

# PEKING REVIEW

14

April 1, 1977

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報

**Chairman Mao's Note on  
"Charter of Anshan Iron  
And Steel Company"**

**A Complete Reversal of the Relations  
Between Ourselves and the Enemy**

—A criticism of the "gang of four's" distortion of  
Chairman Mao's directive

**Red Sea States Strengthen Unity**

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北京周報

BEIJING ZHOUBAO

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# **Chairman Mao's Note on "Charter Of the Anshan Iron and Steel Company"**

This report of the Anshan city Party committee is very good. The more one reads it the more delighted one gets. It doesn't strike one as too long, in fact one would be willing to read it even if it were longer; this is because the problems raised in the report are factual, well reasoned out and very absorbing. With more than 100,000 workers and staff members, the Anshan Iron and Steel Company is the country's biggest enterprise. Formerly, people there thought that their enterprise was a modernized one and there was no need for technical revolution. They were opposed to launching vigorous mass movement, to the principle of cadre participation in productive labour and worker participation in management, of reform of irrational and outdated rules and regulations and of close co-operation among cadres, workers and technicians, and opposed to putting politics in command; they relied on just a few people working in seclusion. Many favoured the system of placing responsibility solely on factory director and were against the system of the factory director designated to undertake responsibility under the leadership of the Party committee. They held that the "Charter of the Magnitogorsk Iron and Steel Combine" (a set of authoritative rules practised in a big steel plant in the Soviet Union) was sacred. That was the situation up to the great leap forward in 1958, which marked the first stage. The year 1959 marked the second stage, when people began to think things over, began to have faith in the mass movement, and began to question the system of placing responsibility solely on the factory director and the Charter of the Magnitogorsk Iron and Steel Combine. During the Lushan Meeting of July 1959, the Central Committee received a good report from them, which spoke in favour of the great leap forward, of opposing the Right deviation and making utmost exertions; it also put forward a high

but practicable target. The Central Committee was extremely pleased with the report and had it circulated to the comrades concerned with its comment. They immediately relayed it by telephone to their respective provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions, thus helping the struggle going on at the time to criticize Right opportunism. The present report (March 1960) takes another step forward; it does not smack of the Charter of the Magnitogorsk Iron and Steel Combine, but has given birth to a Charter of the Anshan Iron and Steel Company. Here emerges the Charter of the Anshan Iron and Steel Company in China, in the Far East. This marks the third stage. Now this report is being passed on to you and you are asked to transmit it to the large and medium-sized enterprises under your administration and to the Party committees of all large and medium-sized cities and, of course, you may also transmit it to prefectural Party committees and other cities. It should be used as a document for study by cadres in order to stimulate their minds and make them think about the affairs in their own units, so that under due leadership a great Marxist-Leninist movement of economic and technical revolution will be carried out link by link and wave upon wave in the cities and the countryside during the whole year of 1960.

*Renmin Ribao* on March 22, 1977 published this note by Chairman Mao together with an editor's note which reads as follows:

The Anshan City Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, on March 11, 1960, submitted to the Party Central Committee its "Report on the Development of the Campaign for Technical Innovations and Technical Revolution on the Industrial Front." Seventeen years ago today, Comrade Mao Tsetung, on behalf of the Party Central Committee, drafted a note on this report.

In it, Chairman Mao solemnly proclaimed: "Here emerges the Charter of the Anshan Iron and Steel Company in China, in the Far East." The Charter of the Anshan Iron and Steel Company formulated by Chairman Mao himself laid down a Marxist line for running enterprises and is the fundamental law for running socialist enterprises well. The Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao anti-Party clique rabidly opposed

this charter in a bid to usurp the supreme leadership of the Party and the state and restore capitalism.

The Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua, after smashing the "gang of four," called for "disseminating Taching's experience in adhering to Chairman Mao's line in running socialist enterprises and implementing the Charter of the Anshan Iron and Steel Company in an all-round way and mobilizing the whole Party and the working class to strive to build Taching-type enterprises throughout the country." The publication of Chairman Mao's note on the Charter of the Anshan Iron and Steel Company is of far-reaching historic significance and immense immediate importance to us in implementing Chairman Hua's strategic policy decision of grasping the key link and running the affairs of the country well, in deepening the exposure and criticism of the "gang of four" and in further developing the mass movement "In industry, learn from Taching."

## Commemorative Meeting At Anshan

A meeting attended by 1,100 representatives of outstanding workers and units marking the 17th anniversary of Chairman Mao's note on the **Charter of the Anshan Iron and Steel Company** was held on March 22 at the Anshan Iron and Steel Company, the largest of its kind in China.

The "Message of Salute to the Wise Leader Chairman Hua and the Party Central Committee" adopted at the meeting said the basic principles set forth by Chairman Mao in the **Charter of the Anshan Iron and Steel Company** solved, for the first time in the historical development of Marxism, the important question of how to run socialist enterprises well after the proletariat had seized power. It was a brilliant model in applying dialectical materialism and historical materialism. The working class has thus been provided with a fundamental law to run socialist enterprises well. Over the past 17 years, particularly since the start of the Great Cultural Revolution, the workers of the Anshan Iron and Steel Company, holding high the banner of the charter and taking the "In industry, learn from Taching"

road, have brought about a fundamental change in this important iron and steel base. The message also noted how the "gang of four" had sabotaged revolution and production in the company in order to achieve their aim of usurping Party and state power. Now that the "gang of four" has been overthrown, the workers are determined to carry out Chairman Mao's behests, implement Chairman Hua's strategic policy decision to grasp the key link and run the affairs of the country well, carry on the struggle to expose and criticize the "gang of four" through to the end and resolutely push up iron and steel production.

The principal leading cadre of the Anshan city Party committee and Anshan Iron and Steel Company Party committee said in his address that the company's workers should take the lead in learning from Taching and implementing the **Charter of the Anshan Iron and Steel Company**. They should resolutely implement the fighting task of "bringing about a big change within one year and turning the company into a Taching-type enterprise within two years," and live up to the expectations of Chairman Hua and the Party Central Committee.

## Bhutto Congratulated on Reassuming Office of Pakistan Prime Minister

In a message sent to Zulfikar Ali Bhutto on March 29, Premier Hua Kuo-feng warmly congratulated him on his reassuming the office of the Prime Minister of Pakistan.

The message says: "May the Government and people of Pakistan under Your Excellency's leadership continue to achieve new successes in their sacred endeavour to safeguard national independence and state sovereignty, develop the national economy and build their own country.

"May the deep traditional friendship and the friendly relations and co-operation between the peoples of China and Pakistan grow stronger and develop further."

## Sympathy for Iran's Earthquake Victims

Premier Hua Kuo-feng on March 28 sent a message to Mohammad Reza Pahlavi, Shahanshah of Iran. The message reads: "Shocked to learn of the strong earthquake in the Bandar Abbas area of southern Iran, causing serious losses to the people of the stricken area. On behalf of the Chinese Government and people, I wish to express our deep sympathy and solicitude to Your Majesty and, through you, to the people of the stricken area of Iran."

# A Complete Reversal of the Relations Between Ourselves and the Enemy

— Criticizing the “gang of four” for distorting Chairman Mao’s directive on the bourgeoisie being “right in the Communist Party”

by Hsiang Chun

THIS year marks the 20th anniversary of the publication of *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People* by our great leader and teacher Chairman Mao. He pointed out in this work that in the socialist revolution it is imperative to correctly distinguish the contradictions between ourselves and the enemy from the contradictions among the people and handle them correctly, that it is impermissible to confound these two types of contradictions which are different in nature, still less to turn the relations between ourselves and the enemy upside down.

## How to Understand That the Bourgeoisie Is Right in the Communist Party?

Who are the targets of the socialist revolution? And where should the spearhead of the struggle be directed? This is a fundamental question for the socialist revolution and Chairman Mao put forward a series of scientific theses concerning it. With the in-depth development of the socialist revolution, he issued another important directive in 1976: “You are making the socialist revolution, and yet don’t know where the bourgeoisie is. It is right in the Communist Party — those in power taking the capitalist road. The capitalist-roaders are still on the capitalist road.” Opposing Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, the Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao anti-Party clique, for ulterior motives, distorted this directive by twist-

ing Chairman Mao’s statement about the existence of capitalist-roaders in the Party to mean the presence of a bourgeois class in the Party. They further alleged that this bourgeois class was composed of what they called democrats who made up 70 or 80 per cent of the veteran cadres and that the democrats becoming capitalist-roaders was an inevitable rule. Using the mass media in its hands, the “gang of four” churned out numerous articles and statements to publicize this nonsense. The motive was to overthrow, as a reactionary class, a large number of responsible Party, government and army comrades of the central authorities and various localities who uphold Chairman Mao’s revolutionary line, thereby clearing the way for them to usurp Party and state power, subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat and establish a fascist dictatorship.

The “gang of four” frequently clamoured: “The capitalist-roaders who are still on the capitalist road are a whole layer of people” and “this whole layer of people is a problem that needs to be solved.” Just what did they mean by “a whole layer of people”? An explanation of this, nebulous and yet full of import, was given by the counter-revolutionary hack-writer Yao Wen-yuan who remarked: “It is all right to speak of a whole layer of people; but, in writing, it is still necessary to refer to it as a class.” The mass media then under the gang’s control put it even more bluntly: “Chairman

Mao says the bourgeoisie is right in the Communist Party. It is our view that the bourgeoisie he is talking about here refers to a class as a whole."

This absurd view presented by the "gang of four" through the mass media under its control maliciously distorted the meaning of Chairman Mao's directive that the bourgeoisie is **"right in the Communist Party."** Having pointed that **"the bourgeoisie is right in the Communist Party,"** Chairman Mao immediately added these words: **"those in power taking the capitalist road."** If one reads the whole sentence, it is quite clear that the bourgeoisie referred to by Chairman Mao here means those Party persons in power taking the capitalist road. Chairman Mao had expounded this idea on many occasions. **"Those in power taking the capitalist road"**—this scientific concept was put forward by Chairman Mao in two previous documents: *Some Current Problems Raised in the Socialist Education Movement in the Rural Areas* in 1965, and the *Decision of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party Concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution* in 1966. In the *May 16, 1966 Circular* of the Party Central Committee, he again put forward the scientific concept on **"those representatives of the bourgeoisie who have sneaked into the Party, the government, the army and various spheres of culture."** Those Party persons in power taking the capitalist road and the representatives of the bourgeoisie in the Party, as referred to by Chairman Mao, are one and the same concept. Unless someone intentionally wants to distort the meaning, it is quite obvious that when Chairman Mao said that the bourgeoisie is right in the Communist Party, he meant those in power taking the capitalist road or the representatives of the bourgeoisie in the Party.

Why is it that representatives of the bourgeoisie can emerge in the Communist Party? This is because inner-Party struggle is not isolated but is always a reflection of the class struggle in society. The proletariat and the bourgeoisie are two antagonistic classes coexisting in a single social entity. They struggle against each other and at the same time are interconnected and interpenetrate politically, ideologically and organizationally. Bourgeois

representatives inevitably emerge in the Party as a result of bourgeois penetration of the proletariat. Indeed, there have always been representatives of the bourgeoisie in our Party from the day of its founding in 1921. The main political representatives of the bourgeoisie at that time, however, were not in the Party but outside the Party. In the period of the new-democratic revolution, our Party's struggle against imperialism, big landlords and the big bourgeoisie found expression, in a concentrated form, in our struggle against their political representative, namely, Chiang Kai-shek's Kuomintang.

After the Kuomintang reactionaries were toppled, other political representatives of the bourgeoisie outside the Party began emerging, such as the Chang-Lo alliance\* which appeared in 1957. After the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production was in the main completed in 1956 and the socialist revolution won a decisive victory on the political and ideological fronts, the political representatives of the bourgeoisie outside the Party fell into disrepute. Thus, it became increasingly difficult for them to take command and openly engage the proletariat in a trial of strength in their bid to subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat. Under these historical conditions, as the socialist revolution deepens, a question of great importance, both in theory and practice, arises: Is the bourgeoisie still around? Does class struggle still exist? Where after all are the main political representatives of the bourgeoisie? In view of this situation, Chairman Mao advanced the theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and brought up the issue of **those in power taking the capitalist road.** This points to the fact that the emphasis of our Party's struggle against the bourgeoisie has shifted to within the Party and those Party persons taking the capitalist road have become the chief representatives of the bourgeoisie.

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\* This refers to Chang Po-chun and Lo Lung-chi, ringleaders of the bourgeois Rightists who attacked the Party in 1957. The aim of this reactionary alliance was to overthrow the Chinese Communist Party and replace the dictatorship of the proletariat in China with the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.

When members of the "gang of four" and the mass media under their control spread the idea that there was a bourgeois class inside the Party, they completely ignored the fundamentals of Marxism. It is common knowledge that a society is divided into classes and political parties are political groupings representing certain classes. It is true that political parties emanate from classes, but never the other way round. Inside the party of the proletariat, representatives of the bourgeoisie or bourgeois factions do and will inevitably emerge, but certainly not a bourgeois class. When the "gang of four" insisted on saying there was a bourgeois class inside the Communist Party of China, they were trying to negate our Party's proletarian nature.

### **Do Veteran Cadres Inevitably Become Capitalist-Roaders?**

The "gang of four" propagated through the mass media the view that the "bourgeoisie inside the Party" evolved from the veteran cadres who had joined the Party in the period of the democratic revolution. They claimed this was "an irrevocable law" and the "dialectics of history" and so on and so forth. Chiang Ching said: "Over 75 per cent of the veteran cadres inevitably change from being democrats to capitalist-roaders." What were the democrats like according to the gang and its mass media? They used the stratagem of borrowing words from Marx, Engels and Lenin describing the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois democrats of their times to smear our cadres who had joined the Party during the period of China's new-democratic revolution. Marx and Engels were talking about the old democrats of 19th-century Western Europe and Lenin was speaking of the old democrats of Russia at the beginning of the 20th century. These old democrats of Western Europe and Russia certainly cannot be equated with our Party cadres who joined the Party in the new-democratic revolution before the founding of New China and the revolutionary and historical conditions they lived under were entirely different.

The majority of our veteran Party cadres who joined the revolution during that period took part in the democratic revolution not as old bourgeois democrats but as Communists fighting for the cause of communism. They

took part in the democratic revolution not merely to carry out the historical mission of overthrowing imperialism and feudalism in a thoroughgoing way but also to build socialism and finally realize the ideal of communism in China. In *On Democracy* published in 1940 and his other works, Chairman Mao dealt in an all-round and scientific way with the theory, line and policies of the new-democratic revolution. These writings also showed the distinction and the inter-relationship between the democratic and socialist revolutions in China. They further armed the Chinese Communists and revolutionary people ideologically and enabled most Party members to see clearly that their taking part in the democratic revolution was to prepare conditions for the socialist revolution.

Though varying in degree with one another, most cadres who joined the Party in the period of the new-democratic revolution were ideologically prepared for the socialist revolution that would follow. In that period our Party always attached great importance to educating Party members in communism. Whether in the revolutionary army units, the revolutionary base areas or regions under the rule of the reactionaries, Party cadres and most Party members maintained close ties with the labouring people wherever they worked. They had a strong sense of proletarian organization and discipline and led an extremely hard life in the long revolutionary struggles. All this shows that they had a high-level proletarian consciousness. As the backbone force in the revolutionary struggles in the new-democratic revolution, they united and led the masses in waging most arduous struggles against the class enemies, stood severe tests and tempered themselves.

The revolutionary task of our Party in this period was to overthrow the big bourgeoisie, which was an important component part of the entire bourgeoisie, and abolish bureaucrat capital which accounted for a large proportion of the capitalist economy. We had established the socialist publicly owned economy and the semi-socialist co-operative economy in every revolutionary base area and upheld the leadership of the proletariat represented by the Communist Party. All these were factors of socialism in the new-democratic revolution. It was precisely because the Party members had, to some extent,



ideologically prepared themselves for socialism that, in the more than 25 years of socialist revolution since the founding of New China, the majority of the veteran cadres have been able, under the leadership of the Party and working together with new cadres, to lead the people of the whole country in accomplishing the socialist transformation of the means of production and winning victories in many major struggles in the socialist revolution on the political and ideological fronts. Particularly, they have tempered themselves in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. Thanks to all this, their level of consciousness in socialist revolution has been greatly enhanced. Therefore, they have nothing in common with that type of bourgeois democrats of Western Europe and Russia or the old democrats outside the Party in our country.

Does this mean that every cadre who joined the Party in the period of the new-democratic revolution was fully prepared ideologically for the socialist revolution at the time? No. They knew then that a socialist revolution would follow, and as far as this is concerned, they were mentally prepared. But how should the socialist revolution be carried out, what problems might arise in the course of the revolution, how should these problems be solved and other questions can only be raised and grasped by people through revolutionary practice and in the course of its development. Moreover, owing to the difference in class origin, in background and experience, and in education, tempering and level of political consciousness, their ideological preparation and understanding of various problems arising during the socialist revolution inevitably vary in degree. As far as this goes, they were at that time inadequately prepared ideologically for the socialist revolution. As Chairman Mao pointed out, among the veteran cadres there are some comrades who still remain at the stage of the bourgeois democratic revolution ideologically and who fail to understand the socialist revolution, are at loggerheads with it and even oppose it.

The "gang of four" and the mass media it controlled asserted that cadres who had joined the Party in the period of the new-democratic revolution "have only the experience of taking the capitalist road." The gang could not understand that it is just because our Party has a great number of such veteran cadres who participated

in the new-democratic revolution and accumulated a wealth of experience that our country's socialist revolution and construction can have developed rather smoothly. Lenin made the following appraisal of Marx and Engels who took part in the struggle of the democratic revolution: **"They both became socialists after being democrats, and the democratic feeling of hatred for political despotism was exceedingly strong in them. This direct political feeling, combined with a profound theoretical understanding of the connection between political despotism and economic oppression, and also their rich experience of life, made Marx and Engels uncommonly responsive politically."** (*Frederick Engels*.) Lenin's remark reveals the truth — how very important and valuable it is for people taking part in socialist revolution to have rich experience in democratic revolution.

Chairman Mao said that the prolonged struggles in our country's democratic revolution "have trained not only a large core of cadres capable of running the Party and the state, but also a large core of cadres capable of running the army. These achievements are the flower of the revolution, watered by the blood of countless martyrs, a glory that belongs not only to the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese people, but also to the Communist Parties and the peoples of the whole world." (*Problems of War and Strategy*.) A greater part of this large force later becomes the important core of the leadership of the Party, government and army at various levels in the period of socialist revolution. Under Chairman Mao's leadership, they have played a still greater role for the great cause of socialist revolution and socialist construction. Moreover, our Party's revolutionary line and fine traditions and working methods are not without their source; they originate from the practice of the great revolutionary struggle and are the scientific summary of the experience gained in the long and complex revolutionary struggles of the masses led by our Party cadres and Party members.

Veteran cadres are our Party's valuable assets not only because they have taken part in this practice themselves, but also because they have been able to apply this experience to various complicated situations. The "gang of four's" slander that veteran cadres "have only the experience of taking the capitalist road"

actually amounts to a total negation of the great practice of China's new-democratic revolution and socialist revolution, and hence a complete denial of Mao Tsetung Thought which integrates the universal truth of Marxism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution. This fully reveals that the gang is completely ignorant of the Chinese revolution led by Chairman Mao and harbours inveterate hatred for it.

It is an inevitable historic phenomenon that some people of petty-bourgeois origin who joined the political party of the proletariat during the democratic revolution brought with them various non-proletarian ideas and political demands. As Lenin pointed out: "And there is nothing bad about that. The historic task of the proletariat is to assimilate, re-school, re-educate all the elements of the old society that the latter bequeaths it in the shape of offshoots of the petty bourgeoisie." (*The Faction of Supporters of Otzovism and God-Building.*) Marxist-Leninist theory and the practice of the Chinese revolution show that the proletariat is the greatest class in human history and, ideologically, politically and in strength, it is the most powerful revolutionary class and can assimilate elements of petty-bourgeois origin and re-educate them into proletarian revolutionary fighters to augment its own strength. At the same time, it can preserve the purity of its ranks by purging those persons who, in the test of revolutionary struggle, have shown themselves to be retaining their original class stand and have refused to be re-educated. The building up of our Party over more than 50 years under the guidance of Chairman Mao's thinking on Party building has been a process in which the Party has continually replenished and expanded its ranks.

This process of assimilating and culling is particularly marked in our Party building. This is because China is a country with an extremely large petty bourgeoisie and our Party has a very large membership from this class which virtually surrounds it. This unusual social condition makes the struggle to resist encroachment by bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideology and the task of re-educating and remoulding Party members extremely arduous for our Party. At the same time, however, the fact that the main form of China's revolution was armed struggle involving long years of bitter fighting under ex-

tremely harsh circumstances provided favourable conditions for re-educating and remoulding these Party members.

Under Chairman Mao's leadership, the great majority of our Party members have stood the severe test of the protracted revolutionary struggle and unswervingly followed the Party in continuing the revolution. Some failed to do so. They stagnated and fell by the wayside, and even became renegades. This inevitably occurs in the course of a revolution. It has happened before and will happen again, but always only an extremely small minority is involved. When Chairman Mao made his basic appraisal of Party cadres during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, he said: "We must be confident that over 90 per cent of the cadres are good or comparatively good. Most of the cadres who have made mistakes can correct them." This is a Marxist appraisal and completely accords with the actual situation regarding our cadres in the present period of China's socialist revolution.

Representatives of the bourgeoisie inside the Party may be very few in number but the harm they do to the revolution is very great. Under certain circumstances, they can cause the revolution enormous setbacks, even bringing about defeat. This has happened many times in the history of our Party. As all power is in the hands of our Party in the period of socialist revolution, representatives of the bourgeoisie who have sneaked into the Party, particularly those in power taking the capitalist road like Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and members of the "gang of four" who usurped important Party and government posts, the harm they do to the revolution is even more serious. They present the main danger of a capitalist restoration. This fully explains why Chairman Mao's directive about bourgeoisie being "right in the Communist Party" is of extreme importance and great significance.

The "gang of four" wantonly trampled upon the Marxist-Leninist theory on Party building and distorted the history and prevailing situation of our Party. In their view, the majority of our veteran Party cadres were not only all democrats of the old school when they joined the democratic revolution, but during the long struggle of the new-democratic revolution and socialist revolution these comrades stopped

where they were politically and ideologically, or even had gone to the extent of being enamoured of developing capitalism. According to the gang's logic, not only were they not remoulded, assimilated or rejected by the political party of the proletariat, their numbers in the Party continually increased and expanded to such an extent that today they have all turned into people in power taking the capitalist road and have emerged in the Party as a whole bourgeois class. If this "theory" of theirs holds water, then doesn't it mean that the constant education the cadres received from Chairman Mao, the ideological struggles within the Party and the long years of revolutionary practice have had no effect at all in heightening the political-ideological level of Party members and in purifying the ranks of the Party? If this were the case, the victories of the new-democratic revolution and socialist revolution in China would have been inconceivable.

### **The Gang's Motive in Reversing the Relations Between Ourselves and the Enemy**

The "gang of four's" distortion of Chairman Mao's directive about bourgeoisie being "**right in the Communist Party**" has turned upside down the relations between ourselves and the enemy in the socialist revolution. The "bourgeoisie inside the Party" they spoke of certainly does not mean the handful of Party persons in power really taking the capitalist road; they were in fact trying to unjustifiably pin this label on the majority of veteran cadres who joined the Party in the period of the democratic revolution. They made it very clear: "The targets of the revolution today are the democrats who lived on chaff in the old society, were wounded in the war against Japanese aggression, fought in the War of Liberation and crossed the Yalu River during the war of resistance to U.S. aggression and aiding Korea." They wanted to "ferret out a whole layer of people" which included such outstanding senior proletarian revolutionaries as our respected and beloved Premier Chou. Of course, members of the "gang of four" were not limiting themselves to overthrowing veteran cadres. New cadres who did not follow them were labelled capitulationists and indiscriminately overthrown also. In doing this, the gang was not overthrowing just a number of people. In cruelly suppressing Chinese

Communist Party members, it was also out to denigrate the history of our great, glorious and correct Party and thoroughly wreck it.

Why was the gang so hostile to the old comrades who had followed Chairman Mao for decades in making revolution? Why were they so hellbent on hounding such comrades to death? It has now become startlingly clear. They were a bunch of ruthless counter-revolutionaries who had secreted themselves inside our Party. As Chairman Hua pointed out: "The 'gang of four' is in fact a sinister gang of these new and old-time counter-revolutionaries." They were typical representatives of the bourgeoisie within the Communist Party, typical representatives of the Chiang Kai-shek Kuomintang hidden in the Communist Party, and unrepentant capitalist-roaders still on the capitalist road. For a long time, they decked themselves out inside the Party as revolutionaries while practising revisionism, creating splits and engaging in intrigues and conspiracies in a vain attempt to subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat and set up a fascist dictatorship and restore capitalism. To realize this counter-revolutionary aim, they cooked up this counter-revolutionary "theory" which made genuine proletarian revolutionaries the targets of "revolution" while prettifying themselves, a bunch of ultra-Rightists, as "revolutionary" leaders.

In collusion with Lin Piao, the "gang of four" long used the counter-revolutionary tactic of "waving Chairman Mao's banner to attack Chairman Mao's forces." They always seized the opportunity to take over Chairman Mao's directives and wantonly distorted and falsified them so that they came to mean something totally different. At one time or another over the years, they spewed forth counter-revolutionary nonsense such as "the contradiction between the new cultural revolution group and the old government," opposing "the big Confucianist inside the Party" and "making opposition to empiricism the key link." Last year, the gang carefully concocted the plot to distort Chairman Mao's directive concerning bourgeoisie being "**right in the Communist Party**" to mean there was a bourgeois class in the Communist Party. This vastly advanced the counter-revolutionary fallacies the gang had been disseminating for a long time and made their counter-revolutionary "theory" even more deceptive. This "theory" of

theirs became central to all their counter-revolutionary utterances. Their 1976 hue and cry about "ferreting out layer after layer of capitalist-roaders," "ferreting out the bourgeoisie in the army," their clamour that literary and art works must have as their theme "models of democrats turning into capitalist-roaders" and their maligning the criticism of capitalism as "big capitalism out to fix little capitalism," and so on were all centred on this "theory." Their counter-revolutionary propaganda made people very confused. Politically and organizationally, it caused immense damage.

Carrying out Chairman Mao's behests, our brilliant leader Chairman Hua smashed at one stroke the "gang of four" and exposed their counter-revolutionary features. The whole Party, the whole army and the people of the whole country today are holding high the revolutionary banner of Chairman Mao, studying Chairman Mao's thesis on the two types of social contradictions which are different in nature, thoroughly criticizing the "gang of four's" distortions of Chairman Mao's directives, thereby wiping out the gang's counter-revolutionary influence politically, ideologically and theoretically.

## China's Road to Industrialization

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

by Chung Chin

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**I**N his work *On the Ten Major Relationships* (see issue No. 1, 1977), Chairman Mao in 1956 summed up China's experience by drawing lessons from the Soviet Union and, first of all, expounded in a scientific way the relationship between heavy industry on the one hand and light industry and agriculture on the other. He pointed out: "The emphasis in our country's construction is on heavy industry. The production of the means of production must be given priority, that's settled. But it definitely does not follow that the production of the means of subsistence, especially grain, can be neglected. Without enough food and other daily necessities, it would be impossible to provide for the workers in the first place, and then what sense would it make to talk about developing heavy industry? Therefore, the relationship between heavy industry on the one hand and light industry and agriculture on the other must be properly handled."

In 1957, Chairman Mao again said: "In discussing our path to industrialization, I am here concerned principally with the relationship between the growth of heavy industry, light industry and agriculture. It must be affirmed that heavy industry is the core of China's economic construction. At the same time, full attention must be paid to the development of agriculture and light industry." (*On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People.*)

The most fundamental relationship in terms of the proportion of various branches in socialist economy is one between production of the means of production and that of consumer goods. This relationship is basically embodied in the proportion between heavy industry on the one hand and light industry and agriculture on the other. If it is handled well, the national economy will develop at high speed and in a proportionate way; otherwise, there will be

disproportions and the growth of the entire national economy will be affected adversely. Chairman Mao's directive on properly handling the relationship between heavy industry and light industry and agriculture indicates the road to socialist industrialization which conforms to the objective law of socialist economy and suits the situation in China. This has been borne out by what has been done in China over the last two decades or so.

### **Two Approaches, Two Results**

After seizing political power and transforming the system of ownership in the economically backward countries, the proletariat always faces a major and difficult task, that is, carrying out socialist industrialization and agricultural modernization.

To bring about socialist industrialization, it is necessary to take the development of heavy industry as the core. Only when heavy industry develops can we produce more machinery and equipment which are the bone and muscle of modern production, carry out the technical transformation of the entire national economy including agriculture and raise labour productivity, so as to completely change our country's socio-economic features. Only when heavy industry develops can we strengthen our national defence and be sufficiently prepared materially against the imperialist and social-imperialist policies of aggression and war.

The question is how to develop heavy industry. In *On the Ten Major Relationships*, Chairman Mao pointed out: "There are now two approaches to our development of heavy industry: One is to develop agriculture and light industry less, and the other is to develop them more. In the long run, the first approach will lead to a smaller and slower development of heavy industry, or at least will put it on a less solid foundation, and when the overall account is added up a few decades hence, it will not prove

to have paid. The second approach will lead to a greater and faster development of heavy industry and, since it ensures the livelihood of the people, it will lay a more solid foundation for the development of heavy industry." These two approaches represent the opposition of dialectics and metaphysics and of the two lines — one for achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results and the other for getting less, slower, poorer and more expensive results.

The concept of developing heavy industry by developing agriculture and light industry more is Chairman Mao's important development of the basic principles of Marxist political economy. It negates the metaphysical viewpoint of emphasizing the growth of heavy industry alone which has long tied down people's minds, explains the dialectical relationship between the growth of agriculture, light industry and heavy industry, and points out for our country the road to socialist industrialization with greater, faster, better and more economical results.

### **Relationship Between Agriculture, Light Industry and Heavy Industry**

Agriculture is the foundation of the national economy. This is primarily because of the fact that the growth of the other sectors of the national economy is conditioned by the labour productivity of agriculture and its surplus products. People need food every day. In running industry and other undertakings, we cannot do without grain. It has been proved by facts since the founding of the People's Republic of China that when we reap a rich harvest, we find the going easier and our industry grows at a faster pace; when we have a poor harvest, we find the going tougher and our industry develops at a slower pace.

There can be no light industry without agriculture. Today 70 per cent of the raw and other materials used in light industry come from

agriculture. While increasing grain production, we also pay attention to developing industrial crops. As agriculture develops and provides more raw materials for light industry, the latter is assured of its development.

The process of socialist industrialization is one in which an increasingly great labour force is being switched from the agricultural to the industrial front. That several hundred million people today are engaged in farm work to feed the population is because of our low labour productivity in agriculture. To change this situation and transfer more people to industry, especially heavy industry, we must make a big effort to raise the labour productivity in agriculture, especially grain production.

Our rural areas constitute a very broad market which takes in large quantities of both light and heavy industrial products. With gradual progress in the technical transformation of agriculture, there has been a steady increase in machinery, fertilizer, water conservancy and electric power projects and transport facilities for the farms as well as fuel and building materials for rural consumers.

Agriculture and light industry are the important source of funds for developing heavy industry. Needless to say, heavy industry has its own accumulation, but the accumulation of light industry and agriculture grows at a faster rate. Generally speaking, within four years after a light industry factory has gone into full production, it can earn enough to build one to three factories of the same size or at least half a factory in addition to getting back its original investment. The total amount of accumulation provided by light industry for the state after the founding of the People's Republic of China makes up the greater part of total state investment in industrial capital construction in the same period. Since more than 80 per cent of our population live in the countryside, it is also necessary for agriculture to accumulate part of the funds for developing industry.

Proceeding from the inner relations between heavy industry on the one hand and light industry and agriculture on the other, Chairman Mao incisively pointed out: **"Is your desire to develop heavy industry genuine or feigned, strong or weak? If your desire is feigned or weak, then you will hit agriculture and light industry and invest less in them. If your desire is genuine or strong, then you will attach importance to agriculture and light industry so that there will be more grain and more raw materials for light industry and a greater accumulation of capital. And there will be more funds in the future to invest in heavy industry."** (*On the Ten Major Relationships.*) Obviously, the latter is the only road for developing industry with greater, faster, better and more economical results.

Attaching importance to the development of agriculture and light industry is not only an economic question but an important political question. When the two develop well, the market will have ample commodity supplies, the people will be satisfied, and the exchange of products between the cities and the countryside will develop smoothly via socialist channels, all being beneficial to consolidating the worker-peasant alliance. Otherwise, the livelihood of the people cannot be well provided for and there will be no stability in society. Therefore, the development of agriculture and light industry has a direct bearing on strengthening the material foundation of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

### **Arranging the Plan in the Order of Agriculture, Light and Heavy Industry**

On the basis of the concept elucidated in *On the Ten Major Relationships*, Chairman Mao laid down for our Party the general principle for developing the national economy, namely, **taking agriculture as the foundation and industry as the leading factor**, and issued the important

directive which called for arranging the national economic plan in the order of agriculture, light and heavy industry. This is of great theoretical and immediate significance to the cause of socialist construction in our country.

In the work of mapping out plans, arranging the national economic plan in this way is a concrete embodiment of the general principle of **taking agriculture as the foundation and industry as the leading factor** for developing the national economy. As the rate of growth of agricultural production determines the development of industry and other undertakings and their speed, it is necessary in working out plans first to arrange and decide on farm production and its speed of development according to the needs and possibilities and to ensure the labour force, materials and investment necessary for the growth of agriculture. Then, we have to arrange and decide on the production of light industry and its rate of growth according to the amount of grain, raw materials, labour force and funds provided by agriculture, the technology and equipment made available for light industry by heavy industry and the people's purchasing power for light industrial products, so as to ensure sufficient supply of articles of daily use on the market and the stability of prices and money value. After that, the scale and speed of heavy industry's development are arranged and decided according to the amount of grain, raw materials, labour force and funds provided for heavy industry by agriculture, the industrial consumer goods and funds light industry can supply to heavy industry, and the means of production heavy industry must provide for agriculture, light industry and its own development. In this way, agriculture, light and heavy industry can develop harmoniously and support and promote one another, and socialist industrialization can be enormously speeded up.

By attaching importance to developing agriculture and light industry, we can activate overall economic work; this is true not only in the country as a whole but also in any locality.

The Kwangsi Chuang Autonomous Region is a case in point, where an excellent situation of development has prevailed in recent years. While paying great attention to agriculture, the region's Party committee has done its best to allocate the investments and raw and other materials needed by light industry. In the 12 years between 1965 and 1976, the total value of light industrial output in Kwangsi rose 4.5-fold. During the period of the Fourth Five-Year Plan (1971-75), its annual progressive rate of increase averaged upwards of 15 per cent. The accumulation of the light industrial enterprises in 1975 accounted for 38 per cent of Kwangsi's total financial revenue. All this has helped bring about an all-round development of economic undertakings throughout the autonomous region in recent years.

What has happened in Tsunghua County, Hopei Province, also is illustrative of this. To bring about agricultural mechanization, the county leadership was anxious to set up small metallurgical, machine-building, chemical fertilizer and other plants in the early 1970s. But before long it realized that running heavy industry plants alone could not solve the problem of funds and, still worse, it could hardly keep the already established plants going. After summing up experience and drawing the necessary lessons, the leadership made a big effort to develop light industry in the ensuing years and things got better. In the last six years, the varieties of industrial articles of daily use made by local factories jumped from some 300 to more than 1,500 which accounted for more than 50 per cent of the total on sale in the county, including towns and villages. As light industry grew, the county's accumulation more than doubled in the same period and small heavy industry plants also have sprung up. This has tremendously promoted agricultural mechanization and the county now has more than 1,700 tractors. People there describe this experience as "using light industry to promote heavy industry and using heavy industry to support agriculture."

# Reminiscences of Premier Chou En-lai

— Episodes after the founding of New China

January 8 this year was the first anniversary of the passing of Premier Chou En-lai. Newspapers and periodicals throughout the country published many articles in his memory recounting his revolutionary activities and paying tribute to his sterling qualities. Condensed selections of these articles were published in issues No. 8 and 12. Following is the third and last instalment. — Ed.

## Working Till the East Is Red

PREMIER Chou took charge of the day-to-day work of the Party and state after the founding of New China. More often than not, he skipped meals and sleep when he was busy handling major domestic and international affairs. Seeing how the Premier devoted himself to his work, the comrades working by his side were deeply moved and at the same time much worried.

When Premier Chou looked tired late at night, attendants on duty would with deep affection offer him a hot face towel or ask him to take a walk in the open. Whenever he finished his work on hand at daybreak, he asked his secretary: "Any more work?" Before leaving for home, the Premier never failed to shake hands with the attendants, saying: "You must be tired, for you have worked till the east is red." They all shook their heads and told the Premier: "No, not at all. It is you Premier who works till the east is red every day!"

Chairman Mao was much concerned about Premier Chou's health and time and again asked him to rest more and not overwork. The comrades working alongside him also felt uneasy. Talking among themselves about how the Premier worked tirelessly, all agreed his health was

of great importance. They found it necessary to sternly "criticize" him for burying himself in work in total disregard of any rest, because they had to be responsible to the whole Party, the whole army and the people throughout the country. Together, they wrote a big-character poster and put it up on the door of the Premier's office.

The poster reads: "Comrade Premier Chou: We would like to say a few words to you. We want to ask you to change your ways and habits of work in keeping with your health condition so that you will be able to do more work for the Party and do it longer. This is out of the highest and long-term interests of the Party and the revolution. Because of this, we strongly urge you to comply with our request."

Many comrades in the central leading organs who read the poster voiced support and signed it. Upon reading the poster, Premier Chou burst into loud laughter. He expressed his thanks for their thoughtful concern and wrote on the poster: "I sincerely accept your request. Please keep an eye on how I carry it out."

The poster spoke volumes for the love and concern the people in their hundreds of millions had for Premier Chou. But out of a high sense of responsibility for the people's cause, he continued working day in and day out. With deep feelings, he said: "I'm getting old, so I must do more work for the people in my remaining years."

## An Ordinary Labourer

On May 25, 1958, Chairman Mao, Premier Chou, Chairman Chu Teh of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress and other leading comrades of the central organs went to the construction site of the Ming Tombs





**Premier Chou at  
the construction  
site of a reservoir.**

*Oil painting by  
Ho Kung-teh  
and Kao Hung*

Reservoir to work alongside 100,000 builders. Shortly afterwards, Premier Chou again went at the head of more than 500 leading comrades of Party and government organs and leading cadres at and above department and bureau levels. They spent a week or so living, eating and working together with the reservoir builders.

Except for a guard, Premier Chou was there without any entourage. Before he left for the construction site, someone asked him if it was necessary to bring a doctor along. He firmly turned this down, saying that no special arrangement was allowed at the construction site and that his health would improve through physical labour. Even if there were minor ailments, he added, he would consult the doctors there like everyone else.

The day after their arrival, a comrade from the work-site command came to brief them on the construction work and assign them their tasks. When he found that the people he was going to speak to were all leading cadres, he was somewhat flustered. Hardly had he begun with "We welcome leading comrades . . ."

before Premier Chou began laughing and said: "There are no leading comrades here. No premier, no minister and no department or bureau director. All of us are ordinary labourers." Comrade Wang Chen who sat beside the Premier added with a sense of humour: "You're now the leading comrade and we are your subordinates." Their warm remarks and easy-going and unassuming manner soon dispelled that comrade's misgivings.

While at the construction site, Premier Chou worked eight hours a day like the others and never came late or left early. At the sound of the whistle, all the leading comrades lined up with the builders and walked to the work-site four kilometres from where they lived. Premier Chou sometimes walked in the ranks and sometimes held a red banner at the head.

Those were sweltering days. Working under the scorching sun to gather rocks for the project, Premier Chou and the other leading comrades stood in a line and passed burning hot stones from hand to hand, jokingly calling the big ones "watermelons" and the little ones "casabas." They shouted rhythmically: "Look!

Here's a big watermelon!" "Look! A small casaba again!" The air was filled with their shouts and laughter. Rocks soon were piled high at the work face.

Though the Premier was then 60, he was hale and hearty. When his hand was cut by a rock and bled, the others asked him to get it dressed and take a rest. "We don't pull out of the battle because of minor injuries, do we?" he said with a smile and kept working without having his hand attended to. Whatever work he was assigned, moving building materials, filling in or carrying baskets, or pulling or pushing carts, he did it in real earnest. Most impressive was how he pushed a single-wheel rock-filled barrow along a 30-centimetre-wide path. With his jacket unbuttoned and sweat trickling down his cheeks, he moved with steady and brisk strides. Everyone there respected the Premier for his selfless and devoted manner of work.

### **Of One Heart With the People's Liberation Army**

Premier Chou was Chairman Mao's close comrade-in-arms who for decades made indelible contributions to founding the people's army and enabling it to grow in strength and number. After the birth of New China, he remained much concerned about the work in the army and gave a series of instructions concerning its revolutionization and modernization, actual operations and routine training as well as logistics and political work.

It was he who personally examined and approved the plan for every major battle fought on the Fukien front. In the small hours of November 13, 1965, when two U.S.-made warships of the Chiang Kai-shek gang intruded into the offshore waters near Fukien, he cabled this directive from Peking: "Concentrate forces to make an attack on one ship first and be sure to hit it hard. Bring into play our army's fine style of engaging the enemy at close quarters, fighting battles at night and fighting valiantly and tenaciously." Acting in accordance with the Premier's directive, the commanders and fighters sank one of the enemy's ships and damaged the other. A fortnight later, he received in Shanghai the representatives of the commanders and fighters who had performed meritorious service in that sea battle. During

the reception, Premier Chou joined them in summing up their experience, reminded them not to get conceited because of victory or disheartened in case of defeat, and encouraged them to redouble their efforts to study Chairman Mao's works and master military skills so as to win new victories.

On December 7, 1963, Premier Chou inspected the No. 846 warship of the South China Sea Fleet. As soon as he stepped on deck, he saluted the P.L.A. flag before greeting the comrades on board. During the cruise, he visited all firing positions and had cordial talks with the crew, encouraging them to study Chairman Mao's works diligently and strive to be ideologically sound, physically fit and technically proficient, so that they would be able to wipe out any enemy that dared to intrude. His solicitous attention to the navymen greatly inspired them to advance along the revolutionary course charted by Chairman Mao.

Premier Chou and Vice-Premier Chen Yi left Peking for abroad on June 2, 1965. While their plane was over the Pamir Plateau on the Sinkiang frontier, the Premier, who knew that a dozen fighters were on duty at a small navigation station in the mountains, radioed them a message which said: "You are working hard at high altitudes, defying hardships and hazards and overcoming numerous difficulties. Hope you will keep it up." Only a few words, the message was a great inspiration to the fighters.

On June 20, 1968, Premier Chou went to an air force unit to see an exhibition of clay sculptures describing some airmen's family histories. When he saw how pilot Pang Li-chu's family had lost three members in the old society, the Premier, in tears, asked Comrade Pang who in his family had survived and who they were. Patting him on the back with deep sympathy, he significantly told the others around: "I hope you'll not forget the miserable old days and your families' bitter past even when you reach my age. You must follow Chairman Mao's teachings and carry the revolutionary cause through to the end."

All this shows that Premier Chou was of one heart with the commanders and fighters of the three P.L.A. services. His brilliant image

and his concern for the people's army will always be a source of inspiration for them in advancing courageously along the road of continuing the revolution.

### **Always Had Yenán's People at Heart**

Yenan was the great revolutionary centre where Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee directed the War of Resistance Against Japan behind the enemy's lines and where Premier Chou lived and worked for quite a long time. Although the Premier had left Yenán before the founding of the People's Republic of China, he always had Yenán's people at heart. On their part, the people of Yenán also missed him very much and hoped he would revisit the place.

This hope came true in June 1973 when Premier Chou accompanied Vietnamese guests to Yenán. At the lunch table, he asked cadres from the Yenán prefectural Party committee about their work in all fields. When he learnt that greater efforts had to be made to improve industrial and agricultural production and the life of the masses there, he said: "In the years since liberation, Yenán has undergone tremendous changes, but what has been achieved is far from satisfactory. As Premier, I'm responsible for this. The Yenán people nurtured us and supported us to win nationwide victory in the revolution and we ought to build Yenán still better." Looking at these cadres, he asked: "Do you think it possible to bring still greater changes to Yenán in three years and double grain output in five years?" In one voice, they replied with a resounding "yes." Elated, the Premier rose to his feet and said: "That's fine! Let me propose a toast to your doubling grain output in five years!" His encouragement struck a responsive chord in the hearts of all present.

During his two-day stay in Yenán, Premier Chou could always be seen mixing with the masses wherever he went. Everyone who saw him was very happy. Elderly people with wrinkled faces were moved to tears and pupils wearing red scarves round their necks greeted him with broad smiles. Like a family member, Premier Chou never failed to inquire after them with loving concern.

Upon arriving at the Tsaoyuan (Date Orchard) Production Brigade, he asked the cadres: "How many of the old folks who were in Yenán when Chairman Mao was here are alive today?" When they told him only one, Kao Tung-yu, the Premier immediately sent for him. As Kao Tung-yu, supported by his daughter, approached, Premier Chou quickly stepped forward to greet and shake hands with him and asked about his health. The old man was so moved that he could hardly find words to express himself. Premier Chou made a special point of introducing him to the visiting Vietnamese guests, saying: "This is Chairman Mao's old neighbour." On her father's behalf, the daughter told the Premier: "My father kindly asks you to give Chairman Mao and Commander-in-Chief Chu his regards." Very pleased, Premier Chou kept nodding his head in agreement with the request.

According to the prearrangements, Premier Chou was to stay at the guest house for foreign visitors. But he insisted on being put up in the hostel for cadres, where he preferred a few simple dishes and millet to rice and steamed bread. Millet grown in Yenán was particularly pleasing to his palate and he loved it for deep-seated reasons. "Yenán's millet nurtured us," he often said.

### **In Earthquake-Stricken Area**

Hopei Province's Hsingtai Prefecture was hit by two successive strong earthquakes in March 1966. There were heavy losses to the people's property and lives. Premier Chou went to the afflicted areas the next day and on two other occasions despite the aftershocks. Getting off the train at a small railway station, he went by car straight to the epicentral area where he heard reports from responsible comrades of the local Party committee and brought them the solicitude and the directives of Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee. He then inspected the stricken areas and expressed his sympathy to the victims. Wherever he went, his first words were: "You've been hit by a natural disaster. Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee are very concerned about you and he sent me to convey cordial sympathy to you all." Hearing the Pre-



Premier Chou with commune members.

*Oil painting by Su Kao-li, Lin Kang and Pang Tao*

mier's words, no one could hold back the tears. Then and there, he gave the instruction that a joint command post be set up immediately to strengthen leadership over the communes and brigades in the stricken areas and carry out effective ideological and political work among the people. Meanwhile, he set forth the principle of "relying on our own efforts and working hard to develop production and rebuild homes."

April 1 saw Premier Chou calling at the simple ward of a make-shift hospital set up by the Tungwang Commune in Chinning County. Many of the badly injured hoped that they could get out of their beds and shake hands with the Premier. Understanding this, Premier Chou went to each one, bending over to shake hands with them at the bedside and asking about their injuries. When he came to an old poor peasant named Ho Chuan-sheng whose pelvis had been crushed, he leaned over the bedside and held Ho's hands tightly and gently lifted the quilt to examine the injured part. Tears coursed down Ho's cheeks

and he said after quite a while: "Premier, you are so busy with state affairs day and night, but you've come to see us. What can we do in return for your kindness?" The Premier replied: "Everyone ought to serve the people! The People's Liberation Army men are here serving the people, so am I." He then consoled him and told him to go to the county seat for treatment if the commune hospital could not handle his case and even to the city of Shihchia-chuang if necessary. All in all, Premier Chou visited more than 140 injured bedridden people.

At the Paichiachai Brigade in Lungyao County, Premier Chou went through the debris in making the rounds of all the villages. Whoever he met on the way, he affectionately asked: "What losses did you suffer? Do you have cooking utensils? What about food?" He also instructed the brigade cadres that old people be given help and babies well looked after. When the Premier saw a little girl in front of a collapsed house, he quickened his steps and picked her up, kindly asking: "How's your father?"

And mother?" When the child replied in the affirmative, he then put her down.

Wherever Premier Chou went, he listened modestly to opinions from all quarters and wanted the cadres at various levels to consult the masses in whatever was done because everything was aimed at serving the people. While talking with some 70 brigade cadres and commune members of the Hoshiachai Brigade in a tent, he inquired about the effects of the quakes, the losses and farm production and even paid attention to such minute details as watering the wheat and getting seeds for spring sowing. Outside, a high wind whipped up clouds of dust and the flapping top of the tent peppered dust into the bowls of drinking water. Paying this no heed, the Premier picked up a bowl and, gently blowing aside the floating specks, drank his water in one gulp. He kept working that day to help arrange anti-quake and relief work and had not eaten a thing by two in the afternoon. Local leading cadres asked him again and again to have a meal, but he simply said: "No hurry! No hurry!" He repeatedly reminded the comrades around: "Let's not bother the masses as they already are in great difficulty due to the quake." Thus, without a morsel of food, the Premier worked 16 hours at a stretch till nine at night, inspecting all four afflicted areas in Hsingtai Prefecture. When the helicopter with Premier Chou on board landed on a training ground of the army units stationed on the outskirts of the city of Hsingtai, many comrades asked him to have dinner in the city proper. He declined, saying: "Don't trouble yourselves, let's try potluck with the fighters in the barracks." He had some pancakes and a dish of cabbage. This left an indelible impression on the cadres and fighters there.

### **Solicitude for Fraternal Minorities**

China is a multinational country with more than 50 nationalities. Premier Chou showed the utmost concern for the fraternal minority peoples.

He was particularly attentive to strengthening unity among various nationalities. Returning from a visit abroad in the summer of 1965, he stopped over for an inspection tour of Sinkiang where again and again he called the attention

of the cadres at various levels to cementing unity among various nationalities. While talking with cadres of various nationalities in Khotan, Kashgar, Shihhotzu and Urumchi, the Premier stressed many times that both Han and minority nationality cadres must strive to do away with the bourgeois national conception and push national unity to a new stage, with particular emphasis on encouraging the Han cadres to settle in this frontier region and work for the interests of the minority peoples. In addition, he called on the Han cadres to learn the Uighur language and the Uighur cadres to learn the Chinese language. Wherever he met them, he asked if they had a good command of the language they had learnt. "If you can't make yourselves understood, how can you talk with each other about your work and what's on your mind?" To set an example, the Premier picked up a few Uighur expressions during his brief stay so that he could greet the Uighur comrades.

After listening to reports from leading comrades of the Khotan prefectural Party committee, he instructed that they must implement the Party's policy towards nationalities still better, boldly select and promote minority cadres and give scope to their ability and make earnest efforts to train the first generation of Uighur workers so as to augment the ranks of minority industrial workers.

When Premier Chou inspected the Central Institute for Nationalities in Peking in spring 1956, he went to the dormitory for male Tibetan students, where he asked them if they were accustomed to the climate and life in Peking, how many Chinese characters they had learnt and if they had any difficulties in their studies and daily life. Learning that some were sick, he immediately visited them in the ward and felt their clothes and mattresses to see if they were warm enough. He told the responsible comrades of the institute on the spot that greater care must be given the Tibetan students because the Tibetan people had suffered more than any other nationality under heinous feudal serfdom and that efforts must be made to help them study politics and raise their cultural level. They must be provided with sufficient clothing and bedding, he added, and those students who needed a good rest must be sent to well-equipped sanitoriums.

At the end of his inspection, Premier Chou asked the institute to set up a post-graduate class under the minority languages and literature department for the study of the Tibetan language. According to his instruction, students with a good record were to be selected to attend this three-year course devoted to studying Tibetan grammar and classics, archives and historical records found in Tibet, so as to train them into politically sound and vocationally proficient specialists in the Tibetan language, literature, history and culture.

Acting on the Premier's instruction, the institute soon opened the class which has trained one group after another of such specialists. They have made achievements in studying the literature and history of Tibet, in teaching and translation work and in developing Tibetan culture.

June 13, 1961 saw Premier Chou arriving in Chinghung, capital of the Hsishuang Panna Tai Autonomous Prefecture in Yunnan Province. The following day was the Tai people's traditional Water-Sprinkling Festival. Early that morning, the Premier started his inspection at Mangtingchai Village where he came upon crowds of Tai poor and lower-middle peasants dancing the "Elephant Drum" dance under the lichee trees. Slinging a drum over his shoulder, he joined the dancers to the beat of drums. When the time came for sprinkling water, he and the merry-makers dipped cypress branches into the water in silver bowls and sprinkled each other. According to the Tai custom, the greater the amount of water sprinkled and the enthusiasm shown, the deeper one's affection and respect for another. Not satisfied with using silver bowls to sprinkle water on the Premier as a token of their love, the people of various nationalities used basins. Fearing this would be detrimental to the Premier's health, his guard held an umbrella to protect him from the water. But he promptly told the guard to put away the umbrella, saying that it was nothing and he must do as the others did and go among the masses. He also replaced his silver bowl with a basin and sprinkled basinfuls of water on the people around him. This brought the masses' enthusiasm to a new high. Dazzling beads of water shone in the sun like

rainbows closely linking Premier Chou with the Tai people.

### In Hospital

Premier Chou became seriously ill in 1972 and was later hospitalized. As always, he continued to be much concerned about Chairman Mao's health and frequently went to Chairman Mao's residence to look after him when the Chairman was sick. Everytime he went, he walked softly to Chairman Mao's bedside and asked after him before listening attentively to the medical team's reports. He always warmly encouraged the team members, gave specific directives and personally looked into the team's needs. When he went to see Chairman Mao one Spring Festival, he found that some medical personnel had to stay on the job and were away from home for the traditional family reunion. Out of deep concern, he brought piping hot dumplings from his home for them.

Premier Chou always kept the knotty problem of treating tumors in mind. Speaking of the death of Comrade Chen Yi from cancer, he said with deep grief: "We should conquer cancer." In February 1975, his own case went from bad to worse. Still in bed after a major treatment, he sent for a responsible comrade of Peking's Jihtan Hospital which specializes in treating tumors and told him to send doctors to a mining area where lung cancer cases had been found. All the medical personnel present were moved to tears by the Premier's selflessness and wholehearted devotion to others when they saw for themselves how he cared about the health of miners while keeping his unbearable pain to himself.

Premier Chou's condition grew worse on January 7 last year. His breathing became very weak and his life hung by a thread. At ten that night, he opened his eyes slightly and murmured to the medical personnel in attendance: "Nothing to do here. Go look after other sick comrades. They need you more." These were the last words the Premier spoke. Less than 12 hours later, he left us for ever.

Our respected and beloved Premier Chou selflessly devoted all his energy to the Party, the people and the liberation cause of the proletariat. Even in his last moment, he thought of others rather than of himself. How lofty and noble his ideas!

# The "Gang of Four" Pushed Anarchism

by Wang Che

THE controversy over rules and regulations in the management of enterprises has been going on since the start of the Great Cultural Revolution. There has been many ups and downs. During the struggle against Liu Shao-chi's counter-revolutionary revisionist line, some irrational rules and regulations came under fire and were abolished. This was an achievement which should be affirmed. However, one tendency covered another and, in the course of abolishing irrational rules and regulations, the slogan "Smash all rules and regulations" popped up, accompanied by the fallacy that "rules and regulations are all rubbish."

This erroneous tendency caused enormous harm, especially when Lin Piao and company tried to fan the flame and use it to achieve their own ends. For a period of time following the downfall of Lin Piao, this wrong tendency was checked. In his political report to the Tenth National Congress of the Communist Party of China in 1973, Premier Chou put forward the task of "improving rational rules and regulations," which fully reflected the desire of the working class and the masses. The "gang of four," however, came forward to oppose this. In the name of opposing "*kuan, chia, ya*,"\* they

\* In opposing "*kuan, chia, ya*," the "gang of four" was dead against establishing and improving the rational rules and regulations in the management of socialist enterprises. "*Kuan*" means management or control of enterprises by setting up various rules and regulations; "*chia*" means curbing those practices forbidden by the rules and regulations, for example, products not up to the standard are not allowed to be sold to the consumer and spending money in contravention of the financial system is not permitted; "*ya*" means suppressing, or exercising the dictatorship of the proletariat over, illegal activities such as embezzlement and graft, stealing and speculation.

used these as a big stick to knock down everybody and everything they opposed. Chaos resulted in many factories where rules and regulations were ignored or there were no rules and regulations to follow at all, discipline became lax and production fell.

What did the gang really mean by their "*kuan, chia, ya*"? What was behind their indiscriminate use of this big stick?

Yao Wen-yuan, a member of the gang, provided some explanation to these questions in a "marginal note" he wrote to a certain article in 1976.

Dwelling on rules and regulations, one passage in the article said: As production and technology advance to higher levels, "rules and regulations will become increasingly strict and firm and people will be called upon to observe them more strictly." "This is true not only in capitalist society and socialist society, but also will be true in the future communist society." Commenting on this, Yao Wen-yuan's note said: "No other article advocates the restoration of capitalism more nakedly than this does. It puts socialism and communism completely on a par with capitalism. This fully represents the bourgeoisie!"

## Deliberately Opposing Marxism

Whom was Yao Wen-yuan aiming his criticism at? It was none other than Engels.

Engels put forward this thesis in opposing anarchism, for the anarchists advocated abolition of all kinds of authority in the future society. Repudiating this reactionary view in *On Authority*, Engels stated that as separate small production was superseded by big modern

production to a progressively increasing extent, combined action and organization would become more and more necessary, and therefore authority and discipline would become more and more a necessity. "Wanting to abolish authority in large-scale industry is tantamount to wanting to abolish industry itself, to destroy the power loom in order to return to the spinning wheel." Engels clearly pointed out that authority was indispensable, no matter what the social organization might be. This is of course also the case with socialist society. Though Yao Wen-yuan well knew that this was Engels' view, he was so arrogant as to criticize it. This fully reveals that he was deliberately against Marxism.

Does speaking of the necessity of strict and firm rules and regulations, be it in capitalist society or socialist society, mean putting capitalism and socialism "completely on a par"? Large-scale industries invariably require such rules and regulations. But under capitalism, strict and firm rules and regulations bind the workers hand and foot and treat them as slaves, all for the purpose of squeezing the maximum profit out of them for the capitalists, whereas in socialist enterprises, the workers are the masters and the rules and regulations, rational as well as strict and firm, are established to raise labour productivity, develop socialist production and improve the people's livelihood. So the two are different in essence. How can it be said that they are "completely on a par" because both are "strict and firm"?

According to Yao Wen-yuan, in order to avoid putting capitalism and socialism "completely on a par," the latter must do away with strict and firm rules and regulations, and whoever advocates them would be tantamount to "advocating the restoration of capitalism." This not only runs counter to Engels' view, but also to Lenin's.

After the victory of the October Revolution, Lenin repeatedly stressed that the proletariat must use iron discipline to defeat anarchist tendencies. The so-called "Left-wing" communists at the time babbled that "the imposition of labour discipline brings the danger of subjugating the working class to the status of slaves." Sternly refuting this nonsense, Lenin pointed out that without labour discipline the

proletarian dictatorship would face the threat of collapse. He also pointed out that the spontaneous petty-bourgeois tendency towards anarchism was one of the manifestations of the danger of a capitalist restoration.

### Erroneous Logic

Our practice in the more than 25 years since the founding of the People's Republic of China has also confirmed the complete correctness of Engels' thesis. Of course, we rely mainly on Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, on putting politics in command and on the workers' high level of political consciousness in running our enterprises. But this does not exclude rational and strict rules and regulations. Chairman Mao said: "Discipline is the guarantee for the implementation of the line." He also said that administrative orders and the method of persuasion and education are two aspects of one thing and complement each other. Chairman Mao issued the call "In industry, learn from Taching." And one important experience of Taching is to put strict demands on all staff members and workers, get them well organized and require them to take a serious attitude towards their work and observe strict discipline. Only when workers have a high level of political consciousness can they observe strict discipline.

What did the "gang of four" say about this? Chang Chun-chiao said: "Today's Taching is a production model practising the bourgeois *kuan, chia, ya*." The gang's followers also chimed in, saying that Taching's strict discipline and regulations "uphold the bourgeois dictatorship over the working class." This not only ran counter to Chairman Mao's view, but was a calumny against Taching's workers who, as masters of the oilfield and the country, consciously observe socialist labour discipline!

The "gang of four's" logic was: "Strict" means "*kuan, chia, ya*," "*kuan, chia, ya*" is bourgeois, and what is bourgeois is irrational. We hold that "strict" and "*kuan, chia, ya*" cannot be indiscriminately regarded as bourgeois and, also, it is not justified to say everything capitalist is irrational. Isn't it necessary to *kuan* (control) anarchist tendencies? Shouldn't we *chia* (curb) capitalist tendencies



and *ya* (suppress) the class enemies' sabotage activities? Can we say that such "*kuan, chia, ya*" is bourgeois?

As to rules and regulations in capitalist enterprises, or, in other words, bourgeois "*kuan, chia, ya,*" we must likewise make a concrete analysis. The essential point of the rules and regulations in capitalist enterprises is for the purpose of exploiting the workers. Many are drawn up to keep down the workers; these are reactionary, and we must resolutely oppose them. But some are a scientific crystallization of the workers' practical experience in production. In his brilliant work *On the Ten Major Relationships*, Chairman Mao pointed out: "We must firmly reject and criticize all the decadent bourgeois systems, ideologies and ways of life of foreign countries. But this should in no way prevent us from learning the advanced sciences and technologies of capitalist countries and whatever is scientific in the management of their enterprises." This is an analytical attitude towards capitalist management of enterprises; it is neither a mechanical transplantation of things foreign nor a complete negation of everything.

Lenin dealt with this issue at length. He not only insisted that socialist enterprises must have strict labour discipline and strict and firm rules and regulations, but maintained that, as far as management of enterprises is concerned, capitalist countries' experience and inventions could be assimilated critically.

In the early years of the century, there emerged in the United States the "Taylor system," which was a capitalist system for managing enterprises pure and simple. Lenin angrily denounced it as "a 'scientific' system of sweating." But Lenin did not simply say no to it; instead, he took an analytical view and took into account both its merits and demerits. "The Taylor system," he pointed out, "the last word of capitalism in this respect, like all capitalist progress, is a combination of the refined brutality of bourgeois exploitation and a number of the greatest scientific achievements in the field of analysing mechanical motions during work, the elimination of superfluous and awkward motions, the elaboration of correct methods of work, the introduction of the best system of accounting and control, etc." Therefore, he added, "We must organize in Russia the

study and teaching of the Taylor system and systematically try it out and adapt it to our own ends." (*The Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Government.*)

### Rejecting All Rules and Regulations

In an article written on Yao Wen-yuan's instructions, there were these words: "Rules and regulations reflect the relationships among people in production and are of a clear-cut class nature." But the fact is that while some of the rules and regulations reflect the relationships among people engaged in production and have a class character, others reflect relations between the producers and nature and represent the laws of production technology and therefore have no class characteristics. In his work *On Authority*, Engels said: "If man, by dint of his knowledge and inventive genius, has subdued the forces of nature, the latter avenge themselves upon him by subjecting him, in so far as he employs them, to a veritable despotism independent of all social organization." This means that if man wants to subdue nature he must be subordinate to its laws and observe the rules and regulations that reflect such laws. Engels used the word "despotism" to show that everyone, no matter who he or she is, must without exception obey this. The "gang of four," however, regarded all strict rules and regulations as "bourgeois *kuan, chia, ya,*" without bothering to make any analysis of them. They even absurdly alleged that the regulations ensuring the punctuality of trains were "capitalist" and clamoured that "socialist running behind schedule is preferable to capitalist running on schedule." They simply rejected all rules and regulations.

The "gang of four" was not just opposing "*kuan, chia, ya*" but was opposing all rules and regulations. Chang Chun-chiao made this clear when he said: "It is necessary to set up enterprises that have no rules and regulations." Yao Wen-yuan, too, said that "a model unit must be found through summing up where production is carried out successfully without rules and regulations." Such a "model unit" might be fabricated but could in no way be found "through summing up." How can production go on in a large enterprise without rules and regulations? This is common knowledge. Was

the "gang of four" really ignorant of this? Of course not. In spreading such nonsense as they did, they aimed at throwing the national economy into chaos so that they could blame others for it and seize power by taking advantage of the ensuing chaotic state of affairs.

Chairman Mao called on us to reform irrational rules and regulations. This is correct. Whether the rules and regulations are rational or irrational depends first of all on whether they are conducive to the development of the productive forces and, secondly, on whether they benefit the masses; certainly it does not depend on whether or not they are "*kuan, chia, ya*." "Oppose *kuan, chia, ya*" is not a scientific slogan, and as likely as not, it tends to create confusion. All rules and regulations are to varying degrees compulsory and authoritarian. There are no such rules or regulations that do not manage (or control), curb or suppress something or someone. It is explicitly stipulated in the Taching Oilfield that "all things are in the charge or control of someone or other." Isn't this *kuan* (manage or control)? Regulations regarding quality say that "if the quality of unfinished products or products is not up to the standard, they must not be passed on to the next process or be put on the market." Isn't this *chia* (curb)? The system for safety in production provides that "struggles must be

waged resolutely against class enemies who undermine revolution and production and blows dealt to them." Isn't this *ya* (suppress)? The essential point lies in who manages or controls what, who curbs what and who suppresses whom. Thus it is wrong to oppose "*kuan, chia, ya*" indiscriminately. The "gang of four" precisely exploited this mistake to negate all rules and regulations.

In opposing "*kuan, chia, ya*," the gang aimed at pushing anarchism. Did they really want to realize some kind of anarchist ideal? No. Their anarchism opposed only the government of the proletariat and wanted the government of the bourgeoisie. Once they seized political power, they would not have hesitated to establish a government of their own. At that time, they would not have simply exercised "*kuan, chia, ya*," but would have imposed a fascist dictatorship on the people. Was it not the case in places, departments and units they had placed under their control? The "gang of four" opposed what they called "bourgeois *kuan, chia, ya*" in order to instigate anarchism, and their purpose in advocating anarchism was to seize power by taking advantage of the resultant chaos, overthrow the dictatorship of the proletariat and establish a bourgeois fascist dictatorship. This was the ultra-Right essence of their slogan.

## Red Sea States Strengthen Unity

THE heads of four Red Sea states — the Yemen Arab Republic, the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, the Sudan and Somalia — met in Taiz on March 22 to study ways of strengthening unity and co-operation. There was an identity of views.

The press communique issued after the meeting said that the Red Sea region should be one of peace and harmony for ever and that the littoral states should consult and co-ordinate with each other to achieve this aim. The heads of state also shared the view that these states

should strengthen co-operation and unity, oppose Israeli aggression and exploit Red Sea resources in the service of the people of Red Sea countries.

The Red Sea and the Gulf of Suez to the north and the Gulf of Aden to the south together form a strategic waterway for communications between Europe, Asia and Africa. Therefore, the two superpowers have always been closely watching and ready to pounce on the Red Sea countries in their contention for global hegemony. The So-

viet Union greedily has reached out into the region from north to south. Using threats and deception, it tried to control the countries there politically, plunder them economically and seize the right to use port and naval and air base facilities, and even plotted to subvert their governments and browbeat their people. Moscow has done everything possible to sow discord among the countries and use and widen their differences in an attempt to sabotage their unity and benefit itself. The other superpower, the United States, has also intensified expansion in the region over the past few years.

The rivalry between the two superpowers has posed a grave threat to the security of the Red Sea region and caused uneasiness and opposition among the coastal countries. In recent years, a growing number of nations there have made bilateral or multilateral contacts to iron out differences, closed ranks and stepped up co-operation in a joint effort to ensure regional security and cope with the superpower policies of aggression and expansion. The heads of state of Egypt, Saudi Arabia and the Sudan met in Jidda last July to discuss for the first time the cardinal issue of how the Red Sea states should fight the enemy in unity. Later in the same month, Egypt and the Sudan signed a joint defence agreement to deal with possible threats. The recent meeting of the heads of state of several nations in the southern part of the region, held at the proposal of the Sudanese President Nimeri, achieved positive results. This marked a step forward in the cause of solidarity among the littoral countries of the Red Sea. It reflected the common desire of the peoples in the region and was a resounding reply to imperialist, hegemonist and Zionist aggression and threats.

The meeting also decided that the four participating countries will make further efforts to convene a conference of all the states along the Red Sea coast. This has opened up still broader vistas for the countries in the region to get united more extensively, oppose external intervention and aggression more effectively, safeguard peace and security in the Red Sea and exploit the region's natural resources.

Chairman Hamdi of the Command Council of the Yemen Arab Republic, the host country, Chairman Robaya of the Presidential Council of



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| ① U.S.S.R.           | 1. Gulf of Suez  |
| ② PALESTINE (ISRAEL) | 2. Gulf of Aqaba |
| ③ FRENCH SOMALILAND  | 3. Bab el Mandeb |

the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen and President Nimeri of the Democratic Republic of the Sudan, in speeches at the meeting or in press interviews, all stressed the importance of strengthening solidarity among the countries in the Red Sea region. Somali President Siad pointed out: "International imperialism is paying much attention to the Red Sea." Therefore, the countries of this region should "assume heavy responsibility and unite to maintain the security of the Red Sea."

The littoral countries of the Red Sea are uniting. The struggle of the peoples of the countries against imperialism, hegemonism and Zionism is mounting. They will surely ride the waves of the stormy seas and bring about a still brighter future for the region.

# Zaire's Counterattack Against Mercenaries' Invasion

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**T**HE invasion of Zaire's Shaba Region by Soviet-paid mercenaries has aroused strong indignation and resistance from the Zairian people. After the Zairian armed forces retook Kasaji, about 300 kilometres west of Kolwezi, Zairian planes bombed the invaders occupying Kisenge and inflicted heavy losses on them. Over one hundred thousand Zairians staged an impressive demonstration on March 22 in Lubumbashi, capital of Shaba Region, to express their determination to defend their state sovereignty.

## Brezhnev's Guilty Conscience

Though it is known to all that Moscow stretched its sinister hands into Zaire, the Kremlin did all it could to cover up the fact. In a series of reports, *Pravda* and TASS alleged that the "uprising" and anti-government "guerrilla activities" took place inside Zaire.

In an interview with the chief representative of the Zaire Press Agency on March 22, President Mobutu sharply denounced the Kremlin ringleaders and their followers for despicably trying to shake off responsibility. He pointed out that "Leonid Brezhnev and Fidel Castro have a guilty conscience." Despite Castro's vigorous denial, the President noted, the Soviet-equipped invaders are indeed under the command of Cubans and had previously received military training from them. Some documents of the mercenaries captured by the Zairian armed forces at the front were written in Portuguese and Spanish. President Mobutu said: "Since 1960 when Zaire gained independence, the Soviet Union has striven to place a belt of insecurity around our country." He went on to say that the Soviet Union had provided sophisticated arms for destroying two liberation organizations in Angola and "these very arms

are being used by the invaders in southwest Shaba to decimate Zairians."

## African Countries Condemn Invasion

A number of African countries condemned the armed invasion of Zaire. In a message to President Mobutu, Liberian President William Tolbert condemned "the aggression against the sister Republic of Zaire in the Region of Shaba by mercenaries." Leaders of Mauritania, Ghana

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## Chinese Representative's Speech At U.N. Security Council

**I**N a speech on March 24 at a meeting of the Security Council which discussed the question of South Africa, Chinese Representative to the United Nations Lai Yali strongly denounced the Soviet social-imperialists for mustering mercenaries for an armed invasion of Zaire.

He said: "Recently, social-imperialism has mustered large numbers of mercenaries for a flagrant large-scale invasion of the Republic of Zaire. This is a latest example showing its adamant hostility towards the African people as well as another glaring revelation of its unbridled hegemonic design in Africa. All this has enabled the people of southern Africa to realize ever more clearly that in order to overthrow the colonial and racist domination and achieve genuine national liberation, it is imperative to link the struggles against colonialism and racism closely with those against hegemonism, to 'prevent the tiger from entering the back door while repulsing the wolf from the front gate' and do away with superpower meddling and sabotage."

and Uganda sending messages to President Mobutu or receiving a delegation from Zaire, expressed solidarity with Zaire, invaded by mercenaries from Angola.

Dey Ould Sidi Baba, Moroccan Minister of Habous and Islamic Affairs, told the press in Kinshasa on March 22 that Morocco is concerned about the aggression against Zaire, because it is an aggression perpetrated by a group of persons who once served the Portuguese colonialists and today are serving other colonialists.

The Senegalese paper *Le Soleil*, in a recent commentary, pointed out that from developments in Zaire one can fully see that this military operation had been long prepared.

The Kenyan paper *Sunday Nation* ran an editorial on March 20, saying: "Some former Katanga gendarmes have invaded Zaire's rich copper mining Region of Shaba and they are being backed by the Cubans." It added that the "Cuban involvement in the invasion must be condemned by all peace-loving people in the world."

## Report From Cairo

# Refusing to Bow to Soviet Hegemonic Pressure

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MARCH 15 was the first anniversary of Egypt's abrogation of the Egyptian-Soviet treaty. Over the past year, the Egyptian people have continued their heroic struggle against Soviet social-imperialist pressure in its many forms.

How was the Egyptian-Soviet treaty signed and why did Egypt want to abolish it? An authoritative reply to these questions can be found in President Sadat's reminiscences recently published in the weekly *October*. The so-called treaty of "friendship and co-operation" had been conceived by the Kremlin from the very beginning as a means of harnessing Egypt to its yoke. In reminiscing, President Sadat wrote that in May 1971 after the removal of the Moscow-dominated "power clique" from the Egyptian leadership, the Kremlin sent Podgorny to Cairo to conclude a treaty with Egypt. The President asked for more time to think the matter over, but Podgorny flatly refused, saying his party's politburo and central committee had met and commissioned him to conclude the treaty with Egypt.

It is quite clear that the Kremlin intended to reinforce its control over Egypt through the treaty.

Asked by President Sadat if they (the Soviets) would be satisfied if such a treaty were concluded, Podgorny replied in the affirmative. He added that in that case Egypt would get all it had asked for.

However, events later proved that the Kremlin's promise was no more than bait. The Egyptians' patience was taxed to the limit in urging the Soviet Government to honour its own word and send them the arms they needed to resist the Israeli aggressors.

President Sadat wrote: "I reminded the Soviets that Podgorny had said I would get everything in a few days. The Soviet ambassador came round and repeated the words which were so familiar and monotonous to me: 'Our leaders are in Crimea.' I reminded him again of the treaty between us. He replied again: 'The leaders are in Crimea.' I asked him what I should tell the Egyptian people, the Arab

people, and the whole world. Once more he replied: 'In Crimea!'

Recalling the October 1973 Middle East War, the President said: Egypt badly needed 100 tanks at the time, but the Kremlin turned a deaf ear to the request. When President Houari Boumediene of Algeria paid the Soviet Union 100 million U.S. dollars for tanks to aid Egypt, the latter deliberately stalled so that the shipment of tanks did not reach Egypt in time.

After the October War, the Kremlin refused to replenish Egypt's stocks of arms depleted in the war and turned down its request to put off repayment of loans. It even denied Egypt the supply of spare parts in an attempt to reduce the Soviet arms in Egyptian hands to a pile of junk.

Such bad faith, mischief and pressure were intolerable to Egypt. As President Sadat said: The Soviets "were trifling with my destiny as well as with Egypt." He wrote: "I felt I was a ball they were playing with. But I refused to be so. I refused to be so, and will refuse to be so. It is also refused by my people."

Thus, Egypt finally arrived at the decision to abrogate the Egyptian-Soviet treaty and throw off the Moscow yoke.

The Kremlin overlords were deeply hurt by President Sadat's retracing of the development of Egyptian-Soviet relations. An article by the editorial department of *Pravda* on February 19 falsely charged the President with "lying, slander and falsification." The Egyptian press hit back forcefully at the Kremlin's attack.

One Egyptian paper wrote that the development of events in the Arab world "means that the military pressure exerted by the Soviet Union on us — both before and after the October War — has not succeeded in bringing us to our knees. It also means that the Soviet economic pressure on us has failed to send us back to the state of dependency. . . . Therefore, there is nothing more the Soviet Union can do but to act convulsively."

To attack Egypt and defend itself, Radio Moscow in a broadcast even quoted the so-called remarks of Egypt's former air force commander Madkour Abul Ezz "in praise of" Soviet "aid."

Ezz came out immediately with a refutation, bitterly accusing the Soviet Union of social-imperialist conduct by enumerating ten events in which Egypt was subjected to Soviet bullying. He pointed out: "The Soviet Union is imperialist-minded, in the strict sense of the word 'imperialism.' It wants spheres of influence; wants military bases; wants to control and exploit our resources; wants to dominate our entity; wants to monopolize our arms supply and manipulate our policy." This is the hard fact of Soviet "friendship and co-operation" with Egypt, in its military aspect, under the cover of the treaty.

What was it like in the economic field? Let's look at the Alexandria Shipyard built with Soviet "aid" which this correspondent visited. The shipyard's construction was dragged out as long as eight years. Even more, three of the four freighters built by the shipyard have gone to the Soviet Union and the tankers under construction are to be handed over to it in repayment of debts. Since the Soviet Union raised the prices of the raw materials and equipment it supplies the shipyard by up to 50 per cent above those in the world market, the shipyard cannot make both ends meet year in year out. It incurred a loss of 1.5 million Egyptian pounds in 1975 alone. The Egyptian weekly *Daily News* put it correctly when it said that it was the Soviet Union which is responsible for the shipyard's difficulties and losses.

The Egyptian press also disclosed other instances in which the Egyptian economy sustained losses due to deliberate Soviet obstruction. The Sowa Flour Mill in Shubra El Kheima was built with equipment supplied and installed by the Soviet Union. The Soviets at first refused to test the machines after installation last year. Then, after a trial the Egyptians found the machines were low in efficiency and asked to have them repaired. Asserting that the trial had been successful, the Soviets blamed the mill's failure to produce as much as planned on the Egyptian staff's alleged inability to run a "modern" mill. Later, the Soviets promised to do repair work at the insistence of the Egyptians, but they left the mill without finishing the job. All this shows that the Soviet hegemons are continuing to cause Egypt difficulties in an attempt to crush it.

(Continued on p. 32.)

# ROUND THE WORLD

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## PALESTINE

### 13th Session of National Council

The 13th Session of the Palestinian National Council met in the Arab League Headquarters in Cairo from March 12 to 20.

The session elected 14 members to the P.L.O. Executive Committee. Yasser Arafat was again elected chairman of the committee.

A political declaration, which was approved at the session and included a 15-point programme, stressed the necessity of strengthening Palestinian unity and expressed the determination to continue the struggle for the restoration of the Palestinian people's national rights.

The declaration announced its rejection of the U.N. Security Council Resolution 242 which neglects the inalienable legitimate rights of the Palestinian people.

It emphasized that the P.L.O. has the right to continue its military struggle, in co-ordination with the political and mass struggle. It reaffirmed determination to foil "all settlements that can be achieved at the expense of our people's inalienable national rights."

It stressed "the importance and necessity of Palestinian national unity — militarily and politically — between all Palestinian organizations within the framework of the P.L.O. as a basic condition for the achievement of victory."

The declaration announced its decision to continue the struggle "for the restoration of our people's national rights, foremost of which is the repatriation of the Palestinians and their right to self-determination, and to establish a national independent state on their native land."

It expressed eagerness for the P.L.O. "to participate independently and on terms of equality in all international conferences and endeavours for the Palestine cause, as well as in the Arab-Zionist conflict." The declaration said: "Any settlement or agreement to be achieved at the expense of the rights of the Palestinian people, or in their absence, is null and void."

## INDIA

### Prime Minister Desai on Foreign Policy

"India will have friendly relations with all countries who want them and won't have any special relations with any country," new Indian Prime Minister Morarji Desai told a press conference immediately after taking the oath of office on March 24.

Referring to the 20-year "Indo-Soviet treaty of peace, friendship and co-operation" signed in 1971, Desai said that the treaty "must not come in the way of our friendship with any other state." "If the Indo-Soviet friendship treaty involves any lack of friendship with others, then it will have to

change," Desai said. "Then it is left to Russia to do whatever it wants to do."

Regarding India's foreign policy, he stated that "there will be no suspicion of any alignment."

Touching on the Soviet and U.S. naval presence in the Indian Ocean, Desai said: "The United States should realize it should not carry out activities here. We should also see that the Soviet Union should not carry out activities here."

Desai was elected Prime Minister of India's new government after the Janata Party won the general election.

The Janata Party won 271 Lok Sabha seats, far more than those got by any other party, and the Congress Party for Democracy 28 seats. Altogether, the opposition alliance won 349 seats, more than half the Lok Sabha seats.

Winning only 153 seats, or 29 per cent of the total in the Lok Sabha, the former ruling Congress Party was heavily defeated.

The Dange clique which had followed the Congress Party as junior partners for years was also defeated, obtaining only 7 seats as against 23 in the last parliament.

## AUSTRALIA

### Concern Over Soviet Arms Buildup

Australian Foreign Minister Andrew Peacock made a policy statement in the House of Representatives on March 15, expressing concern over Soviet military buildup.

Referring to Australia's relations with the Soviet Union, Peacock said: "What does concern us and what we have felt obliged to draw to public attention is the extent, and the implications, of the Soviet arms buildup in recent years. That buildup threatens to destabilize the fundamental strategic balance. If it continues it will leave others in the position of either having to match the Soviet effort, causing a steep upward spiral in the arms race, or of acquiescing in Soviet superiority. In either case the peace of the world will be threatened."

Speaking of the Soviet arms buildup in the last ten years, he said: First, the Soviet Union closed the strategic nuclear gap between the United States and itself; second, substantially closed the naval gap between the United States and itself; and third, rapidly widened the gap in conventional land forces in its favour. Having done this it continues to outspend the

United States in its arms programme and shows no sign of letting up.

He said that Australia wants people to pay attention to the Soviet naval presence in the Indian Ocean, "because we see it as a destabilizing and exacerbating development in the global strategic picture."

#### PACIFIC OCEAN

### Soviet Missile Tests

The Soviet Union launched missiles into the Pacific Ocean from March 18 to 21. The test represented another step by the Soviet Union to speed up development of its new-type strategic nuclear weapons in the nuclear arms race with the United States.

The Kremlin has in the past few years accelerated development of a new generation of strategic nuclear weapons to achieve all-round nuclear superiority over the United States. The Soviet missile

tests have increased year after year in the Pacific and other areas. According to official Soviet statistics, the Soviet Union conducted five intercontinental missile test rounds in the Pacific in 1974. The following year, it conducted six test rounds, including the tests it started in Northern Europe's Barents Sea and those carried out in the Pacific. Last year, total "rocket" tests in these two water areas rose to nine rounds.

The Kremlin talks glibly about "strategic nuclear arms limitation," saying that "today, much greater risk to universal security lies . . . in an attitude which may allow an unbridled arms race." But by its recent missile test, the Soviet Union has once again revealed its underhandedness.

**CORRECTION:** On page 22 of our last issue, "Uzbeks" in the 3rd line of the 3rd paragraph in the right-hand column should read "Ukrainians."

(Continued from p. 30.)

Nevertheless, the heroic Egyptian people will never give up their independence and bow to Moscow. As President Sadat wrote in his reminiscences, "Egypt's guilt — in the Soviets' eyes — was that it acted without permission from Moscow. That was what I refused at all times and in all circumstances. It is what I refuse today, and what I will refuse tomorrow. It is also what I recommend the generations to come after me to refuse."

On the occasion of the first anniversary of the abrogation of the Egyptian-Soviet treaty, *Al Gomhouriya* featured the Egyptian writer Ibrahim El-Wardany's letter to the Chief Editor of *Izvestia*. In his letter, the writer said that the years since the Egyptian-Soviet treaty was

signed were the cruellest years in the life of the Egyptian people, years of depression and suffocation, years during which the Egyptians suffered the ugliest humiliation. He pointed out that abrogation of the treaty was "a remarkable national event" and "you may even call it a still more remarkable international event." "It is now the duty of the Egyptian people to relate their bitter experience to all nations as a warning," he added.

The Egyptian people have told the world's people through their heroic act of abrogating the Egyptian-Soviet treaty that in the face of hegemonic oppression, persistent struggle is the only way to defend state independence and national dignity.

(Hsinhua Correspondent)