

PEKING REVIEW

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March 18, 1977

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報

A New Milestone of Unity And Struggle

—“Renmin Ribao” editorial on the First Afro-Arab
Summit Conference

The Basic Policy for Socialist Revolution and Construction

**How the “Gang of Four” Stamped on
The Party’s Policy on Intellectuals**

PEKING REVIEW

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(BEIJING ZHOUBAO)

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CONTENTS

THE WEEK	3
Palestine National Council Conference Greeted	
Long-Term China-Korea Trade Agreement Signed	
Vice-Premier Li Meets Romanian Ambassador	
Sympathy for the Afflicted People in Mozambique	
52nd Anniversary of Dr. Sun Yat-sen's Death	
Paoting Back to Normal	
ARTICLES AND DOCUMENTS	
The First Afro-Arab Summit Conference: A New Milestone of Unity and Struggle — <i>Renmin Ribao</i> editorial	6
Afro-Arab Unity and Co-operation	7
For Your Reference:	
Afro-Arab Summit Conference	8
Arab States and the Arab League	9
Organization of African Unity (O.A.U.)	9
1975 Oil Production by Arab Countries	9
The Basic Policy for Socialist Revolution and Construction — Notes on studying Chairman Mao's "On the Ten Major Relationships" — Chu Chin-ping	10
Reminiscences of Premier Chou En-lai — Episodes during the War of Resistance Against Japan and in the Third Revolutionary Civil War	14
How the "Gang of Four" Stamped on the Party's Policy on Intellectuals	19
Mass Criticism: "Gang of Four" — the Nation's Scourge	
Pipe Dream of an "Empress"	21
Struggle in a Museum	22
A Clandestine Liaison Centre in Two Universities	23
Real Aim of Soviet Announcement on Temporary Fishery Measures — Jen Ku-ping	25
FRIENDSHIP NOTES	27
ROUND THE WORLD	29
Japan: Economy in the Doldrums	
India: Congress Party Splits	
Caribbean Countries: Gradual Nationalization	
Paris: Conference on European Armament Policy	
ON THE HOME FRONT	31
"The White-Haired Girl" Restaged	

Palestine National Council Conference Greeted

Premier Hua Kuo-feng on March 11 sent a message to the Palestine National Council, c/o Yasser Arafat, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization.

The message reads: "On the occasion of the convocation of the 13th Conference of the Palestine National Council, I wish to extend, on behalf of the Chinese Government and people, our warm congratulations and high militant salute to the conference and the heroic people and armed forces of Palestine.

"The Palestinian people are a great and dauntless people with an anti-imperialist revolutionary tradition. Since they fired the first shot in their armed struggle on January 1, 1965, the Palestinian people have, under the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization, upheld unity, persisted in struggle, defied brute force and advanced wave upon wave, and have withstood severe tempering and tests. Summing up experience in the course of struggle, they are constantly pressing forward.

"Your struggle is a just one; it is not only bound up with the cause of liberation of the entire Arab people, but also closely linked with the struggle of the people of the third world against imperialism and hegemonism. The Palestinian liberation movement has become an important revolutionary force in the

struggle of the people of the Middle East and the whole third world to combat imperialism and hegemonism and to win or safeguard national independence. The Palestinian people have won ever more extensive international recognition and support for their national rights. All Arab people, all people of the third world and all those who uphold justice stand on your side.

"Determined to carry out the behests of their great leader and teacher Chairman Mao and unswervingly implementing his revolutionary line in foreign affairs, the Chinese Government and people will, as always, firmly support the just struggle of the Palestinian and other Arab people for the restoration of their national rights and recovery of their lost territories. I am fully confident that the Palestinian people, under the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization and with the support of the people of the whole world, will overcome all hardships and obstacles along their road of advance and win final victory.

"I wish the conference complete success."

Long-Term China-Korea Trade Agreement Signed

A long-term trade agreement between the Government of the People's Republic of China and the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea was signed in Peking on March 12.

Chinese Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien was present at the signing ceremony. Chinese Vice-Premier Ku Mu and Kye Ung Tae, Vice-Premier of the D.P.R.K. Administration Council and Minister of Foreign Trade, signed the agreement. A trade protocol for 1977 between the Governments of China and Korea was also signed.

The Government Trade Delegation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea led by Vice-Premier Kye Ung Tae arrived in Peking on March 9. Vice-Premiers Li Hsien-nien and Ku Mu met with the delegation. Vice-Premier Ku Mu and Vice-Premier Kye Ung Tae held talks.

At a banquet in honour of the Korean delegation, Vice-Premier Ku Mu pointed out in his toast: China and Korea are close neighbours, comrades-in-arms and brothers. Both countries have done their best to support and help each other. The big development of economic and trade relations between China and Korea conforms with the fundamental interests of the people of the two countries.

Vice-Premier Li Meets Romanian Ambassador

Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien met Romanian Ambassador to China Nicolae Gavrilescu on March 12.

On behalf of Chairman Hua Kuo-feng, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and the Chinese Gov-

ernment and people, Vice-Premier Li extended deep sympathy and cordial solicitude to Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party and the Romanian Government and people in connection with the earthquake calamity the Romanian people experienced. He expressed admiration for Comrade Ceausescu who went to the afflicted area to lead the people in the struggle to overcome the aftereffects of the quake. Vice-Premier Li said: We believe that under the leadership of the Romanian Communist Party headed by Comrade Ceausescu, the Romanian people certainly will soon surmount the temporary difficulties caused by the earthquake.

Ambassador Gavrilescu briefed the Vice-Premier on the effects of the earthquake and conveyed the profound gratitude of Comrade Ceausescu, the R.C.P. Central Committee and the Romanian Government and people to Chairman Hua, the C.P.C. Central Committee and the Chinese Government and people.

Earlier, the Red Cross Society of China presented 20 tons of medicine and 500,000 yuan (Renminbi) to its Romanian counterpart.

Sympathy for the Afflicted People in Mozambique

A flood in southern Mozambique caused by several days of torrential rain has brought great losses in life and property there. On behalf of the Chinese Government and people, Premier

Hua Kuo-feng on March 10 sent a message to Mozambican President Samora Moises Machel expressing profound sympathy and solicitude to the people of the afflicted area. The message expressed the conviction that Mozambique's heroic people, under the leadership of President Samora Moises Machel, will surmount the temporary difficulties caused by the flood and continue their triumphant advance.

The same day, the Red Cross Society of China informed the Mozambican Government by cable that five thousand tons of food grains and five tons of medicine had been donated to help its people.

52nd Anniversary of Dr. Sun Yat-sen's Death

People from various circles in Peking gathered on the morning of March 12 at a ceremony in the Sun Yat-sen Memorial Hall in Peking's Chungshan Park to commemorate the 52nd anniversary of the death of Dr. Sun Yat-sen.

On the wall hung a portrait of Dr. Sun. In front of it were evergreens and flowers. Chen Tzu-sheng, Member of the Standing Committee of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Committee of the Kuomintang, presided over the ceremony. All present stood in silence before Dr. Sun Yat-sen's portrait. Hsu Teh-heng, Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress and Vice-Chairman of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, laid a

basket of flowers in front of the portrait on behalf of the C.P.P.C.C. National Committee. Other baskets of flowers were placed in front of the portrait by Liao Cheng-chih, Member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, and by Liu Yu-fa, a leading member of the United Front Work Department of the C.P.C. Central Committee, on behalf of this department, by Chu Yun-shan, Member of the Standing Committee of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Committee of the Kuomintang, on behalf of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Committee of the Kuomintang, and by Chia Ting, Vice-Chairman of the Peking Municipal Revolutionary Committee, on behalf of that committee.

Ceremonies also took place the same day in Shanghai, Nanking, Kwangchow and Wuhan.

Paoting Back to Normal

The situation in Paoting Prefecture in north China's Hopei Province has returned to normal after years of turmoil brought on by the "gang of four's" interference.

A mass movement to expose and criticize the "gang of four" is on the upswing there and the long-suppressed enthusiasm of the workers, poor and lower-middle peasants and cadres in building socialism is soaring as never before. Industrial and agricultural production is going up. Factories which had stopped production completely or partially due to the "gang of

four's" interference and sabotage have resumed or are resuming operations. Spurred on by the second national learn-from-Tachai conference held last December, rural people's communes and production brigades in the prefecture's 23 counties and cities have revised and updated their learn-from-Tachai plans and brought about an upsurge in farmland capital construction, with 1.4 million people taking part in it and other winter farm work.

Situated just to the south of Peking, Paoting Prefecture occupies an important strategic position. One of the reasons why the "gang of four" threw its weight about in Paoting was to create disturbances there and bring chaos to the entire Hopei Province so as to jeopardize and threaten the capital. The gang would then seize the opportunity to usurp Party and state leadership and restore capitalism.

The Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao had issued important directives concerning the situation in this prefecture. Its grain output had risen during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and average yield was three tons per hectare. Industrial production had also increased steadily. Later, however, the "gang of four" interfered. Behind the back of the Party Central Committee, it incited a handful of hooligans who were at its beck and call to act against the instructions of

Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee and create splits among the cadres, workers and poor and lower-middle peasants as well as between mass organizations, fanning up bourgeois factionalism and provoking the use of coercion or force. They frantically engaged in anarchism and instigated a very small number of people to go in for beating, smashing and robbing, and sabotaging the socialist revolution and socialist construction. As a result, the people's lives and property were insecure and capitalism spread unchecked.

After crushing the "gang of four," Chairman Hua and the Party Central Committee made a decision to promptly solve the Paoting problem. Propaganda teams from the People's Liberation Army and other work teams were dispatched to publicize the Central Committee's directives and mobilize the masses to deal resolute blows at the handful of class enemies who engaged in sabotage activities.

The people, who had suffered much under the "gang of four," rose in unison. They cited facts to expose and criticize the crimes of the gang in practising revisionism, creating splits, intriguing and conspiring, undermining the national economy and creating confusion in Paoting Prefecture. Railway workers of the Paoting Locomotive Section disclosed that Chiang Ching had come to Paoting by special train on three occasions.

Each time, she arbitrarily ordered the train to stop half way in violation of the railway schedule. This inevitably affected normal operations. The gang even advocated the fallacy that "socialist running behind schedule is preferable to capitalist running on schedule." They sabotaged railway transport and tried to cut off this vital artery of the national economy, throw socialist construction into chaos and then seize power amidst the ensuing confusion.

In criticizing the gang, the peasants said: The first national learn-from-Tachai conference in 1975 set off an upsurge in the movement to learn from Tachai in Paoting Prefecture. However, the gang created splits among the masses and provoked the use of coercion or force, thereby causing a number of projects on farmland capital construction to stop half way while crops that had ripened could not be harvested on time.

The people in Paoting have heightened their political consciousness in the course of exposing and criticizing the "gang of four" over the last few months. They are aware that the cadres and masses with differing views are all victims of the gang, and so they should unite with them to wage a common struggle against the gang. United in struggle, the cadres and masses are working, studying and criticizing the "gang of four" together, fully confident of winning new victories.

A New Milestone of Unity And Struggle

OF great significance, the first Afro-Arab summit conference closed successfully in Cairo. Sixty heads of state of African and Arab countries or their representatives and representatives of the Palestine Liberation Organization unanimously adopted, through common efforts and in a warm atmosphere of solidarity and co-operation, the Cairo Declaration on Afro-Arab Co-operation, the Political Declaration, the Declaration on Afro-Arab Economic and Financial Co-operation and a document concerning the "organization and method for the realization of Afro-Arab co-operation." These programmatic documents contain explicit stipulations on a series of important questions such as the principles, basis, guiding line and policies for Afro-Arab unity and co-operation and present the African and Arab people with bright prospects in their united struggle and triumphant advance. The success of the conference demonstrates the firm will of the 60 Afro-Arab countries and over 400 million people to oppose imperialism, colonialism, hegemonism, Zionism and racism. It also manifests the vigorous heroic spirit of the people of the third world.

Lying between two oceans, the Afro-Arab region is of strategic importance. It abounds in natural resources and has several hundred million awakening people. Fierce contention in the region has been carried out for years by the colonialists, imperialists and superpowers and this presents a picture in which the tiger enters while the wolf is being repelled. The national-liberation movements that have surged forward at the same time have eventually brought about, after staunch struggles, the excellent situation that exists today. In the fierce and complicated struggle, extensive relations of mutual aid and

co-operation have been established between the Organization of African Unity and the League of Arab States and among many institutions and countries of this region, thus making great contributions to the triumphant struggle against imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism. The conference has summed up and carried forward the existing relations of mutual aid and co-operation and set up a new milestone in the Afro-Arab united struggle.

A common historical destiny and common task in struggle have brought the African and Arab countries together. The conference once again expressed firm support for the Palestinian people's struggle to recover their national rights, the struggle of the Arab countries to restore their lost territories, and that of the southern African people against racism in Rhodesia and South Africa. It decided to promote bilateral and multilateral relations and long-term co-operation in the political, diplomatic, economic, financial, commercial, cultural and educational fields, and to join efforts for the establishment of a new international economic order. In this way, a broader, deeper and more solid base has been laid for Afro-Arab unity. It can be anticipated that the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism being waged by the Afro-Arab peoples will from now on surge forward and contribute more to the common struggle of the peoples of the third world.

Notorious racism and Zionism which are evils to the African and Arab countries are rooted in the encouragement and support from the superpowers. One superpower has for many years been openly standing behind racism and Zionism to boost their morale; while collud-

ing with the two evils, the other superpower has sent large numbers of mercenaries to penetrate strategic areas in southern Africa behind the camouflage of "supporting the national-liberation movements," thus posing a great menace to the independence and security of many African countries. What is more, it has sowed discord between African and Arab countries, undermining their unity and creating divisions among them so as to fish in troubled waters and get benefits in its contention with the other superpower for hegemony there. However, all the perverse acts have proved futile. President Sadat of Egypt, the host country, declared at the conference that African and Arab countries would not be instruments in the struggle of two big powers. This reflects the high vigilance of

the African and Arab people against superpower hegemonism.

The Chinese Government and people warmly congratulate the conference on its great victories. The Chinese people will, as always, support the unity of the Afro-Arab countries and people in their just struggle against imperialism, colonialism, hegemonism, Zionism and racism. Whatever difficulties they may meet on the road of advance, Afro-Arab unity in struggle, which enjoys popular sympathy and is the inevitability of historical development, can never be sabotaged by any force on earth. We are deeply convinced that through this conference Afro-Arab unity which is now in full blossom will bear rich fruits of victory.

("Renmin Ribao" editorial, March 12)

Afro-Arab Unity and Co-operation

THE first Afro-Arab summit conference was held between March 7 and 9 in Cairo.

Representatives at the conference unanimously adopted a number of documents including the Cairo Declaration on Afro-Arab Co-operation, the Political Declaration and the Declaration on Afro-Arab Economic and Financial Co-operation.

The Cairo declaration stresses the following principles as the basis of Afro-Arab co-operation: respect for the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of all states, equality of all states, permanent sovereignty of states and peoples over their natural resources, inadmissibility of occupying or annexing territories by force, non-interference in the internal affairs of other states, peaceful settlement of differences and disputes and joint struggle against domination and racism in all their forms. It explicitly condemns imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, Zionism and racism, and expresses firm support for the Afro-Arab national-liberation movements.

The declaration vividly reflects the present common desire of the African and Arab coun-

tries and peoples to strengthen unity, co-operation and mutual support and to oppose imperialism, colonialism, hegemonism, Zionism and racism. Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda noted: "We are in the centre of the global strategy of the superpowers. We therefore must have a common understanding of the global political security and economic situation. We must evolve a common approach to build a common future based on a collective commitment to success. Therein lies our survival." Mauritius Prime Minister Ramgoolam said: "Through Afro-Arab unity and co-operation, we shall become a kind of force which the superpowers will have to reckon with." Tunisian Prime Minister Hedi Nouira pointed out: "Our countries suffered from colonialist domination, hegemony and racism. Such experience has given rise to profound sentiments in the common struggle and development and accelerated the course of liberation, emancipation and achieving sovereignty."

The African and Arab countries belong to the third world. Linked geographically, they have a common destiny, common interests and a common struggle. They have always supported

each other in the struggle to win and safeguard national independence. At the time of the October 1973 Middle East War, 20 African countries severed diplomatic relations with Israel. This brought to 29 the number of African countries which have done so.

African countries have also received effective aid from Arab countries. In solidarity with the southern African people's struggle, all the Arab countries broke diplomatic relations with Rhodesia and South Africa and embargoed oil to the latter. At the same time, the oil-producing Arab countries took special measures to provide African countries with oil so as to help them tide over economic difficulties brought on by oil-price hikes. In addition, the Arab Bank for Economic Development in Africa, the Arab Loan Fund for Africa and the Arab Fund for Technical Assistance have been established to provide loans and aid to more than 30 African countries.

Egypt and six other Arab countries at the summit conference decided to grant 11 million U.S. dollars in financial aid to African national-liberation movements, while Saudi Arabia and three other oil-producing Arab countries announced their readiness to grant 1,500 million U.S. dollars in aid to African countries. These decisions were warmly welcomed by the participants. Many delegates pointed out that the convocation of the summit marked a further step towards the "collective self-reliance" of the third world. A delegate from one West African country said: "We no longer have any reason to stake our hopes on dialogue with the rich countries of the West, and we therefore have to rely more on co-operation inside the developing world."

The two hegemonic powers, the Soviet Union and the United States, have always feared Afro-Arab unity and co-operation. In stepping up its rivalry with the United States in Africa and the Middle East, the Soviet Union has incessantly schemed to provoke disputes and create splits between African and Arab countries. It stirred up tension among countries by exploiting bilateral and multilateral differences left over by history. It played up "contradictions" between the oil-producing Arab countries and the African countries on the question of oil-price hikes. In

all this, it is repeating the "divide and rule" trick of the old colonialists in an attempt to bring African and Arab countries into its sphere of influence.

The Soviet Union did its utmost to play down the significance of the summit. Through someone else's efforts, it even tried to have the conference postponed and the venue changed for the sinister purpose of undermining it. Before the convocation of the conference, TASS released an article in *Krasnaya Zvezda* attacking the oil-producing Arab countries in the Gulf area, which have contributed to the Arab-African liberation cause, as "reactionaries." While the conference was in session, the Soviet propaganda mouthpiece issued false alarms regarding the "tension" on the border between Egypt and a neighbour in an attempt to prevent the smooth holding of the conference. At the end of the conference, TASS again made trouble by spreading rumours to create new differences. But as a result of the participants' common efforts, the Soviet plots were foiled one after another.

A number of heads of state of Afro-Arab countries declared after the successful closing of the summit that they would make the greatest efforts to consolidate the achievements of the conference and defend Afro-Arab solidarity.

For Your Reference

Afro-Arab Summit Conference

The African and Arab countries took more than two years to prepare for the Afro-Arab summit conference. In October 1974, the 7th Arab summit conference in Rabat decided to convene such a conference and this was followed by setting up the Committee of 12 of the Organization of African Unity (O.A.U.) and the Committee of 12 of the Arab League to draft a programme of co-operation.

In April 1976, the first conference of Afro-Arab foreign ministers was held in Dakar. It adopted a declaration and programme of action for Afro-Arab co-operation.

The Afro-Arab Ministerial Committee of 24 met last January in Lusaka to draft the Political

Declaration to be submitted to the summit and to discuss, among other things, the question of the executive organ for Afro-Arab co-operation.

From March 3 to 6, on the eve of the summit, a meeting was held by Afro-Arab foreign ministers.

The recent summit decided that the Afro-Arab summit be held every three years and the joint ordinary meeting of the Council of Ministers be held every 18 months. The Standing Commission may, if necessary, propose a joint extraordinary meeting of the Council of Ministers. The Co-ordinating Committee shall be composed of the Chairman of the Committee of 12 and the Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity (O.A.U.), and the Chairman of the Committee of 12 and the Secretary-General of the Arab League.

Arab States and the Arab League

The Arab states have a total surface area of some 14 million square kilometres and a total population of over 150 million.

About 60 per cent of the Arab people live in Africa where they make up 20 per cent of the population.

Arab states in Africa are: Egypt, the Sudan, Libya, Tunisia, Morocco, Algeria, Mauritania and Somalia.

Arab states in West Asia are: Syria, Lebanon, Iraq, Jordan, Saudi Arabia, the Yemen Arab Republic, the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, Kuwait, Bahrain, Oman, Qatar, and the United Arab Emirates.

The Arab League was founded in March 1945.

There are 20 countries which presently are members of the Arab League. The Palestine Liberation Organization is also a member.

States whose population is predominantly Arab are classified as Arab states.

March 18, 1977

Organization of African Unity (O.A.U.)

The Organization of African Unity was founded in May 1963.

There are now 48 independent African countries which are members of the O.A.U. These countries account for about 91 per cent of Africa's total area and population.

The summit conference of the O.A.U. meet at least once a year.

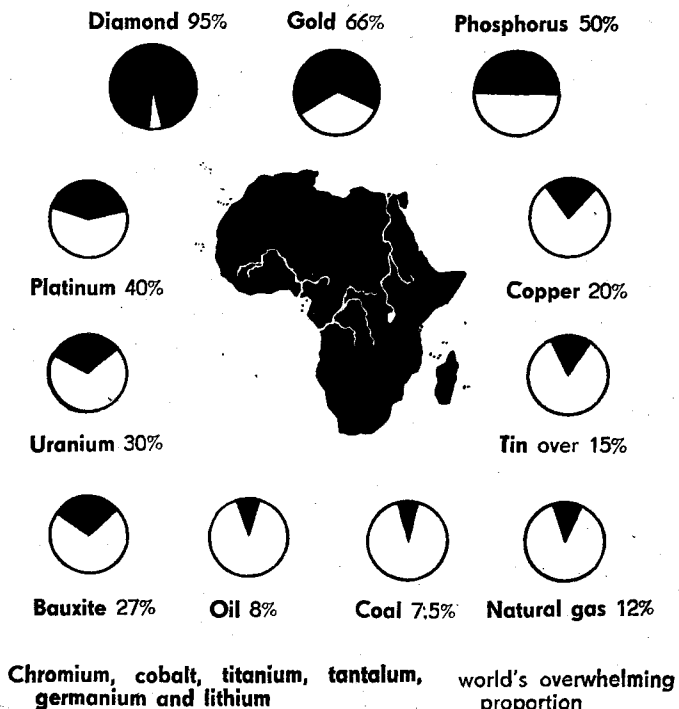
1975 Oil Production by Arab Countries

(Unit: 10,000 tons)

Production by Arab countries	83,680
Total world production (not including China)	263,500
Percentage	31.7%

AFRICA'S MINERAL RESOURCES

(Percentage of world resources)



The Basic Policy for Socialist Revolution and Construction

— Notes on studying Chairman Mao's
"On the Ten Major Relationships"

by Chu Chin-ping

THE publication of Chairman Mao's brilliant work *On the Ten Major Relationships* (see our issue No. 1, 1977) was a big event in the political life of the whole Party, the whole army and the people of the whole country.

In accordance with the strategic policy decision by the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua on grasping the key link and managing the affairs of the country well*, the Chinese people are now taking firm hold of the key link of exposing and criticizing the "gang of four" and striving to fulfil the various fighting tasks for 1977. As we restudy *On the Ten Major Relationships*, we realize its significance even today. Written more than 20 years ago, it reads as though it is meant to give direct guidance to our struggle today. Sparkling with the radiance of Marxist truth, it is a condensation of the author's earnest desire to change the appearance of our country which was poor and blank and build it into a modern and powerful socialist state; it shows his boundless faith in and concern for the people and is a heavy blow to revisionism.

Great Historic Document

On the Ten Major Relationships is great, historic Marxist literature. When Chairman Mao made this speech in April 1956, the Khrushchov renegade clique already had openly betrayed Marxism-Leninism, completely negated Stalin, venomously attacked the dictatorship of the proletariat and propagated the fallacy of peaceful transition to socialism and other

revisionist rubbish at the 20th congress of the C.P.S.U. At that time, certain defects and errors by the Soviet Union in socialist construction also had come to light and, for Communists and revolutionary people the world over, the detours made in the Soviet Union were thought-provoking. In our own country, the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production both in town and country had by 1956 in the main been completed and the First Five-Year Plan had entered its fourth year, great victories had been won and many new problems had arisen in socialist revolution and construction, problems that demanded a Marxist answer.

It was at this critical point that Chairman Mao gave the speech *On the Ten Major Relationships* in which he made an all-round analysis of Stalin's merits and demerits, criticized the Khrushchov renegade clique's revisionist fallacies and summed up China's experience by drawing lessons from the Soviet Union. In elucidating these relationships in socialist construction and revolution, he inherited, defended and developed Marxist philosophy, political

* This strategic policy decision of the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua on grasping the key link and managing the affairs of the country well aims at achieving stability and unity in our country, consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and bringing great order across the land in the course of acute struggle between the two classes. Its implementation calls for a firm grasp of the contradictions between socialism and capitalism and between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, which is the key link. At present, it means the thorough exposure and criticism of the "gang of four."

economy and scientific socialism, and enriched the theoretical treasure-house of Marxism. Upholding dialectical materialism and opposing metaphysics, Chairman Mao in this article made a profound analysis of the contradictions, classes and class struggle in socialist society and expounded its laws of political and economic development. He emphatically pointed out that in a socialist society it was still necessary to persevere in continued revolution, strengthen the political party of the proletariat and the dictatorship of the proletariat, and in the socialist revolution and construction it was imperative to correctly understand and handle the ten major relationships, avoid the mistakes in the Soviet Union and open a road that suits Chinese conditions, namely, to achieve greater, faster, better and more economical results in building socialism.

Based on the very idea embodied in *On the Ten Major Relationships*, Chairman Mao laid down for our Party the general line of **going all out, aiming high and achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results in building socialism**. Illumined by this general line, the cadres and masses, in high spirits and filled with militancy, in 1958 brought about a big leap forward in the national economy and established the people's communes in the countryside. These marked the brilliant achievements of the Chinese people in taking their own path in building socialism. In the stage of democratic revolution, Chairman Mao showed our Party the road to seize political power by armed force that fitted in with Chinese conditions, namely the road of building rural base areas, using the countryside to encircle the cities and finally seizing the cities. As a result, we won the democratic revolution. In the stage of socialist revolution, Chairman Mao worked out for us the Party's basic line for the entire historical period of socialism and pointed out the road to achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results in building socialism. In the last 20 years and more, despite the interference and sabotage by ringleaders of the revisionist line such as Peng Teh-huai, Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and their like, particularly the Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao anti-Party clique, China has, under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, won one victory after another on the economic, political and ideological fronts,

especially the magnificent victory of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

The Basic Policy for Building a Powerful Socialist Country

Our socialist motherland is now in an important period of historical development. The Party's basic line and policies for the entire historical period of socialism laid down by Chairman Mao have shown us the orientation of continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. In accordance with the magnificent plan for developing the national economy as mapped out by Chairman Mao, Premier Chou En-lai solemnly proclaimed to the whole nation in his Report on the Work of the Government at the Fourth National People's Congress: The first stage is to build an independent and relatively comprehensive industrial and economic system before 1980; the second stage is to accomplish the comprehensive modernization of agriculture, industry, national defence and science and technology before the end of the century, so that our national economy will be advancing in the world's front ranks. Embodying the strong desire of the Chinese people and dealing a blow at the class enemies both at home and abroad dreaming of restoring capitalism in China, this magnificent goal has had the support of the whole Party, the whole army and the people of all nationalities throughout the country and won the praise of the world's proletariat and working people. With a view to carrying out Chairman Mao's behests and materializing this grand project as quickly as possible, we must, in the spirit of *On the Ten Major Relationships*, mobilize all positive factors, unite with all who can be united with and, as far as possible, turn the negative factors into positive ones to serve the great cause of socialism.

Chairman Mao pointed out in this speech: **"It is to focus on one basic policy that these ten problems are being raised, the basic policy of mobilizing all positive factors, internal and external, to serve the cause of socialism."** **"We must do our best to mobilize all positive factors, both inside and outside the Party, both at home and abroad, both direct and indirect, and build China into a powerful socialist country."** This basic policy embodies the Party's mass line and the lofty idea, as Marx said, that only by eman-

icipating all mankind can the proletariat achieve its own final emancipation. Our Party carried out this policy in the past and won the victory of the democratic revolution. In socialist revolution and construction we still must adhere to this policy if we are to continuously score fresh victories.

What then are the positive internal and external factors? As Chairman Mao pointed out: **"Internally, the workers and the peasants are the basic force. The middle forces are forces that can be won over. The reactionary forces are a negative factor, but even so we should do our work well and turn this negative factor as far as possible into a positive one. Internationally, all the forces that can be united with must be united, the forces that are not neutral can be neutralized through our efforts, and even the reactionary forces can be split and made use of."** Internally speaking, to mobilize all positive factors means arousing the enthusiasm of the 800 million, first of all, the enthusiasm of the workers and peasants. As Lenin pointed out: **"Living, creative socialism is the product of the masses themselves."** (*Meeting of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee November 4 (17), 1917.*) The masses have a potentially inexhaustible enthusiasm for socialism. To tap it to the full, we must, under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, persevere in the socialist revolution on the economic, political and ideological fronts, correctly handle the contradictions between the relations of production and the productive forces, between the superstructure and the economic base, between politics and economics and between revolution and production. In socialist society, the contradictions between the relations of production and the productive forces and between the superstructure and the economic base continue to find expression in class contradictions which consist of contradictions between ourselves and the enemy, although most are contradictions among the people themselves. This accordingly requires us to persist in taking class struggle as the key link and make a strict differentiation between the two types of contradictions which are different in nature.

The ten major relationships are in fact ten contradictions. Chairman Mao made a precise analysis of the various aspects of these con-

traditions, their principal and secondary aspects, their inter-relationships and their transformation into each other; in the light of this analysis, he also put forward the correct principles and methods to resolve these contradictions. He demonstrated to us how, with a dialectical materialist and historical materialist world outlook and by using this dialectical and historical materialist approach, one can come to a correct understanding of the relationships between the relations of production and the productive forces, between the superstructure and the economic base, between politics and economics and between revolution and production, and handle them correctly.

Revolution is the locomotive of history. In building socialism, we must from first to last insist on taking class struggle as the key link, adhere to the Party's basic line, persist in continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, pay attention to adjusting that part of the relations of production in disharmony with the productive forces and that part of the superstructure in disharmony with the economic base, and uphold the principle of grasping revolution and promoting production. On this issue, there must not be the slightest shilly-shallying, or else we will lose our bearings. At the same time, it is imperative that we should fully comprehend the meaning of the proposition **"socialist revolution aims at liberating the productive forces."** (Mao Tsetung: *Speech at the Supreme State Conference.*)

Our ultimate object in carrying out the socialist revolution on the economic, political and ideological fronts and resolving the contradictions between the relations of production and the productive forces and between the superstructure and the economic base is to liberate the productive forces, mobilize all positive factors and achieve greater, faster, better and more economical results in building socialism. Modernized socialist industry and agriculture are the material foundation of the dictatorship of the proletariat on which we will carry the socialist revolution on the economic, political and ideological fronts through to the end. If we do not make great efforts to expand the social productive forces, we will not be able to consolidate and develop socialist collective ownership and effect the transition of socialist

collective ownership to socialist ownership by the whole people in the future. Nor can we narrow, step by step, the differences between worker and peasant, between town and country and between mental and manual labour, and we will not be able to restrict bourgeois right and expand the communist factors and improve the people's material and cultural well-being on the basis of developing production.

For this reason, in order to win complete victory for the socialist revolution and make the long-cherished great ideal of communism come true, we must firmly grasp class struggle which is the key link, develop the productive forces and build up modern industry and agriculture as quickly as possible. Chairman Hua Kuo-feng pointed out in his speech at the Second National Conference on Learning From Tachai in Agriculture: "It is one of the fundamental tasks for the dictatorship of the proletariat to develop the socialist economy energetically. On condition that the socialist orientation is adhered to and proletarian politics is put in command, the more and the faster production develops, the better." (See our issue No. 1, 1977.)

Powerful Weapon for Criticizing "Gang of Four"

The Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao anti-Party clique was a bunch of agents of the landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries and bad elements as well as of the old and new bourgeoisie; they were a special detachment of imperialism and social-imperialism. As typical representatives of the bourgeoisie inside the Party, and for the purpose of usurping Party and state power and restoring capitalism, they consistently opposed the basic policy elaborated by Chairman Mao in *On the Ten Major Relationships* and completely betrayed Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. Metaphysics was rampant among them; they freely distorted and confounded the dialectical relationships between the relations of production and the productive forces, between the superstructure and the economic base, between politics and economics, and between revolution and production; they sabotaged revolution and production, industry and agriculture, light industry and heavy industry. They attacked the four socialist modernizations by describing them as "capitalist

restoration," branded people enthusiastic in developing socialist production as followers of the "theory of productive forces" and even went so far as to slanderously dismiss the slogan "work hard for socialism and raise production at top speed" as reactionary. They were opposed to the principle of taking into consideration the state, the units of production and the producers as a whole, besmirching this as "material incentives" and "putting profits in command." They set up their own independent kingdom, undermined the centralized and unified leadership under the central authorities and disrupted socialist co-ordination among different areas. They had illicit foreign relations, worshipped foreign things and fawned on foreigners, and yet they wanted people to indiscriminately reject everything foreign, whether it was scientific, technological or cultural, and insolently called others "compradors servile to foreigners."

In short, instead of mobilizing all the positive factors and turning negative factors into positive ones, they turned the relations between ourselves and the enemy upside down, reversed right and wrong and attacked all positive factors. They paid lip service to revolution so as to cover up their underhand activities against the revolution; they sabotaged production so as to undermine the revolution. They tried in vain to cause confusion in people's thinking, create chaos in the Party organizations, disrupt the national economy and make a mess of the state of the proletariat — all aimed at usurping Party and state power and restoring capitalism.

The publication of *On the Ten Major Relationships* has provided us with a sharp ideological weapon in criticizing the "gang of four." When we have mastered this ideological weapon, we will be able to distinguish still better Marxism from revisionism, socialism from capitalism, materialism and dialectics from idealism and metaphysics, rip off the "gang of four's" "Leftist" mask and reveal their counter-revolutionary ultra-Right features. When we have mastered it, we will be able, in accordance with the fundamental principles of Marxism, to refute the gang's revisionist fallacies, set the things they turned upside down right again and reverse their reversal of right and wrong, thereby defending the purity of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought.

Reminiscences of Premier Chou En-lai

— Episodes during the War of Resistance Against Japan and in the Third Revolutionary Civil War

To mark the first anniversary of the passing of Premier Chou En-lai on January 8, newspapers and periodicals all over the country published many articles recalling his revolutionary activities and paying tribute to his noble qualities. In issue No. 8, we published some highlights of these articles. Following is another instalment. — Ed.

THE War of Resistance Against Japan which broke out in July 1937 signalled that China's revolution was entering a new stage. After the war ended in August 1945, the Kuomintang reactionaries with Chiang Kai-shek as their chieftain launched an anti-communist and anti-popular civil war. This marked the beginning of the Third Revolutionary Civil War (1945-49). From the outbreak of the War of Resistance Against Japan to the early stage of the Third Revolutionary Civil War, Comrade Chou En-lai, as head of the delegation of the Chinese Communist Party, fought in Kuomintang-controlled Wuhan, Chungking and Nanking, defying death and difficulties. Guided by Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and policies, he waged a courageous and tenacious struggle against the Kuomintang reactionaries. His exploits in those years will for ever shine in Chinese history.

Speech That Becomes Talk of the Town

Fleeing before the advancing Japanese aggressors, the Kuomintang government hurriedly moved its capital to Chungking in Szechuan in October 1938. That December, Comrade Chou

En-lai also went to that mountain city at the head of the delegation of the Chinese Communist Party. Upholding Chairman Mao's principle of independence and initiative within the united front, he carried out a resolute struggle against the Kuomintang, and did a great deal of work to develop the progressive forces, win over the middle forces and isolate the die-hard forces. In developing the progressive forces, he put the stress on the workers, young students and women.

What with his firm implementation of Chairman Mao's line and policies, his superb skills in struggle and his outstanding political activities, Comrade Chou En-lai enjoyed very high prestige among the people in the Kuomintang-controlled areas.

Internationally, in September 1940 the German, Italian and Japanese fascists, puffed up with arrogance, were pressing ahead with their aggressions against other countries. After evacuating its defeated army from Dunkirk, the British Government, to appease Japan, blocked the highway linking Yunnan Province in southwest China with Burma. Meanwhile, the United States held talks with Japan in Tokyo and Washington in an attempt to reach a compromise. In addition, British and U.S. support to the Kuomintang decreased and prices in Kuomintang-controlled areas soared because goods could not be shipped in from outside. As a result, the Kuomintang government wavered as never before in carrying on the fight against the Japanese aggressors although it had never



Great Friendship.

Oil painting by Kang Tung, Chien Chih-lin and Kao Chuan

relaxed its anti-communist activities which, in fact, became more and more barefaced.

Where would the international situation lead to? Would the united front between the Chinese Communist Party and the Kuomintang break up? Could the War of Resistance Against Japan be carried on? People were anxious to know the correct answers to these questions and were eager to hear what the Chinese Communist Party had to say. They hoped that Chou En-lai would clarify the situation. This being the case, Comrade Chou En-lai decided to make a speech on "The International Situation and China's War of Resistance" at a forum sponsored by progressive groups.

When the news spread, the entire city of Chungking was astir. The forum was originally scheduled to take place in the downtown Experimental Theatre, but the workers, students, women activists, army men, clerks and government employees who came were too numerous for the theatre to accommodate. So it had to take place on the playground of the Pashu Primary School.

Although there were Kuomintang gendarmes and police all around, the huge audience listened intently and maintained good order. Forcefully, Comrade Chou En-lai gave a detailed and thorough analysis of the international situation and spoke of the future of China's war of resistance. Noting that the imperialist war was expanding and that it portended to be a protracted one, he pointed out that while we should not neglect to make use of every international move favourable to China's war of resistance, we must not entertain any illusions about assistance from imperialist countries. To win victory, we must rely mainly on our own efforts and hard struggle. So long as we upheld unity and fought the war through to the end, we were sure to triumph over the enemy. He said that there were only four minimum requirements to carrying on the war, namely, manpower, money, grain and ammunition. As long as we could manage to maintain a bare subsistence level, we could fight to the finish. He pointed out especially that U.S. financial aid was paid for by China with tungsten. The money, he stressed, must be used for the war

and not pocketed by the Kuomintang government and bureaucrat-capitalists like Chiang Kai-shek who deposited the money in the banks in the United States.

The nearly four-hour speech was filled with ideas Chairman Mao elucidated in his *On Protracted War*. (See *Selected Works of Mao Tsetung*, Vol. II.) It exposed the corruption and impotence of the Kuomintang government and its despicable nature of feathering its own nest in the name of resistance against Japanese aggression. Filled with the spirit of national integrity and confidence in victory, the speech dispelled doubts in people's minds and strengthened the confidence of the people of all strata and personages of democratic parties in carrying the war through to the end. Many foreign correspondents on the scene promptly sent news of the speech abroad where it was given serious attention.

All for Chairman Mao's Safety

On August 15, 1945, the Japanese imperialists surrendered unconditionally; the War of Resistance Against Japan thus ended in complete victory. Having gone through an arduous eight-year war, the people throughout the country longed for a peaceful, democratic and united China. However, Chiang Kai-shek tried to seize the fruits of victory and continue fascist rule under a one-party dictatorship. Supported by the U.S. imperialists, he resorted to double-dealing tactics. On the one hand, he hypocritically invited Chairman Mao to Chungking to negotiate and draw up "plans to build the country in unity"; on the other hand, he massed his troops in preparation for an attack on the Communist-led army and areas. Thinking that Chairman Mao would not go to Chungking, Chiang Kai-shek deliberately used negotiations as a smokescreen, hoping to place the responsibility for undermining peace on the Chinese Communist Party. For the sake of peace and in order to expose the true features of the U.S. imperialists and Chiang Kai-shek whose real purpose was to sabotage peace and launch a

civil war, Chairman Mao disregarded personal safety and, accompanied by Comrade Chou En-lai, flew to Chungking on August 28, 1945 for talks with the Kuomintang. In Chungking, Premier Chou paid great attention to the Chairman's safety. He told the bodyguards that the work of ensuring Chairman Mao's safety must be done well, because it was of paramount importance to the Party's cause and to the interests of the people of the whole country. At every critical historical juncture, it was Chairman Mao who steered the ship of the Chinese revolution through shoals to safety. The Chungking negotiations represented one of these important junctures. Chairman Mao's arrival in Chungking would frustrate all the schemes of the Kuomintang. Protecting Chairman Mao was the duty of the whole Party. It had to be done well.

During those days, Comrade Chou En-lai was always with Chairman Mao. He personally made arrangements concerning Chairman Mao's activities, and looked after the Chairman's living quarters, food, and the route to be taken when going out on a visit. To ensure Chairman Mao's safety, he not only held talks with the Kuomintang delegates and the commander of the gendarmes, but also did work among the guards, gendarmes and drivers sent by the Kuomintang.

Chairman Mao, Chou En-lai, Tung Pi-wu and other comrades attended a cocktail party sponsored by the Sino-Soviet Cultural Association on the evening of September 2. All 300 present raised their glasses to toast Chairman Mao, expressing their heartfelt wishes. In consideration of the Chairman's health, Comrade Chou En-lai drank the toasts on his behalf.

During Chairman Mao's 43-day stay in Chungking, Comrade Chou En-lai was not only busy with the negotiations, handling the day-to-day work and receiving visitors from all walks of life, but spared no effort to safeguard Chairman Mao's safety. He slept very few hours, with many a night spent without going to bed.



Working for the Interests of the People.

Traditional Chinese painting by Liu Wen-hsi and Chen Kuang-chien

Unhesitating in Helping Others in Moment of Danger

Comrade Chou En-lai flew back to Chungking from Yen-an on January 29, 1946 after reporting to Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee on the work done. The plane had to land in Sian because of bad weather and continued its flight the next morning. It was a twin-engine plane with only two rows of seats for about 14 people. There was a parachute under each seat. Besides Comrade Chou En-lai, the passengers included his entourage, comrades going to work in Chungking and Yeh Yang-mei, the 11-year-old daughter of General Yeh Ting. A clever and vivacious girl, she was loved by every passenger on board. She was especially happy that day because she was going to Chungking to welcome her father back from prison. Commander of the New Fourth Army, General Yeh Ting was captured in January 1941 during the "Southern Anhwei Incident" created by the Kuomintang reactionaries and had spent

five years in jail. Looking forward to being reunited soon with her father, mother and younger brother, all now out of prison, the happy Yang-mei sang and danced, filling the cabin with joy.

Not long after the take-off, the plane was over the Chinling Mountain Range in southern Shensi where it suddenly encountered a strong cold air-mass. Soon encrusted in a heavy layer of crystal ice, the plane was forced to fly at an increasingly low altitude. The passengers could see the mountain-tops skip by just underneath the wings. To lighten the weight and help slow down the plane's descent, the pilot could not but order the mechanics to jettison the luggage. At the same time, he told all passengers to put on their parachutes and be ready to jump when necessary. Without haste, Comrade Chou En-lai put his on and was helping the other comrades with their parachutes when little Yang-mei suddenly burst out crying because there was none under her seat. Comrade Chou

En-lai went over, quickly untied his own parachute and fastened it on to Yang-mei's back. He encouraged her, saying: Don't cry, little Yang-mei. You should act like your father who is both brave and unyielding. You should fight against difficulty and danger. His voice was calm and filled with kindness. At this critical moment when life and death was in the balance, Comrade Chou En-lai was actually giving the chance of surviving a possible plane crash to little Yang-mei and leaving the threat of death to himself.

The mountain-tops came closer and closer and the plane continued losing altitude. The situation was critical. While everything was hanging by a thread, suddenly the plane broke out of the cold air-mass and flew into bright sunshine. The crust of ice began to melt bit by bit. The plane headed up through the blue sky and everyone was jubilant.

Tit-for-Tat Struggle Against the Enemy

The Kuomintang government moved its capital back to Nanking after the victory of the War of Resistance Against Japan. In May 1946, Comrade Chou En-lai also led the C.P.C. delegation to Nanking and took up residence in Meiyuan Hsintsun (New Plum Orchard Village). To keep a close watch on the delegation's activities, the Kuomintang reactionaries set up a dozen or so secret agent stations around the place, from where they could keep an eye on the delegation through windows or doors from all directions. Disguised as peddlers, special agents covered the neighbourhood day and night. Cars, jeeps and motorcycles used for surveillance were parked in nearby streets and lanes.

With resourcefulness Comrade Chou En-lai waged a tit-for-tat struggle against the enemy. He had a small building built in front of the living quarters, and the wall was heightened by half to obstruct the enemy's view from the outside. When members of the delegation held meetings, the curtains were drawn and a radio tuned in on news broadcast from Yenan was put

on the windowsill to prevent the Kuomintang agents from overhearing.

This was the time when U.S. imperialism was, on the one hand, transporting large numbers of Kuomintang troops by planes and warships to the civil war front in support of Chiang Kai-shek's plot to launch an anti-popular war and, on the other, through the U.S. President's special representative George C. Marshall, it was using "mediation in the hostilities between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party of China" as a cover for strengthening the positions of the U.S. forces of aggression in China and the rule of reactionary Kuomintang government. One day, Marshall sent a Kuomintang delegate to Meiyuan Hsintsun to invite Comrade Chou En-lai to a meeting. Chou En-lai refused to receive the intruder who, humiliated after a several-hour wait, had to leave in disgrace. Later, Comrade Chou En-lai sent a man to Marshall to point out in no uncertain terms that negotiations must be conducted at a time agreed upon by both parties and the place also had to be a neutral zone decided on by both sides. Frustrated, Marshall had to admit that General Chou En-lai was one of the foremost diplomats he had ever met in the world.

The delegation had a large radio station set up in its residence. Although secret agents had built a monitoring station near by, they failed to break our codes. At a complete loss, they used vile means to jam our station. The comrades were worried about this. Comrade Chou En-lai soon thought of a tactic: do unto them what they do to us, that is, we could also jam the enemy's radio station. We decided to jam the enemy's messages to planes taking off or going to land. This threw the airfield into great confusion, and the result was the abashed enemy had to stop interfering with our radio station.

Comrade Chou En-lai's dauntless spirit in waging tit-for-tat struggles against the enemy and his resourcefulness in struggle greatly encouraged all the comrades.

How the "Gang of Four" Stamped on The Party's Policy on Intellectuals

TREMENDOUS damage was done to the proletarian revolutionary cause by the "gang of four's" complete negation of the role of revolutionary intellectuals and wilful stamping on the Party's policy on intellectuals.

Basic Appraisal of Intellectuals Distorted

The Party's policy of uniting, educating and remoulding intellectuals is based on Chairman Mao's scientific analysis of China's intellectuals. In 1957, he pointed out that intellectuals who were relatively familiar with Marxism and took a firm proletarian stand were a minority; the majority supported socialism and were willing to serve the people but their world outlook was still basically that of the bourgeoisie; the number of intellectuals hostile to our state was very small. "And this situation will admittedly continue for a long time to come." (*Speech at the Chinese Communist Party's National Conference on Propaganda Work.*) This analysis and conclusion reflect the actual situation regarding the intellectuals in China.

The "gang of four," however, cast aside Chairman Mao's directive. While making no specific analysis at all of the intellectuals, the gang inserted the qualifier "bourgeois" before intellectuals every time they were mentioned. The gang incited the counter-revolutionary Chang Tieh-sheng (see *Peking Review*, No. 8, 1977, pp. 13-15) to go about loudly braying that if social-imperialism invaded China, most teachers "in all likelihood would be out waving white flags in welcome." Slandorous attacks like this against the intellectuals reveal the gang's hostility towards Chairman Mao's Marxist appraisal of the intellectuals.

In the course of the Great Cultural Revolution, intellectuals have made heartening progress under the guidance of Chairman Mao's

revolutionary line. They have willingly accepted re-education by the workers, peasants and soldiers and tried hard to remould their world outlook and serve the socialist revolution and socialist construction, and a large number of activists determined to carry the proletarian revolution in education through to the end has emerged from their midst. The "gang of four" chose to completely ignore this. If this isn't negating the Great Cultural Revolution, then what is it?

Denying the Role of Intellectuals

Chairman Mao always attached great importance to the intellectuals' role in revolution. In the period of the new-democratic revolution, Chairman Mao pointed out: "Without the participation of the intellectuals victory in the revolution is impossible." (*Recruit Large Numbers of Intellectuals.*) And again in the period of the socialist revolution, he directed attention to: "Socialist society mainly comprises three sections of people, the workers, the peasants and the intellectuals." "Without intellectuals our work cannot be done well." (*Speech at the Chinese Communist Party's National Conference on Propaganda Work.*) After the great victory in the struggle against the bourgeois Rightists in 1957, Chairman Mao summed up the historical experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat and further pointed out that in order to build socialism, the working class must have its own contingent of technical cadres and its own professors, teachers, scientists, journalists, writers, artists and Marxist theoreticians. Within the ranks of this huge new contingent of intellectuals were all those intellectuals from the old society who had really remoulded their world outlook and who stood firmly on the side of the working class.

Chairman Mao's directive encouraged and spurred the intellectuals on to continually and diligently remould themselves so as to be fit for the great struggles of this era.

The "gang of four," however, did all they could to negate the role of the intellectuals. In 1974 one of their trusted followers spread the fallacy that students trained in the 17 years before the start of the Cultural Revolution "in the main played a destructive role with regard to the socialist economic base." This is quite representative of the gang's absurd views. As we all know, intellectuals by themselves do not constitute a separate, independent class. They can serve either the bourgeoisie or the proletariat. The crux is which class do they adhere to. By integrating themselves with the workers, peasants and soldiers and working hard to remould their world outlook, the majority or the vast majority of students who graduated before the Cultural Revolution have done much useful work for the people under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. In the process of learning from the workers, peasants and soldiers, serving them and being re-educated by them, the intellectuals have continually remoulded their world outlook. As Chairman Mao said: **"The majority or the vast majority of the students trained in the old schools and colleges can integrate themselves with the workers, peasants and soldiers, and some have made inventions or innovations; they must, however, be re-educated by the workers, peasants and soldiers under the guidance of the correct line and thoroughly change their old ideology. Such intellectuals will be welcomed by the workers, peasants and soldiers."** Thus it can be seen that the so-called "destructive role" the "gang of four" alleged is reactionary in theory and errant nonsense in fact.

Chairman Mao pointed out: **"The proletarian revolution in education depends on the masses of revolutionary students, teachers and workers in the schools and colleges and on the activists among them, namely, on those proletarian revolutionaries who are determined to carry the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution through to the end."** This clearly defines for us that the proletarian revolution in education means the transformation of the old educational system, not the overthrow of the teachers. It

means relying on the activists among them and uniting with the great majority of the teachers. The question of transforming education is chiefly a question of the teachers. To attack them is actually to sabotage the revolution in education. The "gang of four" hammered away at the teachers as "a Right restorationist force" and even went to the absurd length of wanting to eliminate the overall responsibilities connected with the teachers. One trusted woman follower of the gang, while "experimenting" at a Peking middle school to set up a "model" in which the pupils decided everything for themselves and the teachers had no say at all, said: "The teachers have a bourgeois world outlook. They are all bourgeois intellectuals, so how can they bring up worthy successors to the proletarian revolutionary cause?" By totally denying the role teachers play in the revolution in education, the gang and their cohorts fully exposed themselves as adversaries of all revolutionary teachers.

Pressuring and Attacking the Intellectuals

To give the fullest play to the intellectuals' role in the socialist revolution and socialist construction, it is necessary to implement in an all-round way the Party's policy towards intellectuals and correctly recognize and handle the dialectical relationship between "uniting," "educating" and "remoulding." Unity is our point of departure, and proceeding from this desire to achieve unity, we should patiently and carefully educate the intellectuals, remould them and help them to really shift their stand over to the side of the proletariat. In this way, unity is strengthened. All intellectuals who really wish to serve the socialist cause should be trusted, and we must improve our relations with them, help them solve various problems that must be solved so as to enable them to apply their talents in a positive way, work devotedly and willingly at their tasks and at the same time remould their world outlook.

In sabotaging unity with the intellectuals, the gang also sabotaged their re-education and remoulding. They attacked and treated the intellectuals contemptuously, but to the handful who willingly worked with them to usurp Party

(Continued on p. 24.)

“GANG OF FOUR” — THE NATION’S SCOURGE

Pipe Dream of an “Empress”

ONE of the “gang of four,” the self-indulgent Chiang Ching was fond of introducing herself by saying: “I would like to say a few words on behalf of women.” Slipping into the cloak of the representative of the women’s movement in China, she pretended she was the most concerned about women’s liberation.

Actually, Chiang Ching never led the women’s movement in China, nor did she take up any post on women’s work. However, in 1974 she suddenly became concerned with questions concerning women. Evading the fundamental question of women’s liberation, she talked of giving priority to women in speaking first at meetings, placing the mother’s name in front of the father’s, and so on, all professedly for the sake of raising women’s social status. She made believe that these were the criteria for women’s liberation. She often spoke of the “matriarchal society,” and prettified empresses in China’s feudal society. “Women were leaders in clan society,” she said. “After the development of the productive forces, women comrades will take over the leadership of the state.” “Women can be empresses,” she also raved. “There’ll be empresses even in a communist society.” Going even further, she said unabashedly: “Political economy says that human beings are the most active and most revolutionary factor in the productive forces. As for human beings, men or women, they all come from a woman’s womb.”

In 1976, when Chairman Mao was seriously ill and after the Chairman passed away, she could no longer suppress her desire to be an “empress.” She viciously attacked the Party Central Committee as an organ where

“male chauvinism prevails,” chattering that “men should step aside and women should take over the rule.” All this braggadocio boiled down to this: Chiang Ching was hellbent on becoming an “empress.”

Chiang Ching’s remarks were diametrically opposed to Marxism. Anyone with any knowledge of social development knows that in primitive society the matrilineal clan had women playing the major role. That was before the age of enlightenment and the productive forces were of a very low level. Products of labour were owned in common, there were no classes and class antagonism, and there was no question of women’s “rule” over men. Since the emergence of class society and the private ownership of the means of production, the labouring women have always been the object of cruel oppression and exploitation by the exploiting classes. Private ownership and class oppression are root causes of the oppression and enslavement of women and of the ideology that “men are superior to women.” Unless private ownership is eliminated, labouring women will always be enslaved and oppressed. This was the case in China’s feudal society even when there were empresses in certain dynasties and is still the case in modern capitalist countries even though there is a female prime minister. The great revolutionary teacher Lenin once pointed out: “Private property . . . everywhere, throughout the world, . . . keeps the working people in a state of what is actually poverty and wage-slavery, and women in a state of double slavery.” (*The Tasks of the Working Women’s Movement in the Soviet Republic*.) Chairman Mao also taught us: “Genuine equality between the sexes can only be realized in the process of the socialist transformation of society as a whole.” This shows that women’s liberation is closely linked with the revolutionary cause of the proletariat.

Women can win real emancipation only by thoroughly overthrowing the exploiting classes. In communist society, in which the productive forces will be greatly developed and the relations of production will be changed, there will be no classes. So how can there be "empresses in a communist society"?

Ambition is the source of all hypocrisy and lies. The fallacies Chiang Ching spread only exposed her ambition to be an empress in the guise of a "leader of the women's movement."

Struggle in a Museum

SINCE its establishment, the Military Museum of the Chinese People's Revolution has used lively historical material to propagate the brilliant course and immortal accomplishments of the Chinese revolution under the wise leadership of Chairman Mao.

The museum organized an exhibition in 1975 and arrangements were made to hold a preparatory showing on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the Red Army's Long March (1934-35). At a meeting of the Standing Committee of the Military Commission of the C.P.C. Central Committee presided over by Vice-Chairman Yeh Chien-ying on October 20 that year, comrades in charge of the exhibition reported on their plan which was unanimously approved.

This exhibition vividly showed how our Party, army and people, under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, seized political power by armed struggle. On exhibit were a number of precious revolutionary relics including the programme drawn up by Chairman Mao for launching the Autumn Harvest Uprising in four south China provinces in 1927 and the military insignia used by the army during the uprising; the "Decision by the Central Government on Commemorating 'August 1'" which was signed by Chairman Mao and printed on July 1, 1933 in *Red China*, organ of the

Provisional Central Government; the oil lamp Chairman Mao used when he led the struggle in the Chinggang Mountains; manuscripts of battle orders drawn up by Chairman Mao during the Red Army's third counter-campaign against the enemy's "encirclement and suppression" in 1931; as well as pictures and memorabilia of Premier Chou En-lai, Chairman Chu Teh and other veteran proletarian revolutionaries during the revolutionary wars.

Visitors came in endless streams during the several months of the preparatory showing. At the exhibition, many veteran cadres recalled past struggles which filled them with revolutionary pride. With tears in their eyes, many young people vowed their determination before Chairman Mao's portrait to take over their revolutionary predecessors' guns and continue the new long march.

The "gang of four," however, covertly conspired to oppose the exhibition. In March last year, one of their accomplices wrote an article which levelled groundless charges against the exhibition and slandered it as an attempt to eulogize the veteran cadres, thus directing their spearhead at Vice-Chairman Yeh Chien-ying and other leading cadres in the central authorities. When Yao Wen-yuan read this article, he changed the words "veteran cadres" to "those who don't want to take the socialist road." This fully reveals his vicious aim of labelling all veteran cadres loyal to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line as "democrats" or "capitalist-roaders." When this manuscript was passed on to Chang Chun-chiao, he ordered the museum to close at once and told one of his accomplices to carry out investigations, charging that the exhibition had serious questions and therefore should be banned.

This same accomplice forcibly took the name list of leading army cadres who had been to the exhibition and records of their opinions after seeing the exhibition and sent them to Chang Chun-chiao, in a vain attempt to frame charges and overthrow these leading cadres who



Denouncing the
"Gang of Four."
(A poster)

had followed Chairman Mao in the revolutionary wars and faithfully carried out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line.

While trying by every possible means to negate the immortal contributions of Chairman Mao and other veteran proletarian revolutionaries and write off the history of the Chinese people's revolutionary struggle, the "gang of four" cooked up their own histories to prettify themselves. Last summer, they took advantage of an exhibition on the advanced deeds of an army company to publicize themselves. An enlarged photo of Wang Hung-wen taken on a visit to the company was on display, and it was much bigger than a photograph of Premier Chou receiving delegates of that company. Chang Chun-chiao wrote an article about this advanced company, his aim being to acquire political capital for himself, and an enlarged photostat of this article was also on display at the exhibition. Though Chiang Ching had no connections at all with the company, the letters and study materials she had sent to another company for anti-Party purposes were also on exhibit. The introductory remarks at the exhibition hall lauded to the skies an article by Yao Wen-yuan, claiming that it "has sounded the clarion call for a furious attack on the revisionist line." Even just a few days before the gang was ferreted out, its henchmen went

to the museum again and demanded that the exhibition be handled well so as to publicize the gang and spread its influence in the army.

A Clandestine Liaison Centre In Two Universities

IN exposing and criticizing the "gang of four's" criminal counter-revolutionary activities, teachers and students in Tsinghua and Peking Universities have brought to light the gang's crime of setting up a secret liaison centre unbeknown to the Party Central Committee.

Through the two trusted followers it had planted in Tsinghua, the gang used this centre to maintain contact and exchange anti-Party information with cohorts and pawns in Liaoning, Shanghai and other places. An office was set up in Tsinghua for receiving visitors and mail from various parts of the country and it was run in a way as if it were the "General Office of the Party Central Committee." At the bidding of the "gang of four," this office withheld letters sent to Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee, copied down extracts and passed them on to the Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao "gang of four" to be used as material for framing

charges against leading comrades of the central and local authorities.

Abusing that portion of power he had usurped, Wang Hung-wen, without authorization, handed over to the liaison centre documents and minutes of meetings of the State Council and the Military Commission of the Party Central Committee. These were used to fabricate charges and attack the Party. This centre also used various despicable means to compile "dossiers" against a vast number of leading cadres including Members of the Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee, responsible members of the State Council and the P.L.A. and secretaries of some provincial Party committees, trumping up charges against them and trying hard to overthrow them.

The liaison centre had connections with many parts of the country. A man from a factory in Honan, for example, went to Tsinghua on a secret mission. The two sworn followers of the "gang of four" in the university told him that when he returned home he should dig out so-called "capitalist-roaders" at various levels. As a result, this knave caused disturbances and

production stoppage for several months in his factory.

The gang appropriated the name of Tsinghua and Peking Universities and knocked together a so-called "mass criticism group." Using over a dozen different pseudonyms like "Liang Hsiao" and "Kao Lu," the "mass criticism group" published many reactionary articles in the newspapers and periodicals then under the gang's control. These articles trumpeted the gang's reactionary flapdoodles, forged "instructions from the Party Central Committee" to thwart the strategic plans laid down by Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee, and attacked Premier Chou, Comrade Hua Kuo-feng and other leading comrades by innuendo.

After Chairman Mao's death, the "gang of four" quickened the pace to usurp supreme Party and state power. Their two confidants in Tsinghua howled: "Now the battle is on. Let's write more and do it quickly." Thus in less than a month the "mass criticism group" ground out more than 20 articles to create opinion for the gang's plot to usurp supreme Party and state leadership.

(Continued from p. 20.)

and state power they were most generous and freely promoted them to high posts.

The "gang of four" yelled themselves hoarse about "remoulding," but this was merely their way of attacking the intellectuals. The gang and its accomplices put it this way: "Remoulding teachers is like pressing a rubber ball under water. Press hard and it goes under, but as soon as you let go, up it pops again." So, the gang alleged, it was necessary to "always put the pressure on them to keep them in deep water." The gang incited the students to criticize the teachers, labelling them as "devout disciples of Confucius," and even threatened to

hand out "heavy sentences" to teachers and cadres whose mistakes fell well within the category of contradictions among the people. Was this helping the teachers remould? On the contrary, it was imposing a fascist dictatorship on them!

Because of the gang, revolutionary intellectuals who wanted to do a good job were powerless, and their position was made intolerable. Nothing they did seemed right. In striving to wreck socialist education, the gang was really trying to muddy the waters and in the ensuing chaos usurp Party and state power.

Among other things, the destruction of the "gang of four" has also saved the intellectuals.

Real Aim of Soviet Announcement On Temporary Fishery Measures

by Jen Ku-ping

OF late, the Soviet Union has made unusual moves on the question of 200-mile maritime rights. First, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. issued a decree on the "temporary measures for preservation of marine resources and regulation of fishing off the coasts of the U.S.S.R."; then the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers adopted a decision stipulating that as of March 1 this year, the "temporary measures" would be introduced in sea areas of the Pacific and Arctic Oceans up to 200 nautical miles off the coasts of the U.S.S.R. At the same time, a bill on a 200-mile fishing zone adopted by the U.S. Congress last year went into effect on March 1. Such actions at this time by the two maritime overlords, the Soviet Union and the United States, who have in the past obdurately opposed the 200-mile maritime rights, merit particular attention.

As is well known, striving for and defending the 200-mile maritime rights is an important aspect of the third world countries' struggle to safeguard sovereignty and resources and oppose superpower aggression and plunder. It is also the focus of the fierce struggle by the numerous small and medium-sized countries against the superpowers' maritime hegemonism at the Conferences on the Law of Sea in the past few years. Soviet social-imperialism has been particularly unscrupulous and energetic in opposing the 200-mile maritime rights. It viciously attacked the third world countries for wanting to "divide" the seas and "expand borders," and practising "extremism." Later, under the pressure of the situation, Moscow had to "recognize" the 200-mile economic zone,

but it actually used every trick to emasculate the essence of the exclusive economic zone. However, despite the superpowers' obstruction and sabotage, the struggle of the numerous small and medium-sized countries to safeguard the 200-mile maritime rights is moving ahead vigorously. The number of countries supporting this just proposition has increased from a few to more than a hundred. Over 40 of them, one after another, have announced 200-mile territorial waters and an exclusive economic zone or fishery zone. Not only the third world but more and more countries of the second world have joined the ranks. This shows that the establishment of 200-mile maritime rights cannot be checked since it reflects a popular desire and a general trend. The maritime hegemonism of the superpowers is in deep trouble, whatever they may do.

By publishing now a new "decree" and new "measures," does the Soviet Union want to mend its ways, really recognize the 200-mile maritime rights of the numerous small and medium-sized countries and renounce its plunder of other countries' maritime resources and encroachment on the sovereignty of coastal countries? Absolutely not.

In exposing the old tsars, Marx pointed out: "Its methods, its tactics, its manoeuvres may change, but the Polar Star of its policy — world domination — is a fixed star." (*Speech at the Meeting on Poland in London on January 22, 1867.*) This is also true for the new tsars. Making the utmost efforts to concoct the above-mentioned "decree" and "decision," they are simply continuing to push maritime hege-

monism by using more cunning methods and tactics.

A brief analysis of the "decree" and "decision" clearly shows that they are intended to kill several birds with one stone and attain the following aims:

First, to legalize continued and unbridled Soviet plunder of marine resources of the third world countries. The "decree" pretentiously stipulates that foreign fishermen "are permitted" to catch fish or other sea products in the Soviet economic zone in case the "optimal fishing limit exceeds Soviet fishing capacity." The Soviet press vociferously asserted that other littoral countries must also do the same. On the surface, this seems fair, but in fact it is a matter of the strong bullying the weak and the big swooping down on the small. Everyone knows that the superpowers' "fishing capacity" far surpasses that of the vast number of developing countries. If things are handled in accordance with the Kremlin's "decree," it will obviously become more and more difficult for the third world countries to operate in Soviet offshore waters, while the Soviet Union will be able to send more fishing fleets to other countries' offshore waters and plunder more marine resources there. In such a case, will the 200-mile maritime rights of the small and medium-sized countries not be a hollow phrase?

Second, to direct the spearhead against the second world countries, particularly Japan. When the Soviet "decree" and "decision" are put into practice, Japanese fishermen gradually will be driven out of the fishing zone near the four northern islands and the Soviet occupation of those islands which are inherently Japan's territories will be further strengthened. In that case, Japanese fishermen first must get Soviet "permission" before they can fish in waters off the four northern islands and will be subject to Soviet "sanction." The Soviet Union is trying by such tactics to use new political blackmail against Japan and obstruct and interfere in the operation of its fishermen in their own offshore waters near the islands and to strangle the Japanese people's just struggle to recover their northern territories.

Third, to facilitate Soviet contention for maritime hegemony with the other superpower.

Announcing related measures and decrees almost simultaneously by the two superpowers is not only directed at other countries but also embodies the contradictions and contention between the two overlords themselves.

In announcing the "temporary measures," the Soviet Union has another insidious design in mind, namely, to distort the demand of the third world countries by passing off fish eyes for pearls so as to continue to resist and undermine the just struggle of the small and medium-sized countries for establishing the 200-mile exclusive economic zones and safeguarding their sovereignty and marine resources. To negate in essence the coastal countries' sovereign rights over the exclusive economic zones and exclusive jurisdictions, Moscow has stubbornly insisted that the economic zones are "part of the high seas" and that the Soviet Union has the right to catch "the fish left uncaught" by the coastal countries and the right to engage in other marine activities including the collection of information in the name of scientific research. By issuing a "decree" and adopting a "decision," the Soviet Union is trying to impose its unreasonable assertions on others and ignore the 200-mile exclusive economic zones declared by many countries. The Soviet propaganda machine has admitted that the "decree" is an "important international decree" and its purpose is to "oppose arbitrary and one-sided settlement of economic zones by some countries." This exposes the real intentions of the Soviet sea lord.

It is thus clear that the Soviet announcement of the so-called "decree" and "decision" at this time is purely a plot. It is entirely different from the advocacy of the 200-mile maritime rights by the numerous third world countries. On the contrary, it is an attempt to obstruct a historical trend—the small and medium-sized countries' demand for protecting their maritime rights. But this Soviet trick can fool nobody. Its base plot will certainly be strongly opposed by the small and medium-sized countries of the third world and elsewhere. It can be predicted that the struggle of these countries against superpower hegemonism will surely continue to go forward and win new victories.

Friendship Notes

Chinese Peasant Paintings Welcomed In Europe

The exhibition of Huhsien County peasant paintings in France, Sweden, Norway, Belgium and Britain since 1975 has been favourably received.

Produced by Jean-Noel Delamarre after a visit to Huhsien County in north China's Shensi Province, the film *Spring Is Always in My Village* introducing the paintings was recently seen on the second channel of French television.

The woman director of a museum in Paris said: "The Chinese peasant paintings have a rich and lively content. The designs are beautiful, the themes are expressed in a clear-cut manner and the use of colours is bold. The paintings are refreshing." A young Norwegian woman said: "I am very fond of these paintings that are a reflection of reality. Almost each painting depicts different labouring scenes, graphically showing New China's happy life."

When the exhibition was on in Bromsgrove, England, many workers of the Harris Company which is in the vicinity came to see the paintings several times, though they had not visited any gallery before. One worker made a second visit with his family. He said: "I can understand all these paintings, which reflect the reality of life. And the more I see them, the more I am interested."

All these comments show that West European viewers not only are interested in the art forms of the paintings, but are particularly intrigued by their content—the happy life in China's countryside, the healthy images of peasants and their great joy at work.

The amateur art activities of China's labouring people are of interest to people in West European countries. An article in the Swedish magazine *Vi* said: "Every peasant is proud of being able to use his own brush to describe the struggle he himself took part in. . . . There is no doubt that such amateur art is the biggest development in New China's paintings."

Pakistan's Foundry And Forge

The Taxila Foundry and Forge was inaugurated in late February near Islamabad, capital of Pakistan. The plant contains six major workshops including a steel foundry, an iron casting foundry and forging and pressing shops turning out forgings and castings the Taxila Heavy Machinery Complex completed in 1971, and other machine-building plants in the country. Commission of the plant will create favourable conditions for strengthening Pakistan's basic industry and promoting development of other industries.

Started at the end of 1971, the Taxila Foundry and Forge was designed and built with Chinese assistance, in accord-

ance with the economic and technical co-operation agreement between the two countries. The workers and technicians of both countries worked hard in close co-ordination, sometimes going more than 10 or even 20 hours without a break to complete urgent tasks. The summer heat was the first test for the Chinese technicians. To make more contributions to strengthening Sino-Pakistan friendship, many of them gave up their off days, and some even continued on the job when ill or injured.

To help the Pakistan friends to master the techniques quickly, the technicians gave lectures, opened training classes and showed them the tricks while working together. The Pakistan friends learnt diligently and sometimes stayed up late at night to clear up one problem. Now Pakistan workers are able to install and operate the electric furnaces and hydraulic presses and can do maintenance work. There are more than enough welders.

Profound friendship has been forged between the workers and technicians of the two countries in the last five years of joint efforts. They vied with each other in doing heavy work and showed mutual concern in daily life. The Pakistan friends often went to the residences of the Chinese technicians, sometimes bringing their relatives with them. Badi, a work section head, presented the technicians with a very beautiful garland and asked them to hang it under the portrait of Chairman Mao. He also told his Chinese friends that the garland was made by his two children in

Lahore during their leisure time.

"Friendship Well"

Many moving stories of the prospecting for chromite deposits by Sudanese and Chinese geological workers have spread far and wide in the Ingessana Mountains in the southeastern part of the Blue Nile Province. "Friendship well" is one of them.

The only source of water in Gebanit, a village with a population of several thousand, seeped out of a hole in a dried-up river bed. Groups of villagers went there every day to fetch water. During the dry season, they would trek over the mountains to get water ten or even 20 kilometres from home. A detachment of the Chinese geological team was sent to the village in May 1974. Members of the detachment were quite concerned about this and were determined to find a new water source by working with the local people. To sink a well was their goal. This news spread swiftly to the whole village. Many villagers joined in voluntary labour. Through the joint efforts of the Chinese and the Sudanese, a 4.6-metre-deep well was sunk in five days. Five tons of clear water per hour can be pumped from it. This meets the local people's daily water needs. The jubilant villagers call it a "friendship well."

The geological team came to work in the Ingessana Mountains under the China-Sudan economic and technical co-operation agreement. Geologists of both countries have frequently exchanged experiences and learnt from each other in the

past three years. A detachment of technical workers made up of Ingessana men has been formed. Familiar with local conditions, they not only have prospected for mines themselves, but also have mobilized the local people to give them clues to deposits.

Briefs

• **The Second Asian Invitation Badminton Championships** took place in Hongkong between February 22 and 26. Over 70 players from 13 countries and regions — China, India, Indonesia, Japan, Malaysia, Nepal, Pakistan, the Philippines, Singapore, Sri Lanka, Thailand, Hongkong and south Korea — took part in this grand gathering.

In the four-day friendly and keenly fought contests, 86 matches were played in four events. The players have displayed their fine spirit and superb skills.

• Chinese films *The White-Haired Girl* and *Reconnaissance Across the River* won warm acclaim at the Six International Film Festival in New Delhi. Fifty-three countries, half of them third world countries, took part in the festival.

• Sudanese and Chinese medical workers recently worked out together a plan for surgery on a Sudanese girl, Saadia, at the Abu Usher Hospital in the Sudanese countryside. Closely co-ordinating their efforts, they successfully administered acupuncture anaesthesia to the patient who had a separation of the mitral valve for a heart operation. The head of the hospital and an anaesthesiologist worked together with the Chinese surgeons there. The patient quickly recovered and left the hospital. Shaking hands with Chinese surgeons, her parents said: "Sino-Sudanese friendship saved her life."



Some 110,000 people visited the two-week Chinese Economic and Trade Exhibition in Niamey, capital of Niger.

ROUND THE WORLD

JAPAN

Economy in the Doldrums

Japan's economic situation is turning for the worse again. Its economy has continued in the doldrums this year and production recovery has been weak.

Last year saw the economic recovery rate falter and industrial production developing by fits and starts. By December, industrial and mining production had failed to get back to the peak point before the crisis that began at the end of 1973.

Under such circumstances, stockpiles have kept increasing since July. To ease the pressure on the stockpiles and stabilize prices, the textile, iron and steel and chemical industries had no choice but to curtail operations. Though it enjoyed a good market, the auto industry also registered a drop.

The rate of operations in the manufacturing industry has declined further. The actual operation rate is only 77 per cent; in other words, virtually one-fourth of the equipment has to lie idle.

Bankruptcy of small and medium-sized enterprises keeps growing. In January, it reached 1,280, a 19.5 per cent increase

over that of the same month last year.

The dismissal of large numbers of workers by the monopoly capitalists in order to shift the crisis on to the working people has resulted in a marked rise in unemployment. The Japanese Government has estimated that 1977 unemployment will total no less than a million.

According to the Sanwa Bank, unemployment in the manufacturing industry totalled 0.6 million in addition to the potential unemployed. The gross number of jobless will run to 2.6 million. The Japanese Labour Ministry held that it will hit another high level in March.

During its postwar economic crises, Japan always stimulated economic recovery by increasing private plant and equipment investment, which now accounts for about 17 per cent of the national expenditures. But development in recent years has shown that such a stimulus has lost its punch.

INDIA

Congress Party Splits

More influential Indian figures have quit the Congress Party. This is one more serious split since it became the ruling party in 1969.

Following the example of Minister for Agriculture Jagjivan Ram, Indian Vice-Minister for Agriculture Patel announced his withdrawal from the Congress Party and resigned from the cabinet on March 3. His withdrawal was preceded by Mrs. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, aunt of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi; former President V.V. Giri and his son S. Giri; former Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh H.N. Bahuguna; former Chief Minister of Orissa State Mrs. Nandini Satpathy; and many Congress Party Members of Parliament.

The serious break-away erupted following Indira Gandhi's January 18 decision to hold general elections in mid-March. The term of office of Members of the House of the People (Lower House) being five years, the present Parliament should have ended last March. But, since June 1975, Indira Gandhi has declared a state of emergency and twice prolonged the term of office of House Members up to March 1978.

The election campaign of the ruling Congress Party and the opposition parties is now in full swing. Ram, Patel and other break-away Congress Party members have formed a new party, the Congress for Democracy, which entered into a united front in the campaign with the Janata (People's) Party headed by former Deputy Prime Minister Desai.

CARIBBEAN COUNTRIES

Gradual Nationalization

More countries in the Caribbean region have adopted measures for gradual nationalization in order to safeguard national independence, defend state sovereignty and protect their national economies and rights and interests.

Jamaica. Prime Minister Michael Manley proclaimed on February 2 that his government had officially acquired a majority interest in the Kaiser Bauxite Company, a Jamaican subsidiary of a U.S. transnational—the Kaiser Aluminum and Chemical Corporation.

The company, which has exploited Jamaican bauxite at a great profit for years, shipped out three to four million tons of the ore annually in recent years.

Surinam. The Surinam Government announced that beginning in January 1977 the De Surinaamsche Bank, a subsidiary of the General Bank of the Netherlands, would be reorganized and 51 per cent of its shares bought by the government.

This was the first measure taken by the Surinam Government since independence to restrict the activities of foreign financial institutions.

Dominican Republic. The government recently revised its contract with the U.S.-controlled Rosario Dominicana

Company for the exploitation of gold and silver mines.

The revised contract provides that company shares held by the Republic are to be increased from 20 per cent to 46 per cent of the total investment. State revenues from greater shareholding plus the profit tax and the surtax on profit repatriation will add up to 76.3 per cent of the company's gross profits.

PARIS

Conference on European Armament Policy

The Conference on European Armament Policy was held in Paris on March 3 and 4 under the auspices of the Western European Union.

It was attended by over 350 persons including Parliament Members, officials of the defence departments, officers of the armed forces and personnel from the armament industry of all member countries of the Western European Union and representatives of a number of international organizations.

One of the conference's objectives was to contribute to defining a European armament policy, so that Western European countries will consult with each other to protect and develop their armament industries and improve their defence efficiency.

Participants were concerned over the Soviet military buildup

and stressed that co-operation in the armament field among the members of the Western European Union is vital to the defence of Europe.

Eugene Claudius-Petit, Vice-President of the French National Assembly, pointed out at the conference: "From the political aspect, co-operation can lay a foundation for a unified defence of Europe, which constitutes a necessary step on the road to an authentic European union capable of defining a common security policy."

Manfred Wormer, Chairman of the Defence Committee of the West German Bundestag, said that the Soviet Union is continuously increasing military expenditures, while Western countries can at best only maintain their present level of military spending because of unemployment and inflation, and many of them will have to cut their actual military expenditures. Under such circumstances, he noted, "they can only seek a possible way out through (military) co-operation and standardization."

A.H.C. Greenwood, President of the British Aircraft Corporation, held that the Western allies have lagged dangerously behind the Warsaw Pact countries in personnel as well as in the quantity of military equipment and technique. He said that 30 years of peace in Europe have brought an extremely dangerous apathy to certain people.

ON THE HOME FRONT

"The White-Haired Girl" Restaged

THE *White-Haired Girl*, a fine opera created over 30 years ago and later banned by the "gang of four," has recently been staged again in Peking.

The opera penetratingly exposes the feudal despotic landlords' brutal exploitation and oppression of the peasants and reflects the latter's struggle against the landlord class. In the story, Huang Shih-jen, a despotic landlord, forces Yang Pai-lao, his tenant, to give over his daughter Hsi-erh in payment of a debt. Filled with remorse Yang Pai-lao commits suicide. The landlord sends his henchmen to bring Hsi-erh to his home by force. Hsi-erh, working there as a chambermaid, is subjected to maltreatment. Before long she makes her escape with the help of another maid-servant, and takes refuge in the mountains, living on wild plants, bark and offerings in the temple. Such a bitter life turns her hair grey. When the Eighth Route Army led by the Communist Party comes to Hsi-erh's home village, Hsi-erh is found and begins a happy life.

The opera is a fruitful result of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line on literature and art. After the publication of Chairman Mao's *Talks at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art* in 1942, literary and art workers in the Shensi-Kansu-Ningsia Border Region, taking the road pointed out by Chairman Mao, integrated themselves

with the workers, peasants and soldiers, and created and performed a number of *yangko* operas (a kind of local opera) which were welcomed by the masses. It was during this flourishing new *yangko* movement that *The White-Haired Girl* was born.



Hsi-erh (performed by Kuo Lan-ying) pouring out her hatred.

The premiere of *The White-Haired Girl*, held in April 1945 during the Party's Seventh National Congress, was attended by Chairman Mao, Premier Chou and other leading comrades in the central authorities. They paid high tribute to the opera as a timely, artistically successful production. They also pointed out that the opera might run for dozens of years and even after that it should still be performed. Premier Chou praised it as a literary and art work belonging to the labouring people which depicted the fate and

struggle of the oppressed classes. He called on literary and art workers to create more operas reflecting class struggle and the struggle for production.

The opera enjoyed wide popularity in the liberated areas during the War of Resistance Against Japan (1937-45) and the War of Liberation (1945-49). Many peasants at the performance were overcome with indignation when they saw how the despotic landlord drove Yang Pai-lao to death and tortured Hsi-erh. Many fighters carved the words "avenge Hsi-erh and Yang Pai-lao" on the stocks of their guns and, plunging bravely into battle, fought with new dedication. Today the opera still presents impressive and vivid lessons in class struggle.

The modern dance-drama of the same title was adapted from the opera.

The "gang of four," which opposed Chairman Mao's revolutionary line on literature and art, tried in vain to blot out the achievements of proletarian literature and art. The mass media controlled by them slandered the opera as "smearing the image of the poor and lower-middle peasants," "reeking with reactionary bourgeois views on history and literature and art," "a heap of bourgeois trash" and what not. Staging, broadcasting and publication of the opera were banned, and the librettists, composers and actors and actresses were persecuted.

Thanks to the crushing of the "gang of four" by the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua, the opera *The White-Haired Girl* has been revived.

Just Off the Press

MAO TSETUNG

ON THE

TEN MAJOR RELATIONSHIPS

(In English)

This was a speech made by Comrade Mao Tsetung on April 25, 1956, at an enlarged meeting of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party. Bearing in mind lessons drawn from the Soviet Union, he summed up in the speech China's experience, expounded ten major relationships in socialist revolution and socialist construction and set forth basic ideas about the general line of building socialism with greater, faster, better and more economical results, a line suited to the conditions of our country.

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