

PEKING REVIEW

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February 4, 1977

北
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報

**How the "Gang of Four" Used
Shanghai as a Base to Usurp
Party and State Power**

**Wang Hung-wen's Scheme to Throw
China Into Disorder Exposed**

C.M.E.A. Ridden With Difficulties

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Party Central Committee Calls for Upsurge in Learning From Taching

THE Central Committee of the Communist Party of China recently issued a circular regarding holding a national conference on learning from Taching in industry.

The circular calls on all industrial departments and enterprises in all localities to earnestly study Chairman Mao's work *On the Ten Major Relationships*, Chairman Hua's speech at the Second National Conference on Learning From Tachai in Agriculture (see *Peking Review*, No. 1, 1977) and the important directives of the Party Central Committee on the criticism of the "gang of four," penetratingly expose and criticize the gang, bring about an upsurge in the learn-from-Taching movement and in grasping revolution and promoting production, and greet the coming national learn-from-Taching conference with outstanding achievements.

The circular says: The C.P.C. Central Committee has decided to convene the conference before May Day this year. Its purpose is to mobilize the whole Party and the Chinese working class to push the revolutionary mass movement to learn from Taching in industry to a new stage and strive to build Taching-type enterprises throughout the country. This will be an important step to-

wards realization of the strategic policy decision by Chairman Hua to bring about great order across the land and a great event that the working class and other people in the country have long hoped for.

Taching is a red banner personally raised by Chairman Mao. The country's first big oilfield, it was opened by the working class at high speed and with top quality in the early 60s when China's economy had met with temporary difficulties, the Soviet revisionists stopped oil exports to China and Liu Shao-chi slashed industrial and mining enterprises and construction projects. To start the undertaking, the Taching oil workers conscientiously studied and applied Chairman Mao's works *On Practice* and *On Contradiction* and persisted in arming themselves with Mao Tsetung Thought. Through self-reliance and hard struggle, Taching has, in the last decade or more, rapidly raised crude oil output to an average annual increase of 28 per cent. This has contributed greatly to China's socialist construction and enabled our country, formerly dependent on foreign oil, to export crude oil and petroleum products. Adhering to Chairman Mao's line on running socialist industrial enterprises, Taching has taken China's own road for

developing industry, a road which is completely opposite to that of capitalism and revisionism.

"In industry, learn from Taching" was a wise decision by Chairman Mao, the circular says. Our esteemed and beloved Premier Chou En-lai always paid great attention to building up Taching as an advanced unit. He personally summed up and enthusiastically propagated its experience. The Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao "gang of four," however, with the intention of subverting the dictatorship of the proletariat and restoring capitalism, wantonly attacked the red banner of Taching and unscrupulously undermined the mass movement to learn from it.

The circular points out: The two hegemonic powers, the Soviet Union and the United States, now are engaged in rabid arms expansion and war preparations. Soviet revisionism has massed a million troops along China's borders, still not giving up its wild ambition to subjugate China. How can we have great economic strength and strong national defence capabilities and how can we defend and consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat without pushing forward agriculture and industry and giving full scope to the role of the latter as the leading factor? Therefore, learning from Taching in industry is a very pressing fighting task. Party committees in all localities and departments must strengthen their leadership and draw up an overall plan

for the movement to learn from Taching. The chief leading comrades in every province, municipality and autonomous region should take class struggle as the key link and pay attention to both agriculture and industry. They should firmly grasp the movement to learn from Taching in industry and ensure its success, as they do

the movement to learn from Tachai in agriculture.

The C.P.C. Central Committee calls on cadres and masses on the industrial front to rally closely round the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua Kuo-feng, so as to greet the national learn-from-Taching conference with splendid achievements.

the "gang of four," is turning swiftly for the better.

Located in the central China plain, this bureau is in charge of a large network known as the "heart" of the country's railway transportation, where three trunk lines meet—the Peking-Kwangchow, Lienyunkang-Lanchow and Chiaotso-Chihchiang Railways. It undertakes the task of transporting coal to over ten provinces and municipalities.

Three Leading Members of Communist Party Of Brazil Mourned

THE Central Committee of the Communist Party of China on January 24 sent a message of deep condolences to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Brazil on the brutal assassination by the Brazilian reactionary authorities of Comrades Pedro Pomar, Angelo Arroyo and Joao Batista Drummond, leading members of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Brazil. The message read:

We are shocked at the news of the brutal assassination by the Brazilian reactionary authorities of Comrades Pedro Pomar and Angelo Arroyo, Members of the Executive Committee of the Central Committee, and Comrade Joao Batista Drummond, Member of the Central Committee, of the Communist Party of Brazil. We hereby express our deep condolences.

Comrades Pedro Pomar, Angelo Arroyo and Joao Batista Drummond fought for a long time against imperialism, revisionism and reaction and laid down their precious lives for the Brazilian

revolution. Undoubtedly, their deaths are a major loss for the revolutionary cause of the Brazilian people. But no one can stem the historical current of the Brazilian revolution.

The people and the Communist Party of Brazil have a glorious tradition of struggle. For half a century, they have fought heroically against class enemies, both internal and external, for the attainment of independence and national liberation, advancing in waves upon waves and carrying the revolution forward continuously. We are convinced that so long as the people's revolution in Brazil adheres to the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary line and persists in mobilizing and relying on the broad masses of people, it will surely be able to overcome all difficulties and obstacles and win final victory.

Important Railway Hub Revitalized

The situation at the Chengchow Railway Bureau, which was once seriously affected by

In the first ten days of January, the daily average number of cars loaded was 12.8 per cent higher than that of last year when the "gang of four" held sway, with coal shipments up by 25.7 per cent. In the second ten days, it increased 22 per cent over the first ten days, with coal transport 20.3 per cent higher. Besides, there has been a marked increase in the percentage of trains running on time and a steady improvement in other technological standards.

For many years, Chairman Mao and Premier Chou had shown great concern for the Chengchow Railway Bureau. Since 1975, Comrade Hua Kuo-feng has issued many important directives concerning its work. But the "gang of four" tried by hook and by crook to throw it into chaos. Chiang Ching once instructed a timeserver who had wormed his way into the Party committee of the bureau to cut off railway communications. Appropriating the power he had usurped, this man knocked together a clique to pursue its selfish interests and instigated workers to stop

(Continued on p. 13.)

How the "Gang of Four" Used Shanghai as a Base to Usurp Party and State Power

SHANGHAI, China's largest industrial city, was for many years an important base of the "gang of four" in plotting to usurp Party and state power. They practised revisionism, created splits and engaged in intrigues and conspiracies, thereby committing atrocious crimes behind the backs of Chairman Mao, the Party Central Committee and the city's 10 million people. For a long time in the past the people of Shanghai bitterly hated their evil deeds and resisted and struggled against them. With the exposure and downfall of the "gang of four," the whole city erupted like a volcano, venting their long-repressed indignation against this anti-Party gang's countless crimes.

1. Creating Counter-Revolutionary Opinion

The great leader and teacher Chairman Mao pointed out: **"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 "gang of four" used the cultural and propaganda media to manufacture rumours to hoodwink the masses.

First, they tried to dish up the so-called "Chang Chun-chiao thought" as the "theoretical basis" for usurping Party and state power and restoring capitalism. "Chang Chun-chiao thought," as they called it, was counter-revolutionary ideology pure and simple. Chang slandered Mao Tsetung Thought as "outdated," saying: "After reading Chairman Mao's *Analysis of the Classes in Chinese Society*, I'm still not clear about the classes in Chinese society." He also slandered that the basic line Chairman Mao formulated for our Party did not solve the question of "changes in the class relations in the socialist

period." He raved he would write a book entitled *Analysis of the Classes in the Socialist Period in China* to serve as the "basis for formulating future policies." Actually, he was trying to change our Party's basic line completely.

The "gang of four" also distorted and tampered with Mao Tsetung Thought. They negated the expositions by Chairman Mao and Chairman Hua concerning the transition in the system of ownership in the people's communes* and spread the nonsense that the change in the system of ownership could take place under any economic and political conditions. They tried to bring out quickly a book similar to *The Socialist Upsurge in China's Countryside* which, edited by Chairman Mao, has served as a guide to China's agricultural collectivization. And they wanted to write a preface and editor's notes to the book and make it "authoritative" and "philosophical." They alleged: "*The Socialist Upsurge in China's Countryside* came out too late. The upsurge was already over by the time it was published. So we must start

* In most parts of China, the rural people's communes' present system of "three-level ownership (people's commune, production brigade and production team), with the production team as the basic accounting unit," is in the main in harmony with the growth of the productive forces in the countryside today. But, with the expansion of large-scale socialist agriculture, and especially with the growth of the economy at the commune and brigade levels, this system of ownership will gradually move on to the system of ownership with the production brigade or even the commune as the basic accounting unit when conditions are ripe. In the still more distant future, the people's commune will advance from the system of collective ownership to the system of ownership by the whole people and then from the socialist system of ownership by the whole people to the communist system of ownership by the whole people.

early and bring ours out before the upsurge arrives." They went so far as to laud so-called "Chang Chun-chiao thought" as a "development" of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, the "fourth milestone" in the history of the development of Marxism after Marx, Lenin and Chairman Mao. All this shows that the "gang of four" was a bunch of traitors to scientific socialism and out-and-out counter-revolutionary revisionists.

Second, in Shanghai the gang fabricated a history of the Chinese Communist Party behind the backs of Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee. They completely negated the proletarian revolutionary cause undertaken by our Party under Chairman Mao's leadership, saying: "The Long March is insignificant and does not mean much." They smeared all the veteran proletarian revolutionaries as "bourgeois democrats" who have become "capitalist-roaders" under the dictatorship of the proletariat, and they decked themselves out as "pioneers" of the socialist revolution. They openly told the writers of the said Party history: "Don't mention Premier Chou, Chu Teh, Yeh Chien-ying, Chen Yi and others in the Party history. There are no final verdicts for some of them yet! Give more space to Chiang Ching and write her up." As a result, Chiang Ching's name appeared ten times in this book and this big careerist and conspirator was palmed off as "directly leading the great struggle in the ideological field and the revolution in literature and art." Some chapters of this book had already been included in university and middle and primary school textbooks.

Third, the "gang of four" ordered that articles, books and plays be written to vilify Chairman Mao, Premier Chou and Chairman Hua. The journal *Study and Criticism* under their direct control was crammed with reactionary articles. One of these articles was about the "pigtailed marshal" Chang Hsun who brought back Pu Yi, the last Ching Dynasty emperor, to the throne to restore the feudal dynasty in 1917. The purpose of this article was underscored by Chang Chun-chiao who said: The "pigtailed marshal" was not Chang Hsun himself but the system, the emperor. So he openly directed the spearhead of his attack

at Chairman Mao. Another article was a short biography of Thiers, a 19th-century French politician. It was accompanied by a caricature of Thiers resembling Teng Hsiao-ping. The article said that Thiers was so fierce because he had the powerful backing of the "iron chancellor" Bismarck, an insinuation against Premier Chou. There were other articles attacking Premier Chou and other leading comrades.

When Chairman Mao proposed that Comrade Hua Kuo-feng be appointed First Vice-Chairman of the Party Central Committee and Premier of the State Council, thereby establishing Comrade Hua Kuo-feng as his successor, the "gang of four" deliberately had a series of articles published on how Khrushchov, Chiang Kai-shek and Yuan Shih-kai (a Northern warlord who proclaimed himself emperor on December 12, 1915, but was forced to give up the title on March 22, 1916 — Tr.) came to power. In doing so they were attacking Comrade Hua Kuo-feng by innuendo and trying to replace him.

Fourth, the "gang of four" used other methods to prettify themselves. On the pretext of studying the history of the struggle between the Legalist and Confucian Schools, Chiang Ching raved: "After the death of Liu Pang (who founded the Han Dynasty in 206 B.C. — Tr.), his wife Empress Lu carried on the Legalist line." Here, Chiang Ching was comparing herself to Empress Lu and dreaming of becoming an "empress" in our time. (See "Chiang Ching and Empress Lu" in our issue No. 52, 1976. — Tr.) The gang instructed its followers to write a number of articles glorifying Empress Lu, saying: "After Liu Pang's death, only Empress Lu could carry his unfinished cause through to the end." They ordered the departments concerned in Shanghai to compile a "collection of speeches" by the "gang of four" in the Great Cultural Revolution and collect and reproduce their photographs. They hurriedly produced a reactionary film, *The Grand Festival*, praising Wang Hung-wen and Chang Chun-chiao. It was their intention to release the film in celebration of the success of their plot to usurp Party and state power.

Fifth, after the passing of Chairman Mao, the gang thought the time was ripe for them to usurp supreme Party and state leadership. They

forged Chairman Mao's "last words" — "act according to the principles laid down" — and issued a counter-revolutionary mobilization order for the usurpation of Party and state power. (See "A Desperate Move Before Destruction" in our issue No. 52, 1976. — Tr.) After the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua had crushed the "gang of four," a few trusted followers of the gang in Shanghai, though already knowing this through a secret channel, ordered local newspapers to continue publishing articles on the theme "act according to the principles laid down" and the local radio stations to keep broadcasting the song *Act For Ever According to the Principles Laid Down*. All this was part of their effort to stage a counter-revolutionary armed rebellion.

2. Recruiting Deserters and Renegades for Their Organization

In selecting and promoting cadres, the "gang of four" set such requirements as: "The leadership should know them well," "they should be supported by the masses" and "they should cherish deep feelings." Any monster or demon acquainted with the "gang of four," supported by them or having deep feelings for them would invariably be given an important post, while those who refused to follow the gang were all kicked out and struck down, whether they were new or old cadres.

Chairman Mao taught us: "Throughout our national history there have been two sharply contrasting lines on the subject of the use of cadres, one being to 'appoint people on their merit,' and the other to 'appoint people by favouritism.' The former is the honest and the latter the dishonest way." (*The Role of the Chinese Communist Party in the National War*.) The "gang of four" formed a faction, replacing the Party with it and placing it above the Party. They lorded it over the people and put Shanghai under their fascist rule.

They ruthlessly persecuted those comrades who upheld Chairman Mao's revolutionary line,



Big-character posters by Shanghai dock workers denouncing the "gang of four."

knew their ugly background and opposed them for their licentious life. One cadre who knew something about Chiang Ching's shameful history in the 30s and talked about it in the 40s and 50s was taken into custody and branded a counter-revolutionary by order of Chang Chun-chiao. Another cadre was imprisoned for several years because he had disagreed with Chang Chun-chiao when the latter wanted 2,000 metres of cloth for a villa of Lin Piao's. Such examples are too many to enumerate. The cadres and masses of Shanghai suffered a great deal at their hands.

The "gang of four" vainly hoped to "form a cabinet." Time and again they instructed their followers in Shanghai to look for suitable candidates for their "cabinet." Wang Hung-wen

and Chang Chun-chiao ranted that it was necessary to promote cadres in a daring way and map out a plan to this end, and they added that consideration should be given to such needs in both Shanghai and the country as a whole. They listed dozens of persons for the posts of ministers and vice-ministers and directors of departments and bureaux under the ministries. Some had already been appointed.

3. Activities to Split the Party

The "gang of four" acted against the three basic principles laid down by Chairman Mao, namely, "Practise Marxism, and not revisionism; unite, and don't split; be open and above-board, and don't intrigue and conspire." They worked energetically to split the Party. When the Ninth National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party was in session in 1969, they collaborated with Lin Piao to forge the "histories" of 14 leading comrades of the central authorities and accused them of having opposed Chairman Mao. Prior to the election of the Central Committee, Wang Hung-wen openly urged the delegates from Shanghai not to vote for these comrades. After the convocation of the Tenth Party Congress in 1973, they became more unbridled than before in scheming to split the Party.

First, they resorted to the tactics of secret agents and compiled "dossiers" framing charges against leading comrades in the Party. Wang Hung-wen instructed his secretary to fabricate false charges against Premier Chou whom the Chinese people hold in high esteem. In November 1975, they prepared 19 copies of so-called "charges" against central leading comrades. In December, they prepared another 20 copies in print and four in manuscript "exposing" leading comrades among the central authorities. They also collected speeches by 12 leading comrades, including Vice-Chairman of the Party Central Committee and Vice-Premiers. Quoting them out of context or purposely distorting them, they classified and compiled these speeches under 18 categories, printed and distributed them to various departments throughout the city as "material for criticism." Such material was also sent to some provinces and other cities.

Second, the gang had established extensive contacts with various departments in their

counter-revolutionary activities. They interfered in the affairs of various ministries under the State Council and created confusion there. They clamoured: "Only two and a half ministries under the State Council are reliable. All the bigwigs in the rest of the ministries are no good." They installed their faithful followers in important posts in some ministries, and sowed discord and created splits in others; they spread rumours to vilify some ministries and tried to make "breaches" in others so as to usurp supreme Party and state leadership.

Third, the gang adopted the counter-revolutionary tactic of "stabilizing Shanghai, creating turmoil in other places and seizing power amidst the chaos." So they did their utmost to interfere in the affairs of other places and tried to overthrow a large number of leading comrades in the various localities and then proceed to attack their "behind-the-scene bosses," directing their spearhead of attack at the Party Central Committee and the State Council. The gang was overjoyed early last year when they received an anonymous letter from Kiangsi Province viciously attacking the provincial Party committee. Chiang Ching herself arranged to find out the writer of the letter and incited him to stir up trouble in Kiangsi. The gang's followers in Shanghai sent their men to the various provinces and municipalities to collect information, and invited people from other places to Shanghai to read big-character posters slandering leading comrades at the central and local levels, and instigated them to attack the provincial Party committees.

4. Plotting Counter-Revolutionary Armed Rebellion

Chairman Mao long ago pointed out: "Without a people's army the people have nothing." (*On Coalition Government*.) The "gang of four" regarded the People's Liberation Army as the main obstacle to their plot to usurp Party and state power. More than once they said disconsolately: "We have only the pen, but no gun." Wang Hung-wen said: "The army is not in our hands. We have no men in the army. That's my biggest worry." He added: "The army is not reliable. It is most dangerous." Chang Chun-chiao said: "If the army turns the gun against us, what shall we do then?" They therefore tried by every possible means to control the

army. While they interfered in its affairs in an attempt to create chaos and splits, they seized hold of the militia and tried to make it a "second armed force" independent of the P.L.A. and turn it into a tool for carrying out their schemes.

They faked a so-called directive of Chairman Mao's on the "transformation of the militia" and established an independent apparatus for its leadership. Wang Hung-wen brazenly said: "It's Chun-chiao and I who set up the Shanghai militia." He told his trusted associates that "to build our militia into a strong contingent is a matter of winning leadership" and that "our militia must not be commanded by others." They refused to let the P.L.A. Shanghai Garrison Headquarters exercise control over the militia and forced it to hand over arms and funds to the militia. They set up a separate militia headquarters under their direct control and independent of the P.L.A. garrison. And they even planned to set up a national general militia headquarters in opposition to the Military Commission of the Party Central Committee. More startling was the fact that when Chairman Mao was seriously ill, they wanted to "immediately distribute" weapons to the Shanghai militia and were ready to strike at any moment.

5. Undermining the Movements to Learn From Taching and to Learn From Tachai

Taching and Tachai are two red banners raised by Chairman Mao himself.

They smeared and attacked Taching in every conceivable way. Chang Chun-chiao shouted: "What's all this about learning from Taching? I doubt its usefulness." Wang Hung-wen cried: "Taching is only a unit while Shanghai is a large area"; "We must sum up the whole series of experience Shanghai has gained." This fully showed their effort to tear down the red banner of Taching that Chairman Mao had raised and to suppress the movement **In industry, learn from Taching** that he had initiated.

The "gang of four" also viciously attacked Tachai. One of them said: "I simply look down upon Tachai." They openly opposed Chairman Mao's instruction: "**In agriculture, learn from Tachai.**" Chang Chun-chiao said on several occasions: "We can set up our own models. Why should we learn from others?" They

forbade the cadres and masses on the outskirts of Shanghai to learn from Tachai. As early as 1968, they issued the order that anyone wishing to visit Tachai had to have Chang Chun-chiao's approval. This in fact meant banning all visits to Tachai.

Comrade Hua Kuo-feng made a summing-up report at the First National Conference on Learning From Tachai in Agriculture in 1975 and issued the great call "Mobilize the whole Party, make greater efforts to develop agriculture and strive to build Tachai-type counties throughout the country," thus pushing the learn-from-Tachai movement to a new stage. But the "gang of four" slandered the report as a "revision of Marxism-Leninism" and as "advocating the theory of productive forces," and forbade Shanghai to implement this call.

They also declared: "We've read and discussed the document of the learn-from-Tachai conference. Even though the Chairman has checked the document off, it does not necessarily mean he approves it. We'll wait and see. Let him [referring to Comrade Hua Kuo-feng] perform." They poured torrents of abuse on leading comrades of the central authorities. All this clearly reveals their bitter hatred for Chairman Mao, Chairman Hua and the Party Central Committee.

Not only did the gang oppose the movement to learn from Tachai in agriculture, they opposed and sabotaged a whole series of Chairman Mao's principles and policies on agriculture. Chairman Mao had formulated the general principle of "**taking agriculture as the foundation and industry as the leading factor**" for developing the national economy, but the gang tried by every means to weaken this foundation. They slashed investments earmarked for agriculture and withheld materials for farmland capital construction. This seriously impaired the building of water conservancy projects, farm mechanization and rural construction as a whole. On the question of commune- and brigade-run industrial enterprises, the gang peddled the notion that these enterprises be allowed to find their own markets and develop according to their own wish. They advocated that commune members working in these enterprises be given "high work-points, high standards of living and high subsidies," thereby enlarging the gap in

distribution among commune members. This caused discontent among commune members doing farm work.

The "gang of four" also opposed grasping revolution, promoting production. While they themselves had no knowledge of production and did not take part in production, they opposed others doing so.

The "gang of four" committed all kinds of evil in Shanghai. They represent the landlords and the bourgeoisie as well as the imperialists, revisionists and all reaction; they are a pack of counter-revolutionary revisionists and the sworn enemy of the whole Party, the whole army and the people of all nationalities throughout the country.

With the kind attention and under the correct leadership of Chairman Hua and the Party Central Committee headed by him, Shanghai

which was formerly the "gang of four's" base for usurping Party and state power has now become a vast ocean to drown them. Whether in the city or in the rural areas, the cadres and the masses are conscientiously studying works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and by Chairman Mao and holding criticism meetings. Big-character posters denouncing the "gang of four" are everywhere. The people's long-repressed enthusiasm for socialism has now gushed out, and the drive to grasp revolution and promote production is gaining momentum. They are determined to carry the struggle against the "gang of four" through to the end.

(Based on a speech by Wang Yi-ping, Vice-Chairman of the Shanghai Municipal Revolutionary Committee, at the Second National Conference on Learning From Tachai in Agriculture.)

Exposing Wang Hung-wen's Scheme To Throw China Into Disorder

by the Mass Criticism Group of the State Capital Construction Commission

THE great revolutionary teacher Lenin pointed out that in a revolutionary tide "every scoundrel likes to array himself in 'red' garments." (*What the "Friends of the People" Are and How They Fight the Social-Democrats.*)

A typical representative of the newborn bourgeois elements, Wang Hung-wen is just such a scoundrel who dressed himself up as a "rebel," a "leader of the workers" and a "newborn force."

Causing Havoc in Chekiang and Other Places

Known as the "land of fish and rice," Chekiang was China's first province to get an average per-hectare grain yield of over 7.5 tons. For a period of time, however, it was in a mess

because of the "gang of four's" interference and sabotage. In places under their control, bad eggs and riffraff were on the rampage, and corruption, embezzlement, speculation and black marketing spread unchecked. Polarization resulted among the people. The "gang of four," Wang Hung-wen in particular, was responsible for all this.

It was through his henchman Weng Shen-ho* that Wang Hung-wen succeeded in plunging

* A henchman of the "gang of four" in Chekiang who sneaked into the Party in the Great Cultural Revolution. Fostered by the gang, he became vice-chairman of the revolutionary committee of the Hangchow Silk Printing and Dyeing Complex, vice-chairman of the provincial trade union council, alternate member of the provincial Party committee and a member of the standing committee of the provincial revolutionary committee.

Chekiang into disorder. In the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius in 1974, this Weng Shen-ho advocated "ignoring the Party committee in making revolution" and he actually did so. Adding fuel to the flames, Wang Hung-wen said Weng's "general orientation is correct" and called on the Chekiang provincial Party committee to support him. He also demanded that Weng be allowed to attend meetings of the standing committee of the provincial Party committee, thereby enabling Weng to seize part of the Party and government power in Chekiang.

Under Wang Hung-wen's aegis and on his instructions, Weng became so wild that he openly called for "organizing some armed forces of our own." He took over control of the "militia command" and engaged in coercing and beating up people and in smashing and looting. Rashly admitting people into the Party and promoting new cadres at the double-quick, he recruited thugs and placed them in important posts in organs of the proletarian dictatorship. He also spread counter-revolutionary fallacies such as: "Don't produce for the erroneous line" and "the Confucianists engage in production while the Legalists engage in rebelling," thus causing production stoppages in some places.

This Weng Shen-ho was not only a newborn counter-revolutionary but also a big embezzler. In an important directive, Chairman Mao pointed out that Weng was a bad element. But the "gang of four" deleted his name from it. Why did they make this change in Chairman Mao's directive? Because they realized that if people knew Chairman Mao had exposed Weng Shen-ho for what he was, it would imperil Wang Hung-wen and the "gang of four" as a whole. Wang Hung-wen was not merely Weng Shen-ho's behind-the-scene boss, but the political representative of Weng Shen-ho and his like.

Through henchmen like Weng Shen-ho, Wang Hung-wen not only brought turmoil to Chekiang, but to Paoting in Hopei Province, Chengchow (the provincial capital of Honan), Hunan, the frontier regions and other places as well.

In Paoting, he supported seizing weapons from the army, grabbing food and grain and robbing warehouses, so that fighting and "civil war" went on there for a long time. He and

his thugs in Chengchow did everything they could to paralyse railway transport and undermine the country's economic construction. In the frontier areas the gang deliberately sowed discord among various nationalities and disrupted the unity of the Chinese nation. In Hunan, he even made use of his pawns there to oppose Chairman Hua. In a word, he was bent on stirring up trouble in the whole country. Wherever his sinister hand reached, there was disorder.

Causing Disarray Among Central Authorities

Wang Hung-wen not only made a mess of things in the various localities, but also created disorder in various leading organs under the central authorities and tried to split the Party Central Committee. Behind the backs of Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee, he and Chang Chun-chiao, Chiang Ching and Yao Wen-yuan conspired and passed around among themselves reports and other information concerning major Party, government and army matters and wrote directives on them. He arbitrarily extended his power into areas not under his responsibility and meddled in the affairs of some ministries under the State Council in an attempt to seize the leadership there. Abusing the power he had usurped, he signed documents and wantonly issued instructions to bring pressure to bear on some central departments. The policy of exporting oil was made by Chairman Mao himself, but Wang Hung-wen arrogantly slandered it as "selling off resources." He flagrantly denounced importing machinery and equipment Chairman Mao had approved of as practising "the philosophy of servility to things foreign." His attack was aimed directly at Chairman Mao.

At a meeting on planning work convened by the State Council, he personally came out to stir up trouble and secretly instigated his henchmen to open up a surprise attack, clamouring that "there are quite many capitalist-roaders" in the central department in charge of the economy.

Unbeknown to the Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee, Wang Hung-wen went, on the eve of the Fourth National People's Congress, to see Chairman Mao on behalf of the

"gang of four" and levelled false charges against Premier Chou and other central leading comrades. Their attempt was to take advantage of the 4th N.P.C to form their own "cabinet," but they were rebuffed by Chairman Mao. And it was Wang Hung-wen who ordered without authorization that documents and minutes of meetings of certain departments under the central authorities be sent to him for "perusal" while actually he used them to fabricate charges against a large number of Party and state leaders. Again it was he who, immediately after Chairman Mao's passing, used the name of the General Office of the Party Central Committee to issue orders to various provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions, trying to control the whole Party and the whole country and sever the links between the Party Central Committee headed by Comrade Hua Kuo-feng and the local Party committees. It was he who, after the death of Chairman Mao, directed the attack on Chairman Hua and the Party Central Committee headed by him.

Wang Hung-wen's resolve and careful planning to create disorder among local and central authorities constituted an important tactic and a vile scheme of the "gang of four" to usurp the supreme leadership of the Party and state. Disorder is a manifestation of class struggle, and there is the question of who will be thrown into disorder: the proletariat or the bourgeoisie. Chairman Mao always taught us to throw the enemy into disorder and not vice versa. But, out of their fear that the country should remain stable, the "gang of four" shouted again and again that "the more serious the disorder the better" and that disorder "brings vigour" and "benefits." But what did they want to throw into disorder after all? They wanted to cause disorder in the Party, the army and among the people and plunge the proletarian state into chaos. They said: "To cripple a factory means putting another noose round the neck of the secretary of the provincial Party committee," "overthrow those who can be overthrown, drive them away if they cannot be overthrown," "to seize the Wuhan Iron and Steel Company means taking over the city of Wuhan," and so on and so forth. All this laid bare their criminal aims. When there was disorder, they could shift the blame on to others, bad elements of all kinds

would come to power and they themselves could then usurp Party and state leadership. In 1957 when he exposed the policy of the bourgeois Rightists in their frantic attack on the Party, Chairman Mao pointed out: "It was a policy designed to topple the Communist Party and created utter confusion everywhere to facilitate a take-over." (*The Bourgeois Orientation of "Wen Hui Bao" Should Be Criticized.*) This was also the policy of the "gang of four" — a bunch of ultra-Rightists in the Party.

Wang Hung-wen's True Features

It was under the signboard of a "rebel" that Wang Hung-wen tried to bring chaos to the proletarian state and seize power. But what is a rebel? By rebelling we mean to rebel against reactionaries. In the past, the revolutionary cadres of the older generation followed Chairman Mao in making revolution and some laid down their lives in the fight to overthrow imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism that weighed down on the Chinese people like three big mountains. Following this, the socialist New China was founded. In the Great Cultural Revolution, the Red Guards in their tens of millions and the broad masses of proletarian revolutionaries, holding aloft the great banner "It is right to rebel against reactionaries," rose in rebellion against revisionism and toppled the two bourgeois headquarters of Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao. They all are revolutionaries and rebels who have performed meritorious deeds for the Chinese revolution.

What kind of a rebel was Wang Hung-wen? He rebelled against the dictatorship of the proletariat and against Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee. Over and over again Chairman Mao admonished him not to form a "gang of four" and get tied up with Chiang Ching. However, he went to Chang Chun-chiao, Chiang Ching and Yao Wen-yuan to consult with them about everything. More than once Chairman Mao enjoined him: "Practise Marxism, and not revisionism; unite, and don't split; be open and aboveboard, and don't intrigue and conspire." But he still went his own way and conspired, created splits and framed charges against good comrades. Flaunting the banner of "rebelling," he not only created counter-revolutionary opinion such as "so long as you oppose the leadership, your general orientation is correct," but

organized counter-revolutionary contingents. Facts prove that Wang Hung-wen was not a revolutionary rebel at all, but a dyed-in-the-wool counter-revolutionary ultra-Rightist, a bourgeois careerist and conspirator of the Khrushchov type and an unrepentant capitalist-roader still on the capitalist road!

Was Wang Hung-wen a "leader of the workers"? He deliberately recruited from among the workers undesirable persons and the dregs of society, riffraff, hooligans, thieves, despots and plug-uglies, and banded them together to split the ranks of the working class and undermine socialist revolution and construction. This fully shows that Wang Hung-wen was a working-class renegade and a scab who betrayed its interests.

Was Wang Hung-wen a "newborn force"? No! He was an out-and-out newborn bourgeois element! After usurping a portion of the power of the central authorities, he grabbed everything he could lay his hands on either through deceit or by force, and he committed all kinds of evil. He never read any books or newspapers but was interested only in trashy films. He lived a most extravagant and licentious life; in fact, he outdid the capitalists in this respect. He himself knew he had already become a bourgeois to the core. Once he admitted, without any sense of shame: "When I die, Marx will not receive me."

Every great revolutionary movement in history has true and phoney revolutionaries involved in it. This is unavoidable. In

the historical period of socialism in China, there still exist the soil and conditions engendering new bourgeois elements, and it is not at all strange that a few scoundrels like Wang Hung-wen should emerge. As a typical representative of the newborn bourgeois elements, Wang Hung-wen is a very good teacher by negative example. Wearing the cloak of a revolutionary, he was an opportunist seeking his own gains, and he regarded "rebellion" as something that could bring him enormous profit. As time went by, he became greedier and greedier and his ambition knew no bounds. In order to usurp the Party and state power and restore capitalism, he teamed up with Chang Chun-chiao, Chiang Ching and Yao Wen-yuan to form a "gang of four."

Before his death, Chairman Mao saw through the schemes of Wang Hung-wen and his gang, and had made arrangements to smash them. Carrying out Chairman Mao's behests, the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua shattered the "gang of four" with one blow. As for Wang Hung-wen, he has been stripped of his masks of a "rebel," "leader of the workers" and "newborn force" and exposed for what he is — an ultra-Rightist. The fond dream of the "gang of four" to throw socialist China under the dictatorship of the proletariat into disorder came to naught. The fact that "pests" like Wang Hung-wen have been constantly eliminated precisely shows that our Party, our state and our cause are thriving.

(Continued from p. 4.)

work. This caused a serious traffic jam and adversely affected both production and the people's livelihood in many areas.

After smashing the "gang of four," Chairman Hua and the Party Central Committee promptly made the decision to strengthen the bureau leadership and bring about a rapid development of railway trans-

port. As a result, the enthusiasm of the 100,000 workers and staff members for building socialism was brought into full play. While taking an active part in the mass movement to expose and repudiate the "gang of four" and that accomplice of theirs in the bureau, they were determined to make up for the losses caused by this sinister gang.

Leading cadres at various levels studied, criticized the gang

and worked together with workers. Despite subfreezing temperatures, railway workers did their best to load and unload goods faster and load the trains with more cargoes.

Now scenes of bustling activity can be seen all along the lines under this bureau. Both cadres and workers pledge to greet the national conference on learning from Taching in industry with outstanding achievements.

Tachai Fights the Anti-Party Gang

by Kuo Feng-lien

The Second National Conference on Learning From Tachai in Agriculture convened last December 10-27 by the Party Central Committee was a conference of major significance. Chairman Hua delivered an important speech and Vice-Premier Chen Yung-kuei gave a report at the conference. (See "Peking Review" Nos. 1 and 2, 1977.)

A series of articles will be published in this weekly exposing the "gang of four's" attempts to sabotage the movement to learn from Tachai in agriculture and to build Tachai-type counties throughout the country. The articles will also describe the achievements attained since the First National Conference on Learning From Tachai held in September-October 1975 and the bright prospects after the fall of the "gang of four."

Guided by Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, the Tachai Brigade has developed and prospered through waging a fierce struggle against the counter-revolutionary revisionist line of Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao. In the past year or so it fought relentlessly against the "gang of four." Below are excerpts from the speech by Kuo Feng-lien, secretary of the Tachai Brigade's Party branch, at the second national conference in which she recalled the Tachai people's fight against this gang. — Ed.

THE First National Conference on Learning From Tachai in Agriculture, authorized by our great leader Chairman Mao, was held in September-October 1975. The conference which was presided over by Comrade Hua Kuo-feng was a complete success. It set off a nationwide mass movement to build Tachai-type counties. The situation in our Tachai, too, was decidedly one of leaping forward. However, for a whole year, we had to put up with interference and sabotage by the anti-Party "gang of four."

Tachai is a tiny mountain village of eighty-three households. Under the leadership of Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee we have since liberation worked heart and soul



Kuo Feng-lien (2nd from right) stacking cobs.

for the revolution and for building socialism. In 1964 our great leader Chairman Mao received in Peking our Party branch secretary Chen Yung-kuei, and issued to the whole country the great call: "In agriculture, learn from Tachai." Premier Chou, whom we hold in high esteem and whom we love, visited us three times. And despite his heavy work-load, Chairman Hua in 1975 found time to go around over all Tachai and give us most helpful instructions. Tachai has grown in stature under the care and concern of Chairman Mao, Premier Chou and Chairman Hua. The poverty-stricken Tachai of the old society has changed beyond recognition. It is now quite well-off and has a flourishing socialist collective economy. Total output and per-hectare yield last year were more than five times those of 1953 and total income was 20 times higher. Brigade members earned five and a half times more than they did in 1955. As the socialist collective economy developed, there was more and more marketable grain for the state each year. We were contributing our share to the socialist revolution and socialist construction.

However, the Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao "gang of four" came out against Tachai and furiously attacked us in recent years, particularly from 1975 on.

Chiang Ching Drops Her Mask

In September 1975, when the cadres and masses of Tachai were preparing for the upcoming national learn-from-Tachai conference, we were suddenly told that Chiang Ching would arrive on the 8th.

We had played host to our Premier Chou and many other leading comrades from the central authorities, but we had not met her before. We thought Chiang Ching who was a Member of the Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee would help us by way of advice and instructions as Premier Chou and other leading comrades had done. Imagine our surprise when we saw she was not like them at all. Our first impression was that she was so pompous and haughty. She came by special train accompanied by a retinue of more than a hundred, and there were truckloads of food and luggage in addition to four fine horses for riding. Our next impression was that she considered



Tachai Brigade members level hills and fill in gullies to build "man-made plains."

herself high and mighty and was therefore entitled to very special prerogatives. When Premier Chou came to Tachai, he occupied only a two-room suite. But Chiang Ching took over the tourist bureau's hostel large enough to accommodate more than a hundred foreign guests. Our Premier Chou always cautioned us to guard against extravagance and waste. Chiang Ching, however, demanded this and that, and there seemed to be no end to her whims. Now she wanted her rooms sprayed with perfume, then she wanted more carpets on the floor, and for curtains she wanted to have special ones of a particular dark colour. Premier Chou always insisted that his visits must not in the least disturb the people or production. But Chiang Ching slapped down six bans as soon as she arrived: no blasting in farmland capital construction within 15 kilometres, no broadcasting through the rediffusion network, no motor vehicles (except her own) should enter the village, no blowers should be used in the community kitchen, no one should laugh or talk loudly and no one was to be heard moving about where she lived.

While in Tachai, Chiang Ching did not do any physical labour, did not go among the masses and did not make any investigation and study. Instead, she sought every opportunity to show off. Every time she went up Tiger Head Hill she tucked a basket under her arm to pose for photos of her under our wild pepper trees, apple trees and among the vines. One day she came out with the most extraordinary idea of digging an air-raid shelter on the hill, to give the impression that she was "working" in Tachai. Our place is full of culverts and gullies, all excellent shelters. But Chiang Ching insisted on digging a shelter and, of all the places she could have picked, she wanted to dig one in the middle of our ripening millet! We were not too happy at that. We wanted our millet. We finally managed to steer her to the tobacco patch. We quickly pulled up the tobacco and let her dig. Actually, the shelter was dug for her. All she did was pose for the reporters to photograph and write her up "working" in Tachai.

Another outrageous idea of hers was for us to build a large suite of cave-dwellings for her exclusive use on Tiger Head Hill. She announced that she would be coming to Tachai once a year. I said to myself: We are working to restructure the land for production. Why should we build a country villa for her here? Moreover, she said she was coming only once a year, why should we go to all that bother? So we did nothing.

One day Chiang Ching called all our poor and lower-middle peasants to hear her speak about the book *Water Margin*. We had just heard what Chairman Mao had said about it: **"The merit of the book *Water Margin* lies precisely in the portrayal of capitulation. It serves as teaching material by negative example to help all the people recognize capitulationists."** Chiang Ching, however, told us: "The crux of the book *Water Margin* was to make Chao Kai a figurehead.*" "At present," she added, "there are people in the Party Central Committee who are trying to make Chairman Mao a figurehead." She was blatantly contradicting Chairman Mao and directing her attack against some leading comrades of the Party Central Committee.

Even while she was talking to us about the book, we smelled a rat. And we were right. A few days later, we heard that Chairman Mao had given instructions not to publish or distribute her talk after Comrade Hua Kuo-feng had reported to him. So we did not organize our brigade members to discuss her talk, nor did we print it. We just ignored what she had said.

Rabid Attacks on Tachai

On her first visit, we saw first-hand what Chiang Ching was like. She was really an anti-Party element. And we saw that within the Party not only was there struggle, but the struggle probably was very intense. So we were not surprised when a malignant wind sprang up not long after the conference. Tachai was attacked, the conference came under fire and the movement to build Tachai-type counties was sabotaged. Chiang Ching's three anti-Party gangsters Wang Hung-wen, Chang Chun-chiao and Yao Wen-yuan joined the attack against us, labelling us as followers of the "theory of productive forces" because we were going all out to build socialism and saying our slogan "work hard to swiftly boost production" was "a reactionary slogan." But we were not intimidated. We continued our criticism of revisionism and capitalism. We proclaimed more loudly than ever the slogan "Study Marxism-Leninism, criticize revisionism, fight capitalism, build socialism and head for communism!" We set to work determinedly to transform Tiger Head Hill, speed up farm mechanization and improve and increase our water conservancy projects.

That anti-Party element Chiang Ching suddenly descended again on Tachai last September 3.

Before, we had always been too happy and excited to sleep whenever we expected Premier

* *Water Margin* is a novel about a peasant war towards the end of the Northern Sung Dynasty (960-1127 A.D.). Chao Kai is the leader of a peasant uprising in this novel. After Chao Kai's death, Sung Chiang, a representative of the landlord class who wormed his way into the ranks of the peasant insurgents, usurps the leadership and surrenders to the emperor.

The Tachai Brigade and Tachai-Type Counties

THE Tachai Production Brigade in north China's Shansi Province is the pace-setter on China's agricultural front. In 1975 it had 83 households numbering 450 people. Prior to liberation, it was a poor mountain village. After liberation, Chen Yung-kuei, then secretary of the Tachai Party branch and now Member of the Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee and Vice-Premier of the State Council, led the whole village in resolutely taking the path of socialist collectivization. They worked hard and perseveringly and succeeded in turning Tachai into a thriving and prosperous village. A fundamental change took place in the mental outlook of the people and farm production rose swiftly. In 1964 Chairman Mao called on the whole country: "In agriculture, learn from Tachai." Premier Chou summed up the basic experience of Tachai in building a socialist new village as follows: "Adherence to the principle of putting proletarian politics in command and placing Mao Tsetung

Thought in the lead, the spirit of hard struggle and self-reliance and the communist style of loving the country and the collective."

After Chairman Mao issued the call, the whole countryside began learning from Tachai. This mass movement snowballed and many Tachai-type brigades and communes soon appeared in various parts of the country. In 1970 Hsiyang County, where the Tachai Brigade is located, launched the learn-from-Tachai movement in all its communes and brigades. Grain output that year doubled that of 1967 and Hsiyang County became China's first Tachai-type county. The State Council convened in 1975 a national conference on learning from Tachai in agriculture during which Comrade Hua Kuo-feng delivered the report "Mobilize the Whole Party, Make Greater Efforts to Develop Agriculture and Strive to Build Tachai-Type Counties Throughout the Country." The movement surged to a new high. Although the movement met with interference and sabotage from the "gang of four," its achievements were very great. The number of Tachai-type counties increased from some 300 in 1975 to upwards of 400 in 1976 which saw the country reap its 15th consecutive rich harvest.

Chou, Chairman Hua and other leading comrades, but when we heard she was coming, anxiety kept us awake. We of the Tachai Party branch knew no common language existed between her and us. As sure as eggs is eggs, her coming boded no good.

As soon as she stepped out of her car, she belligerently said to me: "Know what I've come for? Fight the revisionist line!"

She first of all demanded to see her "air-raid shelter." She probably expected to find the place fenced off and a sign singing her praises. She hit the roof when she found a pigsty there. "Where is my air-raid shelter?"

she roared at me. "Why have you built a sty here? Do you realize the political significance of my air-raid shelter? Why didn't you send me a report before you levelled it? How dare you!" She worked herself up into a dithering rage, slapping labels on right and left. "This is a political question, erasing my shelter! You've become conceited! Tachai has become politically backward!" She not only cursed me and made me write a self-criticism, but she wanted to find the person backing us in what we had done.

Then she told us to take her to the chufa patch. She had brought chufa seeds the last

time and wanted me to grow them. She also wanted a report from me on them every ten days. I had handed the seeds over to our scientific research team but had never sent any report to her. As soon as she had a look at the chufa, she yelled: "Terrible! You've overplanted!" She glared and shouted at me: "I got those seeds for you and chose them myself. Why didn't you grow them yourself? Is this the way to treat me?" Muttering and cursing, she grabbed a hoe and waded into the chufa patch. She grubbed about a bit and then this pampered bourgeois element, who only knew how to have a good time and not to work, cried: "Oh, I'm so tired. Why, I'm perspiring! Will someone take over from me?" As I was standing behind her I offered to, but she snapped: "I don't want you. You can't represent me!"

After that she headed for the field where we were experimenting with intercropping wheat with maize. The wheat already had been harvested and maize plants with two ears each were growing sturdily. Chiang Ching plunged right into the maize and began pulling off the lower ears which were smaller. She stormed: "What a mess you've made of your experimental field! I'm taking these back to show the brigade members! What a mess your experiments are. You're backward! Conceited!" She even threatened to get the whole Tachai work force out to pluck the lower ears from all 40 hectares of maize.

This was how Chiang Ching blustered when she was in Tachai. She hurled all sorts of charges at us and would have demolished Tachai at one blow if she could have done it because she hated us so much.

Everywhere she went, Chiang Ching always loudly proclaimed: "On behalf of Chairman Mao, I . . ." But her actions belied her words. Her deeds showed how deep-seated her hatred was for our great leader Chairman Mao. For instance, when she received an urgent summons from the central authorities to return immediately to Peking on the evening of September 5, what did she do? She knew very well that Chairman Mao was critically ill but she behaved

as if she hadn't a care in the world. Two hours were spent packing her bags for her and even after they were sent off she continued playing cards for another half hour.

Down With the "Gang of Four," Up With Production

Four days after she left Tachai, we were stunned to learn that the great leader and teacher Chairman Mao had passed away. Every Party member, every poor and lower-middle peasant and every commune member was plunged into inconsolable grief. We were also filled with deep anxiety for the future of our Party and our country. At this critical moment, the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua adopted and put into action the brilliant decision to smash the Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao anti-Party "gang of four." When the news of victory reached us in Tachai, there was great rejoicing. The sound of gongs, drums and firecrackers filled the air. Wild with joy, all agreed that nothing could be better than having Chairman Hua as our leader.

The fall of the "gang of four" came as a huge relief to us. It was like shedding a monstrous weight around our necks. Of course we were all for bringing them down. Our fight against this gang was a continuation of the fight against the counter-revolutionary revisionist line of Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao. It was a life-and-death struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. We are determined to turn this struggle to expose and criticize the counter-revolutionary crimes of the "gang of four" into a movement for studying Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and use it to educate our cadres and masses in the Party's basic line and spur farm production.

Exposure and criticism of the "gang of four" over the past month or so have greatly stimulated the socialist enthusiasm of the cadres and brigade members and quickly brought about a new upsurge in building socialism. Even when we were busy bringing in the autumn harvest, a team was put to work on farmland capital

construction. In a few days the Date Orchard was given a thorough going-over and work began on building several "man-made plains" and water conservancy projects. It is freezing up on Tiger Head Hill but the work there goes on at a furious pace.

We know how big are the responsibilities we have to shoulder in the coming days. Guided by the spirit of the Second National Conference on Learning From Tachai in Agriculture, we

are determined to carry the struggle to expose and criticize the anti-Party "gang of four" and the struggle to criticize revisionism and capitalism through to the end. We will carry forward the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance and hard work and, together with the people of the whole country, fight valiantly for the early accomplishment of the comprehensive modernization of our country's agriculture, industry, national defence and science and technology.

A Genuine Fighter Going Against The Tide

SHOWING a high sense of revolutionary responsibility and a heroic spirit of going against the tide, Comrade Chu Chin-to of the Shanghai Yuechu Opera Company wrote three letters to Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee between July 1973 and August 1975 exposing the anti-Party crimes of Chang Chun-chiao and Chiang Ching.

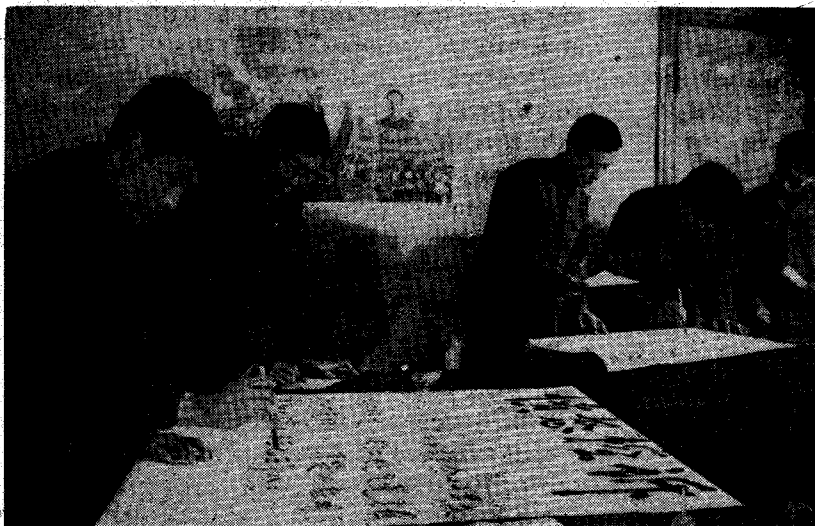
In a speech in Shanghai in 1967, Chang Chun-chiao openly posed as a "revolutionary Leftist" and vilified and attacked Comrade Chen Yi, who was then a Member of the Political Bureau of the C.P.C. Central Committee and Vice-Premier of the State Council. This despicable act incensed Chu Chin-to and many other comrades in the opera company. When Comrade Chen Yi passed away in January 1972, Chairman Mao attended the memorial meeting in the capital. In his memorial speech Premier Chou pointed out that "Comrade Chen Yi was an excellent member of the Chinese Communist Party and a loyal fighter for the Chinese people" and that the

passing of Comrade Chen Yi "is a great loss to our Party and our army." Even after this, Chang Chun-chiao and his followers continued to attack Comrade Chen Yi and other leading comrades of the central authorities. This made Comrade Chu Chin-to even more indignant. That the "gang of four" posed the Shanghai militia against the People's Liberation Army also aroused Comrade Chu Chin-to's vigilance.

Restudying Chairman Mao's instruction "Practise Marxism, and not revisionism; unite, and don't split; be open and aboveboard, and don't intrigue and conspire" reminded this young man of Chairman Mao's fervent hopes for the younger generation. So he decided to write a letter to Chairman Mao.

Main Contents of the Letters

He wrote his first letter on July 28, 1973. In it he exposed how Chang Chun-chiao had attacked Comrade Chen Yi and other leading comrades of the central authorities.



Chu Chin-to (first from left) and his comrades writing big-character posters denouncing the "gang of four."

In his second letter to Chairman Mao on August 3, 1975, he made the following points: 1) Chang Chun-chiao is not open and aboveboard notwithstanding that he is a Communist Party member. He is actually a base in the Party for Lin Piao to restore capitalism. 2) The organizational structure and equipment of the Shanghai militia should be made known to Chairman Mao and all the comrades in the Political Bureau. The leadership in militia work should unconditionally belong to the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao. 3) Some people often pretend to be acting in a positive role although they actually play a negative role. They are merely gathering strength and are sure to make trouble when the time comes. We must pay attention to this. 4) The life and security of Chairman Mao and Premier Chou should become a major issue about which the whole Party and the people of the whole country should be concerned. At no time should we relax our vigilance against plots by conspirators and careerists.

On July 25, 1975, Chairman Mao issued a written instruction on the film *Pioneers*: "There is no big error in this film. Suggest that it be approved for distribution. Don't nitpick. And to list as many as ten accusations against it is going too far. It hampers the adjustment of

the Party's current policy on literature and art." Trying to strangle the film so that they could negate Taching—a banner put up by Chairman Mao on the industrial front—the Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao anti-Party clique labeled the film with ten accusations. This instruction of Chairman Mao's dealt a heavy blow to the "gang of four."

When this happy news was spread, the people were elated. However, it was only under strong pressure from the masses that the followers

of the "gang of four" in Shanghai's literary and art circles were forced to relay Chairman Mao's instruction. Chu Chin-to and his comrades drew strength from it.

Chu Chin-to and his comrades in the *yuehchu* opera company discussed these questions: Why is there someone who wants to take all the credit of literary and art achievements for herself and style herself the "standard-bearer" of the revolution in literature and art? Why do some people want to kill the film *Pioneers* while it really enjoys the acclaim of the masses? Why are literary and art workers classified into so many different ranks and grades, with the majority suppressed and persecuted, while a few are entitled to special rights, and someone even could have become a vice-minister of the State Council after being in one opera? Is Chiang Ching the root cause of all this evil? Why does Chiang Ching take so much interest in Empress Lu (wife of Liu Pang, first emperor of the Han Dynasty, who for a time usurped state power after Liu Pang's death)? Why does Chang Chun-chiao laud Chiang Ching to the skies? Is there a bigger scheme behind all this?

On August 26, 1975, inspired by Chairman Mao's instruction on the film, Chu Chin-to again wrote a letter to Chairman Mao in which he

gave his views on Chang Chun-chiao and Chiang Ching. He wrote: Chairman Mao, how are you? When your instruction on the film *Pioneers* was made known to us on the 23rd of this month, many thoughts filled my mind. There is one question which perplexes us. Why do some people always extol Chiang Ching? Why do they acclaim her as perfect? Do they do it out of respect and love for Chiang Ching? It seems not. They may do it out of ulterior motives. Possibly they want to dominate the country, with her as "Empress Lu." We are a new generation nurtured and brought up by the Party and Chairman Mao. We won't let the great cause pioneered by the revolutionaries of the older generation be lost. We must, at all times, watch out for a restoration of capitalism and the coming to power of revisionism. It is easier to handle problems well during your lifetime. While we treasure today, we also keep a vigilant eye on the days to come.

Persistent Struggle

The "gang of four" discovered that Chu Chin-to had written letters to Chairman Mao. So they used the power they had usurped to sabotage Party discipline and the law of the state and trample the people's legitimate rights underfoot. They illegally accused Chu Chin-to of being a "counter-revolutionary" and put him into custody and under investigation. Even the comrades around him were tracked down.

During his ten-month imprisonment, Comrade Chu Chin-to redoubled his efforts in studying Chairman Mao's works, especially Chairman Mao's criticism on the chieftains of the opportunist lines in the Party like Wang Ming and Chang Kuo-tao. This made Chu see more clearly the revisionist features of Chang Chun-chiao and Chiang Ching. He was convinced that this gang of revisionists would some day be hauled into the dock by the people.

Last October, carrying out Chairman Mao's behests, the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua smashed at one blow the "gang of four's" schemes to usurp the Party and state power. Chu Chin-to was liberated.

He said: "It was Chairman Mao who trained me to be a revolutionary literary and art worker and Chairman Hua who liberated me from the shackles of the 'gang of four.'" With deep hatred for the "gang of four," he and his comrades immediately plunged themselves into the struggle to expose and criticize the gang.

Renmin Ribao published a commentary "A Genuine Fighter Who Goes Against the Tide" on the story of Chu Chin-to. It said: "Going against the tide is a Marxist-Leninist principle." There are two kinds of tides according to the direction of the flow. One is revolutionary and progressive, the other reactionary and retrogressive. When an erroneous tide rises, a Communist or a revolutionary must act without consideration of self, fear neither imprisonment nor the guillotine and bravely come forward to expose and repudiate errors. These are valued qualities and heroic conduct. Revolutionary teachers like Marx, Lenin and Chairman Mao are all brilliant examples of going against the tide. Under their inspiration, this revolutionary spirit is guiding the concrete action of the revolutionary people in China.

It is the revisionists' trick to use Marxist phraseology to oppose Marxism. Like many other revolutionary slogans, "going against the tide" was taken over by the "gang of four" to serve their purposes. Under this slogan, they passed themselves off as "heroes going against the tide" and wanted to strike down this one today and that one tomorrow. They opposed anyone who refused to accept their views. In their lexicon, this slogan meant going against the tide of revolution.

All reactionaries are idealists. The "gang of four" believed that China would be theirs if only they took over the slogan of "going against the tide" and suppressed the revolutionary people who act on the slogan in its real meaning. Contrary to their expectations, the more wildly they carried out their anti-Party activities, the more fighters going against the tide emerged. They could only end up by drowning themselves in the vast ocean of the surging struggles of the people's revolution.

C.M.E.A. Ridden With Difficulties

TOUGH going in industrial production, harvest shortfalls, heavy grain imports, price rises, inflation, skyrocketing foreign debts and mounting trade deficits—these are the disastrous consequences brought to some East European countries by the “economic integration,” “international division of labour” and “specialization in production” enforced by Moscow within the framework of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (C.M.E.A.) to intensify Soviet control and plunder.

Dislocation in Industry

The Soviet Union has drawn large amounts of manpower, funds and equipment from East European industry to exploit its natural resources and undertake new projects. This has gravely affected economic construction in some countries there.

In Poland, the investment growth rate has slowed down in the past few years and construction of quite a few projects has stopped halfway.

In Hungary, some of the major targets for economic development set in the 1976 state plan were not met and investments in a number of major projects failed to be made as planned. Similar failures took place in other countries.

Since 1975, the Soviet Union has sharply pushed up the prices of fuel and raw materials exported to the East European countries and cut back on their export quotas. For example, the price of petroleum rose 130 per cent in 1975, 8 per cent in 1976 and 22 per cent this year. This has led to drastic increases in costs of manufactured goods in the East European countries and forced them to export more machinery and agricultural produce to Moscow to pay for the dearer Soviet oil. Owing to the shortage of raw materials and energy, quite a number of factories in these countries have stopped work or are operating under capacity. An article in a U.S. magazine noted that “all through Poland, in fact, 800,000 workers fail to show up for work every day. One reason cited is that they

often find they do not have enough to do at the factory.”

Crop Failures

Agricultural production in East European countries has also been enormously affected. Serious crop failures occurred in some of these countries last year. The years 1975 and 1976 were recorded as “the worst years in (Polish) agriculture.” Poland has had poor harvests three years running, resulting in a loss of 90,000 million zlotys in agriculture and livestock breeding. Grain imports have spiralled in the country with a population of less than 35 million people. Poland imported about one million tons of grain annually in the 50s but in the 60s the figure rose to about two million tons. It has even imported more than seven million tons of grain annually in the past two years, more than 200 kilogrammes for every Pole per year. Animal husbandry has fared no better. In 1975, the number of hogs in stock was nearly 900,000 below plan and that of other big animals 250,000 less than the planned figure. The meat procurement plan fizzled and meat fell short of supply in the market as a result of another drastic reduction in the number of hogs and other animals in stock last year. Once noted for its meat exports, Poland imported more than 55,000 tons of pork last year.

Grain, potato and sugar beet output in the German Democratic Republic was one-third less than planned last year. The G.D.R. was forced to borrow more than 1,000 million West German marks for grain purchases because the Soviet Union failed to meet its needs.

Czechoslovakia did not fulfil production plans for grain, fodder, sugar beets, potatoes and other farm products in 1975 and 1976. It had to earmark several thousand million korunas last year for purchases of grain from abroad, the West in particular. In 1976, Hungary had a reduced output of autumn crops. Plans for vegetables and potatoes failed to materialize.

U.S.-compiled statistics show that total grain purchases by Poland, the G.D.R. and

Czechoslovakia in the world market rose from 9.4 million tons in 1973-74 to 11.9 million tons in 1975-76 and an anticipated 13.5 million tons in 1976-77.

Heavy Foreign Debts

As a result of heavy Soviet exploitation, foreign debts incurred by the East European countries are rapidly rising. Poland, the G.D.R., Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria have obtained more than 20,000 million U.S. dollars in loans from the West, including some short-term loans with high interest rates. Poland now owes the West 9,000 million U.S. dollars, while exports of certain hard currency earners have declined as some of them have now to go to the Soviet Union instead of to the West. On the other hand, there has been a growing need of foreign exchange for importing grain and raw materials. All this has kept increasing Polish debts.

Meanwhile, foreign trade deficits of certain East European countries have markedly gone up. The Polish deficit in 1975 and 1976 was more than 2,000 million U.S. dollars each, with 1976 being "the most difficult year" in foreign trade.

Short Market Supplies

Poor industrial and agricultural production and financial difficulties have resulted in short market supplies, in skyrocketing prices and in-

flation, thus further increasing the burdens on the working people. Last July the Polish authorities raised retail prices of a number of commodities. The average price of feed rose 45 per cent, tractors 30 per cent, cement 60 per cent and timber 45 per cent. Many of these commodities are partly imported from the Soviet Union. In 1975, for instance, prices of wheat, cement and wood imported from the Soviet Union went up 45, 74 and 12 per cent respectively compared with 1974.

The Hungarian authorities have announced price rises six times since January 1975. For instance, retail prices of meat and fish rose 30 per cent on an average and sugar 50 per cent. With the big hike in the price of Soviet crude oil early in 1975, the prices of kerosene, engine oil and benzine in Hungary were upped accordingly. In some East European countries, according to a Western press report, "the factory manager resorts to hidden price increases. Allegedly 'new' or 'improved' products are launched, under new, higher prices of course." This is quite common in these countries.

What Moscow has done in East European countries has aroused ever stronger resentment among the people. Commenting on the situation there, the Western press recently pointed out that economic strains adding to political uncertainties are plaguing certain countries in Eastern Europe.

1976 in Review

Soviet Union Runs Into Snags In Middle East

LAST year, the Soviet Union stepped up aggression in the Middle East to intensify its contention with the United States. Moscow's infiltration and subversion in the countries there were accompanied by military expansion and intimidation.

Early in the year, it staged military exercises involving tens of thousands of officers and

men in the Caucasus Region adjacent to the Middle East to threaten the countries there by force. In April, Soviet warships sailed into the Gulf of Aden in a show of force to the countries on the Arabian Peninsula. Then in mid-year, a large number of military vessels including landing ships with many marines aboard and the first Soviet aircraft carrier *Kiev* were dispatched

from the Black Sea via Dardanelles and Bosphorus to reinforce the Soviet fleet in the Mediterranean. At one time the number of its warships jumped to over 70 far outnumbering the U.S. Sixth Fleet there. This seriously aggravated the Middle East situation and threatened the security of the oil sea route from the Middle East to Europe, the Americas and Japan.

Joint Defence Strengthened

The Middle East people came to see more clearly from the Soviet actions that the root cause of the Middle East turmoil lies in the contention between the two hegemonist powers, the Soviet Union and the United States, the former being the more dangerous. Therefore, the Middle East countries all called for strengthening national defence and safeguarding national security. Confronted by the real threat, some countries took measures to strengthen their unity in a joint struggle against the aggression and expansion by the two superpowers. Egypt and the Sudan signed a joint defence agreement; it was decided at a summit conference of the two countries and Saudi Arabia to strengthen their co-operation and mutual support in the political, military and economic fields. The organization of "regional co-operation for development" of Iran, Pakistan and Turkey held a summit conference amidst a sharp rise of the Soviet threat. The struggle of the Mediterranean countries to make the Mediterranean their sea and that of the Red Sea countries to safeguard the security of the region gathered momentum. Taking their common interests into account, the Gulf countries and the countries on the Arabian Peninsula solved longstanding problems among themselves through friendly consultations and beefed up their forces in the united struggle against hegemonism. Leaders of many countries frequently exchanged visits last year to discuss their important questions including the struggle against hegemonism, the Soviet threat in particular. The first meeting of the Gulf countries' foreign ministers in November was an inspiring new step in their joint struggle against hegemonism. Public opinion in more and more Arab countries unequivocally pointed out that the Soviet Union

"is in fact an imperialist country" and a "most dangerous enemy."

Blow for Blow

More and more Middle East countries waged a tit-for-tat struggle against Soviet hegemonism in 1976. Egypt resolutely abrogated its "treaty of friendship and co-operation" with the Soviet Union in March and then cancelled port facilities for the Soviet navy.

Adhering to an anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist and anti-hegemonist stand, the Sudanese Government became an obstacle to Soviet infiltration and expansion in the Middle East and Africa. This is why the Soviet Union repeatedly carried out subversion against the country. In July, the Soviet chieftains once again had a hand in an armed subversive conspiracy against the Sudanese Government and were strongly condemned by Sudanese leaders and public opinion.

In order to realize the old tsars' dream of thrusting southward into the Persian Gulf, the new tsars tried to blackmail and intimidate Iran. The Soviet propaganda machine clamoured that Iran had "no justification" for buying arms to reinforce its defences. In meeting the Shahanshah of Iran on instructions from his Kremlin bosses, the Soviet ambassador blatantly declared that the Soviet Union was "uneasy" over Iran's purchases of weapons. The Shahanshah angrily asked the Soviet ambassador to inform Brezhnev of Iran's "concern" about some Soviet acts which "Iran would not tolerate." Then, in the capital of East Azerbaijan Province bordering on the Soviet Union, the Shahanshah issued a militant call to get prepared for a national and patriotic war against aggression.

The people of the Middle East in 1976 also saw more clearly the truth of the Soviet Union's sham support but real betrayal of the just cause of the Palestinian and other Arab people. Actually, the Soviet Union does not want to settle the Middle East and Palestine questions. What it seeks is to carry out expansion in the Middle East, overpower the United States and dominate the area by taking advantage of the ten-

sion and turmoil there. Seizing the opportunity of last year's U.S. preoccupation with general elections, it raised a hue and cry for convening the Geneva conference to realize an "overall and radical political settlement in the Near East." This Soviet move was rejected by various quarters concerned. It also opened the eyes of more Palestinian people to the Soviet scheme to sell out the Palestine cause. The Soviet attempt to inveigle and coerce the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) into recognizing Israel which still occupies the Palestinians' homeland was firmly opposed by the PLO. One PLO leader angrily declared that this point in the Soviet "initiative" "cannot be accepted."

Divisive Plots Foiled

The experience gained in the struggle during the year made the Arab people realize with greater clarity the importance of unity. The Soviet Union, however, has a deep hatred for Arab unity. It classifies some Arab countries "progressive" and others "reactionary," in order to sow discord among them. By directly interfering in Lebanon's internal affairs, Moscow supported one party in attacking another one day and did the reverse the next, changing sides three times in ten days. Even alleging that "the hostilities in Lebanon are being fanned up by Arab reaction," it tried to incite Arabs to fight one another.

Sugar Exporting Countries Step Up United Struggle Against Hegemonism

1976 witnessed closer unity of the Latin American sugar exporting countries in their struggle to defend their interests in sugar exports and against control of the world sugar markets by international monopoly capital groups. This is an important aspect of the Latin American countries' united struggle against hegemony in the economic field.

Economic Losses

One of the world's major cane-sugar producing regions, Latin America accounts for

But the Arab unity which was tempered in the October War represents a strong general trend no force on earth can hold back. Smashing Moscow's interference and sabotage, the government heads of Egypt, Syria, Saudi Arabia and Kuwait held a conference in June. A summit conference of Syria, Lebanon, the PLO, Egypt, Saudi Arabia and Kuwait in October was followed by the eighth Arab summit conference. These conferences fully displayed the Arab people's spirit of mutual understanding and accommodation and friendly consultation, which puts common interests above everything else. The agreements reached constituted a good start for solving the Lebanon question by the Arab countries themselves.

As a late arrival on the scene, Soviet social-imperialism is more ferocious, crafty and avaricious than old-line imperialism. However, countries want independence, nations want liberation and the people want revolution — this has become an irresistible trend. Soviet aggression and expansion in itself bears the seeds of failure. This was borne out by the fact that Moscow was exposed and defeated in the Middle East in 1976. A Western news agency pointed out that Soviet fortunes in the Middle East had descended to their lowest point in nearly a decade. One "senior source" in the Soviet Union sadly said: "We have been reminded again of the extent to which we cannot control our Arab friends."

about 25 per cent and over 50 per cent of the world's total sugar output and exports respectively. For many years, however, countries there have been made victims of exploitation and plunder by the international monopoly capital groups controlling the world sugar markets, bringing heavy economic losses to them. To shift their economic crisis burden, international monopoly capital groups have so manipulated sugar prices that in the past year or so, the world market prices have sharply declined. From late December of 1975 up to the end of

1976, the raw sugar price in the London market dropped 25 per cent and in the New York market 46 per cent. Raw sugar was priced at only 7 U.S. cents a pound, far below the cost. As a result, the Latin American sugar exporting countries suffered great losses, their foreign exchange earnings declined greatly and foreign trade imbalance worsened. Countries whose sugar was their principal export item were the worst hit. The Dominican Republic whose sugar exports used to make up two thirds of its foreign exchange earnings is an example. Because of the lowered sugar price, the value of its sugar exports in the first half of 1976 fell by 80 per cent as compared with the corresponding period of 1975. Its entire foreign trade balance consequently worsened — from a surplus of 150 million U.S. dollars in the first half of 1975 to a 70-million-dollar deficit in the same period of last year.

Stabilizing Sugar Prices

In the face of this vicious exploitation, sugar exporting countries actively took action in defence of their national interests. They strengthened unity and co-operation and started a new wave of struggle against the forcing-down of prices, exploitation and the shifting of the economic crisis burden. The 22-nation Group of Latin American and Caribbean Sugar Exporting Countries (GLACSEC), which was formed at the end of 1974, plays an increasingly important role in stabilizing sugar prices. The group met four times last year and at a meeting in Colombia in March, it was formally declared a permanent organization of consultation and co-operation, with the task of stabilizing "sugar prices at a fair and equitable level on the international markets." The group's permanent secretariat was set up in Mexico in May. The group met again in Panama City in July and London in November to co-ordinate its stand in the common struggle to conclude in 1977 a new international sugar agreement in the interests of the sugar producing countries. The group also accepted the Philippines, a sugar producer, as an observer taking part in the organization's activities. With their sugar exports accounting for 65 per cent of the world's total, these 23

countries constitute an important force in the third world's joint struggle against hegemonism and for defending the prices of primary products. The Iberian American and Philippine Sugar Cane Producers Confederation was set up in Mexico City in February last year. The sugar cane growers of nine Latin American sugar producing countries and the Philippines forming the confederation expressed determination to co-ordinate actions with their governments in the struggle for rational sugar prices.

At a time when sugar prices fell drastically on international markets, the U.S. Government suddenly announced last September the increase of its sugar import tax from 0.625 to 1.875 cents per pound to the detriment of many sugar exporting countries in Latin America which export their raw sugar mainly to the United States, accounting for about 38 per cent of its sugar imports.

Import Tax Increase Opposed

Under the twin pressure of low price and increased taxes, the sugar exporting countries, particularly the Dominican Republic, have waged struggles over the past months against the increase in the sugar import tax by the United States. The Dominican Republic Senate lodged a protest with the U.S. Government; Dominican President Joaquin Balaguer called a meeting and dispatched the Treasury Secretary and the Director of the Sugar Institution to contact the Commerce Committee of the U.S. Senate on this matter; in his speech at the United Nations General Assembly, Ramon Emilio Jimenez, Foreign Secretary of the Dominican Republic, resolutely called on the United States to cancel this tariff restriction and demanded that a new world sugar agreement be worked out to end exploitation by sugar consuming countries of the sugar producing countries. Peruvian Minister of Economics Luis Barua pointed out that the increased U.S. sugar import tax "is a most unjust measure" which "has gravely affected" Peru's sugar industry. Costa Rican Minister of Economy Jorge Sanchez Mendez conferred with Ministers of Central American countries, Panama and the

(Continued on p. 30.)

New Tsars' Deeds Don't Match Words

BEFORE the U.N. General Assembly closed its 31st Session towards the end of 1976, the representatives of 97 countries at the First Committee, by an overwhelming majority, adopted a resolution again urging the Soviet Union to sign and ratify Additional Protocol II of the Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America (Treaty of Tlatelolco).

In 1967, 21 Latin American countries approved this treaty under which the world's first nuclear-free zone as defined in the form of a treaty was to be set up. This expressed the strong desire of the Latin American countries to maintain security and regional peace. Additional Protocol II to this treaty requests nuclear-weapon states to respect the stipulations in the treaty, not to perform any acts of violation nor to use or threaten to use nuclear weapons against the contracting parties of the treaty. Nuclear-weapon states including China, Britain and France have one after the other signed and ratified Additional Protocol II, expressed their respect for this nuclear-free zone and pledged to this end. Nearly ten years have passed, but the Soviet Union has all along stubbornly refused to sign the protocol.

At the beginning of the 31st Session of the U.N. General Assembly last September, Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko submitted for discussion a "Soviet memorandum on the cessation of the arms race and on disarmament." Article 7 of the "memorandum" contains the captivating profession of Soviet "support" for the proposals of countries of various regions in the world for the establishment of nuclear-free zones and "readiness to co-operate in putting into effect these proposals." What real value is there in these high-sounding words? In a statement on May 19, 1975, the Agency for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America (known by its Spanish acronym OPANAL) sharply pointed out that the Soviet Union, while talking glibly about supporting

the establishment of regional nuclear-free zones, had for a long time actually refused to sign Additional Protocol II of the Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America. "This attitude of the Soviet Union's is a typical example of saying one thing and doing another," the statement said. Gromyko's "memorandum" makes this "typical example" even more striking.

Why does Moscow refuse to sign Additional Protocol II? Because it does not want to be restricted in its expansion and infiltration in Latin America. This is obvious from its actions. As early as 1962, the Soviet Union tried to install nuclear weapons in the Caribbean region. As part of its accelerated military expansion all over the world in recent years, the Kremlin has set up logistic support bases in the Latin American region for its nuclear-armed naval and air units. Soviet nuclear-armed flotillas have been active in the Caribbean and, since the Angola incident, have extended direct military threats to the western coast of the South Atlantic.

The new tsars' intensified military activities in the Latin American region are a direct menace to the nuclear-free zone there and have caused growing apprehension and vigilance in the Latin American countries. The vote in the First Committee of the U.N. General Assembly is another merciless exposure of the new tsars' "peace," "disarmament," "detente" and similar cheap propaganda.

Moscow's adamant attitude towards the nearly 10-year-old Treaty of Tlatelolco shows that it would be illusionary to expect real "support" and "co-operation" of the Kremlin in setting up peace zones in such regions as the Indian Ocean, the Mediterranean, the Middle East, Africa, and Southeast Asia — zones the third world countries have eagerly proposed establishing. It would be like expecting to catch fish in a tree, as the old Chinese saying goes.

Warmly Greeting Comrade Hua Kuo-feng Assuming Posts of Chairman of C.P.C. Central Committee And Chairman of Its Military Commission

Message From Chairman Gudmundsson of Central Committee of Communist League of Union (M-L) of Iceland

Chairman Ari Trausti Gudmundsson, on behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist League of Union (Marxist-Leninist) of Iceland, sent a message on November 21, 1976 to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China. The message says:

On the occasion of the appointment of Comrade Hua Kuo-feng to the Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, the Communist League of Iceland (Marxist-Leninist) sends its revolutionary communist greetings to the Central Committee of the C.P.C., all the members of the Party and the people of China.

We are convinced that the correct and victorious Communist Party of China and the invincible masses of the People's Republic will continuously march forward on the road charted by Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and the great leader Mao Tsetung. We warmly hail every victory won in the struggle waged against imperialism, the superpowers, revisionism and reaction.

Letter From Central Committee Of Marxist-Leninist Communist Party of Greece

The Central Committee of the Marxist-Leninist Communist Party of Greece sent a

letter to Chairman Hua Kuo-feng on November 25, 1976. The letter says:

On the occasion of your assuming the posts of Chairman of the C.P.C. Central Committee and Chairman of its Military Commission, we extend our warm and sincere congratulations to you on behalf of all members of the Marxist-Leninist Communist Party of Greece and sympathizers.

We are convinced that, under your leadership, the great Communist Party of China and the great Chinese People's Liberation Army will unwaveringly continue their revolutionary struggle, make brilliant new achievements in implementing Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and further advance the proletarian revolutionary cause.

Recently, as a result of the criminal plot of the anti-Party clique of Wang Hung-wen, Chang Chun-chiao, Chiang Ching and Yao Wen-yuan to usurp Party and state power and carry out a counter-revolutionary restoration, the Chinese revolution and the Communist Party of China were confronted by serious danger. There was the real danger of the Communist Party of China degenerating into a revisionist party and the People's Republic of China changing its political colour. At that crucial moment, the Central Committee, demonstrating its proletarian revolutionary resoluteness and enjoying the support of the whole Party, the whole army and the people of all nationalities throughout the country, smashed the "gang of four" and their vicious scheme. Now, a more optimistic prospect has opened anew before us.

The Communist Party of China founded and built up by Chairman Mao Tsetung is a great,

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ROUND THE WORLD

D.P.R.K.

4-Point National Salvation Proposal

The Workers' Party of Korea, the Korean Democratic Party, the Chondoist Chongu Party, the Central Committee of the Democratic Front for the Reunification of the Fatherland and 14 other political parties and public organizations met on January 25 in Pyongyang to discuss such questions as the prevention of a permanent split in the nation, the elimination of the danger of war and an early realization of the independent and peaceful reunification of the country. A letter to south Korean political parties, public organizations and people of all strata and overseas compatriots was passed at the meeting.

The letter calls on the entire Korean people to unite as one and block the splittists' scheme to create "two Koreas." It presents a 4-point national salvation proposal to bring about early reunification of the country.

The proposal's main points are:

1. A great alliance of the socialist forces of the north and the patriotic democratic forces of the south must be realized.

2. Tension between north and south must be eased and the danger of a nuclear war removed. The nuclear base in south Korea must be dismantled, all weapons of destruction including nuclear weapons

taken out forthwith and U.S. troops withdrawn.

3. The source of discord within the nation must be removed and an atmosphere of great national unity created. Freedom of speech, assembly, etc., must be ensured to those desiring peaceful reunification and patriots and democratic personages arrested and imprisoned must be released.

4. A north-south political consultative conference composed of representatives of all political parties, public organizations and people of all strata in the north and the south must be convened to discuss all the above-mentioned questions.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

"Charter 77"

The declaration called "Charter 77" that is circulating among Czechoslovak citizens has brought about a new political struggle.

Signed early this year by over 300 persons, including public figures, writers, scientists and ordinary workers, the charter expresses resentment against Soviet occupation and control of the country and determination to fight for political rights.

Moscow's rulers are worried. Western news media have pointed out that the charter "coincided with the growing unrest in Poland, East Germany and the Soviet Union" and those who signed it "are

pledged to fight for democratic freedoms in their Soviet occupied nation."

In commentaries, the Moscow paper *Izvestia* and TASS attacked "this campaign" in Czechoslovakia as "publicly directed against the Soviet Union and trying to write off the socialist gains of Czechoslovakia." They declared that it was an attempt to "resurrect counter-revolution," meaning the Czechoslovak people's opposition to the Soviet occupation of their country in 1968. The London paper *Observer* reported that the Soviet ambassador, who had just returned from Moscow, "has begun consultations with Czechoslovak leaders."

Under Kremlin pressure, the Czechoslovak authorities have detained and interrogated a number of the signers of the charter.

In the eight years since sending troops to Czechoslovakia in 1968, the new tsars have used fascist means to suppress those who have opposed the Soviet occupation. They have arrested some, imprisoned some and dismissed others from their posts, thinking that everything would be peaceful. But where there is oppression, there is resistance. The struggle for independence by the Czechoslovak people who have a revolutionary tradition cannot be halted. The publication of "Charter 77" is a new example.

PALESTINE

Twelve Years of Armed Struggle

January 1 was the 12th anniversary of the Palestinian armed struggle. In the past

12 years, the Palestinian guerrillas have grown steadily in strength and dealt the enemy heavy blows. Particularly during the two Middle East wars of 1967 and 1973, they made an indelible contribution by fighting behind the enemy lines in support of the struggle by the troops of Egypt, Syria and other Arab countries against Israeli aggression.

Israel has again and again sent troops to attack Palestinian guerrilla bases in an attempt to remove all of them. It is not at all strange that the U.S. imperialists support Israel in its attack on the Palestinian armed forces. Calling itself the "natural ally" of the Arab people, the Soviet Union is even more insidious. It labelled the Palestinian people's armed struggle as "adventurist" with the aim of strangling it in the cradle. When this failed, it came up with another gimmick: While professing support for the Palestinian armed forces, it desperately advocated a "political solution" of the Middle East problem in an effort to induce and force the Palestinian people to abandon their armed struggle and bring them into the orbit of the so-called Geneva con-

ference on a "political solution" and thus make them a pawn in its contention with the U.S. imperialists for the Middle East.

The Palestinian people's struggle for the return to their homeland is inseparable from the struggle of the Arab countries to recover their lost territories. Co-ordinating closely with each other, the two armed forces pounded the enemy like two powerful fists. Stricken with panic, the superpowers and Israel used various tricks to sow dissension in the relations between the Arab countries and Palestine and undermine their solidarity so as to knock them down one by one.

ISRAEL

Economy in Complete Mess

Israel again devalued its currency by 2 per cent on January 16. Before and since then, 7,000 Israeli employees in the tax department went on strike demanding higher wages and improved living conditions. Three thousand vegetable and fruit merchants and pedlars struck in protest against the government's increased tax on them.

The economy is in a complete mess. Last year's inflation rate was over 40 per cent, the foreign trade deficit reached 3,500 million U.S. dollars and the unemployment rate rose from 3 per cent to 5 per cent. Particularly noteworthy is that Israel's foreign debt has gone as high as 10,700 million dollars, which equal to the gross national product in 1976. The foreign debt for the population of 3.3 million thus comes to an average of more than 3,000 dollars per person.

Life is very hard for the people. The lowest household living costs averaged 910 Israeli pounds in 1968, while in 1975 it rose to 3,870 pounds. Last year's retail price index, however, went up over 40 per cent. Workers in many factories time and again have gone on strike in protest against soaring living costs.

Huge military expenditures have aggravated Israel's economic difficulties. Military expenditures took up 42 per cent of budget last year. The country is now eating the bitter fruit of long years of wanton aggression and expansion.

(Continued from p. 26.)

Caribbean countries over this matter. They made it clear that common efforts will be made to keep up sugar prices and oppose the increased U.S. sugar import tax. The Council of Ministers of the Caribbean Community met in Guyana, and decided to lodge a protest with the U.S. Government. They also decided to contact

GLACSEC to wage a common struggle. At meetings held recently in Washington, the representatives of sugar exporting countries one after another expressed opposition to this self-seeking measure of the United States.

The joint struggle of the Latin American sugar exporting countries against economic hegemony is continuing to unfold.

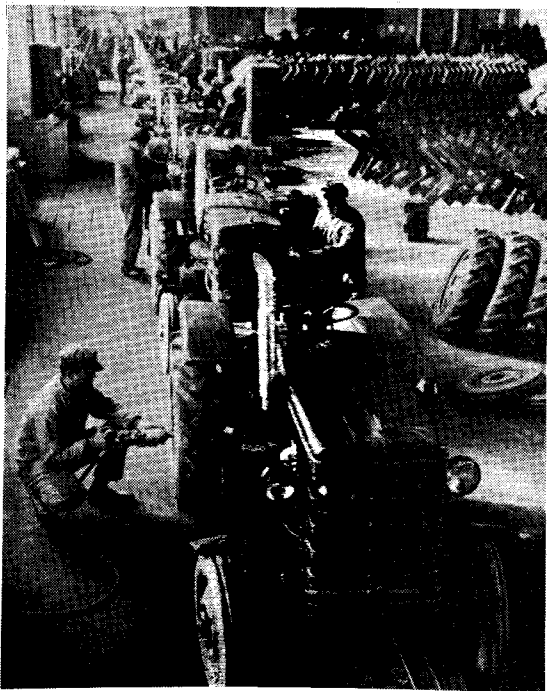
ON THE HOME FRONT

New Tractor Plant

THE Shantung Tractor Plant, a large modern enterprise built through self-reliance, was put into operation on December 26 last year.

Located in Yenchow County in the southwestern part of

Shantung Province, the plant has a designed capacity of 10,000 tractors a year. The major parts such as engines and gears are made by itself. It is now producing the 25 h.p. "Taishan" tractor designed by Chinese technicians and workers.



An assembly line at the Shantung Tractor Plant.

Two Out of One

COLLIERIES under the Yangchuan Coal Mining Bureau in Shansi Province all achieved their plans for doubling the designed capacity of 6.21 million tons of coal on December 28, 1976. They turned out 12.47 million tons, or twice their yearly output quota.

This is the second large coal mining bureau to double its output, the first being the

Kailan Coal Mine in Hopei Province.

The Party committee of the Yangchuan Coal Mining Bureau held a celebration meeting at which messages of greetings from the Ministry of Coal Industry and the Party Committee of Shansi Province were read out. The workers and staff expressed their determination to answer the call issued by the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua to expose and criticize the "gang

of four" thoroughly and go all out to grasp revolution and promote production.

First County-Wide Facsimile Communications

A SINGLE-CHANNEL facsimile communications network for the public was completed in Itu County in central south China's Hupeh Province. The first of its kind in a county, this network links the county seat and its communes as well as the different communes. Facsimile communications from Itu to Wuhan and Peking and to the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region and other border areas has also been successfully tried out.

Facsimile communications is a modern technique in post and communications. It can rapidly transmit documents, newspapers, letters, photos and charts from one place to another in their original form. In the past, when telegrams sent within Itu County were relayed by telephone or code, mistakes were apt to occur and timely delivery could not always be guaranteed. The facsimile transmitter now in use does quick and accurate work. It takes only six minutes to transmit a document the size of a sixteenmo.

New General Petrochemical Works

THE Shengli General Petrochemical Works, a large modern petrochemical complex, was completed in Shantung Province.

It consists of an oil refinery, No. 1 and No. 2 chemical fertilizer plants, a catalysts plant and a synthetic rubber plant. They produce over 30 kinds of



The Shengli General Petrochemical Works.

petrochemicals including gasoline, kerosene, diesel oil and tar.

The project began in April 1966 and the oil refinery was put into operation in October 1967. Other factories have gone up successively since 1970. The No. 2 chemical fertilizer plant turns out 300,000 tons of synthetic ammonia a year. The

completion and commissioning of the complex marks a new development in the province's petrochemical industry and will help boost its industry, agriculture and transport.

Dinosaur Fossils on "Roof of the World"

CHINESE scientists have discovered a number of dinosaur fossils in Tibet's Changtu

Prefecture 4,200 metres above sea level. This is the first time in China and in the world that such fossils have been found at this altitude.

From five spots in an area of some ten square kilometres, the scientists excavated more than four tons of dinosaur and fish fossils including vertebrae, ribs, limb bones, fragments of skull and a large number of teeth. It has been confirmed that the dinosaur fossils belong to 11 species, mainly the Sauropoda dating from 160 to 140 million years ago.

The new discovery is of great significance in studying the causes for the rise of the Chinghai-Tibet Plateau, the history of geological development, the evolution of ancient plants and animals, the geographical environment, climate and topographical features in ancient times.

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glorious and correct Marxist-Leninist Party. Not only has it been leading the Chinese revolution, but it has made tremendous contributions to the international communist movement.

We Marxist-Leninists in Greece regard the Communist Party of China as the great defender of Marxism-Leninism and the vanguard fighter for the revolutionary cause of the world proletariat, the oppressed people and nations.

There are longstanding revolutionary ties between Greek and Chinese Communists. We are convinced that such ties will be further

strengthened in the future. Unswervingly loyal to Marxism-Leninism and the principle of proletarian internationalism, the Marxist-Leninist Communist Party of Greece will unite more closely with the Communist Party of China and devote all its energy to the victory of the common struggle against imperialism, social-imperialism, modern revisionism and international reaction.

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Messages were also received from the Communist Party of India (M-L), the Labourers' Movement for Socialism of Italy and the Revolutionary Communist Movement of Greece.