

PEKING REVIEW

5

January 28, 1977

北
京
周
報

**Chairman Hua Meets Ambassador
Hyun Jun Keuk and Japanese Komei
Party Delegation Separately**

**Premier Chou Creatively Carried Out
Chairman Mao's Revolutionary Line
In Foreign Affairs**

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Chairman Hua Meets Ambassador Hyun Jun Keuk

HUA Kuo-feng, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and Premier of the State Council; Yeh Chien-ying, Vice-Chairman of the C.P.C. Central Committee; and Li Hsien-nien, Member of the Political Bureau of the C.P.C. Central Committee and Vice-Premier of the State Council on the afternoon of January 24 met and had a very cordial and friendly talk with Hyun Jun Keuk,

Ambassador of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to China, who will soon leave China at the end of his term of office.

So Jong Guk, Minister-Counsellor of the Korean Embassy in Peking, was present on the occasion.

Foreign Minister Huang Hua and Vice-Foreign Minister Han Nien-lung also were present.



Chairman Hua Meets Fifth Delegation of Japanese Komei Party

HUA Kuo-feng, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Premier of the State Council, on the afternoon of January 22 met Yoshikatsu Takeiri, Chairman of the Central Executive Committee of the Japanese Komei Party, and the Fifth Delegation of the Japanese Komei Party to China he was leading.

Present on the occasion were members of the delegation Yoshiaki Masaki, Naohiko Okubo, Koshiro Ishida, Yuichi Ichikawa and Susumu Haji.

Cordially shaking hands with Chairman Yoshikatsu Takeiri and the other Japanese friends, Chairman Hua extended a warm welcome to them on their friendly visit to China. Chairman Hua had a warm and friendly

conversation with the Japanese friends. He said: "Chairman Yoshikatsu Takeiri is our old friend who has made valuable contributions to China-Japan friendship and the restoration of diplomatic relations between China and Japan. We always have at heart Chairman Yoshikatsu Takeiri and many other old friends of ours." In his talk, Chairman Yoshikatsu Takeiri first of all once again extended his condolences on the passing of Chairman Mao Tsetung, Premier Chou En-lai, and Chairman Chu Teh of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress. "At the same time, we express our greetings to Chairman Hua Kuo-feng who continues to implement and develop the line and policies formulated by Chairman Mao," he said. He expressed the determination to continue his efforts for the



promotion of the cause of China-Japan friendship.

Among those present were also Liao Cheng-chih, President of the China-Japan Friendship Association, and Han Nien-lung, Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Vice-Chairman Teng Ying-chao of the Standing Committee of the N.P.C. met the Japanese friends on January 21.

The delegation arrived in Peking on January 19. President Liao Cheng-chih feted the Japanese friends that evening.

Chairman Hua Receives Representatives to National Coal Industry Conference

HUA Kuo-feng, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and Premier of the State Council, Yeh Chien-ying, Vice-Chairman of the C.P.C. Central Committee, and other leading comrades of the C.P.C. Central Committee and the State Council Li Hsien-nien, Chen Hsi-lien, Chi Teng-kuei, Wang Tung-hsing, Wu Teh, Chen Yung-kuei, Wu Kuei-hsien, Wang Chen, Yu Chiu-li, Ku Mu and Sun Chien received at Peking's Great Hall of the People on January 23 the more than 3,000 representatives attending the National Conference of the Coal Industry to Learn From Taching and Catch Up With Kailan.

This conference began on January 10. The Taching Oilfield is the standard-bearer on China's industrial front and the Kailan Coal Mine has achieved outstanding results in the movement to learn from Taching in industry.

Among those received were leading members of the various departments of the coal industry throughout the country; representatives and model workers of the 30 Taching-type coal mining enterprises, the ten "Red Banner Units" (eight teams, one squad and one crew which were awarded the "Red Banner" title at the November 1975 national conference of mining team leaders), and other advanced

units, as well as representatives of miners and their families. Fifty-seven representatives were from the Kailan Coal Mine in Tangshan, Hopei Province.

When Chairman Hua and other leading comrades of the central authorities appeared among the representatives of Kailan and the other coal mines, the entire hall was a scene of jubilation. The representatives shouted again and again: "Salute to Chairman Hua!" "Salute to the Party Central Committee!" "Learn from Taching, catch up with Kailan!" "Grasp revolution and promote production!" and "Go all out in building socialism!" Chairman Hua and other leading comrades warmly clapped and posed for a group photograph with them.

The representatives said that the reception was a demonstration of solicitous attention and a tremendous encouragement to the coal miners and to the workers and staff on the industrial front of the whole country. They expressed their determination to thoroughly expose and criticize the "gang of four," develop the mass movement to learn from Taching in a powerful and down-to-earth way and strive to bring up more and better coal and make greater contributions to the socialist revolution and socialist construction.

Death of President Bijedic Mourned

Dzermal Bijedic, President of the Yugoslav Federal Executive Council, Mrs. Bijedic and others met a tragic death in a plane crash on January 18 while fly-

ing from Belgrade to Sarajevo.

Hua Kuo-feng, Premier of the State Council of China, on January 19 sent a message to Josip Broz Tito, President of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, expressing pro-

found condolences on the death of President Bijedic. The message read:

"President Bijedic made important contributions to safeguarding the independence and

(Continued on p. 15.)

Premier Chou Creatively Carried Out Chairman Mao's Revolutionary Line In Foreign Affairs

by the Theoretical Study Group of
the Ministry of Foreign Affairs

WITH deep proletarian feeling, we are commemorating the first anniversary of the death of our esteemed and beloved Premier Chou En-lai. Premier Chou was a close comrade-in-arms of Chairman Mao; he was a great proletarian revolutionary, an outstanding communist fighter and an eminent and long-tested leader of our Party and state. Fighting heroically for decades on end, he dedicated his lifelong energies to the victory of the cause of the liberation of the Chinese people and of communism. In the international class struggle, he creatively carried out and staunchly defended Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in foreign affairs, thus making indelible contributions to the struggle against imperialism, social-imperialism and modern revisionism and for the international cause of communism.

Following Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and policies in foreign affairs, Premier Chou consistently upheld proletarian internationalism and strengthened China's unity with the proletariat and the oppressed people and nations of the whole world and with all countries subjected to aggression, subversion, interference, control and bullying by imperialism, forming the broadest united front against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, particularly against the hegemonism of the two superpowers, the Soviet Union and the United States. Basing himself on Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and Chairman Mao's scientific thesis on the three worlds, he took part in formulating major foreign policy decisions and advanced a series of specific principles and policies in diplomatic work. In international activities over a long period, he always acted upon Chairman Mao's teachings

about bearing the people in mind and placing hopes on them.

Supporting the People's Struggle For Liberation

Chairman Mao taught us: "The people who have triumphed in their own revolution should help those still struggling for liberation. This is our internationalist duty."

Soon after the founding of New China, the U.S. imperialists unleashed a war of aggression against Korea and occupied China's territory Taiwan Province. At this crucial historical moment, Chairman Mao, with the soaring, bold vision of a great proletarian revolutionary leader, overcame obstacles and opposition from within and outside the Party and the country and resolutely decided to send the Chinese People's Volunteers to fight shoulder to shoulder with the fraternal Korean people in order to resist U.S. aggression and aid Korea, protect our homes and defend our motherland and fulfil the Chinese people's bounden internationalist duty. Premier Chou went all out to carry out this great decision of Chairman Mao's. He urgently summoned the Indian Ambassador to China late at night and, through the Indian Government, solemnly warned the U.S. Government that New China "cannot supinely tolerate U.S. aggression." He gave top priority to and personally handled matters related to the movement to resist U.S. aggression and aid Korea, be they military affairs or negotiations. Fighting heroically, the Korean and Chinese people defeated the U.S. aggressors, thereby greatly encouraging the militant revolutionary will of the people around the world. At the 1954 Geneva Conference after the armistice in

Korea, Premier Chou waged a face-to-face struggle against the warmonger Dulles and won the extensive support of the participating countries, which left the U.S. imperialists very isolated. Throughout the last two decades or so, and even when he became seriously ill, he paid great attention to building the militant friendship and revolutionary unity cemented in blood between the two Parties, two countries and the two peoples of China and Korea and energetically supported the Korean people in their struggle for the independent and peaceful reunification of their fatherland and in their socialist construction.

The Chinese people have profound fraternal sentiments for the people of Viet Nam, Kampuchea and Laos; we and they have always helped and supported each other over the long period of the revolutionary struggle. Chairman Mao repeatedly pointed out that the Chinese people have stood resolutely together with the people of the three Indochinese countries and given them all-out support in winning complete victory in their war against U.S. aggression and for national salvation. In view of the fact that the U.S. imperialists were expanding the war of aggression in Indochina, Premier Chou pointed out in an interview given to a Pakistan correspondent in April 1966: The Chinese mean what they say. If any country in Asia, Africa or elsewhere meets with aggression by the imperialists, the Chinese Government and people definitely will give it support and help. China is prepared. Should the United States impose a war on her, China will unhesitatingly rise in resistance and fight to the end. Once in China, the United States will not be able to pull out. Once war breaks out, it will have no boundaries. These forceful remarks expressed the determination of the Chinese Government and people not to spare the greatest national sacrifice to support the revolutionary struggle of the Indochinese people. This is China's consistent stand in firmly opposing all imperialist aggression. In his well-known Statement of May 20, 1970, Chairman Mao resolutely supported the revolutionary struggle of the people of Kampuchea and the rest of the world. Premier Chou took the liberation cause of the people of the three Indochinese countries as the Chinese people's own cause. He said repeatedly that in the joint struggle against U.S. imperialism, the Chi-

nese people would always unite with, fight and win victories together with the people of these three countries. Surmounting a host of difficulties and bringing into full play the initiative of all quarters, he gave powerful support and assistance to their just struggles. In the tense days of wanton bombing, mining and blockade by the U.S. imperialists, he personally ordered China's ships and vehicles to get Chinese aid into the hands of the Vietnamese, Kampuchean and Lao people, whatever loss or sacrifice this might entail.

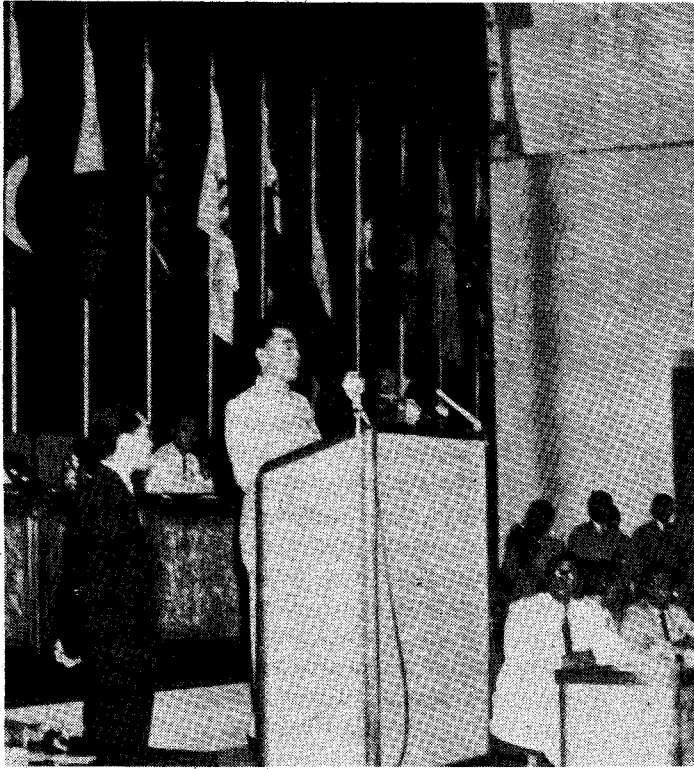
The struggles of the Palestinian and other Arab people against the two superpowers, the Soviet Union and the United States, and against Israeli Zionism constitute an important component part of the struggle of the people all over the world against imperialism and hegemonism. Chairman Mao told Arab friends: **"We will always support you."** Premier Chou repeatedly explained to Arab friends the importance of unity against the enemy and encouraged them to set great store by armed struggle and to persevere in it to the end. For many years, the Chinese Government has always supported the Palestinian and other Arab people in their just struggles to restore their national rights and recover their lost territories and given them aid to its utmost capacity. Adhering to principle, it has no contact or relations with the Israeli aggressors.

Initiating the Famous Five Principles

Premier Chou did an enormous amount of work to promote the cause of unity of the Asian, African and Latin American countries against imperialism and support their revolutionary struggles.

In accordance with Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and policies in foreign affairs, Premier Chou initiated in 1954 the famous five principles of mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful co-existence, as principles guiding relations among countries. This has since brought about a profound and far-reaching influence in the world.

In 1955, Premier Chou made a journey to Bandung for the First Asian-African Conference, although he was still recovering



Premier Chou making a speech at the First Asian-African Conference in Bandung.

from an operation and there was a grave threat to his safety just after U.S.-Chiang secret agents had engineered the blowing up of the airliner *Kashmir Princess*.^{*} The convocation of the conference was of great historic significance because it was the first time that the Asian and African countries, eager to grasp their destiny in their own hands, held such a conference as their own masters without participation by colonial powers. It reflected the common aspirations and demand for unity against imperialism

^{*} On April 11, 1955 the *Kashmir Princess*, an Air India International passenger plane chartered by the Chinese Delegation to the Asian-African Conference, exploded in mid-air and crashed into the sea on its flight from Hongkong to Indonesia. Staff members of the Chinese and Vietnamese delegations as well as Chinese and foreign press correspondents on board—11 in all—were killed. Three of the Indian crew narrowly escaped death. This incident was created by U.S.-Chiang secret agents who planned to assassinate the members of the delegation headed by Premier Chou so as to sabotage the conference.

of the Asian and African people who constitute more than half the world population. The imperialists at first tried to prevent the conference from being held. Then, after their attempt failed, they tried to prevent the conference from reaching any agreement by doing their utmost to widen the differences among the Asian and African countries and, in particular, to foment discord between China and other Asian and African countries. Making a prompt decision to cope with this situation, Premier Chou used the intervals at the conference to draw up a supplementary speech to rebut the imperialists' slanders against New China. At the conference, he proposed that the Asian and African countries adopt the principle of "seeking common ground while reserving differences" and appealed for the strengthening of unity and the waging of common struggle against the enemy, thus foiling the plots of the imperialists and paving the way for the success of the conference. His largeness of mind and wise farsightedness won warm praise

from the participants. As a result of the common efforts by the participating countries, the conference achieved great success. The "Bandung spirit" born at the conference has shown tremendous vitality to this day.

From the Bandung Conference 'on, the struggles of the Asian, African and Latin American people against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism and to win and defend national independence kept surging forward. The face of Asia, Africa and Latin America underwent a profound change. In this situation, Premier Chou, accompanied by Vice-Premier Chen Yi, paid a friendly visit in late 1963 and early 1964 to 14 countries in Asia, Africa and Europe, namely, Egypt, Algeria, Morocco, Albania, Tunisia, Guinea, Mali, Ghana, the Sudan, Ethiopia, Somalia, Burma, Pakistan and Sri Lanka. This 72-day visit which covered 108,000 li was unprecedented in the history of China's foreign relations. Particularly worth mentioning is the fact that there was an attempt on President Kwame Nkrumah's life on the eve

Premier Chou warmly welcomed by the people of Peking on his return in March 1964 to the capital after visiting Albania and 13 Asian and African countries.



of the Ghana visit. Should the visit proceed as planned? Premier Chou said definitely that the greater the difficulties of people, the more we needed to go and give them support. For the sake of President Nkrumah's safety, the Premier, disregarding protocol, proposed that all activities in which President Nkrumah would take part should be held in the presidential residence and he need not go to the airport for the welcome and the send-off.

During his tour abroad, Premier Chou put forward the eight principles guiding China's economic and technical aid to other countries in line with Chairman Mao's consistent teachings. The spirit of equality and mutual benefit between countries runs through these principles which stress the need to strictly respect the sovereignty of the recipient countries and attach no conditions or ask for no privileges. The aid, it is also stressed, should be aimed at helping these countries embark step by step on the road of self-reliance and independent economic development. These principles embody socialist New China's sincere desire for economic co-operation with the Asian and African countries, thus creating a good precedent for new-type international economic relations which the non-aligned countries and the third world countries want to set up. This is in

striking contrast to the plunder and control of other countries by the imperialists and social-imperialists under the signboard of "aid." The 14-country tour helped enhance the friendly relations between China and those countries and promote the unity of the entire third world against imperialism, and this has won people's praise ever since.

Carrying Out Policy of Friendship and Good-Neighbourliness

With regard to questions left over by history on bilateral relations between China and her neighbouring countries and complex boundary questions in particular, Premier Chou always carried out personal investigation and study. He collected first-hand material on the historical development and status quo of the borders concerned. In accordance with Chairman Mao's policy of friendship and good-neighbourliness, he put forward the principle of consultation on an equal footing, mutual understanding and mutual accommodation, and successfully settled the boundary questions with most of our neighbours, thus setting a good example of handling relations between countries on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. To arrive at a reasonable solution to the Sino-Indian boundary question as well, he re-

visited New Delhi in 1960 to find common ground and points of proximity between both sides, thus demonstrating the greatest sincerity on China's part. When China was forced to counterattack in self-defence in the Sino-Indian border areas in 1962 against the mass intrusion of Indian troops into China, Chairman Mao, looking far ahead and highly valuing the friendship between the peoples of China and India, decided that the Chinese frontier guards should withdraw from the recovered Chinese territory to the Chinese side of the line of actual control, release all Indian prisoners of war and return all captured weapons. In the course of this struggle, Premier Chou resolutely implemented Chairman Mao's instructions. He sent letters to the government leaders of various countries on the Sino-Indian boundary question and patiently explained the question in detail to friends from many countries, so that they could understand the truth of the matter and China's consistent reasonable stand for settling border disputes through negotiations.

Forming the Broadest United Front

Chairman Mao always taught us that it was imperative to unite with all forces that can be united to form the broadest united front and isolate the enemy as far as possible.

Though the second world countries oppress and exploit those of the third world, they themselves are subjected to oppression, exploitation, control and threats by the two superpowers. Acting on Chairman Mao's strategic ideas, Premier Chou actively supported the countries and the people of the second world in their struggle to safeguard their national independence and cement their unity against hegemonism and did an enormous amount of work to establish and expand relations between China and those countries on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence.

Strategically, Europe is the key point of contention between the superpowers for world hegemony. Soviet policy is "making a feint to the east while attacking in the west." To establish its world hegemony, the Soviet Union naturally wants to seize Western Europe, which is thus gravely threatened by Moscow. In meeting guests from Western Europe, Premier Chou repeatedly stated where their interests or peril lay. He supported West European countries in

their efforts to attain strength through unity and to unite against hegemonism and guard against a repetition of the Munich tragedy. The people and farsighted public figures of Western Europe are coming to see the aggressive and expansionist features of the Soviet social-imperialists more and more clearly.

Japan is a close neighbour of China. Chairman Mao said: "Japan is a great nation." "The Japanese people have a bright future." Of the guests from various countries visiting China every year since the founding of New China, Japanese friends of all strata are the most numerous. They have played an important role in enhancing friendship between China and Japan and promoting normalization of relations between the two countries. Following Chairman Mao's ideas, Premier Chou consistently attached importance to work regarding Japan. He met a large number of guests from Japan and had conversations with them on many occasions late into the night. He supported the Japanese people in their just struggle to defend their national independence, oppose hegemonism and recover the four northern islands. He pointed out the need to guard against the danger of a revival of militarism in Japan, and at the same time also held that Japan should possess the necessary armed forces for self-defence. He advanced the resounding call: "The Chinese and Japanese peoples should live in friendship from generation to generation." As the situation changed, he put forward on many occasions the principles and methods for dealing with relations between the two countries, thus ensuring the continuous development of friendly contacts between the peoples of China and Japan in the political, economic and cultural fields. In particular, he advanced in 1971 the three principles for normalization of Sino-Japanese relations: The Government of the People's Republic of China is the sole legal government of China; Taiwan is an inalienable part of the territory of the People's Republic of China; and the "Japan-Taiwan treaty" is illegal and invalid and should be abrogated. These principles won popular support in Japan. When Japanese Prime Minister Kakuei Tanaka visited China in 1972, Premier Chou had talks with him. Thus, relations between the two countries were normalized on the basis of the above-mentioned three prin-

ciples. At Premier Chou's proposal, the Chinese and Japanese sides unanimously agreed to include in their joint statement the article on opposing hegemonism, namely, neither of the two countries should seek hegemony in the Asia-Pacific region and each country is opposed to efforts by any other country or group of countries to establish such hegemony. This conforms with the fundamental interests of the Chinese and Japanese peoples.

Great Anti-Imperialist Fighter

The two superpowers are the world's biggest international oppressors and exploiters today. The danger of a new world war comes from them, and mainly from Soviet social-imperialism. Acting on Chairman Mao's consistent teachings, Premier Chou resolutely opposed the imperialist and social-imperialist policies of war and aggression, firmly supported the world's revolutionary people in their struggle against imperialism and hegemonism and steadfastly safeguarded China's sovereignty and territorial integrity.

U.S. imperialism is forcibly occupying China's sacred territory Taiwan Province. In the past two decades or so, China has waged tit-for-tat struggles against U.S. imperialism on this question, in the movement to resist U.S. aggression and aid Korea, the shelling of Quemoy and Matsu, the indictment of U.S. imperialism at the U.N. Security Council by the Chinese special representative in 1950 and in the Sino-U.S. ambassadorial talks* which began on August 1, 1955. On different occasions and in different ways, Premier Chou sternly denounced U.S. imperialist aggression and firmly opposed any plot to create "two Chinas," "one China, one Taiwan," and "one China, two governments." He emphasized: The Chinese people are determined to liberate Taiwan, and this is

*The Sino-U.S. ambassadorial talks in Warsaw were held as a result of the proposal and efforts of the Chinese Government. At a meeting of the Bandung Conference on April 23, 1955, Premier Chou En-lai declared: "The Chinese Government is willing to sit down and enter into negotiations with the United States Government to discuss the question of relaxing tension in the Far East, especially the question of relaxing tension in the Taiwan area." Under the pressure of world public opinion, the U.S. Government agreed to hold the talks. The Sino-U.S. ambassadorial talks took place on 136 occasions from August 1, 1955 to February 20, 1970.

China's internal affair which brooks no foreign interference. Even when seriously ill, Premier Chou still bore in mind the great cause of reunifying our motherland.

The Chinese Government's principled stand on the liberation of Taiwan which is China's internal affair is firm and unshakable. But regarding the disputes between China and the United States resulting from the forcible U.S. occupation of Taiwan, the Chinese Government has always stood for a settlement through negotiations without resorting to force. At the Bandung Conference, Premier Chou solemnly declared: "The Chinese people are friendly to the American people. The Chinese people do not want to have a war with the United States of America. The Chinese Government is willing to sit down and enter into negotiations with the United States Government." It was precisely the Premier's initiative that led to the subsequent Sino-U.S. ambassadorial talks.

As early as the 1940s, Chairman Mao taught us: "We must draw a distinction, firstly, between the people of the United States and their government and, secondly, within the U.S. government between the policy-makers and their subordinates." (*The Foolish Old Man Who Removed the Mountains.*) In his interview with the American writer Edgar Snow in December 1970, Chairman Mao spoke about "placing great hopes in the American people." In the meantime, he indicated that Americans from left, centre and right could come to China and President Nixon might come too if he wished. The following year Chairman Mao personally decided to let a U.S. table tennis team visit China. Chairman Mao's important statement and brilliant decision not only promoted Sino-U.S. relations but brought a profound change in the entire international situation. Premier Chou devoted great efforts to implementing this important strategic policy decision by Chairman Mao. In receiving the U.S. table tennis team, he said significantly: "Your current visit to China on invitation has opened the door for friendly contacts between the Chinese and American peoples."

In 1971, the U.S. Government sent Dr. Kissinger to Peking and an agreement was reached on President Nixon's visit to China. During that visit in 1972, Premier Chou and President Nixon issued a joint communique. In

this unique international document, the Chinese side first of all clearly expounded China's consistent principled stand and, at the same time, set forth common points with the other side in the prevailing international situation. This communique constituted a basis for furthering Sino-U.S. relations. In his report at the First Session of the Fourth National People's Congress, Premier Chou pointed out: "The relations between the two countries will continue to improve so long as the principles of the Sino-American Shanghai Communique are carried out in earnest."

Outstanding Anti-Revisionist Fighter

Premier Chou was also a great fighter against revisionism. The Khrushchov renegade clique frantically pushed a counter-revolutionary revisionist line after usurping the leadership in the Soviet Union. With the heroic spirit of a proletarian revolutionary, Chairman Mao launched a great struggle in the international communist movement to criticize modern revisionism with the Soviet revisionist renegade clique at the centre. He pointed out that **"the masses of the Soviet people and of Party members and cadres are good, that they desire revolution and that revisionist rule will not last long."** In this great struggle to defend the purity of Marxism-Leninism which affected the destiny of the revolutionary people the world over, Premier Chou took part in every single battle.

Khrushchov frenziedly opposed Stalin at the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in 1956, and wilfully vilified the dictatorship of the proletariat, thus creating confusion in the international communist movement. This was followed immediately by events in Poland and Hungary. Premier Chou went to Moscow where he criticized the Soviet revisionists to their faces for feverishly practising great-power chauvinism and grossly interfering in Polish internal affairs, while stricken with panic by the Hungarian counter-revolutionary events. Defying every danger and hardship, Premier Chou visited Poland and Hungary, giving tremendous encouragement and support to both countries' revolutionary people who were faced with immense difficulties.

At the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in 1961, Khrushchov

openly opposed and attacked the Albanian Party of Labour which persisted in combating revisionism, and thus created a most odious precedent in the international communist movement. Displaying the revolutionary spirit of a great Marxist, Premier Chou stepped courageously forward and sternly condemned the Soviet revisionist leading clique. Then, in great indignation, he left Moscow for home ahead of schedule. He was greeted by Chairman Mao himself at Peking Airport. For many years, Premier Chou attached great importance to, and worked hard to strengthen, the revolutionary friendship and militant unity between the two Parties, two countries and two peoples of China and Albania and he energetically supported and assisted the fraternal Albanian people in their struggle against imperialism and revisionism and their cause of socialist construction.

After Khrushchov's downfall in 1964, Premier Chou went to Moscow to take part in the celebrations of the 47th anniversary of the Great October Revolution. The new Soviet revisionist leadership obdurately clung to Khrushchovism without Khrushchov and maliciously attacked Chairman Mao. Premier Chou gave it head-on blows by refuting its calumnies on the spot and thus valiantly defended Chairman Mao and his revolutionary line. When Premier Chou returned to the Chinese capital, he again was greeted by Chairman Mao at Peking Airport.

The Brezhnev renegade clique slid farther and farther down the path of betraying Marxism. In 1968, it flagrantly sent troops to invade Czechoslovakia and threatened the independence and sovereignty of other East European countries. At a reception given by the Romanian Ambassador to China the day after the Soviet invasion, Premier Chou severely condemned the Kremlin's aggression and expansion, and for the first time declared that the Soviet Union had degenerated into social-imperialism and social-fascism. His statement dealt a heavy blow to Soviet expansionist ambitions and greatly enhanced understanding of the nature of Soviet revisionism by the world's revolutionary people.

In March 1969 when the Soviet revisionist renegade clique deliberately provoked the conflict on our Chenpao Island, our heroic frontier

guards rose in counterattack and repulsed the new tsars' invading troops. In September that year, talks between the Premiers of China and the Soviet Union were held at Peking Airport during which Premier Chou reiterated Chairman Mao's policy, saying that the polemics on principle between China and the Soviet Union would continue for a long time but such polemics should not hamper the development of normal relations between the two countries on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. Premier Chou proposed that the two sides first of all sign an interim agreement on maintaining the status quo on the border, averting armed conflicts and disengaging both sides' armed forces in the disputed areas along the Sino-Soviet border, and then proceed to arrive at an overall settlement of the boundary question through negotiations. This proposal by Premier Chou was most fair and reasonable and an understanding on this was thus reached between the two sides. In the last few years, the Chinese side has consistently conducted the negotiations in conformity with the understanding reached between the Premiers of the two countries whereas the Soviet side has refused to keep its promises and instead clung to its social-imperialist stand.

Combating Great-Power Chauvinism

Chairman Mao taught us: **"In our international relations, we Chinese people should get rid of great-power chauvinism resolutely, thoroughly, wholly and completely."** He also taught us: **"Dig tunnels deep, store grain everywhere, and never seek hegemony."** Premier Chou set a brilliant example for us in this respect by his words and deeds. He pointed out: **"The history of both China and other countries of the world has proved that the policy of great-power chauvinism is doomed to fail in the end. China is a big country and we must therefore pay special attention to guarding against the mistake of great-power chauvinism. Not only should our generation do so, our future generations should also be educated to do the same so that they will never make such a mistake."**

Premier Chou gave equal treatment to visitors from various countries, large and small. He repeatedly stressed that the people of all countries had their own strong points, should learn from each other and sympathize with and

support each other in their common struggle. In meeting foreign guests, Premier Chou always listened modestly to their opinions; when he gave an account of China's experience, he always stressed that what he said was only for their reference and must be viewed in the light of the actual conditions in their own countries. He never imposed his views on others. Moreover, he asked the visitors not only to see China's good points but also its shortcomings. He always admonished Chinese personnel abroad to abide by the laws and decrees of the countries concerned and respect their customs and habits; if any violation was discovered, he would severely criticize it and correct it in good time; he would ask our diplomatic officials abroad to admit any such mistake to the leaders of the country concerned and sometimes Premier Chou would himself apologize.

The Premier told foreign guests on many occasions that if one day China should turn revisionist and become a superpower, if she too should act the tyrant in the world, the people of the world should expose it, oppose it and work together with the Chinese people to overthrow it. Premier Chou's thoroughly revolutionary spirit of a proletarian revolutionary has been deeply engraved in the hearts of the people.

Training Diplomatic Personnel

Our diplomatic contingent has been brought up under the guidance of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and under Premier Chou's loving care and meticulous training. The overwhelming majority of our comrades in the diplomatic contingent began to take up foreign affairs work only after the founding of New China and it can be said that it was Premier Chou himself who taught them how to handle matters ranging from ideological and organizational building to style and methods of work and from political line and policies to concrete vocational work.

Premier Chou taught us that we diplomatic personnel should assiduously study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, adhere to the three basic principles **"Practise Marxism, and not revisionism; unite, and don't split; be open and aboveboard, and don't intrigue and conspire,"** and be disseminators of Mao Tsetung

Thought and propaganda teams of the Chinese revolution. Premier Chou was always strict with himself, pledging that he would "learn, work and remould himself all his life," and that he would keep on fighting as long as he lived. He often encouraged us to live that way. He continued working when he was ill. He even met many foreign guests in hospital, and his meeting with the Tunisian Prime Minister took place when he could not rise from his sick-bed. Premier Chou instructed us that in our contacts with foreigners we should remain modest, prudent and free from arrogance and rashness, treat others as equals and neither humble ourselves nor show disrespect. He exhorted us to have a great sense of responsibility in our work and not to neglect even the trivial matters.

He urged us to foster a proletarian diplomatic style and reject the bourgeois vulgar style. He required us to carry forward the fine tradition of hard work and plain living and oppose extravagance and waste and ostentation. Premier Chou set us a good example by taking the lead in putting into practice all that he required of us.

He set strict demands on diplomatic personnel both politically and vocationally and, at the same time, always encouraged us to work boldly and put forward our opinions courageously; even if mistakes were made, it would be all right provided they were corrected. He was strict in analysing himself, and courageous in taking responsibility and making self-criticism. Premier Chou attached great importance to the application of the principle of the three-in-one combination of the old, middle-aged and young and to training young people and women as diplomatic personnel.

In the heart-stirring days of the momentous Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, Premier Chou had numerous meetings with us and spent innumerable sleepless nights leading us in closely following Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and opposing the counter-revolutionary revisionist line of Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and the Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao anti-Party clique. On September 9, 1966, the great leader Chairman Mao instructed us that diplomatic cadres should "start a revolution, otherwise it will be very dangerous." Time and again, Premier Chou called

on and urged us to conscientiously implement this extremely important instruction of Chairman Mao's.

Premier Chou taught us that we should be diplomatic fighters of the great Mao Tsetung era who keep the interests of our country and those of the people of the world at heart, fear neither difficulty nor sacrifice, dare to make revolution and dare to struggle and dedicate our whole lives to the world revolution. Even when he was in a critical condition, he sang with full confidence: "*Let each stand in his place! The Internationale shall be the human race.*" Premier Chou's great internationalist and communist spirit will inspire us to advance for ever.

Struggle Against Erroneous Lines

In China's diplomatic work over the past two decades or so, Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in foreign affairs held the dominant position at all times, but not without interference and sabotage. On the diplomatic front as on the other fronts, Premier Chou faithfully carried out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and waged resolute struggles against the erroneous lines inside the Party.

The essence of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in foreign affairs lies in its fight against imperialism, revisionism and reaction and its support for the people of various countries in their revolutionary struggles. The arch renegade Liu Shao-chi pushed a capitulationist line of being amicable to imperialism, revisionism and reaction and giving little support, in fact no support at all, to the revolutionary struggle of the people of various countries. Premier Chou resolutely resisted Liu Shao-chi's counter-revolutionary revisionist line and defended Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in foreign affairs.

The traitor Lin Piao plotted to usurp Party and state power, betray the motherland and surrender to revisionism and restore capitalism. Flaunting the signboard of revolution during the Great Cultural Revolution, Lin Piao, who made enemies everywhere in foreign affairs, interfered with and disrupted Chairman Mao's strategic plan and created incidents involving attacking, smashing and burning foreign missions in China, which had been unprecedented since the founding of New China. This impaired China's prestige and her normal relations

with some countries. Premier Chou led the diplomatic personnel in waging a resolute struggle against Lin Piao's ultra-Rightist line.

The Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao anti-Party "gang of four," and Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao were jackals from the same lair. To realize their ambition to usurp supreme Party and state leadership, the "gang of four" used every conceivable means to meddle in foreign affairs work in a bid to seize the diplomatic power of the central leading organs. In diplomatic activities, they put themselves above Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee, attacked Premier Chou, elbowed out Chairman Hua, got themselves into the limelight and energetically created counter-revolutionary opinion internationally. They worshipped things foreign, fawned upon foreigners, maintained illicit foreign relations and practised national betrayal and capitulationism in a big way, and sold out important classified information of the Party and the state. They pigeonholed articles criticizing Soviet revisionism and forbade their publication. They obstructed our country from developing relations with other countries and disrupted her normal foreign economic and cultural exchanges. They looked down upon the third world and energetically practised great-power chauvinism. Premier Chou waged a tit-for-tat struggle against the "gang of four." He firmly opposed Chiang Ching issuing statements to foreigners without authorization and divulging classified information of the Party and the

state. He severely criticized the "gang of four" for engaging in metaphysics and great-power chauvinism in relations with foreign countries.

The "gang of four" practised revisionism, created splits and intrigued and conspired in an attempt to usurp supreme Party and state leadership. Chairman Mao had long seen through their schemes and waged a persistent struggle against them. Closely following Chairman Mao, Premier Chou fought them all the time. Even when seriously ill, he more than once talked about the struggle against the "gang of four" with comrades visiting him in the hospital. The "gang of four" had a deep-seated hatred for Premier Chou and used the most underhand means to trump up charges against him. They tried to overthrow the Premier simply because he sincerely loved and respected Chairman Mao and steadfastly implemented and defended Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line as well as his revolutionary line in foreign affairs.

In commemorating the first anniversary of the passing of Premier Chou, we should keep firmly in mind his earnest exhortations and learn from his great revolutionary spirit and lofty revolutionary qualities. Under the leadership of the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua, we should carry out Chairman Mao's behests and, taking class struggle as the key link, adhere to the Party's basic line, firmly implement Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and policies in foreign affairs and strive to win still greater new victories.

(Continued from p. 5.)

sovereignty of Yugoslavia and to the cause of building his country. His passing is a great loss to Yugoslavia.

"President Bijedic made great efforts to develop friendly relations and co-operation between China and Yugoslavia and between our two peoples. His successful visit to our country two years ago is still remembered by the Chinese people. I am deeply confident that the friendly relations and co-ope-

tion between China and Yugoslavia and between our two peoples will continue to develop and grow stronger."

Paying their condolence calls on January 20 at the Yugoslav Embassy in China were Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien, Vice-Chairman Tan Chen-lin of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, Secretary-General Chi Peng-fei of the N.P.C. Standing Committee and Foreign Minister Huang

Hua. Wreaths were presented by Premier Hua Kuo-feng, the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Foreign Trade as well as the Peking Municipal Revolutionary Committee.

On the same day, Minister of Foreign Trade Li Chiang, Head of the Chinese Government Trade Delegation visiting Yugoslavia at the time, paid his last respects to President Dzemal Bijedic in Belgrade and presented a wreath.

A Criticism of Chang Chun-chiao's "Thoughts on February 3, 1976"

by Wei Hua and Tang Hsiao

THOUGHTS on February 3, 1976" by Chang Chun-chiao, one of the "gang of four" and an old-time capitulationist from the 30s, is another thorough disclosure of his reactionary nature under new historical conditions. It is also conclusive evidence against the Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao anti-Party clique which wildly opposed the great leader Chairman Mao, viciously attacked Comrade Hua Kuo-feng and plotted to usurp Party and state power.

"Thoughts" is rare teaching material by negative example. The full text reads:

Here is another Document No. 1.

Last year [1975] saw the issuance of a Document No. 1.

This is truly a case of becoming unscrupulous once his object is gained.

Moving up so fast and so menacingly spells a downfall that will be just as rapid.

An erroneous line invariably gets nowhere. He may have his own way for a while as if the whole country belongs to him and a new "era" has begun. They always overestimate their own strength.

It is the people who are the decisive factor.

Representing the people's interests, working in the interest of the vast majority and siding with the masses of the people and the progressives under all circumstances means victory. The reverse means certain failure. Thus:

A year ends amidst the crepitation of fire-crackers,

An easterly breeze has warmed the New Year's wine.

The doors of every household are bathed in the sunshine,

A new peach-wood lintel charm invariably replaces the old.

Here, Chang Chun-chiao has thrown off his sanctimonious mask and bared his real ferocious features. Like a desperate wolf, he fren-

ziedly attacked the Party Central Committee's Document No. 1, 1976. Why?

Document No. 1, 1976 carried the following important decision of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China: On the recommendation of the great leader Chairman Mao, Comrade Hua Kuo-feng was appointed Acting Premier with the unanimous approval of the Political Bureau. This wise decision by Chairman Mao won the full support of the whole Party, the whole army and the people of all nationalities throughout the country. But to the "gang of four" which was plotting to usurp Party and state power, it was a very bitter pill to swallow. It was a setback to their wild ambitions and a heavy blow to the counter-revolutionary revisionist line they pushed. The day Document No. 1 was released, Chang Chun-chiao, who yearned to grab the premiership for himself, could no longer restrain his anger. He wrote his "Thoughts" and spearheaded his attack against Chairman Mao and Comrade Hua Kuo-feng who was chosen by Chairman Mao himself to be his successor.

"Thoughts" begins with these words: "Here is another Document No. 1. Last year saw the issuance of a Document No. 1. This is truly a case of becoming unscrupulous once his object is gained." Chang Chun-chiao also alternated invective with curses: "Moving up so fast and so menacingly spells a downfall that will be just as rapid." So bitter was his hatred that he wished he could bring about overnight the fall of Comrade Hua Kuo-feng who had Chairman Mao's confidence and the collapse of the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao, so that he and his cohorts could take over.

This fully exposed the ferocious features of the "gang of four" as a pack of careerists and conspirators. They professed in public that they followed Chairman Mao but in private they opposed him; they outwardly agreed but inwardly disagreed; they spoke fine words to your face but resorted to underhand means behind your back. They said yes at the meeting to Chairman Mao's proposal naming Comrade Hua Kuo-feng Acting Premier, but in their hearts they were bitterly against it. They even borrowed the lines from the classic novel *The Dream of the Red Chamber* "like the Chungshan wolf, he becomes unscrupulous once his object is gained" to attack and sling mud at Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee headed by him. They were out-and-out counter-revolutionary double-dealers.

The "gang of four's" plot to usurp Party and state power can be traced back to a very early date. When our respected and beloved Premier Chou En-lai was still with us, they cudgelled their brains to make up charges and stopped at nothing to oppose him. Behind the back of the Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee, in October 1974 they privately sent Wang Hung-wen to see Chairman Mao and make false accusations against Premier Chou, but they were denounced by Chairman Mao. In 1975 when the condition of Premier Chou who was ill deteriorated and the revolutionary people were full of anxiety, the "gang of four" rejoiced and imprecated: "He only has a few days more to live!" The great leader Chairman Mao, with great insight, had long seen through their wild designs. After Premier Chou died, Chairman Mao, representing the common desire of the whole Party, the whole army and the whole nation, personally recommended Comrade Hua Kuo-feng to be Acting Premier of the State Council. Now that the "gang of four's" wild ambitions had come to grief, it was only natural that they were both irritated and incensed.

After Premier Chou passed away, Comrade Hua Kuo-feng, a proletarian revolutionary loyal to Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, was in charge of the work of the Party Central Committee and the State Council under Chairman Mao's leadership. This is a sure guarantee that our Party will continue to up-

hold Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and carry the great cause of communism through to the end. In his "Thoughts," however, the careerist Chang Chun-chiao pitted himself against Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and against Comrade Hua Kuo-feng who faithfully implements this line, and viciously cried: "An erroneous line invariably gets nowhere. He may have his own way for a while as if the whole country belongs to him," "they always overestimate their own strength," and so on. This fully revealed the contemptible frame of mind of the "gang of four," their wild ambitions and their meanness that they would stoop to anything. In their minds, Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line had always been "erroneous" and "invariably gets nowhere," and "the country" should belong to them, the "gang of four." In a word, what they wanted was to usurp the supreme leadership of the Party and state, completely change the proletarian nature of our Party and swallow our socialist state in one gulp. They were really trying to do the impossible — just like a mayfly wishfully plotting to topple a giant tree.

"They always overestimate their own strength." If "they" refers to the "gang of four," it fits in perfectly. In his "Thoughts," Chang Chun-chiao lavishly sang the praises of his gang while doing his utmost to heap calumny on our leader and our Party. And he had the effrontery to claim that he and his cohorts were "representing the people's interests, working in the interest of the vast majority and siding with the masses of the people and the progressives" and were sure to win "victory" and so on. The "gang of four" consistently practised revisionism, created splits, engaged in intrigues and had already degenerated into the sworn enemy of the people. How could they "represent the people's interests"? They persistently opposed Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, frenziedly sabotaged the revolution and undermined production without the slightest regard for the people's livelihood, while they themselves lived a life of extravagance and dissipation. Could they "work in the interest of the vast majority"? They persistently acted like overlords, did what they liked, let only those who knuckled under live and ruined everyone who disagreed with them, waged ruthless struggles against and dealt re-

lentless blows to the vast number of cadres and masses who adhered to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and fought against them. Does this show they were "siding with the masses of the people and the progressives"? Since what they did was contrary to the people's wishes, they lost all support and were extremely isolated and feeble, yet they declared they were certain to win "victory." Isn't this ridiculous? The "gang of four" was a band of demons with human faces and the hearts of beasts; they were careerists and conspirators of the Lin Piao type, and arch-criminals bringing misfortune to the whole nation. They did all kinds of evil things inside the Party and brought great damage to the revolutionary cause, thus playing a part class enemies at home and abroad tried to play but failed.

The anti-Party "gang of four" was a group of faithful disciples of subjective idealism and always overestimated their own strength. As an ending to his "Thoughts," Chang Chun-chiao who could not but suppress his anger after his defeat tried to brace himself up by quoting the poem *New Year's Day* by Wang An-shih (1021-1086) of the Sung Dynasty on becoming prime minister. This was an illuminating footnote to his "Thoughts." By quoting that poem, he had the impudence to liken the moribund force of his gang to the "new peach-wood lintel charm" representing the newborn force and slander the leading comrades in the central authorities who uphold Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and represent the interests of the proletariat and other working people as "the old." He vowed that "a new peach-wood lintel charm invariably replaces the old" and would never give up until his wild ambition of usurping Party and state power was realized. True to his word, from February 3 on the "gang of four" stepped up their anti-Party activities. They continued opposing the great leader Chairman Mao and attacking our respected and beloved Premier Chou, both overtly and covertly. They acted on their own in criticizing Teng Hsiao-ping in an attempt to overthrow a large number of leading Party, government and army comrades in the central organs and various localities who adhered to Chairman Mao's rev-

olutionary line. They were extremely hostile to Chairman Mao's proposal in April last year to appoint Comrade Hua Kuo-feng as First Vice-Chairman of the Party Central Committee and Premier of the State Council and vainly tried to overthrow Comrade Hua Kuo-feng and other leading comrades in the central organs. Using the mass media under their control, they undisguisedly tried to create counter-revolutionary opinion to pave the way for their takeover. The careerist Chiang Ching spread the nonsense that "the male sex must step aside and let the female govern" and that "a woman can also become the ruling sovereign." The criminal activities of the "gang of four" came to a climax when Chairman Mao was seriously ill and after his death; they were getting impatient to usurp the supreme leadership of the Party and state, topple the dictatorship of the proletariat and restore capitalism so as to realize their sweet dream of making "a new peach-wood lintel charm replace the old."

As is always the case, history inexorably ridicules clowns going against the revolutionary tide. Didn't Chang Chun-chiao hypocritically say that "it is the people who are the decisive factor"? Facts prove this is really so. Only a little more than eight months (that is, before "a year ends") after he wrote his "Thoughts," the red sun shone brightly, the easterly breeze made the people feel warm, and the sound of firecrackers and songs of triumph filled the air as millions upon millions of people heartily cheered the great victory of smashing the Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao anti-Party clique at one stroke by the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua Kuo-feng! Like all other reactionaries, the "gang of four" which once ruled the roost "started with the aim of injuring others only to end up by ruining himself." (Mao Tsetung: *Interview With a "New China Daily" Correspondent on the New International Situation.*) They fell from power once and for all. As conclusive evidence of their plot to usurp Party and state power and a record of their failure, "Thoughts" has been put in the dock together with the whole gang which will go down in history as the scum of society.

A Component Part of the "Gang of Four's" Plot To Usurp Party and State Power

— What was their aim in calling for "creating literary works on the struggle against capitalist-roaders"?

A HUE and cry to "create works with themes on the struggle against capitalist-roaders" was suddenly raised in the spring of 1976 in literary and art circles which were then under the thumb of the "gang of four." With the gang masterminding the project, their cohorts promptly went into action to put it into practice.

The "gang of four" was a bunch of out-and-out unrepentant capitalist-roaders still on the capitalist road. Why did they choose to wave the banner of "creating works with themes on the struggle against capitalist-roaders"? What were they really up to? Using the sharpest ideological weapon, Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, to make an analysis, we can clearly see that it was an insidious political scheme and a typical trick of waving "red flags" to oppose the red flag. It was an organized, planned and premeditated rabid attack on the proletariat by this gang which used literature and art to co-ordinate its political plan to usurp Party and state power.

Despicable Plot

The great leader and teacher Chairman Mao pointed out in 1962: "The use of the novel for anti-Party activity is quite an invention. To overthrow a political power, it is always necessary first of all to create public opinion, to do work in the ideological sphere. This is true for the revolutionary class as well as for the counter-revolutionary class." The criminal aim of Wang Hung-wen, Chang Chun-chiao, Chiang Ching and Yao Wen-yuan in forming a "gang of four" to carry out anti-Party activities was to usurp the supreme leadership of the Party and state, change the Party's basic line for the entire historical period of socialism, subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat and restore capitalism. They had long usurped power in propa-

ganda work and used all forms of the mass media to create public opinion for realizing their scheme.

When the respected and beloved Premier Chou died in January last year, the whole nation was deeply grieved. The "gang of four," however, gloated over this and thought that the opportunity to usurp Party leadership and seize state power had come. While inciting their accomplices in Shanghai to put up big-character posters demanding that Chang Chun-chiao be premier, they secretly worked out "dossiers" to frame charges against other comrades in the Political Bureau behind the back of Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee. They even called a meeting of leading comrades from 12 provinces at which they attacked people by name, openly spearheading their attack against good cadres who upheld Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, in a vain attempt to overthrow a large number of responsible Party, government and army comrades in the central organs and various localities.

The great leader Chairman Mao was long aware of this gang's sectarian activities aimed at splitting the Party. He had severely criticized them on many occasions and made some arrangements to solve this problem. As early as November and December 1974 when the central leading organs were preparing to convene the Fourth National People's Congress, Chairman Mao incisively pointed out that **Chiang Ching has wild ambitions** and unequivocally forbade her to "form a cabinet." The Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao issued Document No. 1 on February 3, 1976 appointing Comrade Hua Kuo-feng Acting Premier. This doubtlessly was a telling blow to the gang whose members were carried away by their wild ambitions. Full of anger and hatred, they

frantically opposed this wise decision of Chairman Mao's.

One aspect of their intensified scheming was to use literature and art to create counter-revolutionary opinion. On February 6, 1976, Chang Chun-chiao summoned his confidants planted in the Ministry of Culture to make arrangements for "creating works with themes on the struggle against capitalist-roaders" and issued specific "directives" concerning what and how to write. He also called their attention to the importance of this task. Meanwhile, Chiang Ching ordered speedy production of operas and plays with themes on the struggle against capitalist-roaders.

Going full speed ahead, the "gang of four's" cohorts called a series of meetings to relay Chiang Ching's and Chang Chun-chiao's "directives" and repeatedly stressed that "creating works with themes on the struggle against capitalist-roaders" was a "pressing task at present" and a "very important political task." In addition, they asked the writers present at the meetings to draw up plans and instigated them to "write about capitalist-roaders at higher levels," "at the provincial or ministerial level." They also shouted: "Don't be afraid," and told them to pluck up courage to break through all "resistance."

Doing Chiang Ching's bidding, they immediately set about cooking up the reactionary film *Counterattack* and at the same time decided to adapt four films into modern Peking operas so as to make them "models" in "creating works with themes on the struggle against capitalist-roaders" after inserting their sinister junk into them. They ordered that capitalist-roaders in these works be changed without exception into unrepentant ones, those holding secondary posts into those holding first-rank posts and those of lower rank into those of higher rank. To step up production, the gang's cohorts, while constantly checking the manuscripts, set a deadline for completion. As ordered by Chiang Ching, they also selected material from a volume of selections of literary and art works published in Shanghai, so they could turn out a greater number of films, operas, ballads, musical and dance items "with themes on the struggle against capitalist-roaders." All these works, as

they themselves put it, would be used as "ammunition" at an opportune moment!

At the "gang of four's" bidding, these accomplices ordered a group of hack writers to turn out an article entitled "An Important Fighting Task" under the pseudonym of "Chu Lan." Their aim was to provide a theoretical basis for what they called "creating works with themes on the struggle against capitalist-roaders." Though political inklinger Yao Wen-yuan had given them some pointers, they dared not publish the article even after revising the manuscript three times because it was too blatant and would have let the cat out of the bag. Nevertheless, they had already spread the fallacies in the article among some critics and writers through various channels and put them into practice.

The "gang of four" and its cohorts even hitched all work of the Ministry of Culture to the gang's war chariot. They directed the ministry to send people out to collect "information" about how the leadership in various localities obstructed "creating works with themes on the struggle against capitalist-roaders" and stressed the need to collect "information at and above the prefectural level" and send in reports about responsible comrades who had voiced the slightest objections.

The perverse actions of this gang had aroused suspicion, resistance and opposition on the part of an increasingly great number of literary and art workers, revolutionary cadres and revolutionary people. At that time, some people justifiably questioned: "Chairman Mao said that over 90 per cent of our cadres are good or fairly good. Does writing about so many capitalist-roaders conform to Chairman Mao's teaching?" Others penetratingly pointed out: Creating so-called works with themes on struggling against capitalist-roaders in such a way actually is negating the Party's leadership.

Vicious Intention

Should literary and art works deal with the struggle against the capitalist-roaders? Without a doubt it should. Chairman Mao pointed out: "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." It is the literary and art workers' bounden duty to do their best to use the Marxist stand, viewpoint and method to create literary and art works with this theme in accordance with Chairman Mao's theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat so as to contribute to the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat and to the socialist revolution and construction. Since the smashing of the scheme of the "gang of four," poems and articles, songs and cartoons and other literary and art works have been speedily turned out to reflect the acute struggle waged by the revolutionary people against this anti-Party clique. Warmly welcomed by the masses, these works have precisely the theme of waging struggles against the capitalist-roaders.

The point here is that the "gang of four" had a motive behind putting forward the so-called "creating works with themes on the struggle against capitalist-roaders."

Who are the "capitalist-roaders" in their eyes? Of course they forbade you to write about the "gang of four," typical representatives of the bourgeoisie in the Party. Anyone daring to do this would be subjected to fascist dictatorship. They said that in writing about capitalist-roaders the emphasis should be laid on the "democrats of the past and capitalist-roaders of today." What was meant by "democrats"? One crony of the "gang of four" put it bluntly: "Capitalist-roaders are democrats, and democrats are those who took part in the democratic revolution and were fellow-travelers of the Party in the past and who have become the target of revolution in the socialist revolution." So the "gang of four" tried to label as capitalist-roaders the tens of thousands of our Party's veteran cadres who took part in the democratic revolution and who persist in upholding Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. What they meant by "capitalist-roaders" was in fact the large number of our Party's revolutionary veteran cadres who are valuable assets of the Chinese revolution.

Moreover, the "gang of four" said that the stress should be on writing about "big capitalist-roaders." Speaking of a film whose theme was on capitalist-roaders, Chang Chun-chiao

said: "It deals only with a commune, so it's not big enough in scope, neither is it deep enough ideologically." "It is necessary to write about a province, a ministry." What he was driving at was to portray secretaries of Party committees above the county level, ministers of the various ministries under the State Council and even leading comrades in the central authorities all as capitalist-roaders.

Nor is this all. The "gang of four" required that all the "capitalist-roaders" in these works must turn out to be unrepentant ones in the end. Chairman Mao time and again taught us: "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." In opposition to Chairman Mao's directive, they openly claimed: "Very few of the capitalist-roaders at the lower levels can mend their ways, while the big ones at the higher levels will never show repentance." They even shouted that if cadres committing capitalist-roaders' errors were depicted as "good people committing mistakes," it would be "confusing the two different types of contradictions" [meaning the contradiction between ourselves and the enemy and the contradiction within the ranks of the people]. But they weren't satisfied with portraying the Party's leading cadres at various levels merely as "capitalist-roaders." What they aimed at was to label them as "unrepentant capitalist-roaders" who must all be overthrown.

A Typical Poisonous Weed

A typical poisonous weed, the film *Counterattack* which was a brainchild of the "gang of four" was rushed out. Writing of the script began in March last year and by September the film was completed. Its production answered the political needs of the "gang of four" to usurp Party and state power.

Before filming, the accomplices of the "gang of four" gathered together to "examine" the outline of the script. They demanded that the film be produced as quickly as possible. Afterwards, one of their confidants personally supervised its production. He raved: "To make the film *Counterattack* is of major importance." "Produce it as quickly as possible." He instructed the scriptwriters to "write about the big

capitalist-roaders, including those in the central leading organs," thereby directing their attack at the Party Central Committee headed by Comrade Hua Kuo-feng. This confidant even supplied those working on the film with material containing framed-up charges against the central leading comrades prepared by the "gang of four," saying that they could use this for "reference."

Isn't it clear what they were after? In discussing the script, this confidant snarled: "Capitalist-roaders are counter-revolutionaries who may be arrested and sentenced, some may even be shot." How bloodthirsty these scoundrels were! As a result of their scheming, the capitalist-roader was not as in the original script a deputy secretary of a university Party committee but the first secretary of a provincial Party committee, and an unrepentant capitalist-roader at that! And the changed theme was: "We should answer the question: What should we do if revisionism emerges in the Central Committee of our Party?" Added to the revised script were these words in the dialogue: "From the central authorities to the various localities, they still have a fairly big portion of power." Confidants of the "gang of four" in the Ministry of Culture insisted that the film be completed before October 1 last year. Time

and again they urged: "Get it out quick, rough-hewn or otherwise."

To quote one confidant, "The film *Counterattack* involves not only a question of literature and art; it will touch off a chain reaction." It is therefore clear that they intended to make the film an important step for staging a counter-revolutionary coup d'etat. They hoped in vain to use the film to fan up dissension and topple the first secretaries of every province and direct the spearhead of attack at the central authorities. That was why as soon as the film was made, a cohort of the "gang of four" in the Ministry of Culture leapt with joy and said it was a "good film" ready for public showing at the opportune moment. If the film were put on show, there would be great confusion, their mistress would then ascend to the throne and all their accomplices would be decorated and promoted to the top posts.

The spring thunder has smashed their fond dream. The Central Party Committee headed by Chairman Hua Kuo-feng, carrying out Chairman Mao's behests, squashed the scheme of the anti-Party "gang of four" to usurp Party and state power. Their plot to "create works with themes on the struggle against capitalist-roaders" thus added up to zero.

The Struggle Around the Modern Play "The Long March"

THE 10-act revolutionary modern play *The Long March* which the Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao anti-Party clique tried to snuff out was restaged in Peking recently. Workers, peasants and soldiers acclaimed: "This is a victory for Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line."

A Magnificent Paean

After Chairman Mao founded the Chinese Workers' and Peasants' Red Army and set up the Ching Kang Mountains revolutionary base area in Kiangsi Province in 1927, the revolution

developed swiftly. However, owing to the "Left" opportunist line pushed by Wang Ming which excluded Chairman Mao from the leadership in the Party and the army, the Red Army was not able to smash the enemy's fifth "encirclement and suppression" campaign and was thus compelled to move from its positions and embark on the Long March.

The Central Red Army (the First Front Army) pulled out of the Kiangsi revolutionary base area and started the Long March in October 1934. In the first stage, the Red Army sustained continual heavy losses and its very exist-



A scene from *The Long March: Crossing the grassland.*

ence was at stake. In January 1935, the Party Central Committee convened an enlarged meeting of the Political Bureau at Tsunyi in Kweichow Province, repudiated Wang Ming's erroneous line, established Chairman Mao's leading position in the Party Central Committee and set the Party's line on the correct Marxist track, thus saving the Party, the Red Army and the revolution.

Under Chairman Mao's personal command, the Central Red Army smashed the encirclement, pursuit, obstruction and interception by several hundred thousand enemy troops, crossed permanently snow-clad mountains and trackless grasslands, suffered untold hardship, covered 25,000 li (12,500 kilometres) up and down eleven provinces, reached Wuchichen in northern Shensi in October 1935 and victoriously joined forces with the Northern Shensi Red Army and the Red Army's 25th Army which had arrived earlier. Under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, the Red Army scored a victory over the splittism and flightism of Chang Kuo-tao who had usurped the leadership of the Fourth Front Army. The Red Army's Second and Fourth Front Armies finally arrived in the Huining area of Kansu Province in October 1936, and joined forces with the Central Red

Army, thereby triumphantly completing a great strategic movement in China's history.

As soon as the Long March was completed, the Chinese revolution took on a new look.

Using this great historic event of the Red Army as background, the revolutionary modern play *The Long March* combines revolutionary realism with revolutionary romanticism and, by depicting the military exploits of the Taishan Battalion of the Central Red Army which followed Chairman Mao on the Long March, artistically portrays the Workers' and Peasants' Red Army's splendid fighting course.

The play gives prominence to the two-line struggle during the Long March and warmly praises the great victories of Chairman Mao's Marxist-Leninist revolutionary line of unity for victory over Wang Ming's dogmatist "Left" opportunist line and Chang Kuo-tao's Right flightist and splittist line. It vividly reflects Chairman Mao's great military thought and military skill and mirrors the bold revolutionary spirit that the Red Army feared not the trials of the Long March and its revolutionary tradition of hard work. The play has successfully depicted Red Army heroes who resolutely

carried out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and policies.

Kind Concern

Playwright Chen Chi-tung was the leader of a propaganda team in the Red Army during the Long March. After arriving in northern Shensi with Chairman Mao, he pondered the experience of the commanders and fighters of the Red Army and came to a deep understanding that no matter how tortuous the course of the revolution, it would be victorious and advance so long as Chairman Mao's revolutionary line was carried out, but it would suffer setbacks and defeat if Chairman Mao's revolutionary line was not followed. Thus he made up his mind to write a play in praise of the great leader and teacher Chairman Mao and his revolutionary line.

In the course of writing, from the very beginning when the theme was chosen to the completion of the play, Chen Chi-tung constantly got help and support from Premier Chou En-lai, Chairman Chu Teh of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress and other veteran revolutionaries. Premier Chou discussed the theme and plot with him on several occasions in the years when they were in Yen-an as well as in 1951 and in 1953, and suggested that he should first of all concentrate his efforts on the great revolutionary historic event — the Red Army's Long March. It was in this way that the theme was decided on. Later, Premier Chou helped him with revising and polishing the script many times and changed the title of the play to *The Long March*. In 1954, on instructions from Premier Chou, it was first staged in the capital and also performed for diplomatic envoys of various countries to China. Premier Chou collected comments and suggestions on the play from people both inside and outside the Party and told Chairman Mao about them. On July 2, 1964, Chairman Mao saw the play and, at the end of the performance, went on stage and very happily posed for a group photo with the playwright and all the actors and actresses. Chairman Mao fully endorsed it and gave important instructions on revising and further improving it. Chairman Mao pointed out that special stress should be laid on the idea of unity for victory and issued the instruction

that efforts should be made to ensure the improvement of the play.

"Gang of Four" Tried to Kill the Play

But Chiang Ching, who practised revisionism, created splits and intrigued and conspired, had wild political ambitions to usurp Party and state power. She hated this play which praises Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and the heroic exploits of the Chinese Workers' and Peasants' Red Army. She forbade the playwright to revise it in accordance with Chairman Mao's instructions and ordered him to revise it in line with her wishes, that is, to replace the two-line struggle in the play with a military struggle between ourselves and the enemy, and she decreed that the Deputy Commander of the Taishan Battalion, who is loyal to the Party, to Chairman Mao and to the revolution, be portrayed as a class enemy, determined as she was to smear and sully the Workers' and Peasants' Red Army. She also wanted to cut out an episode based on the experience of the struggle of veteran Red Army fighters in the Long March. She went so far as to clamour: "Cross out the names of Chou En-lai and Chu Teh in the play." Her aim was to minimize and write off the contributions of the older generation of proletarian revolutionaries to the history of the Chinese revolution and distort and tamper with the history of the struggles of our Party and our army. When the playwright rejected her erroneous view, she cursed him as being "both stinking and stubborn." She continued to try by every possible means to sabotage revision and production of the play.

Because of interference and sabotage by Chiang Ching and company, *The Long March* was suppressed for ten years. Only after Chairman Mao had inquired about the revision of the play several times in 1974 did Chiang Ching hypocritically and offhandedly convey Chairman Mao's concern to the production group, while continuing to insist that the playwright make the revisions she demanded.

Encouraged by the attention of Chairman Mao and Premier Chou, the production group firmly followed Chairman Mao's instructions in revising and improving the play, working on it and rehearsing for several months. On July 2,

1974, the tenth anniversary of the day Chairman Mao had seen the play, it was restaged experimentally for permission for public performance. The production group on several occasions asked Chiang Ching and Chang Chun-chiao and leading cadres in the Ministry of Culture to see it and give their suggestions for further improvement. But this bunch of conspirators and careerists refused. Chiang Ching asserted: "I am not going to see the play until it has been well revised," meaning, revised the way she wanted. When Chiang Ching happened to meet the playwright in January 1975 she again reprimanded him: "You have turned a deaf ear to what I said. I told you to make some changes in the dialogue but you refused." He replied that what she wanted to revise was precisely what Chairman Mao had approved of. Chiang Ching arrogantly said: "What Chairman Mao saw and approved of can be changed all the same." What counter-revolutionary effrontery!

Because of Chiang Ching's threat of "not going to see the play" and her obstruction, it could not be performed for the public, but was confined only to the rehearsing arena. However, the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao, and the workers, peasants and soldiers showed their attention and support for the play. Ninety per cent of the Members of the Party Central Committee in Peking saw the play and most of the leading comrades of the general departments, services and arms of the Chinese People's Liberation Army also saw it, as did many leading comrades from various provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions who came to Peking to attend meetings. In a little over a year, the play was presented experimentally in 170 performances to an audience of 100,000 workers, peasants and soldiers. Many veteran Red Army fighters said: "This play evokes memories of our militant life during the Long March. It is a great encouragement for us to follow Chairman Mao in continuing the revolution." Workers, peasants and soldiers, the younger generation in particular, were of the opinion that the play was an education to them and served as a vivid textbook for studying the history of the two-line struggle in the Party and carrying forward the glorious revolutionary tradition of our Party and our army.

In September 1975, except the "gang of four," more than 20 leading comrades, including

Members of the Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee, Vice-Premiers of the State Council, Vice-Chairmen of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress and Standing Committee Members of the Military Commission of the Party Central Committee, saw the play and unanimously endorsed its presentation to the public in October in commemoration of the 40th anniversary of the great victory of the Long March. A decision was also made to film it. Shortly after the play's public presentation, many theatrical troupes in the country staged or adapted the play. This angered the conspirators and careerists, the "gang of four," still more. Chang Chun-chiao venomously cursed: "All that stuff in *The Long March* only eulogizes the merits of those old fellows." Indulging in her villainous trick of rumour-mongering, Chiang Ching screeched: "There is something wrong with this play." They restricted publicizing the play and did everything possible to minimize and disparage its political influence. They forbade publication of a full page of the stage photos of *The Long March* in colour which *Renmin Ribao* had already prepared. Making use of the mass media in their hands, they published articles insinuating that the play had a "dubious background" and that it was meant to "denigrate the model revolutionary theatrical works." They forced the radio and television to stop presenting it. Quite a number of theatrical troupes in different parts of China had to halt performances of the play. With regard to the plan to film it, they of course cancelled it.

Chairman Hua Saves the Play

Workers, peasants and soldiers indignantly pointed out that in trying to snuff out the play, the "gang of four" was not only directing its attack against a particular literary work. Out of counter-revolutionary motives to oppose Chairman Mao, Mao Tsetung Thought and Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, the "gang of four" tried to play down and tamper with the history of the revolution, negate the historic exploits of the great proletarian revolutionaries Premier Chou En-lai and Chairman Chu Teh of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, and negate the many veteran revolutionary cadres who had followed Chairman Mao in fighting north and south, so

as to usurp Party and state power and restore capitalism in China. Now, the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua has smashed at one blow the plot of the "gang of four," thus saving the Party and the revolution, and also saving revolutionary literature and art and consequently *The Long March*. Literary and art workers firmly believe that with the elimination

of the interference and sabotage by the "gang of four," literature and art are sure to prosper rapidly. Under the leadership of the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua, the glorious revolutionary tradition of the Workers' and Peasants' Red Army, as described in *The Long March*, will certainly be carried forward.

1976 in Review

The Deepening Anti-Hegemony Struggle in Africa

1976 was not a calm year on the African continent. While the African rivalry of the Soviet Union and the United States intensified, the African people, strengthening their unity and co-operation in combating colonialism and racism, waged an undaunted struggle against the two superpowers.

Lesson of Intervention in Angola

Disregarding universal condemnation, the Soviet Union dispatched mercenary troops from a great distance to set off an armed intervention in Angola in the second half of 1975. No sooner had the Angolan people shaken off the shackles of Portuguese colonial rule than they were driven into the cage of social-imperialist domination. This is a bad thing, but it also is a good thing. Under the iron-heel of the interventionist troops, more than one hundred thousand Angolans were drowned in a blood-bath and there were over a million homeless refugees. This stark reality gives the African people food for thought. Why has the Soviet Union, which styles itself the "natural ally" of Africa, laid its murderous hands on the Angolan people? Why has the Soviet Union, which calls itself "socialist," done all the evil the imperialists do? Is the Soviet Union a friend or an enemy? People on the whole of the African continent pon-

dered and discussed these questions. The great number of press articles and government leaders' statements about the Soviet Union published in Africa in the year ending last June has seldom been seen in recent years. A heated debate on these questions took place in January at the Organization of African Unity summit extraordinary session where heads of state or their representatives of more than 20 African countries favoured condemnation of intervention in Angola by all foreign countries, including the Soviet Union.

The debate enabled more and more African countries and people to see through Soviet social-imperialism. Following are some of the comments: "How can anyone who kills my brother expect me to believe that he is my friend?" "In the past we did not understand why the Soviet Union was described as social-imperialism. Now we have come to see that this is a proper description." "Russia is a very wicked colonizer and the enemy of Africa as a whole."

Some 15 years ago, a great debate took place in Africa on U.S. armed intervention in the then Congo (Leopoldville) under the signboard of United Nations troops. That debate helped the African people perceive the wolfish nature of U.S. imperialism and was a powerful impetus to the anti-imperialist and anti-colo-

nalist struggle in Africa. The debate on the Angolan question is in essence a debate on how to regard and deal with Soviet social-imperialism. A leading member of the O.A.U. Liberation Committee said, "If, in the 1960s, Africa began to know U.S. imperialism, then, in the 1970s, it began to know Soviet social-imperialism."

Struggle Over Zimbabwean Question

Having gained the day in Angola, Moscow was eager to grab the whole of southern Africa. To retain their vested interests, the U.S. imperialists were locked in unprecedentedly tense contention with the aggressive Soviet revisionists in southern Africa. African public opinion put it solemnly: "Because of the superpowers' involvement the situation in southern Africa has reached a dangerous turning-point. It has deteriorated to the extent that the Western superpower and the other superpower are fishing in the troubled waters of our region." "Russia is dreaming of colonizing the African continent."

The people of southern Africa have realized from the superpowers' fierce duels that they are not suffering from racism alone, but also from the more grave threats of the Soviet Union and the United States. Zambian President Kaunda pointed out: "Africa has fought and driven out the ravenous wolves of colonialism, racism and fascism from Angola through the front door, but a plundering tiger is coming in through the back door." Guarding against the tiger while repulsing the wolf, as the lesson drawn from the intervention in Angola teaches, and opposition to superpower attempts to "meddle in the liberation war in southern Africa" have become the key to the successful development of the national-liberation struggle there. The struggle over the Zimbabwean problem in the past six months or more showed that the African people had begun closely integrating the struggle against racism with that against superpower hegemonism, and that they had come to know that only by doing so can the struggle for liberation be successfully pushed ahead.

After the armed intervention in Angola, Moscow tried hard to recruit a multi-national force to "liberate" Zimbabwe and other regions

in southern Africa, hoping to make more Angolas out of these areas by sending mercenaries there. But it ran into a wall this time and some African leaders declared: "To liberate Africa is Africa's task. We do not want our 'friends' from foreign countries to come to liberate Africa for us" and "the Zimbabwean liberation movements want to liberate themselves by themselves, and not by others."

One superpower wants to dislodge the other by offering military "assistance" to Africa, while the other is exerting itself to retain its position in southern Africa through varied tactics. In the face of this new phase in the situation, the people in southern Africa are on the alert while fighting for independence and liberation.

In coping with the two-faced tactics employed by the United States and the racist regimes, the Zimbabwean liberation organizations exposed the enemy at the Geneva conference on the issue of Rhodesia and intensified the struggle on the battlefield. They said that without victory on the battlefield, there will be no victory at the negotiation table and that the conference is only a continuation of the struggle on the battlefield.

Unity Stands New Tests

The more the two superpowers intensify their rivalry for hegemony over Africa, the harder they will try to undermine unity among African countries. In this respect, the Soviet acts are all the more despicable. It openly classifies certain African countries "progressive" and the others "reactionary" to sow suspicion and hostility among them. It even manipulated that non-African country which acted as its mercenary in the Angolan war to convene a "conference of progressive African countries" in a vile attempt to disintegrate the Organization of African Unity, undermine African unity and sap the African fighting will.

"Unity is strength," and "African countries understand that their destiny depends on solidarity." This is the reply of the African press to the Soviet divisive plots. Many African countries came out and denounced "Russian imperialism" for its daydream of "dividing Africa

down the middle." The solemn pledge "We will not be divided" was made at the 13th O.A.U. summit meeting in July.

The harder enemies try to undermine African unity, the more the African countries want to strengthen their unity. The superpowers tried to divide Africa on the southern African issue. In the past year, however, state leaders of African countries repeatedly reaffirmed, at the O.A.U. summit meeting and during frequent exchanges of visits, their solemn stand for unity and all-out support for the national-liberation struggle in southern Africa.

In seeking their selfish interest, the superpowers tried to sow discord between African countries by taking advantage of their border disputes and other contradictions left behind by

former colonial rule. But in 1976 alone, a dozen African countries entered into consultations on border questions and reached agreements.

The superpowers used "aid" as bait to infiltrate and expand in Africa. But the African countries issued a loud call for "collective self-reliance" as a reply. The economic community of the great lake countries was set up. At the special session of the O.A.U. Ministerial Council in December in Kinshasa the participants were unanimous in proposing the establishment of a trans-African economic community.

By their great struggle in 1976, the African people have inspired the fighting will of the third world's people and are pushing world history forward.

For Your Reference

High Tide in Liberation Struggle

THE struggle of the southern African people against racist rule has vigorously surged forward.

Thwarting the Smith regime's "detente" trick, the Zimbabwean patriotic armed forces opened up new battlefronts that brought on a new situation. According to a Zimbabwe People's Army (ZIPA) communique, the flames of guerrilla war have spread from the northeast to well over half of Zimbabwe. ZIPA launched three big offensives in 1976. In the first three quarters of that year, more than 1,250 enemy troops were killed, several hundred wounded, 145 military vehicles destroyed and 45 aircraft including helicopters downed. A military spokesman for the racist Rhodesian authorities recently admitted that the guerrilla "push is on" and "we accept that there is a lot of pressure on us."

Patriotic armed forces in north, northwest and northeast Namibia have repeatedly attacked the illegal occupation troops of the South African racist authorities. Nearly a hundred enemy troops were killed in the first four months of 1976. In the following two months, the freedom fighters wiped out more than 70 South African soldiers in attacks in Grootfontein, Okahandja, Windhoek and Onuno. They shot down three enemy helicopters and destroyed or captured large quantities of military material.

The South African (Azanian) people unfolded an impressive mass struggle in protest against the monstrous crimes of the South African authorities in the Soweto massacre last June. Hundreds of thousands of black workers and students simultaneously went on strike and staged demonstrations and fought courageously against the police called out to suppress them. The struggle rapidly spread to most regions and cities in South Africa. Demonstrators put forth clear-cut political slogans demanding "black power." This struggle against suppression has seldom been seen in the history of South Africa in recent years, judging from the scale, number of participants, places involved and long duration. This shows that the political consciousness of the Azanian people has been greatly heightened.

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Settle Border Disputes Through Consultation

A NUMBER of African countries did much work in 1976 to settle their border disputes, left over by history, through peaceful consultation on an equal footing.

Senegal and the Gambia initialed a treaty on delineation of the frontiers, Ghana and Togo

concluded a border demarcation agreement, and Ethiopia and Kenya jointly agreed to exploit the border areas between them to strengthen their good-neighbourly relations. Relations were also improved between countries where conflicts had arisen out of border disputes, creating conditions favourable to future settlement. Togo and Benin reopened their borders in March and set up a commission of border delimitation between the two countries. Determined to resolve their border disputes in the spirit of eliminating misunderstanding between them, Mali and Upper Volta exchanged ministerial visits in June and November. In August, Uganda and Kenya reached an agreement on normalization of relations in which the two sides agreed to stop using force to threaten each other, cease the state of belligerency and withdraw troops stationed at their common border.

The border disputes and contradictions between African countries are a legacy of the past — products of the “divide and rule” scheme of the imperialists and the old-line colonialists who partitioned and plundered them. A look at the map of Africa finds an artificial phenomenon — straight borderlines, as if sliced by a knife, of a great number of African countries. In dividing up their spheres of influence in Africa, the imperialists arbitrarily imposed these irrational boundary delineations upon the African people, disregarding the political, economic and geographical conditions there. In one case, one tribe's territory was divided among different countries so that relatives could not visit each other freely. In another, boundaries were not clearly delineated. Herein lies the root of dissension between African countries.

Inheriting the old-line colonialists' mantle of “divide and rule,” the Soviet Union has tried to fan up the flames and sow discord in order to expand in Africa. The new tsars do all they can to poke their noses wherever disputes or conflicts have occurred. Their favourite trick is to benefit themselves from supplying arms. Sometimes they send arms and ammunition to one side and sometimes provide both sides with aircraft and guns to instigate Africans to fight a fratricidal war.

Expressing their strong desire to eliminate outside interference and master their own destiny, the African people have issued the call: “African problems must be settled by Africans.” A number of African countries have been active in mediating between conflicting countries. For example, when Togo and Benin had a border dispute, the leaders of Nigeria, Ghana and Guinea successfully mediated it. Togo and other African countries also tried to settle the Mali-Upper Volta border dispute, greatly improving relations between the two countries. To show the importance they attach to unity, leaders or officials of many disputing African countries have sat down together and calmly discussed matters during mutual visits. These examples have shown that the African countries can get rid of imperialist, especially social-imperialist, intervention and sabotage and settle existing problems through peaceful consultation.

The settlement of border questions has promoted good-neighbourly and friendly relations between these countries and their national construction. A joint communique by the Togolese and Benin Heads of State after their Lome meeting in June said that both countries reaffirmed their will to carry out integrated development of the Monoo valley including construction of hydroelectric barrages and realization of agricultural and industrial projects. They also decided to co-ordinate their fishing systems in border waters. Ethiopia and Kenya are resolved to start settlement projects for their nomadic peoples through joint efforts and to arrange regular meetings between medical workers in the border regions of the two countries to exchange views on public health problems. After reaching an agreement on the normalization of relations, Uganda and Kenya discussed problems including the promotion of trade and transport between both countries. Senegal and the Gambia have set up a co-ordination committee for the Gambia River basin project.

Africa belongs to the African people. They have both the resolve and ability to put an end to intervention and sabotage by imperialism and the superpowers, and handle the affairs of Africa well.

ROUND THE WORLD

"L'HUMANITE ROUGE"
(FRANCE)

On Division Into Three Worlds

The concept of the division into three worlds advanced by Chairman Mao is a Leninist analysis of the international situation. Jacques Jurquet, Political Director of the French paper *L'Humanite Rouge*, pointed out in a January 21 article in the paper.

The article said that applying the lively method of dialectical materialism, Chairman Mao put forth the concept after studying a considerable number of documents and data concerning various countries, political forces, and classes.

It pointed out that this theory proceeds from a concrete class analysis. It expounds the fundamental question posed to all proletarian revolutionary Communists in the world. "It is directly opposed to the modern revisionists' deceitful analyses."

"Proceeding from a concrete dialectical materialist study instead of some subjective and abstract voluntarism," the article added, "we consider the third world the principal force in the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism."

"We should unite with the third world (comprising about 80 per cent of the world's population) which constitutes the principal force in the struggle against the two superpowers."

"The foreign policy of the Chinese Government under the

leadership of the Chinese Communist Party headed by Chairman Hua Kuo-feng," it noted, "was and is founded on the theory of the three worlds and conforms with Mao Tsetung Thought. The manoeuvres by the 'gang of four' can neither discredit nor demolish the theory."

For the Marxist-Leninist Communists of France, as for their Chinese comrades and comrades in many other countries, the article said, the concept of the three worlds is the point of departure in working out their proletarian revolutionary strategy and tactics adapted to the world today.

KAMPUCHEA

9th Anniversary of Founding Of Revolutionary Army

A big meeting was held in Phnom Penh, capital of Kampuchea, on January 16 to celebrate the ninth anniversary of the founding of the Kampuchean Revolutionary Army. Chairman of the Permanent Committee of the People's Congress of Kampuchea and Acting Prime Minister of the Government Nuon Chea addressed the meeting. He reviewed the history of the Revolutionary Army and declared its future militant tasks.

Chairman Nuon Chea pointed out that in 1960 the Kampuchean Revolutionary Organization had set forth the strategy and military line of the national-democratic revolution and

underground armed forces were set up the following year. From 1961 to 1966, revolutionary bases dotted the whole country. In early 1967, the traitorous Lon Nol clique launched a civil war and savagely massacred Kampuchean patriots and revolutionaries. On January 17, 1968, the underground revolutionary armed forces, for the first time in history, organized themselves into guerrillas and attacked an enemy stronghold 11 kilometres north of Battambang City and completely wiped out the enemy there. This was made Army Day of the Kampuchean Revolutionary Army, which marked the beginning of the Kampuchean people's revolutionary war against the counter-revolutionary war.

Starting from scratch, Chairman Nuon Chea said, the Revolutionary Army has grown into a full-fledged army with ground, naval and air forces. It is loyal to the Revolutionary Organization, to the workers and peasants and to the revolutionary regime. It is defending the frontiers, coasts, territorial air and the whole of Kampuchea.

TALKS WITH ITALIAN
FOREIGN MINISTER

Brezhnev Snubbed

The Kremlin was snubbed in its efforts to lure and coerce Italy into accepting the Soviet proposal that all countries taking part in the European security conference sign a treaty undertaking not to be the first to use nuclear weapons when Italian Foreign Minister Arnaldo Forlani visited Moscow in the middle of the month.

(Continued on p. 32.)

ON THE HOME FRONT

300,000-Ton Ethylene Project

AN ethylene plant with an annual capacity of 300,000 tons, built with the approval of our great leader Chairman Mao and Premier Chou En-lai, was completed and commissioned at the Peking General Petrochemical Works. It was built at high speed and with good quality.

Ethylene is a basic raw material for the modern petrochemical industry. This large plant which involves complicated techniques is one of China's key construction projects and the biggest built after liberation in Peking's petrochemical industry. Construction began towards the end of August 1973. Two years and eight months later, it was brought to completion after a single trial run early in May 1976.

The entire project was built in the spirit of self-reliance and independence by Chinese workers, cadres and technicians who

made the general layout and did the designs for civil engineering work and underground projects. The plan for start-up also was mapped and carried out mainly by the Chinese personnel. In line with the principle of "making foreign things serve China," they strictly checked and tested those imported techniques and equipment in the light of actual conditions. According to the foreign technological process for putting up the propylene rectifying column which is higher than a 20-storeyed building, the workers first had to place the shell in position and then climb on to it to install the accessories. Instead of this, the Chinese workers devised a new method and did most of the work on the ground. It took only a little more than an hour for them to erect the huge column.

Completion of this project will help greatly increase China's production of plastics, synthetic

rubber and other petrochemicals and at the same time provide experience through practice for speeding up development of the nation's petrochemical industry.

New Highway Bridge At Loyang

A HIGHWAY bridge, so far the longest in China, now spans the Yellow River at Loyang. It is located east of the Sanmen Gorge and west of Chengchow, at a point demarcating the middle from the lower reaches of the Yellow River.

This 3.5-kilometre-long bridge was built according to a new construction design, with 50-metre-long pre-stressed reinforced concrete beams. In the past, the longest beams of this kind were 31.7 metres, built for railway bridges.

Formerly there was not a single highway bridge across the section of the Yellow River flowing through the western and eastern parts of Honan. With only several ferries which used wooden boats, transportation was very inconvenient for both people and vehicles. Construction of the Loyang Yellow River Highway Bridge was approved personally by our esteemed and beloved Premier Chou. After the project was started towards the end of 1973, the work was interrupted time and again for a total of eight months in three years as a result of interference and sabotage by the "gang of four."

Construction was in full swing when good news came that the "gang of four" had been smashed. The enthusiasm of the workers and cadres for building socialism soared to



The ethylene plant at night.

new heights. Overcoming difficulties in bridge construction and paving the road surface in subfreezing cold, they worked at an increasingly high speed and with higher efficiency. The eight-kilometre-long approaches to the bridge on the north and south banks were also quickly completed at the same time.

New Passenger-Cargo Ship

THE *Dongfanghung No. 14* is another large passenger-cargo ship designed and built by China for navigation in the Yangtze. Assigned to the line between Shanghai and Wuhan, it made a successful maiden voyage and arrived in Wuhan on November 30, 1976. On hand to greet its arrival were leading cadres of the Yangtze River Navigation Administration Bureau and other departments concerned and the masses.

This steel vessel made by the Shanghai Shipyard has double

propellers and three helms. It is 113 metres long and 16.4 metres wide, with a displacement of 3,700 tons. Powered by two turbo-charge diesel engines totalling 4,000 h.p., the ship carrying more than 1,250 passengers and 450 tons of cargo sails at a speed of 28 kilometres per hour.

It is characterized by its high speed, good performance and up-to-date equipment. The cargoholds are equipped with new-type elevators which help reduce labour intensity of crew members and dockers and raise the efficiency of loading and unloading.

The completion and commissioning of the ship was made possible by doing away with interference and sabotage by the "gang of four." As early as 1973, the departments concerned under the State Council drew up plans and on several occasions asked the Shanghai Shipyard to put large passenger-cargo ships into serial pro-

duction to meet the needs of the developing national economy and those of the people. Meddling in the shipbuilding industry, the "gang of four," however, arbitrarily ordered the shipyard to stop building such ships. The result was two passenger-cargo ships which had been launched were left alone in the Whangpoo River for a long time and the steel plates were eroded. It took as long as 700 days to complete them in 1975. Last May when work on the *Dongfanghung No. 14* had just begun, some persons doing the bidding of the "gang of four" tried to put a spoke into the shipbuilders' wheel. The construction of ships of this type urgently needed by the state was thus adversely affected. With the smashing of the "gang of four," the shipbuilders turned their hatred for it into tremendous drive to grasp revolution and promote production. They finished the job in a little over five months and with high quality.

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The Milan paper *Il Giornale* reported that when Brezhnev met Forlani he did his best to pin the Foreign Minister down on Italy's attitude towards signing such a treaty. The Foreign Minister replied in clear terms that his country would not deviate from NATO's negative stand on the matter. Replying to Brezhnev's blunt question: "Does this mean that Italy is not interested in such a treaty?" Forlani said that Italy is a country with only 55 million people and 300,000 troops. "I do not believe that the menace of a first strike will

come from us," he said, adding that neither nuclear weapons nor any other weapons should be first used to start a war.

The real purpose of Moscow's proposal is to bind NATO hand and foot so as to maintain the Soviet bloc's superiority in conventional forces in Europe. Therefore, as soon as it was dished up, it was flatly rejected by the United States and other NATO members. The Soviet Union, however, did not accept the rebuff, so Brezhnev himself tried to peddle the proposal.

While visiting Rome in the summer of 1975, Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko openly demanded that Italy "synchronize

its political clock" with the Soviet Union. When Italy's President went to Moscow on invitation late that year, the Kremlin vainly tried to pressure Italy into assuming more political obligations.

These Soviet actions show that there will be no change in the Kremlin's line of strengthening bilateral relations with the E.E.C. countries under the cover of "detente" and "disarmament" in order to split Europe and squeeze the United States out. However, with the E.E.C. countries steadily heightening their vigilance against Soviet expansion, this Soviet line will never succeed.