

Briefs on Economic Achievements

The Democratic People's Republic of Korea. The Six-Year

Plan quotas in every field of the national economy were overfulfilled last year. Production capability in steel and the output of cement reached 4 million and 8 million tons respectively. The production base of the power, chemical, engineering industries and capital construction was further strengthened. In addition, the country had a bumper harvest, producing over 8 million tons of grain.

Albania. The people of Albania scored new victories last year in carrying out the production tasks of the first year of the Sixth Five-Year Plan. Plans for such important industrial products as oil, natural gas, coal, chromium ore and machinery were fulfilled or overfulfilled. For the first time, Albania produced its own steel. Grain output showed a great increase over that of 1975 and self-sufficiency in grain was realized for the first time in the country's history.

Romania. Industry continued to develop at high speed last year; its output value rose 11.5 per cent over that of 1975. Grain output hit an all-time high. Excellent results were also achieved in building industry, communications and

transport, in the circulation of commodities and other fields of the national economy.

Kampuchea. The policy of self-reliance brought great successes for the country. Communication lines were restored and put to service in general. A number of factories went into operation again and many new ones built. A good harvest was reaped as a result of farmland capital construction.

Viet Nam. A rich harvest was also gathered in Viet Nam in 1976. Self-sufficiency in grain was realized in the main in the south of Viet Nam. By early December, about 200 factories, mines and enterprises all over the country had fulfilled or overfulfilled the 1976 state plan. A 1,700-odd km. railway, linking Hanoi with Ho Chi Minh City, was restored and opened to traffic.

Laos. Compared with 1975, last year's acreage sown to rice increased 5.9 per cent and that sown to double-crop rice almost doubled. Seventy per cent of the factories in the country resumed production, many of them overfulfilling their production tasks. More than 3,500 km. of highways were restored or built.

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It is worth noting that the slowdown trend is still developing. The Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (O.E.C.D.) estimated that 1977 would see a still lower rate of economic growth in West Germany, the United States, France, Canada, Britain and Italy.

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The current economic stagnation has made the political situation still shakier in the Western

countries. In a statement issued after their November meeting in the United States, economists from the United States, Canada, Japan, West Germany, Britain, France and Italy pointed out that "the slowdown is gaining so much momentum it is scaring everybody." The "unemployment and unutilized capacity in most countries are at levels, which, if continued long, would have serious implications for domestic, social and political instability in some countries," the statement said.

ON THE HOME FRONT

Taching Chemical Fertilizer Plant

THE Taching Chemical Fertilizer Plant, a large new enterprise in the Taching Oilfield, was completed ahead of schedule and put into operation after a single successful trial run. Built at high speed and with top quality, it has an annual capacity equivalent to that of one million tons of standard chemical fertilizer.

One of China's biggest, the plant was built with the approval of our great leader Chairman Mao and our esteemed and beloved Premier Chou En-lai. It uses natural gas, a by-product of the oilfield, as raw material to make large quantities of chemical fertilizer for agricultural production.

Some of the plant's major installations were imported. But

the spirit of the general line of "going all out, aiming high and achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results in building socialism" and the principle of "relying mainly on our own efforts while making external assistance subsidiary" were fully embodied in the building of the plant. Construction began on May 13, 1974 and proceeded very fast. By early 1976, the main parts of the plant such as the synthetic ammonia and urea units had been basically completed. Just at that moment the "gang of four" came out and deliberately found fault with the project. In a threatening tone, they asked who gave permission to build the 300,000-ton synthetic ammonia unit. Chiang Ching even called for dismantling the imported installations.

The builders of the plant resolutely resisted the attacks by

the "gang of four." They declared: We stand for self-reliance and rely on our own strength. But this does not mean adopting a "closed-door" policy. While learning from whatever good experience and advanced science and technology of other countries, we must have our own creations. Only thus can we speed up the building of socialism and catch up with and surpass the world's advanced level. In the course of construction, the workers, cadres and technicians disassembled and checked all the imported installations, revising or redoing those designs which did not suit China's conditions or were even erroneous. As to the outsized installations, some foreigners thought that it would be difficult to move them to the construction site, but after repeated study the workers, cadres and technicians solved the problem by combining indigenous methods with modern ones. The whole project, built according to strict demands and at a quick pace, is of good quality and up to high standards.

The building of this plant had the support and assistance of more than 180 factories and enterprises across the country.

Good News From Tangshan

RECOVERING swiftly from last year's strong earthquake, the Luchiato colliery under the Kailian Coal Mine produced 7,831 tons of coal on December 18, 1976, reaching the pre-quake daily average level of last July. All coal was dressed and shipped to the



The Taching Chemical Fertilizer Plant at night.

Anshan Iron and Steel Company and other places to support the iron and steel industry. These achievements were a good start in the effort to bring coal production in the whole of Kailan back to pre-quake level. For this, the State Council sent a message of greetings to the Luchiatto colliery.

The Tangshan Gears Plant also worked miracles in the disaster-ridden year of 1976. Its workers fulfilled the production task of making brakes for "Peking" cross-country jeeps four days ahead of schedule. The products were up to pre-quake levels in both quantity and quality. Under extremely difficult conditions following the earthquake, the plant did not accept any money from the state but relied on its own efforts to cover all the expenses needed to carry out anti-quake and relief work and restore production. Moreover, it handed over to the state one million yuan.

During the strong earthquake which occurred on July 28 last year, most of the plant's workshops collapsed and much of the equipment was broken. Faced with unprecedented difficulties, the cadres and masses of the plant felt that the concern shown by Chairman Mao, Chairman Hua and the Party Central Committee gave them tremendous strength in overcoming the effects of this natural disaster. On the ninth day after the quake, the plant's Party committee decided to resume production of brakes urgently needed by the state. Bearing in mind the needs of Peking and the rest of the country, the workers worked

day and night to clear away the debris, repair machines and build sheds.

Now that the "gang of four" has been crushed, the situation all over the country is excellent as never before. Full of confidence, the workers are determined to make still greater achievements in the new year under the leadership of the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua.

More Power Supplies

A number of new power plants and sets of power generators were built and put into operation in 1976, providing more electricity for developing industry and agriculture. More than 50 power plants fulfilled their plans one to three months ahead of schedule. All this added up to a new increase in power output last year as compared with 1975.

Despite interference and sabotage by the "gang of four" which resulted in the shortage of equipment and material, the First Power Construction Department of Shantung Province built two sets of 200,000-kw. power generators. It was an outstanding achievement for a single production unit to turn out two large power generating sets within one year in the history of power construction in China. While continuing to produce more electricity and economizing on fuel in the last few years, the Wangting Power Plant in Kiangsu Province fulfilled its 1976 plan three months in advance. The Huangtai Power Plant in Shantung Province has more than 4,400 pieces of equipment, big and

small. As a result of improving the necessary rules and regulations, all the equipment are well looked after so that 96.4 per cent of them are in perfect conditions. This has enabled the plant to operate without a hitch and with economical results. Apart from fulfilling the state plan in an all-round way for years running, the Liaoyuan Power Plant in Kirin Province has kept lowering the consumption of coal and electricity.

Diamond-Pressing Machine

NOT long ago, workers, cadres and technicians of the Changchiakou Ore Prospecting Machinery Plant successfully trial-produced a new-type 3,600-ton pressing machine which compresses material simultaneously from six sides (four sides, top and bottom). The plant has already produced diamonds with this machine, which will help speed up the development of our country's geological work.

The developing geological work calls for a large quantity of diamonds. As the manufacture of artificial diamonds involves a new advanced technique and a very complicated technological process, some foreign capitalists tried to hold back information. Last year the plant was assigned the task of trial-manufacturing a diamond-pressing machine. To tackle the job, it formed a leading group and had the workshops concerned set up special groups to solve knotty technical problems. Thanks to the concerted efforts of workers, cadres and engineers and technicians, the task was successfully fulfilled.