

PEKING REVIEW

3

January 14, 1977

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報

**In Commemoration of the First
Anniversary of the Passing of
Premier Chou En-lai**

**1976 in Retrospect: Soviet
Detente Fraud Exposed**

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When Comrade Chou En-lai headed the Chinese Party and Government Delegation taking part in the celebration of the 47th anniversary of the October Socialist Revolution in the Soviet Union in November 1964, he resolutely rebutted the Soviet revisionist renegade clique's vicious attack on our Party and defended Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. Photo shows on his return from Moscow at Peking Airport he received a warm welcome from Chairman Mao and Chairman Chu Teh of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress and the people of the capital.

The Nation Solemnly Commemorates 1st Anniversary Of Passing of Esteemed and Beloved Premier Chou En-lai

JANUARY 8 was the 1st anniversary of the death of Comrade Chou En-lai, a great proletarian revolutionary, an outstanding communist fighter, an eminent long-tested Party and state leader of the Chinese people, and the great leader and teacher Chairman Mao's close comrade-in-arms. Filled with extremely profound proletarian feelings, the people throughout the country carried out diverse activities to honour the memory of the esteemed and beloved Premier Chou and extol his immortal contributions to the proletarian revolutionary cause.

When Premier Chou passed away a year ago, the people of the whole country were plunged into immense grief. In the extraordinary year that has elapsed, China underwent great changes. Comrade Hua Kuo-feng, who had been chosen by Chairman Mao as his successor prior to his death, has become the new leader of our Party. The Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua led the people of the whole country in smashing the plot of the "gang of four" to usurp Party and state power. The proletariat won a great victory. While commemorating the 1st anniversary of Premier Chou's death, the people across the land all the more cherished the memory of the esteemed and

beloved Premier Chou and were even more thankful to the wise leader Chairman Hua. Like the eruption of a volcano and the rushing of a turbulent river, the people in their hundreds of millions poured out their feelings which had been suppressed and trampled on by the "gang of four."

In Peking, commemoration meetings, report meetings, forums and other activities have been held in the last few days by the departments under the Party Central Committee, the central government organs, the general departments, arms and services, military academies and the Science and Technology Commission for National Defence of the Chinese People's Liberation Army, various democratic parties and patriotic personages, compatriots of Taiwan Province origin and compatriots from Hongkong and Macao in Peking, the Peking Municipal Committee of the Communist Party of China, the Peking Municipal Revolutionary Committee, the P.L.A. Peking Units, the Peking Garrison and other Party, government and army leading organs and mass organizations as well as in the factories, rural areas, army units, schools, shops, neighbourhood communities and other grass-roots units.

Professional and amateur art troupes in the capital worked against time to rehearse many items to commemorate the esteemed and beloved Premier Chou. Artists performed with tears rolling down their cheeks, while thousands upon thousands of the audiences watched their performances in tears. Together they honoured the memory of the people's good Premier. Crowds of people queued up in front of bookstores and post offices to buy picture albums and commemorative stamps of Premier Chou.

Solemn and majestic Tien An Men Square once again became an important centre for paying tribute to Premier Chou. A multifarious array of wreaths, baskets of flowers and elegiac scrolls were placed on both sides of the Chinshui Bridge over the moat before Tien An Men Gate and everywhere in the grand reviewing stands. From morning till night, an endless stream of people came here to honour the memory of Premier Chou. In various forms, they expressed their deep mourning for Premier Chou and wrathfully denounced the monstrous crimes of the "gang of four" in trying to usurp Party and state power and in persecuting Premier Chou. When night fell and the street lights were on, people, men and women, young

and old, still lingered in Tien An Men Square, again and again reciting poems in memory of Premier Chou and singing *The Internationale*. Wearing white paper flowers and black armbands and holding portraits of Premier Chou, numerous workers, cadres and Red Guards stood at attention in front of the huge portrait of the great leader Chairman Mao, reading out their pledges expressing their determination to follow the brilliant example of Premier Chou, rally most closely around the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua, carry out Chairman Mao's behests and carry the proletarian revolutionary cause through to the end.

Filled with uncrushable indignation, people of many units in the capital held meetings exposing and denouncing the crimes of the "gang of four" in persecuting Premier Chou and put up wall newspapers debunking and repudiating this gang. In their speeches and articles, the cadres and masses pointed out: The glorious name of Premier Chou is closely linked with the proletarian revolutionary cause in China pioneered by Chairman Mao and with the great victory of the cause for the Chinese people's liberation. The "gang of four," however, frantically opposed and venomously smeared Premier Chou and insidiously brought false charges against him. This fully shows that they are a bunch of counter-revolutionaries who perpetrated every conceivable and unpardonable crime. Like a lofty mountain piercing the sky and a bright star in the night sky, the esteemed and beloved Premier Chou will

always live in the hearts of the people.

Commemoration meetings were also held by the provincial, municipal and autonomous regional Party committees and revolutionary committees, P.L.A. units stationed in various places and the P.L.A. provincial military area commands. Leading members of various localities attended and delivered speeches. Throughout the country, from the cities to the rural areas and from the interior to the border regions, there were commemoration activities in various forms and on an extensive scale in the factories, rural people's communes, army units, shops, schools, offices and other grass-roots units. There was a spate of articles in newspapers and magazines commemorating Premier Chou.

Shanghai is where Premier Chou led a workers' armed uprising 50 years ago. After liberation in 1949, he all along showed great concern for the people of that city and left his footprints in many factories and people's communes and on docks and naval vessels on inspection tours. In the last few days, the 10 million people in Shanghai who cherish profound proletarian feelings for Premier Chou organized commemoration activities in various forms, including report meetings, forums, poetry recitations, wall newspapers and photo exhibitions in the grass-roots units, to sing the praises of Premier Chou's immortal contributions and honour his memory.

There were similar activities by the people of Nanking. Everyday more than 10,000 workers, peasants and soldiers and other sections of the people

visited the memorial hall at the site of the former office of the delegation of the Communist Party of China in Meiyuan Hsintsun (New Plum Orchard Village) where Premier Chou once worked.

A meeting was also held in Huaian County seat, Premier Chou's home county in Kiangsu Province.

In Kwangchow, people paid tribute to Premier Chou through diverse activities. Recalling Premier Chou's warm concern, workers at the factories and harbours he had inspected were firmer in their determination to do a good job in revolution and production. Great changes have taken place at the Whampoa Harbour thanks to the late Premier's instructions on several occasions. The workers there pledged to build the harbour still better, as Premier Chou had instructed.

People in Chungking's factories, offices, schools, army units and rural people's communes reminisced with deep feelings about Premier Chou by holding report meetings, forums and poetry recitations, giving performances, putting up wall newspapers and putting out pictorials. Each day saw tens of thousands of visitors paying homage to Premier Chou at the site of the former offices of the delegation of the Communist Party of China, now the Hungyen Revolutionary Memorial Hall and its branch at Tsengchiayen, where the late Premier had worked for a long time.

In Yen-an, the glorious revolutionary centre of old, an endless stream of people flowed to the Date Orchard and Yangchia-ling to visit Premier Chou's former residence. They pledged

to follow the brilliant example of Premier Chou and make a greater success of both revolution and production.

Wearing white paper flowers and black armbands, people in Nanchang, capital of Kiangsi Province, where Premier Chou led the Nanchang Uprising of August 1, 1927, laid wreaths before the portrait of Premier Chou in the Museum of Revolutionary History. The Memorial Hall of the Nanchang "August 1" Uprising had been shut down for a long time in the past under the orders of the "gang of four," but now thousands upon thousands of people have gone there to recall Premier Chou's meritorious service to the revolution.

In the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region, people of various nationalities took part in different commemoration activities. Meetings commemorating the late Premier were held by the cadres and masses in Khotan, Kashgar and Shih-hotzu, where Premier Chou had made inspections.

Workers and staff members and their families in the Tachai Oilfield also held solemn meetings. They went to the offices where Premier Chou worked and lived in during his inspection tours of the oilfield and recalled his warm concern for the oil workers and his conversations with them. In the Tachai Production Brigade, there were mourning activities everywhere. Some cadres and commune members held family meetings to recall the moving scenes of Premier Chou's several inspection tours of the brigade. Others recounted Premier Chou's love and support

for Tachai, while looking at the photographs taken of Premier Chou during his tours and the articles he had used while he was there. Wall newspapers in memory of Premier Chou and poems in praise of his magnificent contributions were put up along Tachai's streets.

In honouring the memory of Premier Chou's glorious life, the whole Party, the whole army and the people of all nationalities throughout the country pledge to learn from his great revolutionary spirit, persist in taking class struggle as the key link, adhere to the Party's basic line, conscientiously study works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and Chairman Mao's works and thoroughly expose and repudiate the counter-revolutionary crimes of the Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao "gang of four." Under the wise leadership of the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua, they are determined to carry through to the end the proletarian revolutionary cause in China pioneered by the great leader Chairman Mao, the esteemed and beloved Premier Chou and other revolutionaries of the older generation and strive to build China into a powerful modern socialist state.

15th Rich Harvest Year

China's grain output hit an all-time high in 1976, marking the 15th consecutive year of rich harvests. Sugar, hemp and jute, tobacco, tea and silk cocoon output all topped that of 1975. Fairly big progress was made in forestry, animal husbandry and fishery and sideline production.

Most of the 29 provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions surpassed or equalled the 1975 grain output. Following successive years of rich harvests, east China's Shantung and Anhwei Provinces reaped upwards of 10 per cent more grain than in 1975.

The "gang of four" hated the Tachai Production Brigade and did their utmost to sabotage the movement to learn from Tachai. The rural cadres and commune members waged a determined struggle against them with concrete actions. Soon after the First National Conference on Learning From Tachai in Agriculture was convoked in September and October 1975, cadres totalling 1.6 million, organized into work teams, went to the grass-roots units in the countryside in spite of sabotage by the gang. Together with the poor and lower-middle peasants, they criticized revisionism and capitalism and worked for socialism with all-out efforts. In a very short time, an upsurge in the mass movement to learn from Tachai in agriculture emerged. Of the nation's over 2,200 counties, the original 300 advanced counties in learning from Tachai made new progress, and another hundred or so counties joined their advanced ranks in 1976.

Last year's rich harvest was won after combating serious natural disasters. Displaying the revolutionary spirit that man will conquer nature, peasants in the afflicted areas went all-out to build water conservancy works and other capital construction projects to increase the area of farmland with high and stable yields irrespective of drought or excessive rainfall. This provided favourable condi-

tions for last year's rich harvest.

The recently concluded Second National Conference on Learning From Tachai in Agriculture held in Peking has further inspired the socialist initiative of the peasants in their hundreds of millions. Laying the foundation for a still better harvest this year, large-scale farmland capital construction is going on all over China during the winter slack season.

Petroleum and Coal-Mining Industries' Achievements

Good tidings have poured in from China's petroleum industry. The 1976 state plans for production of crude oil, gas and other major petrochemicals were all overfulfilled. Output of crude oil and gas outstripped 1975 by 13 and 11 per cent respectively. The 1976 state quota for profits received was also overfulfilled, with an upwards of 8 per cent increase over that of the previous year. There was great progress in petroleum exploration, and new promising oilfields were opened up where a number of wells with good yields have been drilled. Oil and gas pipeline construction swung swiftly ahead; some lines were already operating. In the field of petroleum science and technology, fresh results up to advanced world levels were achieved. New-type socialist mining areas that "combine industry with agriculture and town with countryside" are more flourishing than ever, and rich harvests of farm and sideline products were reaped there.

The petroleum industry, which all along has led the nation in industrial growth, is developing at high speed. But

the "gang of four" anti-Party clique hated this as a thorn in their side. They smeared that the achievements were a "product of boasting and deception." They instigated the workers "not to produce for the wrong line," in a futile effort to muddle things up in some enterprises and thus destroy the socialist revolution and construction. In their hundreds of thousands, the petroleum workers, however, did not give in, instead they went all out in building socialism and replied to the gang by making remarkable achievements in production.

Displaying the revolutionary spirit of "particularly good fighters," workers and staff members in China's coal-mining industry stood firm in rejecting the interference and sabotage by the "gang of four" and fought to the best of their ability against difficulties caused by the earthquake, thus triumphantly fulfilling the 1976 state plan. They not only made up for the losses in coal production resulting from the quake to the Kailan Coal Mine, the largest in China, but also increased output and overfulfilled the state quota. The 1976 state plans for extracting and tunnelling footage, capital construction, geological surveying and machine-building were all fulfilled.

Chinese Government Economic Delegation in Democratic Kampuchea

Khieu Samphan, President of the Presidium of the State of Democratic Kampuchea, and Nuon Chea, Chairman of the Permanent Committee of the People's Congress and Acting Prime Minister of the Govern-

ment of Democratic Kampuchea, met separately in Phnom Penh on January 1 with the Chinese Government Economic Delegation headed by Fang Yi, Minister of Economic Relations With Foreign Countries, and had extremely friendly talks with the delegation members.

Following the delegation's arrival in Phnom Penh on December 24, the Kampuchean Government gave a banquet that evening to welcome it. Among those attending were Ieng Sary, Von Vet and Son Sen, Kampuchean Deputy Prime Ministers respectively in charge of foreign affairs, economy and national defence.

Deputy Prime Minister Von Vet said in a banquet speech: "The 800 million Chinese people under the leadership of the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua unite as one, persist in the revolutionary line of their leader and teacher Chairman Mao Tsetung, take class struggle as the key link and adhere to proletarian internationalism. They have smashed the anti-Party and counter-revolutionary 'gang of four,' pushed forward socialist revolution and socialist construction and consolidated and developed the great successes of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. They are resolved to carry to complete victory the proletarian revolutionary cause pioneered by Chairman Mao Tsetung."

He pointed out: "The Kampuchean and Chinese people are brothers and comrades-in-arms, always helping and supporting each other, sharing weal and woe and cherishing common ideals. We are firmly convinced that the militant unity and

(Continued on p. 25.)

In Commemoration of the First Anniversary Of the Passing of Our Esteemed and Beloved Premier Chou En-lai

by the theoretical group of the General Office
of the State Council

IT is now one year since the passing of Premier Chou, who was a close comrade-in-arms of the great leader and teacher Chairman Mao and was loved and held in high esteem by the whole Party, the whole army and the people of all nationalities throughout the country. Since his death, Premier Chou's brilliant image has lived in the hearts of the people and his proletarian revolutionary spirit has been inspiring hundreds of millions of people in their march forward. Following his death, Chairman Chu Teh of the N.P.C. Standing Committee and Chairman Mao Tsetung also passed away. The whole nation was stricken with immense grief. The "gang of four," the Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao anti-Party clique, tried to seize this opportunity to usurp the supreme leadership of the Party and state, and we were faced with the very real danger of our Party turning revisionist and our country changing its political colour. Carrying out Chairman Mao's behests, the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua Kuo-feng smashed at one stroke the counter-revolutionary scheme of the "gang of four," thereby saving the revolution and our Party. In Chairman Hua Kuo-feng, our Party once again has its own wise leader and the cause of the proletarian revolution in China pioneered by Chairman Mao has a worthy successor. Today, as we commemorate the first anniversary of Premier Chou's death in this excellent situation in which victory is being celebrated, we are overwhelmed with emotion and filled with boundless respect for Premier Chou and we dearly cherish his memory.

Comrade Chou En-lai was a fine member of the Chinese Communist Party, a great proletarian revolutionary, an outstanding communist fighter and an eminent and long-tested Party and state leader of the Chinese people. Loyal to the Party and the people, he resolutely implemented Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and adhered to the basic principles "Practise Marxism, and not revisionism; unite, and don't split; be open and aboveboard, and don't intrigue and conspire." In carrying out and defending Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, he faced the enemy valiantly, shunned no difficulty and danger, and would not hesitate to lay down his life if need be. In carrying out and defending Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, he fought resolutely against opportunist and revisionist lines, took a firm and clear-cut stand and never gave in. In carrying out and defending Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, he was selfless, open and aboveboard, took the interests of the whole into account and staunchly safeguarded the Party's unity and unification. Under Chairman Mao's leadership, he fought heroically, worked with devotion and selflessly dedicated his entire life to the victory of the Chinese people's cause of liberation and communism. His contributions are indelible and his meritorious deeds immortal. He won the heartfelt love and support of the Chinese people and the respect of the people of the world. The esteemed and beloved Premier Chou is a brilliant example for the whole Party, the

whole army and the people of all nationalities in our country to follow.

Sincere Love and Respect for the Great Leader Chairman Mao

Our esteemed and beloved Premier Chou had extremely profound proletarian feelings for the great leader Chairman Mao. From his revolutionary struggle, he became deeply aware that Chairman Mao was the great leader of the Chinese people and Mao Tsetung Thought the only correct thought to guide the Chinese revolution to victory. When the Chinese revolution was in danger of dying in its infancy in January 1935, Comrade Chou En-lai resolutely backed Chairman Mao at the historic enlarged meeting of the Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee held in Tsunyi, Kweichow Province, and supported him to be the leader of our Party. In 1943 when the rectification movement was being unfolded in depth in the whole Party, Comrade Chou En-lai, in the light of the experience of the two-line struggle inside the Party, explicitly told the whole Party: "Comrade Mao Tsetung's orientation is the very orientation of the Chinese Communist Party! Comrade Mao Tsetung's line is the very line of the Chinese Bolsheviks!" In July 1949, on the eve of the founding of New China, Comrade Chou En-lai once more incisively pointed out: "We must thank Chairman Mao who has correctly applied the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism to the practice of the Chinese revolution, thus forming a tremendous force to defeat the powerful enemies of the Chinese revolution. We call on everyone to learn from Comrade Mao Tsetung in integrating revolutionary theory with revolutionary practice." Premier Chou ardently loved Chairman Mao all his life, assiduously studied works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and Chairman Mao's works, firmly safeguarded Chairman Mao's leadership, defended his revolutionary line, encouraged the people throughout the country to study his works and propagated Mao Tsetung Thought. Premier Chou often joined the cadres and masses in studying Chairman Mao's instructions and in singing the songs *The East Is Red* and *Sailing the Seas Depends on the Helmsman* with himself conducting. Even when he was seriously ill, he asked an attendant to read to

him again and again Chairman Mao's latest directives and his two poems published on New Year's Day 1976. (The two poems are *Reascending Ching Kangshan* and *Two Birds: A Dialogue*. Both have been published in *Mao Tsetung Poems*. — Tr.) He set great store by these two poems and kept them beside his pillow, and they were still there at the time of his death.

So that Chairman Mao could devote more of his time and energy to considering major domestic and international affairs, summing up the experience of the Chinese revolution and the international communist movement and enriching and developing the great theory of Marxism-Leninism, Premier Chou voluntarily took on the heavy burden of handling the day-to-day work in leading the Party, the government and the army and did his best to lighten Chairman Mao's burden. On many occasions he told comrades who asked him to pay attention to getting proper rest: "Chairman Mao is our leader who must ponder major domestic and international matters. I must do more of the actual work." Chairman Mao knew that Premier Chou always slept very little, so every time he wanted to see him he told his aide: "If the Premier has gone to bed, don't wake him up. But Premier Chou had a strict order for his staff: "Wake me up any time the Chairman wants me!" Once in 1971, the Premier who was already 73 stayed at the Great Hall of the People and worked three days and nights at a stretch. A responsible comrade told him: "The Chairman wants you to take good care of your health." Premier Chou replied: "We must take greater care of the Chairman's health."

Premier Chou always regarded Chairman Mao's health and safety as the guarantee for the victory of our Party's revolutionary cause. In August 1945, Chairman Mao went to Chungking for negotiations with the Kuomintang and stayed in the Eighth Route Army Office there. While seeing to it that there were tight security measures, Premier Chou himself moved into the room opposite the one occupied by Chairman Mao. At a banquet where many people proposed toasts to Chairman Mao, Premier Chou drank the toasts on Chairman Mao's behalf for fear that Kuomintang agents might have poisoned the drinks. Although the Premier had become seriously ill in 1972, he continued to show great

concern for Chairman Mao's health; he studied Chairman Mao's case together with the doctors and worked out plans for treating the Chairman. When the Chairman was being treated, the Premier, ill himself, stood by and attended to his needs.

For decades, Premier Chou showed his loyalty to Chairman Mao at all times and in all that he said and did, filled with the most profound proletarian sentiments for the Chairman. Similarly, the great leader Chairman Mao was very considerate of Premier Chou, demonstrating the profound revolutionary friendship between them. When Premier Chou was on recuperation leave in 1963, Chairman Mao personally wrote his poem *Reply to Comrade Kuo Mo-jo — (to the tune of "Man Chiang Hung")* and sent it to the Premier as a token of his best wishes. After Premier Chou became ill in 1972, Chairman Mao always showed great concern about this, often inquired after the Premier's health and on many occasions gave directions that attention be paid to medical treatment and nursing, diet and rest and that the Premier should not overwork. Before the convocation of the Fourth National People's Congress in 1975, in view of Premier Chou's illness, Chairman Mao gave special instructions that the shortest possible report on the work of the government be prepared so that Premier Chou could deliver it without a break. The great friendship between Chairman Mao and Premier Chou forged in the prolonged revolutionary struggle was very moving. Premier Chou was Chairman Mao's long-tested close comrade-in-arms.

Firm and Valiant in Fighting the Enemy

Over the decades of revolutionary struggle, no matter how cruel the reign of white terror, how fierce the armed struggle and how acute the face-to-face negotiations with the enemy, our respected and beloved Premier Chou always disregarded personal danger and was resourceful and brave, firm and steadfast and had full confidence in victory.

The road of the Chinese revolution has been tortuous. When the revolution encountered difficulties, suffered temporary setbacks or was at a critical juncture, Premier Chou was always full of confidence; he never flinched but fought

doggedly on. The year 1927 saw the betrayal of the revolution by Chiang Kai-shek who massacred Communists and workers and peasants in cold blood and plunged the whole country into a reign of white terror. To save the revolution, Premier Chou and some other comrades, with tremendous revolutionary fervour, led the famous Nanchang Uprising of August 1, 1927, firing the first shot against the Kuomintang reactionaries. By taking this revolutionary move of going over to armed struggle, they repudiated the Right capitulationist line of Chen Tu-hsiu who then controlled the Party Central Committee. The move was also a tremendous contribution to the subsequent founding of the great people's army. After the Tsunyi Meeting, Premier Chou assisted Chairman Mao in organizing and directing the Red Army to break the encirclement, pursuit, obstruction and interception by hundreds of thousands of Chiang Kai-shek's troops and surmount numerous difficulties and dangers to bring the 25,000-li Long March to a triumphant conclusion.

Prior to the founding of New China, Premier Chou on many occasions was sent by Chairman Mao and the Central Committee to go deep into areas under Kuomintang rule and fight the enemy in face-to-face negotiations. He never evaded difficulty and danger or feared brute force, but bravely and resourcefully triumphed over the enemy and carried out his mission most successfully. Under the impact of our Party's policy for a national united front against Japanese aggression, the Sian Incident* took place in December 1936. The situation in Sian at that time was very complicated and going there involved great risks. As our Party's plenipotentiary, Comrade Chou En-lai boldly went to Sian and, resolutely implementing the policy laid

*In 1936, the Kuomintang's Northeast Army under Chang Hsueh-liang and the Northwest Army under Yang Hu-cheng, both stationed in Sian, accepted the Chinese Communist Party's stand to form a national united front against Japanese aggression. They demanded that Chiang Kai-shek stop the civil war and resist Japanese aggression in an alliance with the Communist Party. Chiang turned down their requests. On December 12, Chang and Yang placed Chiang Kai-shek under arrest. After he was forced to accept the terms for resisting Japanese aggression in an alliance with the Communist Party, Chiang Kai-shek was released and allowed to return to Nanking.

down by Chairman Mao, he succeeded in forcing Chiang Kai-shek to stop the civil war and bringing about the peaceful settlement of the Sián Incident. He thus helped promote the formation and development of a national united front against Japanese aggression and made contributions of historic significance to the revolution at the crucial moment of life and death for the Chinese nation. Later, Comrade Chou En-lai, as the representative of the Party Central Committee and Secretary of its South China Bureau, was for a long time stationed in Chungking, seat of the Kuomintang government. There he resolutely carried out Chairman Mao's policy of "persisting in resistance and opposing capitulation," "persisting in unity and opposing a split" and "persisting in progress and opposing retrogression" (see *Interview With Three Correspondents From the Central News Agency, the "Sao Tang Pao" and the "Hsin Min Pao"*). He upheld the principle of acting independently and combining alliance with struggle in the united front. Notwithstanding round-the-clock surveillance by Kuomintang military and police and with secret agents tailing him everywhere, he conducted himself in the enemy's lair with complete self-assurance. He carried out exceedingly bitter struggles to expand our Party's strength and promote the united front work, develop the progressive forces, win over the middle forces and combat the die-hard forces. In open perfidy in January 1941, Chiang Kai-shek suddenly surrounded and attacked the 9,000-odd troops of the New Fourth Army which was moving on orders from southern Anhwei Province to the northern bank of the Yangtze River. After a heroic fight lasting seven days and nights, all the officers and men of the New Fourth Army, except for some 1,000 who succeeded in breaking through, laid down their lives. Commander Yeh Ting of the New Fourth Army was wounded and captured. It was thus that Chiang Kai-shek created the Southern Anhwei Incident which shocked the whole country and the world and launched another anti-Communist onslaught. Breaking through the Kuomintang reactionaries' blockade and obstructions, Premier Chou had two inscriptions he wrote on the occasion published in the *New China Daily* and, at the head of his comrades, took to the streets to distribute the paper. He thus exposed the Kuomintang reactionaries' in-

trigue of passively resisting Japanese aggression while actively making an onslaught against the Communists. One of the inscriptions Premier Chou wrote was: "Mourning over those who died south of the Yangtze in a national crisis." The other inscription contained 16 characters which read in effect:

South of the Yangtze a man named Yeh
Suffered a wrong as great as history has
ever known.

Why are they so harsh

As to take up the hatchet against fellow-
countrymen!?

With U.S. imperialist backing, Chiang Kai-shek in 1946 threw several million troops into a large-scale offensive against the Liberated Areas and started all-out civil war. In this decisive battle concerning which of the two different destinies and two different futures for China would win out, our respected and beloved Premier Chou who closely followed the great leader Chairman Mao, daring to fight and to win, used his outstanding military talents in helping Chairman Mao lead and direct the nationwide People's War of Liberation and seizing the great victory of the new-democratic revolution.

Combating and Preventing Revisionism, Continuing the Revolution

With the deepening of the socialist revolution since the founding of New China in 1949, the bourgeoisie inside and outside the Party mounted one attack after another against our Party. In 1954, the Kao Kang-Jao Shu-shih anti-Party alliance stepped forth and tried to usurp Party and state power. In 1957, the bourgeois Rightists launched a wild attack against our Party and socialism. At the Eighth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Communist Party of China in Lushan in 1959, Peng Teh-huai lashed out at the general line, the big leap forward and the people's communes in a bid to seize power. Taking advantage of the three years (1959-61) of temporary economic difficulties, Liu Shao-chi did all he could to bring about a capitalist restoration. During the socialist education movement in 1964, Liu Shao-chi pushed a reactionary bourgeois line which was "Left" in form but Right in essence. In the face of successive offensives by the bourgeoisie

inside and outside the Party, our esteemed and beloved Premier Chou, acting staunchly under the leadership of the great leader Chairman Mao, firmly defended Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, combated and prevented revisionism and persevered in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. In 1957, Premier Chou delivered a report on the work of the government at the Fourth Session of the First National People's Congress. Citing facts on the great achievements in China's socialist revolution and construction, he refuted the reactionary fallacies of the bourgeois Rightists and, in the manner of a proletarian fighter, went into action against the bourgeoisie. At the working conference on the "four clean-ups" movement (cleaning things up in the fields of politics, economy, ideology and organization, that is, the socialist education movement — *Tr.*) in December 1964, Liu Shao-chi peddled his "experience of Taoyuan"* and painted a bleak picture of the socialist new countryside. At that time, Premier Chou made a report on the work of the government at the First Session of the Third National People's Congress in the Great Hall of the People. Dealing specifically with Liu Shao-chi's revisionist trash, the Premier spoke at length on the Party's basic line and the prevailing excellent situation. The two meetings and the two lines were diametrically opposed and in sharp contrast to each other.

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution initiated and led by Chairman Mao himself is a great experience in applying the theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Our esteemed and beloved Premier Chou, who was all along in charge of the day-to-day work of the Party Central Committee, faithfully implemented Chairman Mao's strategic plan and every one of his important instructions; he adhered to the basic principles of "three do's and three don'ts," and waged one resolute struggle after another against the counter-revolutionary activities of Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and the Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao anti-Party clique in practising revisionism, creating splits and engaging in intrigues and conspiracies and sabotaging the Great Cultural Revolution.

In the early period of the Great Cultural Revolution, Liu Shao-chi pushed a reactionary

bourgeois line, turned facts upside down, confused right and wrong and savagely suppressed the revolutionary masses. Closely following Chairman Mao's strategic plan, Premier Chou gave clear-cut support to the Red Guard movement. He personally rehabilitated those Red Guards and other revolutionary people who had been labelled counter-revolutionaries as a result of persecution by Liu Shao-chi's reactionary line; he went to the grass-roots units to read big-character posters and braved the rain to participate in mass meetings. Chairman Mao reviewed Red Guard contingents from all over the country on eight occasions; each time Premier Chou gave personal guidance to the organizational and reception work and made a series of important speeches propagating the enormous significance of the Great Cultural Revolution, calling on the young revolutionary fighters and the masses to keep firmly to the general orientation of struggle, spearhead their attack on Liu Shao-chi's bourgeois headquarters and thoroughly repudiate his counter-revolutionary revisionist line.

At the Second Plenary Session of the Ninth Central Committee of the Party in 1970, the Lin Piao anti-Party clique unleashed a surprise attack on the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao in a vain effort to seize Party and state power. Under Chairman Mao's leadership, Premier Chou waged a resolute struggle against Lin Piao and company. Lin Piao plotted a counter-revolutionary armed coup d'etat in 1971 but it failed, so he hastily fled on September 13, betraying the motherland and surrendering to the enemy. Acting upon Chairman Mao's instructions, Premier Chou, with the mettle and wisdom of a proletarian revolutionary, promptly and resolutely handled the "September 13" incident, and thus defended Chairman Mao, and the Party Central Committee

*During the socialist education movement in 1963, Liu Shao-chi sent a work team with his wife as its leader to Taoyuan Production Brigade in Funing County, Hopei Province. Pretending to carry out the movement, she and other members of the work team attacked the cadres and poor and lower-middle peasants who persisted in taking the socialist road and shielded the bad elements in an attempt to bring about a capitalist restoration there. Liu Shao-chi and company described all this as the "experience of Taoyuan" and lauded it to the skies.

headed by Chairman Mao and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

After the Tenth National Party Congress in August 1973, the "gang of four" stepped up its scheming activities to split the Party, frenziedly opposed Chairman Mao and tried in vain to usurp supreme Party and state leadership, change the Party's basic line, subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat and restore capitalism. Regarding Premier Chou who faithfully implemented and defended Chairman Mao's revolutionary line as the biggest obstacle to the realization of its sinister scheme, the "gang of four" tried by hook or by crook to attack and persecute the Premier, the aim being to overthrow him and a large number of leading Party, government and army comrades at the central and local levels. Premier Chou adhered to principle and waged a sharp struggle against the gang. Acting behind the backs of Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee, this gang went its own way in the movement to criticize **Lin Piao and Confucius, intrigued and conspired and directed the spearhead of its attack against the Premier.** In October 1974, the "gang of four" secretly sent Wang Hung-wen to see Chairman Mao, framing charges against Premier Chou and trying to make use of the Second Plenary Session of the Tenth Central Committee of the Party and the Fourth National People's Congress to form their own "cabinet." This was promptly denounced by Chairman Mao and so the "gang of four's" pipe dream to usurp Party and state power came to naught.

During the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, both the Lin Piao anti-Party clique and the Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao anti-Party clique worked with might and main to "overthrow all," and provoke "all-out civil war." They frantically persecuted revolutionary cadres, incited the masses to fight each other, stirred up struggles by force or coercion, opposed the Party and created confusion in the army, undermined the revolution and disrupted production. Premier Chou firmly implemented Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, believed the overwhelming majority of cadres to be good or comparatively good, persevered in **"helping more people by educating them and narrowing the target of attack"** and put into practice the policy of

"learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones and curing the sickness to save the patient" with regard to cadres who had committed mistakes. (Mao Tsetung: *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People.*) He often urged cadres at various levels to study Chairman Mao's works conscientiously and raise their consciousness of the two-line struggle. With regard to leading cadres who had made mistakes, he patiently helped them realize their mistakes and encouraged them to continue the revolution. As for good cadres who were attacked and persecuted by Lin Piao and the "gang of four," he took various measures to protect them. He repeatedly taught the leading cadres to adopt a correct attitude towards the Great Cultural Revolution, the masses and themselves. He showed solicitous concern for the young cadres, patiently educated them and encouraged them to brave storms and face the world. With a view to bringing about a big alliance of mass organizations which were divided into two factions and establishing three-in-one revolutionary committees composed of the old, the middle-aged and the young, Premier Chou day in and day out received representatives of mass organizations from different regions and departments, earnestly educated and persuaded them to eliminate bourgeois factionalism, stop "civil war," and unite in a common struggle against the enemy. Premier Chou received representatives of many mass organizations not only once but in some cases as many as 20 or 30 times, often talking with them from dusk till dawn the next day. Owing to sleepless nights and working overtime, our good Premier's eyes became bloodshot, he lost weight and his hair turned grey; he had taken great pains to ensure that the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution initiated and led by Chairman Mao bear solid fruits.

Premier Chou faithfully carried out the series of instructions by Chairman Mao on deepening the socialist revolution in the superstructure and enthusiastically supported the socialist new things. To ensure that there are successors to the proletarian revolutionary cause pioneered by the revolutionaries of the older generation, he attached great importance to choosing and training young cadres, firmly applied the principle of combining the old, the middle-aged and the young in leading bodies,

and showed earnest concern and support for the newborn forces that had come to the fore in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. Premier Chou gave much thought to the revolution in education. In 1961 when the Communist Labour Academy in Kiangsi met setbacks under Liu Shao-chi's revisionist line, Premier Chou told the academy's leading cadres and representatives of students: "Running a new-type school will not be plain sailing because it means a great revolution in the history of education. It is not at all surprising when there is struggle, rather it is inconceivable if there is no struggle or if everything goes very smoothly." He urged them to unswervingly carry out Chairman Mao's instructions and run the school well. During the Great Cultural Revolution, Premier Chou stressed again and again the importance of the educational revolution, pointing out: "The transformation of education is an important link in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. Training and educating the younger generation is a matter of far-reaching importance which must not be neglected." Premier Chou paid great attention to the revolution in literature and art. He frequently urged the literary and art workers to conscientiously study Chairman Mao's *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art*, adhere to the orientation of serving the workers, peasants and soldiers and implement the policy of "letting a hundred flowers blossom; weeding through the old to bring forth the new." In 1965, he warmly received members of the Ulanmuchi mobile art troupe of the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region who were on a performance tour and encouraged them, saying: "You've travelled all over the country and lighted the fire for a literature and art imbued with Mao Tsetung Thought. After the tour, you should go back to the pasturelands to serve the workers, peasants and soldiers there." He gave personal guidance to the creation and rehearsal of the music and dance epic, *The East Is Red*. He watched, gave instructions and even personally revised many modern revolutionary theatrical works and films. Premier Chou also attached great importance to the revolution in medical and health work. To implement the series of Chairman Mao's instructions in this field, particularly the June 26, 1965 directive on putting the stress of medical and health work on the rural areas, the Premier time and again

instructed the health departments to "orientate their work towards the countryside and the masses," "successfully solve the question of preventing and curing disease among the 700 million peasants," make a success of the co-operative medical service, properly combine traditional Chinese with Western medicine and create a unified new medicine and pharmacology in China. He enthusiastically encouraged urban medical workers to go to the countryside, instructed health departments to send medical teams to the remote border regions and to areas inhabited by the minority nationalities, and he personally received medical teams to be sent to Tibet, Yunnan, Kansu and other places. He devoted great care to the growth of the barefoot doctors. On one occasion when he received representatives of barefoot doctors, he had a heart-warming talk with them for eight hours running, encouraging them to exert themselves to serve the people. Premier Chou paid great attention to the revolution on the scientific and technical front. Under his loving care, a perspective plan for developing China's science and technology was mapped out in 1956, which played a tremendous role in changing the backwardness of China's science and technology and enabling the work in this field to meet the needs of national economic development. He repeatedly stressed the need to combine scientific research with production and application, develop the applied sciences and at the same time pay attention to basic theory, for only in this way could China catch up with and surpass advanced world levels. Under Premier Chou's personal guidance, China's most up-to-date techniques which grew practically out of nothing and expanded from small to big, have developed at high speed by maintaining independence and relying on our own efforts. As regards physical culture work, Premier Chou issued instructions that we must persist in putting proletarian politics in command, adhere to the principle of combining physical culture with productive labour, national defence construction and health work and that we must pay attention to promoting mass sports activities, strengthening the ideological remoulding of physical culture and sports contingents, oppose the purely technical viewpoint and championitis and reject the bourgeois attitude in sports. The slogan "Friendship first, competition second"

that he put forward in accordance with Mao Tsetung Thought has not only become the guideline for sports competition in China but has exerted great influence abroad; it has played a positive role in enhancing friendship between the people and athletes of different countries. Premier Chou always attached importance to uniting with, educating and remoulding the intellectuals. He often educated and encouraged them to take the road of integrating themselves with the workers and peasants and, under the Party's leadership, consciously serve socialism. At a conference on the question of intellectuals convened by the Party Central Committee in 1956, Premier Chou made an important report which played a significant role in promoting the ideological remoulding of intellectuals and mobilizing their enthusiasm for socialism. Premier Chou regarded educated youths going to settle in the countryside as a strategic measure for training worthy successors to the proletarian revolutionary cause, building socialist new villages and narrowing the three major differences between worker and peasant, between town and country and between mental and manual labour **and he gave meticulous care to the young people. He personally called various discussion meetings among educated youths, listened to their opinions, helped solve their difficulties and showed great concern for their development.**

Working Day and Night for Building A Powerful Socialist Country

To transform China's backwardness of being both "poor and blank" and build China into a powerful socialist country after the founding of New China, our esteemed and beloved Premier Chou devoted his energy to handling much work day and night.

Our great leader Chairman Mao formulated a Marxist-Leninist line and a set of principles and policies for socialist construction in China. To put Chairman Mao's line, policies and principles into practice, Premier Chou did meticulous organizational work. Since the founding of New China, all the five-year plans for the development of the national economy were mapped and carried out under Premier Chou's personal guidance and organization. He carefully studied and examined item by item the fundamental task of every plan, the speed of development in

production, the scale of capital construction and the key projects. In the First Five-Year Plan, the Party's general line in the transition period* was implemented, the three major transformations were completed in the main and a number of key projects of great importance to the national economy were built, thereby laying the initial foundation for the socialist industrialization of our country. The Second Five-Year Plan was fulfilled well ahead of schedule thanks to the implementation of the ideas expounded by Chairman Mao in his *On the Ten Major Relationships* (see *Peking Review* issue No. 1, 1977) and the joint efforts of the people of the whole country. During the three years of temporary economic difficulties, Premier Chou worked out under the leadership of Chairman Mao the policy of readjustment, consolidating, filling out and raising standards, and organized the people across the country to overcome the difficulties brought on by the Soviet revisionists' disruptive activities and the interference of Liu Shao-chi's revisionist line as well as by natural disasters, thereby speedily restoring and developing industrial and agricultural production. In the period of the Third and Fourth Five-Year Plans, priority was given to building industries in the interior while continuing to develop those along the coast. This ensured that industry was distributed more towards the interior, which was favourable to preparedness against war and a balanced development of the national economy. In the past 20 years and more, the general line of **going all out, aiming high and achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results in building socialism** and the general policy of **taking agriculture as the foundation and industry as the leading factor** for the development of the national economy, the strategic idea to **be prepared against war, be prepared against natural disasters, and do everything for the people** — all worked out by Chairman Mao — were put into practice step by step under Premier Chou's direct sponsorship and leadership in state planning and in actual work.

* This refers to the general line set down by Chairman Mao in 1953 for the transition period — gradual realization of socialist industrialization in the country and gradual realization of the socialist transformation of agriculture, handicrafts and capitalist industry and commerce over a fairly long period of time.

In socialist construction, Premier Chou consistently took class struggle as the key link and carried out in an all-round way Chairman Mao's policy of "grasping revolution, promoting production." He actively pushed forward the socialist revolution in both the superstructure and the economic base, using revolution to motivate and promote production and carrying out construction in the course of revolution. He opposed the erroneous tendency of not grasping class struggle and revolution and of not persisting in taking the socialist road. In 1958 and 1970, he twice handled the issue of vesting units at the lower levels with greater power to run and build certain enterprises and the reform of the system of economic management, and he paid attention to bringing into play the initiative of both the central authorities and the various localities. In the meantime, the Premier adopted energetic measures to promote the development of industrial and agricultural production and solved in earnest important problems cropping up in actual work. The Lin Piao anti-Party clique and the "gang of four" practised metaphysics in a big way and spread all kinds of anti-Marxist fallacies with regard to the relationships between politics and vocational work and between revolution and production. On several occasions, Premier Chou forcefully refuted these fallacies and kept to the dialectical materialist viewpoint of the unity of opposites in political and vocational work and in revolution and production.

In line with Chairman Mao's directive of **maintaining independence and keeping the initiative in our own hands and relying on our own efforts**, Premier Chou consistently stressed the need to launch mass movements in a big way and take our own road in developing industry, agriculture, science and technology. The two red banners of Taching and Tachai personally put up by Chairman Mao represent the orientation for the development of China's socialist industry and agriculture. The Premier warmly supported and defended these two red banners and propelled forward the national mass movements of learning from Taching in industry and learning from Tachai in agriculture. On three occasions, Premier Chou inspected the Taching Oilfield and highly appraised the Taching oil workers for putting into effect the **Charter of the Anshan Iron and Steel Company***

in an all-round way and for carrying out the general line of building socialism with greater, faster, better and more economical results. He said Taching was an example in studying and applying Mao Tsetung Thought and in learning from the Liberation Army. In summing up Taching's experience, Premier Chou affirmed Taching's orientation that the "integration of worker and peasant and of town and country is beneficial to production and facilitates the workers' everyday life." The Premier also affirmed its form of organization which integrates government administration with enterprise management. He said that these were of great significance to the narrowing and step by step elimination of the three major differences between worker and peasant, between town and country, and between mental and manual labour. During the Great Cultural Revolution, the "gang of four" tried time and again to pull down the red banner of Taching, but Premier Chou encouraged the oil workers to keep on taking Chairman Mao's philosophical works *On Contradiction* and *On Practice* as their guiding thought in running the enterprise and to hold aloft the red banner for ever.

Premier Chou went to the Tachai Production Brigade on three occasions and personally summed up its basic experiences which were: "Adhering to the principle of putting proletarian politics in command and placing Mao Tsetung Thought in the lead, upholding the spirit of self-reliance and hard struggle, and displaying the communist style of loving the country and the collective." Liu Shao-chi vainly tried to pull down the red banner of Tachai in 1964. The Premier personally dispatched a work team to Tachai to support it. During the Great Cultural Revolution, the Lin Piao anti-Party clique and the "gang of four" incited some people to plot to overthrow the good leadership of Tachai's poor and lower-middle peasants and forbade the Tachai people to continue

* The fundamental principles of the Charter of the Anshan Iron and Steel Company are: keep politics firmly in command; strengthen Party leadership; launch vigorous mass movements; institute the system of cadre participation in productive labour and worker participation in management, reform of irrational and outdated rules and regulations, and close co-operation among workers, cadres and technicians; and go full steam ahead with technical innovations and the technical revolution.

making revolution. In great earnest Premier Chou told the leading comrades in the Party branch of the Tachai Production Brigade: "They attack you precisely because you are making revolution. You should unite the masses to struggle against them!" His words were a great encouragement to Tachai's poor and lower-middle peasants.

Premier Chou firmly implemented Chairman Mao's policy towards the nationalities. He was very much concerned about the training of the communist cadres of national minority origin and the development of the economic and cultural undertakings in the minority nationality areas, and he issued many instructions in this respect. He constantly educated the cadres of Han nationality to resolutely guard against and overcome great-Han chauvinism.

He firmly implemented Chairman Mao's policy on the united front. He did a great deal of work to further develop the revolutionary united front which is led by the working class and based on the worker-peasant alliance and includes patriotic democratic parties and groups, patriotic personages, patriotic overseas Chinese and compatriots in Hongkong and Macao, so as to unite all the forces that can be united to build socialism. He often explained our Party's policy and the situation at home and abroad to the patriotic democratic parties and groups and patriotic personnel of various circles, and consulted with them on the major issues in China's political life. With great patience, he helped them remould their ideology, guided them to accept Communist Party leadership, take the socialist road and make contributions to building a powerful socialist motherland.

Under the leadership of Chairman Mao, Premier Chou worked indefatigably day and night for building up our country. Our esteemed and beloved Premier Chou's footprints could be found in factories and villages and at many important construction sites from the foot of the Tianshan Mountains in Sinkiang to the eastern seaboard and from northeast China's Sungliao Plain to the banks of the Pearl River in Kwangtung. The harnessing of every big river, the building of every important railway, the construction of every major project, the successful conducting of atomic and hydrogen bombs tests, and the launching of man-made earth satellites

are all inseparably linked with our Premier's painstaking efforts. For more than the last 20 years, particularly since the start of the Great Cultural Revolution, thanks to the arduous struggle of the entire nation, China has rid itself of the backwardness of being "poor and blank" and has acquired an initial prosperity. Although he was gravely ill, Premier Chou delivered a report on the work of the government at the Fourth National People's Congress in early 1975. In accordance with Chairman Mao's instructions, he proposed to the people of the whole country: **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 advance to the front ranks of the world, and China will be built into a modern powerful socialist country. We must work hard to achieve this lofty goal which is the common aspiration of China's hundreds of millions of people.**

Supporting World Revolution, Opposing Hegemonic Powers

In international affairs, following Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and policies in foreign affairs, Premier Chou always upheld proletarian internationalism and worked to strengthen our unity with the proletariat, the oppressed people and oppressed nations the world over and our unity with all nations subjected to imperialist aggression, subversion, interference, control and bullying so as to form the broadest united front to combat imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism and, in particular, hegemonism by the two superpowers — the Soviet Union and the United States. Premier Chou resolutely struggled against Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and the anti-Party "gang of four" who tried their utmost to poke their noses into China's foreign affairs and interfere with and sabotage Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in foreign affairs. Basing himself on Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, Premier Chou took part in formulating China's major foreign policy decisions and carried them out, put forward a whole series of concrete principles and policies for the foreign service, and creatively implemented Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in foreign affairs. He trained a contingent of proletarian

diplomatic personnel and initiated and fostered a style of diplomacy for New China.

In diplomatic work, Premier Chou always kept the people in mind and placed his hopes on them in accordance with Chairman Mao's instructions. He received and met many groups of foreign guests, from state leaders to non-governmental personalities, and presided over many diplomatic negotiations. He visited many countries in Asia, Africa and Europe and attended a number of important international conferences. The famous Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence which he initiated on behalf of China were a brilliant victory at the Bandung Conference and have since provided a fine guiding principle for friendship and cooperation between countries. The eight principles of foreign aid from China which he proclaimed during his tour of African countries are widely welcomed and acclaimed by the third world countries. Thanks to his attention and guidance, China has expanded trade relations with countries the world over according to the principle of equality and mutual benefit, and it has, to the best of its ability, provided aid to fraternal socialist countries and some developing countries. Acting on Chairman Mao's teaching **Never seek hegemony**, Premier Chou at all times stood for the equality of all countries, big and small, and taught diplomatic personnel and other cadres and the masses to learn modestly the strong points of the people of other countries and in international contacts to rid themselves of great-power chauvinism resolutely, thoroughly, wholly and completely.

In international activities, in accordance with Chairman Mao's instructions, Premier Chou firmly opposed the policies of war and aggression of the two hegemonic powers, the Soviet Union and the United States, and always supported and assisted the anti-imperialist, anti-hegemonist struggles of countries and nations subjected to aggression and oppression by the two hegemonic powers. He worked ceaselessly and untiringly to ensure all-round support and assistance for the people of Korea, Viet Nam, Kampuchea and Laos in their struggles against U.S. invaders and for national salvation when they were assailed by U.S. imperialist armed aggression. On behalf of the Chinese Government and people, Premier Chou

gave timely and powerful support and help to the struggle of the people of Albania when Soviet social-imperialism was bearing down on their country by blockading and vilifying it, to the struggle of the people of Czechoslovakia when that country was invaded and occupied by Soviet social-imperialism, to the struggle of the Palestinian people and the people of the Middle East when the two hegemonic powers tried to sabotage the Palestinian national-liberation movement and intensified their contention for control of the Middle East, and to the struggle of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America when imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism were suppressing their movements for state independence and national liberation.

In the international communist movement, Premier Chou was a great proletarian internationalist and a staunch fighter against revisionism. He united with and supported Marxist parties and organizations throughout the world in accordance with Chairman Mao's instructions and waged tit-for-tat struggles against the Khrushchov-Brezhnev renegade clique, thus promoting the development of the international communist movement. At the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in 1961, Premier Chou sternly exposed and criticized the sinister action of the Khrushchov renegade clique in openly attacking a fraternal Party and splitting the international communist movement. This greatly raised the morale of the international proletariat and deflated the arrogance of modern revisionism. With great resolve, Premier Chou left for home before the congress ended and was greeted by the great leader Chairman Mao when he landed at Peking Airport.

Always Maintaining and Developing The Party's Fine Style

Nurtured by Chairman Mao, our Party has in the protracted revolutionary struggle developed a fine style of work which entails integrating theory with practice, forging close links with the masses and practising criticism and self-criticism. This style of work found full and comprehensive embodiment in Premier Chou. He always regarded maintaining and developing the Party's fine style as a guarantee

for implementing Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and safeguarding the Party's proletarian nature.

Premier Chou consistently upheld integrating theory with practice. Proceeding from the needs of revolutionary struggle, for decades he assiduously studied works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and Chairman Mao's works, and used the Marxist stand, viewpoint and method to correctly analyse and solve various practical problems. In handling problems, he adhered to the Party's line and policies, strictly abided by materialism, paid attention to investigation and study and presided over fact-finding meetings and forums. Especially in resolving important and complex problems, he came to a decision only after understanding the whole situation as far as possible, listening to different opinions and making numerous analyses and comparisons. He often took the opportunity of receiving cadres and the masses from various localities to acquire knowledge of the real situation and to learn from the masses and from comrades working in various fields. He was good at concentrating the wisdom of the cadres and the masses, summing up practical experience, proposing concrete principles and policies for various kinds of work, and giving guidance to work in all fields and enabling it to advance along Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. By assiduously studying revolutionary theory and taking part in the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment in the course of protracted revolutionary struggle, Premier Chou acquired a profound knowledge and accumulated rich experience and was quick in grasping the essence of matters and solving all kinds of complex problems in a masterly way.

Premier Chou showed a boundless sense of responsibility in his work. Over the decades, he always worked hard and in a careful and thoroughgoing way, often to the neglect of his meals or sleep, and it was quite common that he stayed up till dawn. When he grew tired or sleepy, he got up and took a walk, wiped his face with a damp towel to refresh himself or applied some peppermint ointment. A neglected meal was often replaced by a snack in the car.

To comrades asking him to take a rest, he said: "I'm getting old, so I should do more work!" He turned his holidays into his busiest days. During his illness, he still persevered in working, reading documents and giving his instructions, handling all manner of problems, and he often received foreign guests and had long talks with them. Even just before his death, he still asked others to tell him about major internal and external affairs. He remarked: "I can still listen. My mind still can work." It was in this way that Premier Chou fought to his last breath for the Party and the revolution.

Premier Chou maintained close ties with the masses and always paid attention to their study, work and daily life. Wherever a big disaster occurred and the people there were confronted by difficulties, our Premier Chou would bring the solicitude of Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee to them in time. When a strong earthquake struck the Hsingtai Prefecture in Hopei Province in 1966, Premier Chou, regardless of the danger of aftershocks, went there the next day to express his sympathies and concern and lead the local people in carrying out anti-quake and relief work. He promptly summed up Hsingtai's experience and instructed the departments concerned to immediately set up seismological centres for forecasting and forewarning possible earthquakes. He put forward the following principle: "Under the unified leadership of the Party, put the emphasis on precautionary measures. Do a good job in forecasting and taking precautionary measures by combining the efforts of specialists and the masses, using both modern and indigenous methods and relying on the masses." When Premier Chou learnt that the people's livelihood in some places in northern Shensi was still fairly difficult in 1970, he said with a heavy heart: "The people in northern Shensi have nurtured us. Yet life is still hard for some of the people there although the country has been liberated for more than 20 years. I am really pained to hear this." He called a meeting and instructed the Shensi provincial Party committee and the Party committees at various levels in the Yen-an Prefecture to organize the cadres and the masses to study Chairman Mao's "Message of Reply" to the people of Yen-an in 1949, to draw up plans and

mobilize the people to change the outlook of northern Shensi. He also instructed the Peking municipality to help them set up factories supporting agriculture.

Our Premier Chou was always concerned about the well-being of the masses. Whenever he saw a hot spring during an inspection tour, he invariably asked whether there were bathrooms for the public. Sometimes his driver drove fairly fast, he often cautioned him to slow down, saying that roads were built for public use and car drivers should always keep in mind the pedestrians and cyclists. He was concerned over preventing and treating common diseases, occupational diseases and endemic diseases which seriously endanger the people's health and on many occasions instructed health departments to study and solve these problems.

Premier Chou always regarded himself as an ordinary worker notwithstanding the fact that he was a Party and state leader. He was warm towards comrades and the people and treated them all on an equal footing, be they leading cadres or common workers and peasants. When Premier Chou went to make investigations and study in the factories or villages or other grass-roots units, he often worked and ate with the masses and had cordial talks with them. When soldiers on sentry duty saluted him while he was taking a walk, he shook hands with them and said amiably: "Oh, no, don't salute me. We're comrades, aren't we?"

Whether in the difficult years of war or in the days of victory, Premier Chou always put strict demands on himself, maintaining the style of being modest and prudent and of hard struggle. He often encouraged himself and others with these words: "One should learn and remould his ideology as long as he lives." He often said: "I've only done some concrete work under Chairman Mao's leadership. All the credit should go to Chairman Mao." At the request of the people, the county Party committee of his native place in Huaian, Kiangsu Province, proposed several times that his old house be rebuilt. Premier Chou flatly rejected it. In his reply to the county Party committee, he said: Don't let people visit it, and don't ask the people now living there move out.

Upholding the Party principle and setting an example by his own deeds, Premier Chou put strict demands on responsible members of various departments. He would criticize in sharp words bureaucratic and bourgeois ways in all their manifestations. He did this out of love and concern for the comrades and was never haughty towards them, so they always gladly accepted his criticisms. As regards differing opinions, he never failed to listen to them intently. Should different opinions arise in work, he would ask for further explanations, encouraging the comrades to air their views freely. He was strict towards himself and often voluntarily accepted responsibility on behalf of his subordinates should anything go wrong in their work. Large-minded and brave in making self-criticisms, he often used his past experience to educate cadres and masses. He said: "When you have made a mistake, tell it to anyone you meet. In this way you can receive supervision and help from the comrades and at the same time caution them not to make the same mistake."

Premier Chou lived plainly and was diligent and thrifty; he was a man of integrity and always worked in the public interest. After the founding of New China, some comrades suggested erecting a big building for the State Council and even had a model made. Premier Chou firmly turned down the suggestion, saying: "We should carry out Chairman Mao's instruction of building the country through diligence and thrift. I will never allow building a mansion for the State Council during my term of service as premier." The house he lived in was quite old, but he refused to have it rebuilt. He didn't care even if he wore mended clothes. His diet was simple and he often ate corn flour and millet. To save state expenditures, he spent his own money on things which would otherwise be provided for by the state, such as medicine and newspapers for himself and soap for his attendants.

Premier Chou also put strict demands on his relatives. The wife of one of his relatives in Peking worked somewhere else. The organization concerned made arrangements to have her transferred to Peking. When Premier Chou learnt of this, he said: "If you want to bring them together, why should the one who works

outside be transferred to Peking and not the other way round?" Educated by the Premier, the couple went to work outside the capital.

"The Internationale Shall Be The Human Race"

Our respected and beloved Premier Chou always thought about the 800 million people in the country, the early liberation of Taiwan and the unification of the motherland, the Chinese revolution and the world revolution and the victory of communism. When he was seriously ill, he sang "*Let each stand in his place, the Internationale shall be the human race.*" This was a vivid expression of his firm conviction in the triumph of the cause of communism. More than ten years ago, Premier Chou and his wife Comrade Teng Ying-chao promised that they would not retain each one's ashes after death. They deemed that it was a revolution to change from burial in the ground to cremation and that going from retaining the ashes to not retaining them was another revolution. Premier Chou expressed the wish before his death that his ashes be scattered in the rivers and on the land of our motherland. This was approved by Chairman Maō and the Party Central Committee after his death. Premier Chou's revolutionary stand on the handling of his ashes fully expressed his communist spirit of a complete rupture with traditional ideology.

Premier Chou's life was one of glorious struggle for the cause of communism and one of continuing the revolution with perseverance. To strive for the Chinese people's cause of liberation and the victory of communism, Premier Chou fought tenaciously, dauntlessly and selflessly under the leadership of Chairman Mao for more than five decades. Premier Chou's courage, wisdom and hard work are crystallized in the great victories of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. The Chinese people are proud of having the great leader and teacher Chairman Mao and are lucky and happy to have had Premier Chou, the close comrade-in-arms of Chairman Mao. Out of their reactionary class nature, the "gang of four" — a scourge of the nation — morbidly hated our esteemed and beloved Premier Chou. They resorted to underhand means and, indeed, stopped at nothing

to attack and persecute the Premier, and they tried by every vile means to harass and wear down our esteemed and beloved Premier Chou. Why did the "gang of four" oppose him so feverishly? Just as Chairman Hua has pointed out: "Their aim was to overthrow Premier Chou so that they could usurp the supreme leadership of the Party and state." The masses had long seen through the counter-revolutionary schemes of the "gang of four" and hated them bitterly. After Premier Chou's death, the people of the whole country were deeply grieved over the loss of their good Premier and expressed their mourning in various memorial activities. With both fear and hate, the "gang of four" frenziedly undermined, suppressed and even viciously slandered the memorial activities of the masses as a "reactionary trend" and "using the dead to repress the living." They tried to wipe out Premier Chou's brilliant image and negate his great contributions. These perverse actions of the "gang of four" only sparked the people's boundless hatred for them and induced the people to honour Premier Chou's memory all the more. History has proved that whoever goes against the people's will is invariably swept into the garbage heap of history by the iron broom of the people. The ignominious failure of the "gang of four" once again testifies to this truth.

Although Premier Chou has passed away, his brilliant image, like the lofty mountains and towering pines, will live for ever in the hearts of the Chinese people and the world's people. His revolutionary spirit will shine like the sun and the moon; his magnificent contributions are immortal. In commemorating Premier Chou, we should learn from his proletarian revolutionary spirit and noble qualities, unite most closely round the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua, persist in taking class struggle as the key link, uphold the Party's basic line, persevere in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and carry the cause of the proletarian revolution pioneered by the great leader Chairman Mao, the esteemed and beloved Premier Chou and other revolutionaries of the older generation through to the end!

(An article in "Hongqi," No. 1, 1977)



Comrade Chou En-lai and Comrade Tung Pi-wu in courtyard of Meiyuan Hsintsun No. 30 in Nanking, residence of the delegation of the Communist Party of China which was negotiating with the U.S.-Chiang Kai-shek reactionaries in 1946.

Lower left: Premier Chou with Vice-Premiers Chen Yi and Ho Lung visiting an exhibition in December 1957.



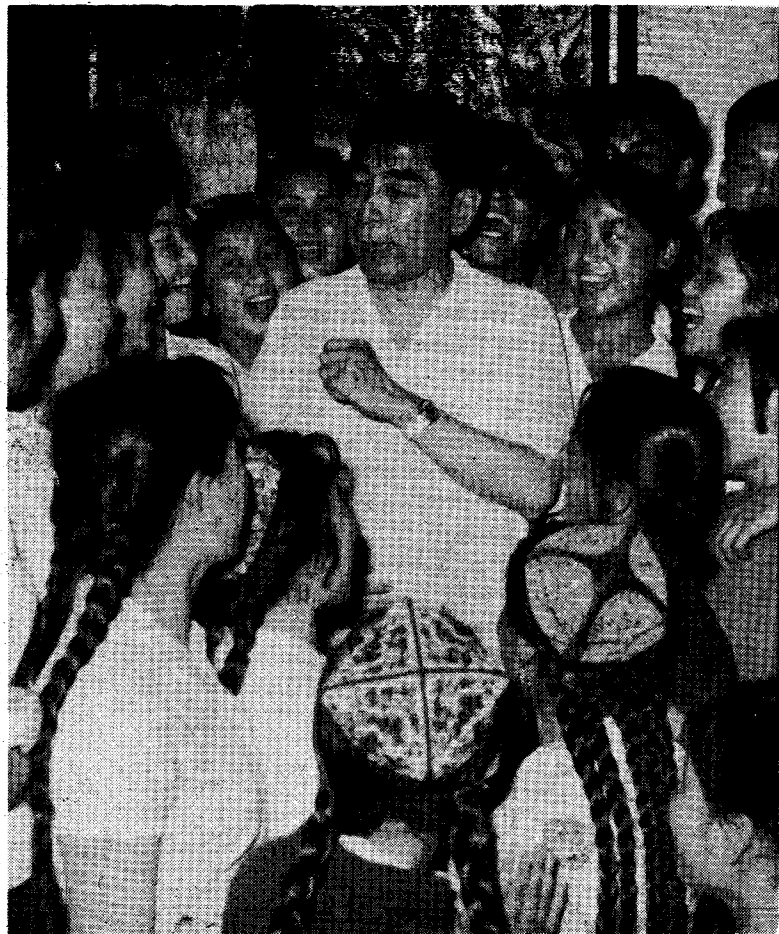


Premier Chou and Comrade Kang Sheng at a reception meeting with revolutionary teachers and students who had come to Peking from various parts of the country, September 1966.

Premier Chou together with young people of various nationalities singing revolutionary songs, July 1965.



Premier Chou and Comrade Teng Ying-chao with Young Pioneers, February 1960.



Colour Documentary Film "Eternal Glory to the Esteemed and Beloved Premier Chou En-lai"

THE colour documentary *Eternal Glory to the Esteemed and Beloved Premier Chou En-lai*, a film that the people throughout the country long desired to see, went on the screen in the days of commemorating the first anniversary of his death. This is still another victory brought on by the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua in smashing the Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao anti-Party clique.

Production of the film went through an extraordinary struggle.

The sad news of Premier Chou's passing on January 8 last year came like a thunderbolt that shook China and the world. All China was immediately plunged into extreme grief and hundreds of millions of the people felt unbearable sorrow at the gigantic loss of our Premier.

The Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao anti-Party clique, the bane of the nation, frenziedly opposed our great leader and teacher Chairman Mao. Regarding Premier Chou who resolutely carried out Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line as a tremendous obstacle to their usurping the Party and state power, they never stopped attacking and persecuting him. They made all kinds of trouble to obstruct the production of the film in memory of him. The people of all nationalities in the country longed to see the film at the earliest possible date so that they could cherish the memory of Premier Chou and express their mourning over his unfortunate death. But the hostile "gang of four" insidiously insisted that "there is no hurry in making the film."

Abusing the power they usurped, they issued orders one after another: no permission to holding memorial meetings, no permission to wearing black armbands, no permission to presenting wreaths. . . . But the people broke all these orders and mourned their beloved Premier by various means and in diverse ways. And the cameramen of the Central Newsreels and Documentary Film Studio also disregarded these orders and valiantly shot these moving scenes.

In examining the film, a trusted follower of the "gang of four" in the Ministry of Culture flagrantly wanted to cut scenes showing the masses mourning Premier Chou along Changan Boulevard and in Tien An Men Square and the shots recording the Premier's brilliant activities in the various periods of his life. He even did not allow the weeping masses to appear in the film. Cameramen and other people in the studio considered that the mourning scenes in Tien An Men Square and the million people of the capital lining Changan Boulevard watching the hearse of the esteemed and beloved Premier passing and bidding farewell to him were scenes showing the people's fervent love for the Premier. These were scenes demonstrating the strength of the people. So they declared: "These must not be cut out. A complete documentary must be reserved even though this means the film will not be released." Thus the "gang of four" viciously killed the film.

The Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua shattered the gang's plot to usurp Party and state power, thereby saving the Party and the Chinese revolution, and liberating the film as well.

Of one heart with the people, the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua soon instructed the studio to reproduce the film in mourning for Premier Chou and that all those scenes and shots that the "gang of four" wanted cut should be restored and used as much as possible.

Thus at last, *Eternal Glory to the Esteemed and Beloved Premier Chou En-lai* began being shown, and the brilliant image of Premier Chou has once again appeared before the people, towering high. The film vividly shows that the people's Premier is deeply loved by the people.

With profound proletarian feeling, the film records the moving scenes of the whole Party, the whole army and the people of all nationalities throughout the country mourning the passing of Premier Chou with deep sorrow. The documentary reproduces the scenes of

the people in Peking paying their last respects to the remains of Premier Chou and mourning him with profound grief in the Working People's Palace of Culture and at the memorial meeting in the Great Hall of the People. It revives the stirring scenes of the masses standing in silence along Changan Boulevard saying farewell to esteemed and beloved Premier Chou. It shows how the people of all nationalities and all walks of life expressed their mourning in various ways.

The most touching scene in the film is the one on Changan Boulevard where people are standing silently for long hours, forgetting time and ignoring cold and hunger, waiting for Premier Chou's hearse. Many of them had come early in the morning to wait there till night.

"A million hearts trail that slow-moving hearse, in the twilight pale. Our hearts break and our tears cascade. The red flag waves at halfmast. Before the Hsinhuamen (the location of the Party Central Committee and the State Council — *Tr.*) tears glisten. Inside it, dear Premier, you attend to state affairs night and day. When again, will you return tonight?" These words in the film's commentary express the infinite affection cherished by the people for their Premier.

The life of Premier Chou En-lai was one of glorious struggle for the cause of communism

and one of continuing the revolution with perseverance. The film presents a series of most precious historical shots about his life. It has recorded his activities in the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal May 4th Movement of 1919 in his early days, in the First Revolutionary Civil War period (1924-27), the Second Revolutionary Civil War period (1927-37), the period of the War of Resistance Against Japan (1937-45) and the period of the People's Liberation War (1945-49), and during the days of the upsurge in socialist revolution and construction. The film also shows how he firmly carried out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in foreign affairs, upheld the principles of proletarian internationalism and made outstanding contributions to the cause of human progress. These precious shots stimulate all the more the people's love and respect for Premier Chou.

The film also shows that the people of all nationalities in the country are determined to turn their grief into strength and strive along Chairman Mao's revolutionary line to realize the aspirations bequeathed by Premier Chou, build China into a powerful and modern socialist country and win victory for the cause of communism. People solemnly vow: There are successors to the revolutionary cause, the revolutionary torrent is irresistible and the communist ideal for which Premier Chou fought all his life will surely become a reality!

(Continued from p. 7.)

revolutionary friendship between Kampuchea and China will develop further!"

He also pointed out that the people of Asia, Africa and Latin America highly appreciated China's economic co-operation with other countries in accordance with the principles of equality, mutual respect and mutual benefit. This, he said, has made still higher the prestige of the People's Republic of China which is implementing Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in foreign affairs.

In his speech, delegation leader Fang Yi praised the fraternal Kampuchean people for making brilliant achievements in socialist revolution and socialist construction by taking a series of wise and resolute measures after their great victory in the national democratic revolution. In international affairs, he said, Democratic Kampuchea has "persevered in the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism, actively supported the revolutionary struggle by the oppressed people and the oppressed nations and energetically strengthened friendly co-operation with the third

world countries. All this has won the warm praise and support of the world's people."

Fang Yi expressed full support by the Chinese Government and people for Democratic Kampuchea's cause of revolution and construction.

A protocol on supplying complete sets of equipment by China to Democratic Kampuchea and an agreement on co-operation in science and technology between the two countries were signed in Phnom Penh on December 25.

The delegation returned to Peking on January 4 after ending its visit.

Crushing the "Gang of Four" Was a Wise Decision by Chairman Mao

MASQUERADING as "Left-wingers" for some years, the anti-Party clique of Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao usurped a portion of the power of the Party Central Committee and, through the mass media under their control, cut a wide swath in making publicity for themselves. They crowned themselves with laurels such as "the 'standard-bearer' of the Great Cultural Revolution" and "proletarian revolutionary" to deceive the revolutionary people in China and the rest of the world.

The Party Central Committee headed by Comrade Hua Kuo-feng smashed the "gang of four" and tore off their masks. They were in fact a gang of bourgeois careerists and conspirators of the Khrushchov type, typical representatives of the bourgeoisie inside the Party and unrepentant capitalist-roaders still on the capitalist road. Our Party's struggle against the "gang of four" is a life-and-death struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, between socialism and capitalism and between Marxism and revisionism.

Chairman Mao's Struggle Against The "Gang of Four"

When he was still with us, Chairman Mao criticized, tried to educate and struggled against Wang, Chang, Chiang and Yao on many occasions. After 1974, he time and again gave unequivocal instructions for putting down the "gang of four" and finally made the decision to settle the problem once and for all:

Styling themselves "heroes of the Great Cultural Revolution," the "gang of four" actually opposed Chairman Mao's instructions and did many things to undermine the Great Cultural Revolution.

In the initial stage of the Great Cultural Revolution, Chairman Mao instructed us that

when there was debate, "it should be conducted by reasoning, not by coercion or force." When mass organizations in some places clashed in 1967 because of different views, Chiang Ching, however, coined the slogan: "Use reasoning in attacks and use force in self-defence." Under the demagogical influence of this reactionary slogan, mass organizations in many places made it a pretext for engaging in scuffling which gradually got out of hand and eventually developed into "full-scale civil war," a phenomenon Chairman Mao once criticized.

Working hand in glove with Lin Piao and his gang, they also hoodwinked the masses by falsely accusing others of being "renegades" or "spies" while unscrupulously branding the leading cadres they opposed "Party tyrants," "capitalist-roaders" and what not. They even directed their spearhead against Premier Chou En-lai whom the whole nation loves and holds in high esteem. This was the political background of the phenomenon of "overthrowing all" that once appeared in the Great Cultural Revolution and which was criticized by Chairman Mao.

In the days following the Tenth National Party Congress in August 1973, the Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao "gang of four" intensified their underhand activities step by step.

In early 1974, Chairman Mao initiated and led the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius. Lin Piao who obdurately worked for restoration and retrogression was ideologically a successor of Confucius who 2,000 years ago worked stubbornly to restore slave society in China. The purpose of the movement was to deepen the criticism of Lin Piao's counter-revolutionary revisionist line, dig out his ideological roots and sweep away his evil influence. As counter-revolutionary double-dealers, the "gang

of four" were always ready to take over a revolutionary slogan to further their own intrigues. In the movement, they invented slogans of their own behind Chairman Mao's back, stirring up trouble everywhere to create chaos and interfere with the struggle's general orientation. They also talked about nailing what they called the "disciples" of Confucius and directed the spearhead of their attack against Premier Chou in an attempt to overthrow a large number of leading cadres loyal to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. In early 1974, Chairman Mao severely criticized them, pointing out: **"Metaphysics, one-sidedness, is rampant."**

On March 20, 1974, Chairman Mao criticized Chiang Ching in a most resentful manner: **"It's better if we don't see each other. You haven't done many of the things I talked to you about over the years. What's the use of seeing each other more often? The works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin are there, my works are there, but you simply refuse to study."**

The four grouped together, created a system of their own inside the Party, did things their own way and placed themselves high above Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee. It was Chairman Mao who first criticized their factional activities, calling them the "gang of four." He said on July 17, 1974: **"You'd better be careful; don't let yourselves become a small faction of four."** "It's hard for you, too, to mend your ways," he told Chiang Ching. On December 24 the same year, Chairman Mao again criticized them, saying: **"Don't form factions. Those who do so will fall."**

To prevent and combat revisionism, Chairman Mao in December 1974 called on the people throughout the country to study the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat. He said: **"Why did Lenin speak of exercising dictatorship over the bourgeoisie? This question must be thoroughly understood. Lack of clarity on this question will lead to revisionism. This should be made known to the whole nation."** The "gang of four" once again took over this revolutionary slogan to intrigue. They tampered with Chairman Mao's teaching of revisionism being the principal danger and raised a hue and cry to say that empiricism was the principal danger at present. They gave reports and wrote articles on this subject and even preached that oppos-

ing empiricism should be taken as the "key link."

Both empiricism and dogmatism revise Marxism. Dogmatists reject the truth **"Marxism is not a dogma, but a guide to action"**; they just parrot certain passages from Marxist literature to bluff people. Empiricists always keep to their segmental experience without understanding the importance of theory to revolutionary practice and fail to see the revolution in its entirety; they work blindly, though assiduously. The experience accumulated in class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment, however, is invaluable and is the source of genuine knowledge. It cannot be identified with empiricism.

Chang Chun-chiao, Yao Wen-yuan and their like who called themselves "Marxist theoreticians," however, only opposed empiricism, not dogmatism. They attempted to confound experience with empiricism and, in the name of criticizing empiricism, dismiss the leading cadres in our Party, especially the older generation revolutionaries with fighting experience, as "empiricists" subject to their attacks and to be pushed aside by them. Chairman Mao saw through their plots and criticized them accordingly: **"It seems the formulation should be: Oppose revisionism which includes empiricism and dogmatism. Both revise Marxism-Leninism. Don't mention just one while omitting the other."** "In my opinion, those who are criticizing empiricism are themselves empiricists."

The First Session of the Fourth National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China was held in January 1975. One important item on the agenda was to elect and appoint the state's leading personnel. Preparatory work for the Fourth National People's Congress was discussed at the Second Plenary Session of the Tenth Central Committee of the Communist Party of China convoked at an earlier date. While preparations for convocation of the Fourth National People's Congress were underway, Wang, Chang, Chiang and Yao went in for factional activities. In October 1974, behind the backs of the Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee, they secretly sent Wang Hung-wen to see Chairman Mao who was not in Peking, making false accusations

against Premier Chou En-lai in a calculated effort to form their own "cabinet" at the Second Plenary Session of the Party's Tenth Central Committee and the Fourth National People's Congress. They were scathingly denounced by Chairman Mao; their wild design of "forming a cabinet" came to grief. Later, Chiang Ching again asked some people to relay her wish to Chairman Mao that Wang Hung-wen be named a vice-chairman of the N.P.C. Standing Committee. Chairman Mao hit the nail on the head when he pointed out: **"Chiang Ching has wild ambitions. She wants Wang Hung-wen to be Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress and herself to be Chairman of the Party Central Committee."**

Having summed up the experience of the two-line struggles in the Party, especially the experience in the struggle to smash the Lin Piao anti-Party clique, Chairman Mao called on the whole Party to **"practise Marxism, and not revisionism; unite, and don't split; be open and aboveboard, and don't intrigue and conspire."** These basic principles of the "three do's and three don'ts" make up the criteria for differentiating between a correct and erroneous line. Every member of the Chinese Communist Party and every genuine Marxist must adhere to these principles. The "gang of four," however, chose to practise revisionism, to **split** and intrigue and conspire. On May 3, 1975, Chairman Mao reiterated the three basic principles at a Political Bureau meeting, criticizing them for having no faith in these principles and having forgotten them altogether. He sounded a warning to them: **"Don't function as a gang of four. Don't do it any more. Why do you keep doing it? Why don't you unite with the more than 200 members of the Party Central Committee? It is no good to keep a small circle of a few. It has always been no good doing so."**

Wang, Chang, Chiang and Yao took the attitude of counter-revolutionary double-dealers towards Chairman Mao's patient admonitions and severe criticisms. In the presence of Chairman Mao, they said they "will go according to Chairman Mao's instructions" while behind his back they continued to operate as a gang. Without the slightest intention of repenting,

they went from bad to worse and slipped farther along the erroneous path.

Chairman Mao was thus determined to settle the problem of the "gang of four." In 1975, he exposed Chiang Ching further: **"After I die, she will make trouble."** On May 3, Chairman Mao gave an instruction on the problem of the gang, saying that **"If this is not settled in the first half of this year, it should be settled in the second half; if not this year, then next year; if not next year, then the year after."**

Intensified Attacks and Eventual Downfall

Our respected and beloved Premier Chou En-lai passed away last January and the whole nation was grief-stricken. The "gang of four" thought the opportunity for them to usurp Party and state power had come. They instigated some people to put up big-character posters in Shanghai clamouring for making Chang Chun-chiao premier and bringing pressure on Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee. Behind the backs of Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee, they stealthily worked out sinister dossiers on comrades in the Political Bureau and leading comrades in many provinces with the intention of overthrowing these comrades so that they and people of their own choice could take over.

Early last year, they openly opposed Chairman Mao's instructions and did things their own way in criticizing Teng Hsiao-ping. They used the news media they controlled to sow confusion, undermine the revolution and disrupt production. They talked about pulling out what they called "Teng Hsiao-ping's agents" at all levels in an attempt to overthrow a large number of responsible comrades in the central organs and various localities.

Chairman Mao was far-sighted. Early last February, he personally nominated, with the unanimous approval of the Political Bureau, Comrade Hua Kuo-feng to become Acting Premier. The "gang of four" bitterly hated this. Chang Chun-chiao who had all along cast a covetous eye on the premier's post wrote in private an essay entitled "Thoughts on February 3, 1976" to give vent to his hatred for Chairman Mao and curse Comrade Hua Kuo-feng. Last

April, Chairman Mao again nominated, with the unanimous approval of the Political Bureau, Comrade Hua Kuo-feng to become First Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Premier of the State Council and selected Comrade Hua Kuo-feng as his successor. The "gang of four" hated this even more.

After Chairman Mao died and the Party and state were having a difficult time, they were overjoyed and quickened the pace to usurp the supreme leadership of the Party and state. While the nation was heart-broken with grief, the "gang of four" enjoyed themselves with feasting and other kinds of entertainment. They also went on trips to make secret contacts and delivered demagogical speeches egging people on to oppose the Party Central Committee.

They rushed out the reactionary film *Counterattack* about the first secretary of a provincial Party committee said to be an unrepentant capitalist-roader. It was scheduled for nationwide release in early last October. While the film was being shot, one of the gang's sworn followers declared that the theme would "provide an answer to the question of what is to be done if revisionism emerges in the Central Committee," shouting that the film "involves not just a question of literature and art, but will bring on a chain reaction." According to their design, *Counterattack* would cause a "chain reaction" everywhere in the country in pulling out "capitalist-roaders" on the provincial Party committees so as to facilitate their seizure of power amid chaos.

The "gang of four" also fabricated in a planned and premeditated way so-called "last words" of Chairman Mao, namely "act according to the principles laid down," and gave them much press publicity. After Comrade Hua Kuo-feng uncovered their plot on October 2, they used the mass media which they still controlled to publish an article called "For Ever Act According to Principles Laid Down by Chairman Mao" in Peking's *Guangming Ribao*. "Tampering with the principles laid down by Chairman Mao," the article said, "means betraying Marxism, betraying socialism and betraying the great theory of continuing the revolution

under the dictatorship of the proletariat." It added: "If any chieftain of revisionism dares to tamper with the principles laid down by Chairman Mao, he will definitely come to no good." They tried through their intrigues to accuse the Party Central Committee of "tampering with the principles laid down by Chairman Mao" and in particular undisguisedly directed the spearhead of their attack against Comrade Hua Kuo-feng. It was a signal for their usurping Party and state power. (See "A Desperate Move Before Destruction" in our issue No. 52, 1976.)

At this critical moment, the Party Central Committee headed by Comrade Hua Kuo-feng took decisive measures and crushed the "gang of four" at one stroke.

Chairman Mao's behest to crush the "gang of four" was thus swiftly carried out!

History of the Soviet Union Must Not Repeat Itself

It should be recalled that over two decades ago, after the death of the great Marxist Comrade Stalin, Khrushchov conspired step by step to usurp the leadership of the Soviet Party and state. This shameless renegade, who passed himself off as Stalin's most fervent supporter when Stalin was still alive and who called Stalin his own father, showed his ferocity the moment he got his hands on power. He made a secret report, destroyed Stalin's remains, feverishly pushed the counter-revolutionary revisionist line and created confusion and a split in the international communist movement. Under the Khrushchov-Brezhnev renegade clique's rule, the Soviet Union — Lenin's motherland and the world's first socialist state — changed political colour with an all-round restoration of capitalism and the people living in great misery.

Dark clouds also appeared in the skies over China before and after the death of Chairman Mao. Wang, Chang, Chiang and Yao, persons of the Khrushchov type, hastened their plot against the Party Central Committee headed by Comrade Hua Kuo-feng. China was confronted with the real danger of the Party turning revisionist and the state changing its political colour. But the Chinese Party, the Chinese army and the Chinese people would not allow the tragic his-

tory of the Soviet Union to repeat itself in our country. The "gang of four" had lifted a rock only to crush its own feet.

The clouds were soon dispersed and the skies are clear as the red sun shines all over China's land.

Crushing the "gang of four" is a great victory for Mao Tsetung Thought. It was Chairman Mao's theory of continued revolution under

the dictatorship of the proletariat that guided our Party's Central Committee headed by Comrade Hua Kuo-feng in carrying out this great revolutionary practice and made a historic contribution to the Chinese revolution and the world revolution as well. Facts show that the Chinese Communist Party deserves to be called a long-tested and matured Marxist-Leninist Party founded and fostered by Chairman Mao himself.

1976 in Retrospect

Soviet Detente Fraud Exposed

THE year 1976 saw the Kremlin's strategy of sham detente exposed and severely discredited. A prolonged worldwide debate broke out last year over the real value of the Moscow-advertised "detente." What the Kremlin bosses have said and done has driven an increasing number of people to the conclusion that "detente" as preached by Moscow is indeed a dangerous fraud, only a veil over its bitter rivalry for world domination and expansion.

When the Helsinki summit had just concluded in the autumn of 1975 and Moscow's pet theme of "detente" was being dinned into the ears of the public, Soviet mercenaries opened fire in Angola with guns, rockets and even airplanes that were sent there in great numbers by the Kremlin. Thus, the Soviet Union embarked on massive and naked armed intervention and military expansion in Africa. The noise of "detente" of the Helsinki brand was quickly drowned out by the thunder of the Angolan war.

The Soviet acts of aggression in Angola brought strong worldwide repercussions. People wondered what Moscow meant just by its "detente." Some defined it as "a superpower game," others said it was a kind of "anesthetic," still others pointed out that "detente" for the Russians meant "what is mine is mine, what

is yours is negotiable," that it was a "trap" set by Moscow, or that it amounted to "one-way traffic." There were also people who categorically declared that "detente is dead."

In their official communique on the results of the conference on security and co-operation in Europe published early in August 1975, the Soviet revisionist party central committee, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet and the Soviet Government declared in all seriousness that "the relaxation of tension should be widened, deepened and extended to all parts of the world." In the same vein, an article in the Moscow weekly *New Times* (No. 17, 1975) said that "detente must be all-embracing, extending to the whole of our planet. If it is localized to only a few limited areas of the world, its future may well be jeopardized." These were sermons for "unlimited detente."

But shortly after the Kremlin won the day in its massive military intervention in Angola behind the smokescreen of "detente," the pet theme of "unlimited detente" was replaced with that of "limited detente." The *New Times* (No. 12, 1976) declared that "detente ends where attempts to prevent the peoples from fighting for their social and national liberation . . . begin" or, to put it bluntly, where attempts to prevent the Soviet Union from carrying out military in-

tervention begin. An article in *Izvestia* on December 24, 1975 stressed that "relaxation of tension does not and cannot mean the freezing of the social status quo of the world."

Thus, people can see clearly what the Kremlin intends to attain with "detente" and how it is to attain it. In plain words, it wants others to stick to "detente," while it single-mindedly pursues expansionism. It alone reserves the freedom to engage in flagrant aggression and expansion whenever and wherever it chooses, in the name of "supporting the national-liberation movement" or "supporting" "social change" in other countries. Whoever objects to such acts is labelled "the enemy of detente."

In the final analysis, the "detente" much vaunted by Moscow over the years is nothing but a name for the nuclear arms race and a synonym for frenzied arms expansion and war preparations. The Soviet paper *Soviet Russia* said on October 31, 1975: "The appearance and development of weapons of mass destruction have become an important new factor favourable to detente." By its logic, the more nuclear weapons and guided missiles, the more "relaxed" the world situation will be. Therefore, in the interest of "detente," it is necessary to feverishly step up manufacturing ever more "weapons of mass destruction."

The new tsars match words with deeds. Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko recently admitted the "increasingly fast speed" of the arms race. It was reported that while Moscow made propaganda for "detente" and peaceful co-existence, Soviet long-range missiles increased 21 times in the ten years since 1962 and its submarine-based guided missiles jumped nine times in the ten years after 1966. A Japanese journal pointed out not long ago: "The Soviet Union not only tries to catch up with the United States but also wants to outstrip the latter militarily and subsequently control the world militarily." That was why the U.S. paper *Manchester Union Leader* concluded: "detente is only a way for Russia to pursue world war three more safely."

What the public in the West saw in the Soviet-staged pageant of "detente" was straight "one-way traffic" along which an unending stream of grain, technology and staggering amounts of credits flowed freely from Western

Europe and North America to the Soviet Union accompanied by Moscow's lilting song of the "materialization of detente." Helmut Kohl, Chairman of West Germany's Christian Democratic Union, pointed out that the aim of Soviet policy is "to benefit itself from the West's industrial efficiency and know-how on a larger scale," while "lulling the West to sleep with a sense of security and to indifference to the mounting Soviet military potential." More and more people in Western Europe are now of the opinion: "We must not pay for our own suicide."

People do learn from historical experience. The "detente" fraud will continue to be discredited.

The British Conservative Party spokesman for defence warned in a memorandum published in September that "the bigger a country's arsenal grows, the nearer it gets to a military take-off point — to using the weapons that it has stockpiled." History has confirmed this. An arms race among imperialist powers ultimately arrives at one and the same end — war.

However, one still occasionally hears arguments like the one that growing Soviet military strength is the natural by-product of the development of Soviet industry and technology and does not necessarily mean that Moscow harbours imperialist ambitions. This lullaby now has less and less listeners.

Here, it may help to recall what happened in 1938. In September that year, Neville Chamberlain went to Germany three times in two weeks to appeal to Hitler for peace. With pleasure, the latter signed an agreement for "peace" with him. Stepping down from his plane at London airport, he gleefully waved the document in his hand, declaring that "from now on, a whole generation of peace is assured." In the end, however, a year of peace was not assured, let alone a generation.

According to *Izvestia*, the Soviet Union will carry on its "peace offensive" "in the last quarter of this century." But the harsh reality is that its "detente" fraud was discredited and its "peace offensive" fizzled out in 1976, the first year of "the last quarter of this century." And it will have a tougher time in the coming 24 years.

(A commentary by Hsinhua Correspondent)