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The Truth About the Tien An Men Incident



Vice-Premier Teng on Domestic Situation

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THE WEEK

Vice-Premier Teng on Domestic Situation

Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought is the guiding ideology of China in her drive for the four modernizations. This was stressed by Vice-Premier Teng Hsiao-ping at a meeting with American columnist Robert David Novak on November 27.

The Vice-Premier said that Chairman Mao's great contributions in Chinese history were beyond the description of words. "Every Chinese knows that 'without Chairman Mao there would have been no New China.'" "In the process of achieving the four modernizations," he said, "we must be good at comprehensively and accurately grasping and applying Mao Tsetung Thought. There should be liveliness and ease of mind in the political life in our country."

Vice-Premier Teng also answered questions about the current international situation and Sino-U.S. relations.

Vice-Premier Teng Hsiao-ping on November 26 replied to questions on China's domestic situation from Chairman Ryosaku Sasaki of the Democratic Socialist Party of Japan.

Vice-Premier Teng noted the world interest in the Chinese domestic situation today. He said: "Present-day China is stable and united, concentrating on the four modernizations from the Central Committee down to the localities. The Party Cen-

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tral Committee headed by Comrade Hua Kuo-feng is united and fully confident of carrying through the four modernizations."

Answering questions on the Tien An Men incident, he said: "The past decision on the nature of the incident was wrong. The recent decision of the Peking Municipal Committee of the Chinese Communist Party on the Tien An Men incident affirmed the revolutionary character of the action taken by the broad masses of the people in mourning Premier Chou En-lai and opposing the 'gang of four.' This Peking decision was approved by the Party Central Committee. It is a Party Central Committee decision. It may be called a unanimous decision, expressing the desires of the whole Party, the whole army and all the Chinese people."

The Vice-Premier said: "Chairman Mao consistently held that 'mistakes must be corrected whenever discovered.' The case of the Tien An Men incident had been misjudged and this verdict naturally had to be corrected. If there were other questions handled incorrectly. aside from the Tien An Men incident, we must correct them too in the spirit of seeking truth from facts. Correcting mistakes whenever discovered is an expression of our confidence. This is the only way to assure people throughout the country ease of mind, so that they all look ahead and devote themselves to doing a good job of the 'four modernizations.'"

On the question of the masses putting up big-character posters, Vice-Premier Teng pointed out: "This is a normal thing, and shows the stable situation in our country. To write bigcharacter posters is allowed by our country's Constitution. We have no right to deny this or to criticize the masses for making use of democracy and putting up big-character posters. If the masses feel some dissatisfaction, we must let them express it. Not all the opinions of the masses are carefully thought out, nor can we demand that they are all entirely correct. That is nothing to be afraid of. It is wonderful to see the ability to distinguish right from wrong and the conscientious care for the destiny of the country shown by the overwhelming majority of the masses of the Chinese people who have been tempered in the Great Cultural Revolution. The broad masses demand stability and unity and consider the overall interest of the country. The masses have their doubts on some questions; some utterances are not in the interest of stability and unity and the four modernizations. We have to explain matters clearly to the masses and know how to lead."

Vice-Premier Wang Chen's Visit to Britain

At the dinner he gave on behalf of the British Government on November 7 in honour of Chinese Vice-Premier Wang Chen, British Secretary of State for Industry Eric Varley said that contacts between the two countries over the last two years were of mutual benefit to the two countries. "My government assures that we will increase our trade," he added.

Vice-Premier Wang said that he had come not merely for a look around, but also for concrete discussions with the aim of introducing into China advanced British technology and equipment in various sectors of industry.

The Vice-Premier visited Britain from November 6 to 17.

The President of the Sino-British Trade Council, Lord Nelson, described the visit as "turning a new page in Sino-British relations."

During the visit, British Prime Minister James Callaghan met with Vice-Premier Wang.

An agreement on scientific and technological co-operation between China and Britain was signed by Vice-Premier Wang and Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs David Owen on behalf of their governments on November 15.

Pardoned and Released Personnel Feted

Liao Cheng-chih, Vice-Chairman of the N.P.C. Standing Committee, on the evening of November 23 met and gave a banquet for former KuominIn line with Chairman Mao's instruction, the Chinese Government has announced that permission would be given to pardoned and released former Kuomintang personnel who wished to go to Taiwan. This is the fourth group of such personnel who have been permitted to go to Taiwan since April 1975.

Vice-Chairman Liao declared during the meeting: "Taiwan, Penghu, Quemoy and Matsu are parts of the sacred territory of our country. The pardoned and released personnel who wish to go there may do so. The Communist Party's policy is to issue them sufficient money to cover their travelling expenses, provide them with the facilities, give them no tasks to discharge and let them go and come of their own will. We hope that Taiwan authorities will the likewise provide facilities to such persons who wish to go to these places and guarantee their safety."

He also said: "The present era is an era full of hope. Every patriot has a way out. It is our firm conviction that Taiwan will be liberated and the motherland will be reunified."

1978 Iron and Steel Quotas Fulfilled

The Ministry of Metallurgical Industry announced that the 1978 steel and rolled steel production quotas had been fulfilled by November 15. Output of steel was 28 million tons, 4 million tons more than that of the whole of last year, while output of rolled steel was 19 million tons, nearly 3 million tons over 1977.

By November 5, the annual production plan of 29.5 million tons for iron had been completed. This is over 5 million tons more than last year.

The quality of iron and steel products has been raised and varieties have been developed. Thirty-six products have again been classified as brands of quality.

According to the ministry, such a big increase in the output of iron and steel in less than a year is something unknown in the history of China.

Responsible members of departments concerned in the ministry pointed out that production costs had dropped and the 1978 state targets for profits had been met three months in advance. Since the beginning of August, coke consumption in China's major metallurgical enterprises has remained at the lowest recorded level.

At present, Chinese steelworkers are continuing their efforts so as to produce **30** million tons of steel by year's end.

Autumn Export Commodities Fair Closes

China's 1978 Autumn Export Commodities Fair closed in Kwangchow on November 15 with a record volume of export transactions. More than 39,000 visitors from over 110 countries and regions, including foreign friends, overseas Chinese, Taiwan compatriots residing abroad and compatriots from Hongkong and Macao, attended the fair which they described as "the most lively ever."

Compensatory trade was practised at the fair. This is an arrangement by which imported advanced equipment was paid for with products. Businessmen from Japan, the United States, Western Europe, Hongkong and Macao met and negotiated with Chinese trading groups and initial agreements were reached on a number of items. Other flexible practices common in international trade were also adopted.

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More representatives of production departments took part in trade talks and technical exchanges, directly learning about the customers' needs with regard to Chinese export commodities and their suggestions for improvement. They also first-hand got information about advanced technology used in other countries to produce similar goods.

Chinese foreign trade groups at the fair bought rolled steel, chemicals, pulp, pesticides, plastic sheets, chemical fibres and medicinal herbs from foreign firms.

A "Green Great Wall"

With the planting of forest shelterbelts covering 5.3 million hectares in the north China areas where sandstorms are

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frequent and soil erosion severe, a magnificent "green Great Wall" will appear by 1985.

The planned shelterbelts will run through Sinkiang, Chinghai, Ningsia, Inner Mongolia, middle and northern parts of Kansu, Shensi, western Shansi, northern Hopei, and the western parts of Heilungkiang, Kirin and Liaoning. In this region, sand dunes and deserts covering 120 million hectares make up a formidable wind and sandstorm belt which constantly menaces some 13 million hectares of farmland and grazing grounds, and affects 209 counties.

The plan calls for planting a 7,100-kilometre-long forest shelterbelt stretching from Sinkiang to Heilungkiang which will cover some 687,000 hectares to act as a windbreak and to fix the sand dunes. With this as the backbone, the plan includes the planting of other belts to protect grazing grounds (168,000 hectares) and farmlands (610,000 hectares) and to prevent erosion (3,260,000 hectares).

To these forests will be added strips of trees planted near villages, houses, roads, canals and ditches in the countryside as well as afforestation done by mining enterprises and factories, to form a shelterbelt system which will effectively protect and benefit some 13 million hectares of farmland and pastures in the region.

In May this year, the State Forestry Bureau called a meeting in Sian, capital of Shensi Province, to discuss the plan and ways and means for implementing it. Later, the bureau together with the various provinces and autonomous regions drew up a year-by-year programme for seeing it through.

Work along the whole length of this project will begin this winter. It is expected to take five or six years to fulfil the task and its benefits should be felt within seven or eight years.

IN THE NEWS

• Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien on November 28 met with Chalaw Tummasiri, Governor of Bangkok, and the Municipal Administration Delegation from Bangkok he led.

Vice-Premier Li said: Our Party is united and our country is stable. The people throughout the country desire stability, unity and the realization of the four modernizations. The Vice-Premier also expressed his support for the Thai policy of peace and neutrality.

• Peking's Tsinghua University has conferred an honorary professorship on Professor Chih Kung Jen, former Vice-Chairman of the Applied Physics Laboratory Research Centre of Johns Hopkins University. U.S.A. Tsinghua University held a certificate-conferring ceremony on November 21. Professor Jen will lecture at the university from time to time.

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The Truth About the Tien An Men Incident

by "Renmin Ribao" Correspondent

The events in Peking's Tien, An Men Square in early April 1976 which came to be known as the "Tien An Men Incident" were completely revolutionary actions by the masses. How then did the "gang of four" and their men in "Renmin Ribao" deceive the Central Committee and mislead the masses? How was that false report entitled "Counter-Revolutionary Political Incident at Tien An Men Square" cooked up? ("Peking Review" carried that report in No. 15, 1976.) How did the gang exploit the events to brutally suppress the revolutionary masses and frame Comrade Teng Hsiao-ping? What really took place around the time of the Tien An Men events? This article answers these questions and tells the story of the Tien An Men Incident as it really happened. - Ed.

THE Tien An Men events of 1976 have now been fully recognized as completely revolutionary actions. It was never "a counterrevolutionary political incident." The history of these events which was once distorted is now being put straight. This great victory is the result of our exposure and criticism of the "gang of four," the redressing of wrongs undertaken by the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua and our adherence to the Marxist principle advocated by Chairman Mao of seeking truth from facts.

For some time Renmin Ribao was controlled by the "gang of four." It was one of the major means by which the gang created counter-revolutionary opinion. Before, during and after the Tien An Men Incident, the gang and their confidant used Renmin Ribao to fake reports, fabricate and spread rumours and to deceive the Central Committee and hoodwink

the masses. This was instrumental in touching off the bloody suppression at Tien An Men Square in April 1976. On the eighth day of that month, the gang published a report, "Counter-Revolutionary Political Incident at Tien An Men Square," in which they distorted facts, maligned the masses and framed Vice-Chairman Teng Hsiao-ping. They used this incident as a pretext to suppress the revolutionary masses and topple huge numbers of leading comrades in the Party, government and army from the national to the local levels, committing monstrous crimes against the Party and the people. Renmin Ribao's staff feel it their responsibility to make public the truth about the Tien An Men Incident.

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Class Roots and Background

The events at Tien An Men Square were not accidental. They had deep class roots and a historical background.

Right from the start of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in 1966, Lin Piao and the "gang of four" combined forces and waving the banner of Chairman Mao, they pushed a sham Left but genuine Right counterrevolutionary revisionist line. In 1973 after the Party's Tenth National Congress, the "gang of four" stepped up their attempt to seize Party and state power and intensified their attacks on Premier Chou and other leading members of the Central Committee who were carrying out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. In 1975 when Premier Chou was seriously ill, Comrade Teng Hsiao-ping assumed responsibility for the day-to-day work of the Central Committee. In response to a directive

from Chairman Mao, he launched a struggle against the gang. Under extremely difficult circumstances, he carried out a series of measures to improve work, bringing a ray of hope to the people of China suffering at the hands of Lin Piao and the "gang of four." But in the winter of 1975, Comrade Teng Hsiaowas ping again vilified by the gang as the "source" of



Tien An Men Square sketched on April 2, 1976, by Ni Ming.

the "Rightist wind to reverse correct verdicts." Thus doubts and suspicions began to take root in the minds of the people.

Then on January 8, 1976, Premier Chou En-lai passed away. The Chinese people lost a pillar of strength. What was to become of our nation? On Premier Chou's death the people were forbidden to wear signs of mourning like black armbands or white rosettes, or to hold memorial meetings for the Premier in their own units. With no outlet for their grief, their fury mounted. The people laid wreaths they made with their own hands at the heart of the capital - Tien An Men Square. They mounted the steps of the Monument to the Heroes of the People to recite eulogies they had composed in memory of the Premier. The glorious example set by the Premier inspired the people in their hundreds of millions, brought them together and turned them into an irresistible force.

On March 5 that year the Shanghai newspaper Wenhui Bao, then under the control of the "gang of four," deleted a calligraphic inscription by Premier Chou in praise of the model P.L.A. soldier Lei Feng from a Hsinhua News Agency article. A few weeks later, on the 25th, the same paper printed an article which stated: "That capitalist-roader in the Party wants to put back in power a capitalistroader who had been toppled and is still unrepentant to this day." The people of China im-

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mediately saw what these two things meant: The gang were setting off two attacks on the Premier. It was an ominous sign of the gang's intention to usurp Party leadership and seize state power.

These two actions by Wenhui Bao against the late Premier sparked off the events which culminated in the mammoth demonstrations in Tien An Men Square. On the 29th of March the people of Nanking posted revolutionary slogans in the streets which said: "Wenhui Bao's anti-Party articles are an ominous signal to usurp Party leadership and seize state power," "We won't give up until the sinister backer of Wenhui Bao is ferreted out!" They marched with wreaths in memory of Premier Chou to the Yu Hua Tai Tomb of the Revolutionary Martyrs. When a Peking-bound express from Shanghai pulled into Nanking, the sides of the coaches were painted with these slogans, which remained on for the remainder of the trip to Tientsin and Peking. Peking residents, already incensed by the counter-revolutionary actions of Wenhui Bao, gathered again in Tien An Men Square to defend their Premier and safeguard Chairman Mao's revolutionary line.

Mourning the Premier and Denouncing The "Four Pests"

The battle began. This was an extraordinary struggle against the "gang of four" who were ensconced in high positions. The weapons used against the gang were wreaths and poems.



Displaying the pledge written in blood in memory of Premier Chou.

On the 30th of March 1976, Tsao Chihchieh and 28 other comrades of the Peking Municipal Trade Union Council put up the first eulogy in memory of Premier Chou and announced a fight to the finish with the bourgeoisie. They pasted it up on the south side of the Monument to the Heroes of the People where the bas-relief commemorates the May Fourth Movement of 1919. Wreaths, and more wreaths were placed in the square; poems, and more poems went up praising the outstanding contribution of Premier Chou. By April 3 there were several thousand wreaths. They came from every kind of organizations; the Party and state bodies, the People's Liberation Army, Peking factories, offices, schools, shops and people's communes. They came from comrades visiting Peking from Tientsin, Hupeh, Shenyang, Shensi and elsewhere. In groups of tens, hundreds, and even thousands, the people converged on the square with wreaths. Changan Boulevard and the square became one vast demonstration. The people sang, the strains of The Internationale resounded.

April 4 was Ching Ming, the day Chinese traditionally remember their dead. It also happened to fall on a Sunday. On that day the revolutionary activities in the square climaxed. Although the "gang of four" had expressly banned all demonstrations of mourning, the people of the capital went to the square. Somewhere around 2 million people visited Tien An

Men Square that day. The square was a flood of humanity, an ocean of wreaths. Exquisitely and lovingly made, of various sizes and designs. the wreaths covered the huge area north and south of the monument. Huge characters blazoned from the 13 flag posts stretching east to west across the square before the monument said: "Dear Premier Chou, you are always in our thoughts." Floating the sky were two in huge balloons trailing white streamers reading:

"In memory of our Premier" and "Carry the revolution through to the end!"

Thousands of poems were pasted on the base of the monument and hung from lines tied among the trees behind it. Packed with emotion, the poems expressed the people's love for their Premier Chou and denounced the "gang of four." When the crowds made it impossible for most to get near enough to the poems to read them, some near the front would declaim them in a clear voice for others who busily copied them down.

Wang Hai-li, a young worker of the Peking Railway Sub-bureau was seen holding aloft a piece of white brocade with these words written in blood: "Dear Premier Chou, we shall defend you with our very lives!" Onlookers rushed up to shake the young worker's hand.

Sun Cheng-i of the Chungwen District Chemical Fibre Plant of Peking used homonyms in a poem he wrote to clearly imply that Chang Chun-chiao, Chiang Ching and Yao Wen-yuan were behind the attack on Premier Chou. As soon as he had pasted it up people crowded up to copy it, and many wrote in the margin, "well done," "excellent," "wonderful." Many of the poems exposed the "gang of four's" ambitions and underhand methods.

Tien An Men Square is history's witness. In 1919, the demonstrations launched by the Chinese people against imperialism and feudalism, known as the "May Fourth" movement, took place here. In 1949, the five-starred red flag was hoisted for the first time in this square. Today, it was witness to the battle of the Chinese people against the "gang of four." This glorious episode from the 11th two-line struggle of the Chinese Communist Party is engraved indelibly in the hearts of the Chinese people.

Clandestine Manoeuvres

From the very beginning the gang branded the people's actions honouring the memory of Premier Chou as counter-revolutionary. On March 30 Wang Hung-wen told his confidant in Renmin Ribao: "The Nanking Incident is aimed in substance at the Central Committee," and "the big-character posters are put up in order to shape public opinion for a counterrevolutionary restoration." On April 2, Yao Wen-yuan told the same man: "This counterrevolutionary adverse current in Peking must be analysed. It seems to be directed from some headquarters." He said in a telephone call to the Central Broadcasting Administration the same day: "Observing the Ching Ming Festival is an outdated practice." "The placing of wreaths for the Premier around the Monument to the Heroes of the People in Tien An Men Square is directed against the Central Committee and intended to sidetrack the movement to criticize Teng Hsiao-ping." He again told that confidant in Renmin Ribao by telephone on April 4: "The activities at Tien An Men Square are of a counter-revolutionary nature." This shows that the branding of the Tien An Men events as counter-revolutionary was not due to the burning of cars on April 5. Their plan to crack down on the revolutionary people was premeditated.

They gave orders that the fascist method of using secret service agents be employed to shadow and persecute the people who went to Tien An Men Square. Wang Hung-wen telephoned one of the gang's men in the Ministry of Public Security: "I've just been to Tien An Men Square. Have you had those reactionary poems there photographed?" "You should send your men to the square to photograph the poems for use when charges are brought up later." Chang Chun-chiao called



For Premier Chou, a huge wreath with an elegy attached.

for sending out plainclothesmen, saying: "Only plainclothesmen mingling with the masses can find out what is going on." The gang's man in the Peking Municipal Public Security Bureau dispatched plainclothesmen on March 31. On April 2 that person called three emergency meetings at which he made arrangements for mobilizing 3,000 reserves to track down suspects and to seize some on the spot and some outside the square. On April 4 he gave orders to have trucks stand by and adequate preparations made with regard to detention centres and internment camps. On April 3 and 4, a total of 26 people honouring the memory of Premier Chou were arrested, including Wei Hai-tao, a worker of the Peking No. 1 Bicycle Plant, and Han Chih-hsiung, a worker of the Peking No. 2 House Repair Company.

Yao Wen-yuan, who gave the order to remove the wreaths presented by the masses,

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said on April 4: "Some people demanded that the deadline (for keeping the wreaths in the square) be extended to April 6, which is a day marked by the Kuomintang. [The chieftain of the Kuomintang reactionaries Chiang Kai-shek died on April 5, 1975. This, however, was used as a pretext by Yao Wen-yuan. -Tr.] This must be stopped." The gang's henchman in the Peking Municipal Public Security Bureau also said: "Remove the wreaths so that the class enemies will have nowhere to continue their activities." In the night 200 trucks were dispatched to carry away the wreaths.

"Give Us Back Our Wreaths and Our Comrades-in-Arms!"

When people came to Tien An Men Square early in the morning of April 5, not a single wreath was seen and the poems and memorial scrolls were gone too. There were pools of water on the ground. Three rings of guards cordoned off the Monument to the Heroes of the People.

Groups of people coming to lay wreaths were stopped by the guards and not allowed to



A tearful girl adds her small white flower.

approach the monument. A hot dispute ensued. Then someone in a blue uniform yelled: "Don't throw in your lot with the capitalistroader. The newspapers are about to name the capitalist-roader!" Incensed by this veiled attack on Premier Chou, the people around tried to catch and thrash him. At this moment two public security men came up to pacify the crowd, but when the people found out that they were plainclothesmen, they turned their anger on them. One of them ran for the Great Hall of the People. The crowd pursued him up to the east entrance of the hall.

Nearly 10,000 people were already gathered there. They thought the wreaths had been taken to the basement of the hall. They were shouting: "Give us back our wreaths! Give us back our comrades-in-arms!" Men at the command post in a small building at the southeastern corner of the square falsely charged the crowd with trying to break into the Great Hall of the People. They immediately rang up the traffic control post: "Get out there and talk to the crowd. Explain that the Ching Ming Festival is over and so is the mourning. Tell the revolutionary comrades to leave the square and be on the alert against sabotage by a handful of class enemies." Comrade Chiao Hou-chuan in the traffic office of the Peking Municipal Public Security Bureau took the message down in his notebook and instructed the announcer to broadcast it. The loudspeaker van drove from north to south along the east side of the hall repeatedly broadcasting the message. On its third round, it was besieged by the crowd. People demanded:

"You say the mourning is over. Who ever organized us to mourn the Premier? When was the mourning supposed to start?"

"Who do you mean by class enemies? Who is sabotaging and making trouble?" The incensed crowd overturned the van, smashing the loudspeakers mounted on top. When Chiao Hou-chuan was identified as a cadre, the crowd dragged him out of the van, saying: "You won't let us mourn Premier Chou. Have you no class feelings? If you're not against Premier Chou, then shout with us: 'We will overthrow whoever opposes Premier Chou!' 'We shall always cherish the memory of Premier Chou!'"

He was a public security man on duty, but he was all for what the masses were doing. So he shouted the slogans as he was asked to do. The people said: "They are only carrying out orders. Let them go." This was all there was to the incident about the smashing of the loudspeaker van.

At about 9:00 a.m., many people were milling outside the east entrance of the Great Hall of the People demanding "Give us back our wreaths! Give us back our comrades-inarms!" and shouting "Long live the people!" A short fellow in overalls cried out: "The slogan 'Long live the people' is incorrect; people are divided into different classes." "What's the wreaths for? Premier Chou was the top capitalist-roader." Wang Wei-yen, a worker in a Peking cotton mill, and Li Chin-sheng, a worker of the Peking Ta Ming Eyeglass Company, went up angrily to him to protest, while others formed a ring around him and tried to reason with him. Yueh Tsun-shou, a worker of the Peking Railway Bureau, asked him where he worked, but he refused to give an answer. For his impenitence, the people dragged him to the front of the monument and started to criticize him. Chi Kuo-chih, a worker of a Peking electronic instruments factory, demanded: "Why are you attacking Premier Chou?" The man replied that he was quoting the Shanghai Wenhui Bao. He was taken to the police station at Chungshan Park with the request that he be duly punished.

By about 10:00 a.m., a throng of tens of thousands was outside the east entrance of the Great Hall of the People, shouting: "Down with whoever opposes Premier Chou!" The person in charge of the command post ordered the militia and troops to cordon off the building. When the soldiers and militiamen confronted the people, Hou Yu-liang, a worker of the No. 2 engineering bureau of the Ministry of Water Conservancy and Power, and others recited an impromtu poem To Soldiers - Sons and Brothers of Workers and Peasants, which reads in part :

- "Sons and brothers of the people, please listen attentively.
- The people are mourning their Premier Chou;

We cannot let you be rough and unruly.

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- The green of your uniform is dye from the roots of grass which nourished Premier Chou on the Long March;
- We workers machined your bayonets;
- Our peasants fed you with their grain.
- Your fathers, brothers and sisters hope that you will always press boldly forward against the enemy. . . ."

The soldiers of the People's Liberation Army were moved. Many of them said: "We feel the same way you do." Many workermilitiamen were moved to tears. They tore off their armbands and left. Hou Yu-liang took out a proposal he had drafted to set up a "Peking people's committee for mourning Premier Chou." People cheered after he read it out and they raised their hands in agreement.

At a little after 11 o'clock, a young man with a loudhailer said: "Listen, everybody! That little building over there. That's the joint command post. Last night's removal of the wreaths and arrests were all directed from there. Let's negotiate with them to get back our wreaths and ask them to release the people arrested." Then he said that the people should form ranks and observe discipline. Arm in arm and singing The Internationale, people marched across the square. Liu Ti, a young middle school graduate, (the young man the "gang of four" described as "sporting a crew-cut") noticed that the other young man was being watched. To protect him, Liu Ti took over the loudhailer and directed the marchers towards the building.

A proposal was made to send in some representatives to negotiate. Hou Yu-liang, Chao Shih-chien, a repair shop worker, Sun Chingchu, a student of the Peking No. 86 Middle School, and Chen Tzu-ming, a student of the Peking Chemical Engineering Institute, stepped forward. These representatives entered the building to the people's shouts of "Long live Chairman Mao!" "Give the people the right to honour the memory of their Premier and the revolutionary martyrs!" The following three rules were announced: "One, no beating. Two, no destruction of public property. Three, guard against sabotage by class enemies." After a while, the representatives came out and said that they could not find anyone in charge in the building. Were the chieftains of the command post out? No, the "Shanghai" automobile



Reciting a poem dedicated to Premier Chou.

and the "212" jeeps they came in were still parked outside the building. They had gone into hiding to avoid having to meet the representatives.

The crowd felt they were being made fool of and their fury rose. Tien An Men Square belongs to the people, why should there be no freedom to lay wreaths but freedom to remove them? Why should there be freedom to attack the Premier but no freedom to defend him?

At 1:05 p.m., when the angry masses learnt that the "Shanghai" car parked outside the small building belonged to the chieftains of the command post, they tipped it over and set fire to it.

At 2:40 p.m., two jeeps at the command post were set on fire.

At 2:55 p.m., when a minibus arrived with food for the worker-militia, people said: "We haven't had a bite since early morning, are we to let them eat their fill to suppress us?" So, they angrily overturned the minibus and set it on fire.

At 5:04 p.m., the command post building was also set on fire.

Thousands of people were present but they did nothing to put out the fire, why? Was it that the people didn't care about state property? Was it because they failed to see the possible consequences? Of course not. Their hearts were with those heroically countering the fascist measures of the "gang of four" and supported these protests against the white terror.

Reign of Terror

When the small building caught fire, leaders at the command post received orders to pull out. One after another they crawled out of the windows.

At 7:00 p.m., the gang's henchman in the public security bureau gave the following order: "Take co-ordinated action this evening. It must be well organized. Have your weapons ready. You can take along clubs and handcuffs."

Tens of thousands of people surged towards the monument in a gesture of farewell to the late Premier. They sang *The Internationale*, shouted the slogan "We'll cherish the memory of our Premier for ever!" and recited poems dedicated to the late Premier.

At 9:35 p.m., all the lights on the square were suddenly turned on. The ruthless suppression of the people began.

Over 200 revolutionary comrades were seized in Tien An Men Square that evening and many more arrests were made in the ensuing days. White terror imposed by the "gang of four" reigned in Peking and soon spread to other parts of the country.

Falsifying Facts to Deceive the Central Committee

Through Confidential Information — a special reference bulletin for leading comrades — edited by Renmin Ribao, then under the "gang of four's" control, the gang concocted reports to the Party Central Committee and labelled the events in Tien An Men Square as a "counter-revolutionary political incident."

Between April 1 and 6, the gang put out over a dozen issues of *Confidential Information* devoted to events at Tien An Men Square. All these were written and edited along the lines put down by the gang and were revised and approved by Yao Wen-yuan.

In the Confidential Information, the gang described the people's mourning for Premier Chou as "using the occasion to launch vicious attacks on the Party Central Committee and central leading comrades." Confidential Information assiduously avoided all mention of the masses mourning for Premier Chou. When reporters mentioned even a little of these activities, Yao Wen-yuan crossed such passages out or twisted their meaning. The April 3 issue of Confidential Information reported a slogan on the balustrade on the northern side of the monument as saying: ."We cherish the memory of Premier Chou, we remember Yang Kai-hui," (Yang Kai-hui was Chairman Mao's wife and comrade-in-arms. -- Tr.) Yao Wen-yuan commented: "This is much the same as the other reactionary demagogic slogans that have appeared in other places."

There was a poem entitled New Version of a Certain Person's Three Lamentations which, taken as a whole, was directed at Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and Chiang Ching. Without quoting a single line from the original, the April 4 issue of Confidential Information said that the poem "used extremely vicious language in a direct attack on the great leader Chairman Mao and other leading comrades on the Central Committee."

The gang deliberately distorted the truth about the fires and violence in Tien An Men Square. The April 5 issue of Confidential Information began with this statement: "At about seven o'clock this morning, when people noticed the disappearance of the wreaths, they gathered to protest." But Yao Wen-yuan changed the word "people" into "a small number of bad people" and the word "gathered" into "incited a bunch of people." It went on to say: "At about eight o'clock, a loudspeaker van of the municipal public security bureau was attacked, overturned and wrecked. Both the van and the loudspeakers were flattened." But the Confidential Information did not say a word about why the masses smashed the van. As for the violence, it stated in its original version that those who were beaten up had said: "Premier Chou was the top capitalist-roader." But Yao Wen-vuan crossed out this sentence. In this way, the cause of the violence was not given, facts were completely distorted and the nature of the events was falsified. Consequently, revolutionary people who defended Premier Chou were described as "a small number of bad people" while those who attacked Premier Chou became victims.

As to the burning of the automobiles, Confidential Information originally said: "Black billows of smoke rise to the sky, and the smell of burning rubber fills the air..." Yao Wenyuan changed this to "counter-revolutionary clamours are heard everywhere." Another sentence reading "All those in front of the command post building were young people" was changed to "Most of those in the van of this counter-revolutionary incident were young people."

After the crack-down in Tien An Men Square, Chiang Ching and Yao Wen-yuan received their trusted henchmen in *Renmin Ribao* and lavished praise on this "little paper" (i.e., *Confidential Information*) and said "it is playing a bigger role than several million copies of newspapers."

Fabricating the Reactionary Report

Members of the "gang of four" personally directed the fabrication of the notorious report "Counter-Revolutionary Political Incident at

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April 5, 1976, people before the Great Hall of the People demanding return of wreaths removed on orders of the "gang of four."

Tien An Men Square" based on distortions published in Confidential Information.

At about seven o'clock on the morning of April 7, Yao Wen-yuan called his confidant and underlings by phone to the Great Hall of the People. He asked them to write up a report for publication using those issues of *Confidential Information* concerning the Tien An Men events. At around lunch time, Yao Wen-yuan took his confidant and other followers to meet Wang Hung-wen, Chang Chun-chiao and Chiang Ching.

Wang Hung-wen praised: "You've done a good job!"

Chiang Ching said: "We have won! Congratulations!"

The joy of Wang, Chang, Chiang and Yao and their confidant knew no bounds. Raising his glass, Wang Hung-wen proposed: "Here's to every one of us here!" Chiang Ching, in her turn, gave a toast to them.

Chang Chun-chiao gave instructions on exactly how he wanted the report written. "By writing those reactionary poems," he said, "that lot wanted to help make Teng Hsiao-ping the Chinese edition of Nagy, the chieftain of the counter-revolutionary incident in Hungary."

Yao Wen-yuan said: "Some bad types lauded Teng Hsiao-ping, claiming that 'decisive victories were won when he was in charge of the day-to-day work of the Party Central Committee."

Yao Wen-yuan told them to write these words of Chang Chun-chiao and his own remarks into their report. And instructions were given by Yao on every detail and every formulation used in the report.

While the report was being written up, Wang, Chang, Chiang and Yao were all on hand, giving instructions and making changes in the manuscript. Before dusk fell, a reactionary report loaded with falsehoods against the people was ready for publication.

A major piece of evidence offered in the report for labelling the Tien An Men events as a "counter-revolutionary political incident" was

a "counter-revolutionary" poem. Here is the poem as quoted in the report:

The devil howls as we pour out our grief,

We weep but the wolves laugh,

- We spill our blood in memory of the hero,
- Raising our heads, we unsheathe our swords.
- China is no longer the China of yore,
- And the people are no longer sunk in abysmal ignorance,
- Gone for good is Chin Shih Huang's feudal society,
- We believe in Marxism-Leninism,
- To hell with those scholars who emasculate . Marxism-Leninism!
- What we want is genuine Marxism-Leninism.

For the sake of genuine Marxism-Leninism,

- We don't fear to shed our blood and lay down our lives,
- The day the four modernizations are realized,
- We shall be back with libation and offerings.

The report charged that this poem "frenziedly attacks the great leader Chairman Mao and attempts to split the Party Central Committee headed by him," that "it contains vicious insinuations and slanders against the great leader Chairman Mao and other leading comrades on the Party Central Committee" and that "it is out-and-out counter-revolutionary agitation," and so on.

Investigation shows that these lines are not from one poem, but were picked from two different poems and then pieced together. The first four lines are a classical poem with fivecharacters to the line, while the rest are taken from a modern poem in free verse. The whole thing was neither fish nor fowl. When they were cooking up this report, someone suggested 'that the first four lines be cut. Yao Wen-yuan, however, rejected the idea, saying: "They can't be left out because there are the words 'we unsheathe our swords.'" It is obvious that by

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grafting two poems into one, Yao Wen-yuan and his followers meant to link "swords" with "Chin Shih Huang" so as to accuse the poets of attacking Chairman Mao by innuendo.

Obviously, by "Raising our heads, we unsheathe our swords," the poet meant opposition to the "gang of four," not to Chairman Mao; and the line about "Chin Shih Huang's feudal society" was also not an insinuation against Chairman Mao.

The poem entitled In Memory of Premier Chou on Ching Ming Festival (in 44 lines) honours Premier Chou's memory and eulogizes his immortal contributions. One of the lines read: "Gone for good is Chin Shih Huang's feudal society." This retort was aimed at the "gang of four" and a denunciation of their collusion for their own selfish interests, their control of the mass media and their feudal fascist rule.

Chang Chun-chiao and Yao Wen-yuan produced some vile suggestions when the report was in preparation. Yao Wen-yuan said that they must put in the words "a premeditated, organized and planned counter-revolutionary political incident" so as to shape counter-revolutionary opinion to serve their plot to overthrow a great number of proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation.

When Chang Chun-chiao came to the passage about the alleged storming of the Great Hall of the People and setting fire to a building, he said: "Why were several hundred workermilitiamen going in formation up the steps of the Great Hall of the People? Paying a visit? The point is not made clear." So the sentence in the report was changed to "Several hundred worker-militiamen went up the steps leading to the Great Hall of the People to mount guard," to give people the impression that some people had wanted to storm the Great Hall of the People. He added, "Use 'People's Liberation Army barracks' instead of the word 'building.' This will make people all over the country furious when they learn that some bad elements had wrecked and burnt a P.L.A. barracks!" This was how a building was turned into a "People's Liberation Army barracks." As a result of this doctoring, the revolutionary people who defended the shining image of Premier Chou were painted as "hooligans" and the innocent masses, a mob storming the Great Hall of the People.

When the report was published on April 8, readers immediately rang up or wrote to Renmin Ribao lodging strong protest. Four days later, the paper received a letter signed by "an eyewitness worker-militiaman." The letter was addressed to the editor-in-chief of Renmin Ribao and on the back of the envelope was written: "To editor Goebbels." Enclosed were the first and second pages of the April 8 newspaper on which the sender had written a long note denouncing the paper. Some of his comments were: "This is shocking! The Party organ has sunk so low as to become the mouthpiece for a handful of fascist careerists and conspirators!" "Can a false report which confounds things hoodwink the masses? Better rename your paper the organ of a fascist party!" "Down with the careerists and conspirators Chiang, Chang and Yao!"

Framing Honest People

When the Tien An Men events took place, Comrade Teng Hsiao-ping was completely isolated from the outside world and had nothing to do with what was going on there. The gang, however, in an attempt to condemn him politically, insisted on claiming that he was the "mastermind" behind the so-called counterrevolutionary incident.

The Confidential Information of Renmin Ribao at one point carried several photos as "evidence" of the crimes committed by "a handful of class enemies at Tien An Men Square." When Yao Wen-yuan saw them he immediately rang up his man in Renmin Ribao and angrily took him to task: "Why use those photos? None of them suggests Teng Hsiao-ping is involved in the affair!" So they fell back on the despicable feudal practice of dragging in some relative ever so far removed so as to incriminate a person. Now Comrade Teng Hsiao-ping has a daughter working in the Semi-Conductor Institute under the Chinese Academy of Sciences which had sent two wreaths to Tien An Men Square. But this daughter was on sick leave and had taken no part in the making of wreaths or in any of the activities at Tien An Men Square. Despite this a reporter wrote: "On the wreath sent by the scientific and technological department, where

Photostat of the report with changes and deletions by Yao Wen-yuan.

天安门广场的反革命政治事件 今天清晨七点多钟, 有入看见天安门广场的花圃没了, ph. 便天众"抗议"。八点左右,一辆市公安局的广播宣传车被 ア 砸,车子被推翻在地,车身和喇叭都被砸扁了。九点以后人 更多了。人民大会堂门口围了一万多人。广场上人最多时, 估计近十万人。这当中除闹事者外,很多是围观的群众。一 部分人在纪念碑周围,绝大部分集中在广场西边、人民大会、 堂先门处。有十来个小伙子,分别被闹事的人围打。招闹事 的人说,其中两个是清华大学工农兵学员,一个是解放军。 他们公开说了"厨房理是党内最大的走资源"了国家 他们 头上都被打起了几个大血包, 脸浮肿, 流着血, 许多人叫看; "打死俺!打死他!"还喊"周总理万岁!"的口号1唱着《国 际歌)。一个解放军干部出来劝阻几句,立刻被闹事的人把领 章、帽徽全撕掉,衣服撕开,敞着胸,打得满脸是血。这些

Teng's daughter works, were the words . . ." to suggest that Comrade Teng Hsiao-ping was involved in sending the wreath. "These are one or two hundred telling words," the gang's hacks crowed.

At 9 o'clock on the evening of April 4, a newsman sent by the several gang saw thousand people gathered at the southwest corner of the monument listening to someone reading out a handbill entitled "A Chronicle of the Eleventh Two-Line Struggle," which read in part:

"July 1975. Chairman Mao criticized Chiang Ching and

suspended her work in the Party Central Committee. Comrade Teng Hsiao-ping was put in charge of the day-to-day work of the Party Central Committee during Premier Chou's illness. A decisive victory in the struggle was won. The whole nation rejoiced at the arrangement made for Comrade Teng Hsiao-ping to take over once again."

The leaflet had the attention of the masses and won their support. When the gang's trusted follower in *Renmin Ribao* heard this, he swiftly relayed the item by phone to Yao Wen-yuan. After he had heard this news, Yao yelped for joy.

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In preparing the report "Counter-Revolutionary Political Incident at Tien An Men Square," Yao Wen-yuan instructed his followers to "point to Teng Hsiao-ping in explicit terms." . . Accordingly, in all the reports, articles and commentaries about the Tien An Men events that followed, all kinds of false charges were heaped on Comrade Teng Hsiao-ping. "Teng Hsiao-ping is a Chinese Nagy," "the general manager of the rumour company," "the root of the Tien An Men Square incident," etc.

An article jointly written by the Renmin Ribao writing group and Liang Hsiao (the writing group of Tsinghua and Peking Universities controlled by the "gang of four" -Tr.) claimed that "Teng represents the interests and aspirations of the old and new bourgeoisie inside and outside the Party and of the landlords. rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries. bad elements and Rightists"; that the Tien An Men incident was "staged single-handedly by Teng Hsiao-ping." Yao Wen-yuan insisted on crossing out "staged single-handedly" and made it to read: "Teng Hsiao-ping is the mastermind behind this counter-revolutionary incident."

The Glory of the "April 5" Movement Will Shine For Ever

The gang's bloody suppression of the revolutionary masses at Tien An Men Square on April 5, far from overwhelming the people armed with Mao Tsetung Thought, served instead to reveal these political hooligans for what they were — a gang of fascists, and to arouse even stronger resistance. Hardly had the night of sanguinary repression passed when people began regrouping at Tien An Men Square. Some delivered rousing, fighting speeches. Others proposed staging a sitdown demonstration. Still others suggested sending in petitions and organizing protest parades. Chi Kuo-chih, a worker from the No. 1 Electronic Instruments Factory, proposed the setting up of a "national committee in defence of Premier Chou" to tell the truth to the people throughout the country and expose the conspiracy of the careerists.

The revolutionary poems, eulogies and speeches the people read and heard at Tien An Men Square during the *Ching Ming* Festival played a tremendous fighting role. After the brutal suppression the people did all they could to preserve them. They clandestinely copied and collected them, and despite sure imprisonment if found out some people even secretly brought out printed copies.

Comrades seized and thrown into jail opened up a new front of struggle against the "gang of four" from their cells.

Today, the events are hailed as the great "April 5" Movement. With clear-cut stand and tremendous revolutionary sweep, this movement, unprecedented in scale, declared to the whole world that China did not belong to the "gang of four"; the people and the people alone decide the destiny of China and determine the advance of history.

Who were the organizers of the April events at Tien An Men Square? The people. Who directed these events? The people. These events demonstrated the high level of political consciousness of the people in their millions, their organizing talents and their adeptness in struggle. This earth-shaking historic drama which took place at Tien An Men Square has seldom been seen. The April 1976 struggle knelled the hour of the "gang of four" and awakened the hundreds of millions, which is the most important condition for Chairman Hua leading the nation in October to victoriously smashing the "gang of four."

> (An abridged translation of a "Renmin Ribao" article published on November 21-22.)

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CHINESE PRESS SURVEY

Provincial Party Secretary Encourages Criticism

H SI Chung-hsun, second secretary of the Party committee of south China's Kwangtung Province, was praised for correctly handling a cadre's letter criticizing him. A report about this, under the heading "Don't Be Afraid to Listen to Harsh Words, Let the Cadres and Masses Speak Up," was frontpaged in *Renmin Ribao* recently together with full texts of the cadre's letter and the secretary's reply.

Mai Tzu-tsan is a cadre of the Huiyang prefectural people's procuratorate. In September this year he wrote to Hsi, criticizing him as one who "gets information second-hand, likes to listen to high-sounding words and indulges in empty talk." He had solid grounds for his charges: At local meetings the secretary had more than once claimed that the Huiyang Prefecture was doing a good job in building water conservancy works and that the local peasants were benefiting vastly from this. Facts, however, proved just the reverse. This showed, Mai said, that Hsi Chung-hsun had reached his conclusion not after making careful investigations but after hearing reports from a few people.

The two big water conservancy works in question were the Tanaoho and Tunghu projects. Mai himself had participated in building the Tanaoho project and, the local cadre maintained, he knew what he was talking about.

The project, started in 1975, was due for completion in 1976, but to this day was still dragging along far behind schedule. He asked: How on earth could the local people benefit? The Tanaoho project, it was said, was undertaken by the people with state aid, but in fact the various local production teams had to pool money to cover all the expenses of the peasant-builders at the work-site. The production teams' enthusiasm was smothered, he observed, when it became apparent they could not quickly benefit from the vast sums they had paid for the hopelessly slow progress of the project.

While the local people had their hands full just dealing with the messy Tanaoho project alone, the authorities wanted them to begin the other much larger Tunghu project. Mai Tzu-tsan noted. No wonder the response was cool. From a long-term point of view it was necessary to undertake water conservancy construction, but the peasants' immediate interests, he said, should be taken into full consideration. For a period of time, sabotage and interference by Lin Piao and the "gang of four" had seriously hampered implementation of the Party's various economic policies for the rural areas, and the peasants were the first to suffer. As he saw it. the most immediate step to take was to implement these policies in real earnest and free the peasants from unduly heavy economic burdens. Undertaking the two big projects at once was as useless as fetching water from far away to put out a fire. he continued.

Mai's letter also took Hsi Chung-hsun to task for failing to match deeds with words in dealing with people's letters.

In his reply to Mai, the provincial Party committee secretary said he sincerely accepted the criticism. To see if Mai had more to say, he asked a comrade on the provincial Party committee to talk things over with him. The comrade was then helping the Huiyang prefectural Party committee rectify its style of work through studying Marxism and practising criticism and self-criticism.

Reading out Mai's letter of criticism at a provincial revolutionary committee meeting, Hsi Chung-hsun pointed out that the letter was well written and that the criticism against him could have been even more severe. That the cadres at the grass-roots units dare to speak out was really a good thing and this should be supported and encouraged. We comrades should not be afraid of hearing harsh words, he said.

"This comrade believed that I would not retaliate when he wrote to criticize me," he went on, "so I'm grateful to him for the faith he has in me." He suggested that the letter and his reply be circulated among the prefectural and county Party committees in the whole province to encourage criticism, so that inner-Party democratic life could be enlivened and the Party's fine tradition carried forward. His suggestion was readily approved after discussion by

the standing committee of the provincial Party committee which held that circulating the letter of criticism would bring fresh air to the inner-Party atmosphere.

A Renmin Ribao editor's note carried the same day pointed out: Leading cadres must play an exemplary role in earnestly listening to all sorts of opinions from the cadres and the people; only in this way can they air different views without misgivings, and the Party's fine tradition and fine style of work be quickly restored and carried forward.

Reorganization of Machine-Building Industry

RESTRUCTURE the machine-building industry on the principle of specialization and co-operation — this task, to be fulfilled in 3-5 years, was set forth at a national conference of the machine-building industry convened in August in Peking. Recent Chinese newspapers have carried reports about how the task is being carried out.

To bring about socialist modernization, tool up agriculture, industry, national defence and science and technology with sophisticated equipment, switch the entire national economy on to a new technological basis of large-scale modern production, it is necessary for the machinebuilding industry to provide advanced equipment. However, the various sectors of the national economy today are still lagging behind the developed countries in technological standards.

China's machine-building industry at the present stage by and large can only turn out products as made by some other countries back in the 40s or 50s. Unable to co-operate adequately with each other along specialized lines, most of the machine-building plants have not introduced up-to-date management and 80 per cent of them take up by themselves all such jobs as founding, forging, working big and small machine parts, assembling, making tools and maintenance. This not only hampers the introduction of advanced technological processes and impedes technical progress. but also drives up costs and consumption and lowers the quality of products

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and labour productivity — far from meeting the needs of modernizing the national economy and boosting machine-building industry at high gear. To change this situation, the industry must be reorganized on the basis of specialization and co-operation, so that it can arm the entire national economy with up-to-date equipment.

The regrouping first began in the farmmachinery and automobile industries. So far the nation's farm-machinery, motor vehicle and tractor manufacturers have already been reorganized. It is expected that by 1985, when the reorganization is completed in the industry, labour productivity will more than double its present level, utilization of rolled steel will exceed 70 per cent and most of the products will attain the world's technical and economic standards of the 70s.

The standardized products department of the Shanghai Municipal Machine Parts Company has since 1958 organized specialized production among its factories, practising a division of labour according to specifications and varieties of the products. This new structure of production, coupled with the introduction of advanced technological processes and high-efficiency equipment, has enabled these factories to cut down their payroll by 30 per cent, boost output 11-fold and raise labour productivity 20-fold. This example shows how advantageous it is to regroup industrial production on the basis of specialization and co-operation.

The Shanghai municipal Party committee decided recently to set up a standardized machine parts company to consolidate this achievement.

The city's engineering and electric machinery departments began production on a specialization and co-operation footing as early as the 50s. The city now has set up 55 specialized companies. Production has kept growing vigorously since its chemical industry established six specialized companies. New plans have been hammered out by Shanghai's various industrial bureaux for a new drive in industrial realignment.

Some other cities have been quick in following suit. In Nanking, 31 specialized companies and 8 factories operating on a specialized basis have been organized and more will follow.

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Szechuan Today (1)

China's Most Populous Province: Back to Order

by Our Correspondent Chou Chin

Southwest China's Szechuan, with a population of over 80 million, covers an area of 570,000 square kilometres. A few years ago when the "gang of four" were on the rampage, Szechuan suffered heavily. Its social order was adversely affected and production declined; but rapid changes were brought about following the downfall of the gang.

SZECHUAN derives its name from its four rivers — the Minchiang, Tochiang, Fuchiang and Chialing. As noted in the *Records* of the Warring States, a book compiled over 2,000 years ago: This is "a richly endowed place where the soil is fertile, the people are well off and chariots reach ten thousand."

For Two Years

Szechuan is rich in farm produce and has coal, oil, natural gas, iron ore and other minerals. Historically, the province was self-sufficient in rice and had a surplus to supply other provinces.

But in 1976 when the rice output decreased, Szechuan had to depend on bringing in state



Commune tobacco field.

grain from other provinces, including sorghum from northeast China, maize from north China and dried sweet potatoes from Anhwei.

The Szechuan people are hard-working and intelligent. The grain deficiency resulted entirely from the disruption of the "gang of four."

In the initial stage of the Cultural Revolution. Liu Chieh-ting and Chang Hsi-ting, two bad elements disguised as revolutionary rebels, worked overtime to usurp local Party and government leadership. They created confusion by inciting fights among the masses. This brought stoppage to industrial production and damage to agriculture. Seeing through them, the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao removed them from their posts in the provincial leading organs. Though Liu and Chang had been toppled, their behind-the-scene bosses were still around. With the support of the "gang of four," Liu and Chang still meddled in Szechuan's affairs and directed their followers to make trouble.

In 1976 when the "gang of four" hastened to usurp Party and state leadership, their factional setups launched massive attacks against cadres under the banner of "struggle against capitalist-roaders." They stormed and occupied Party and government leading organs at all levels, wilfully singled out a provincial Party secretary as their target of attack, imprisoned prefectural Party secretaries and forced the Party committees to hand over their power, leaving many prefectural, city, county and commune leading organs in a state of paralysis or semi-paralysis. The grievous consequences were first reflected in production. Decline of production caused a growing shortage in the supply of commodities.

Now, marked changes have taken place in the province. During a stay in Chengtu, the provincial capital, and the big city of Chungking, this correspondent saw adequate supplies of commodities and a brisk market. At weekends, many shops were open at night. Different kinds of delicious traditional refreshments were again being served in shops and restaurants.

A comrade in the agricultural department of the provincial revolutionary committee stated: The province's grain yields in 1977 reached an all-time high, 2.65 million tons over the 1976 figure. A good crop has

been harvested this summer. Meanwhile, animal husbandry has also registered a big advance. The number of pigs raised and that of pigs and eggs purchased all reached the past records. Chickens, ducks, geese and rabbits also increased in large numbers.

2,000-Year-Old Irrigation Project

It would be a pity if one visited Szechuan without seeing the Tuchiangyen irrigation works in Kuanhsien County. This system built in the middle reaches of the Minchiang River consists of three main projects - the water dividing dyke, the spillway and the water conduction outlet. In spring every year, large amounts of water from the melting snow on the Minshan Mountain flow into the Minchiang. The dyke divides the river into inner and outer strands. The outer is the main stream which empties into the Yangtze River. The water of the inner river flows into several trunk canals to form a fan-shaped network irrigating a vast cultivated area. If there is too much water, the inner river-water will flow into the outer river through the spillway.

According to historical records, the Tuchiangyen irrigation system was built by the local peasants and craftsmen about 250 B.C. The work was organized by Li Ping, the local prefectural head. Since then, it has played an important role in developing agriculture on the western Szechuan plain. Li Ping and his son Li Erh-lang have been remembered by the people. In feudal times the temple built in their honour on a mountain top near the Tuchiang-

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Hsintu County commune members harvesting wheat.

yen irrigation system was frequented by people who worshipped them as gods.

Before liberation, particularly during the reactionary Kuomintang rule, the system fell into disrepair, so that the land irrigated by the system decreased from 200,000 hectares to 140,000 hectares. After liberation, the government organized the peasants to dig new canals, transform the canal system and build reservoirs. Thus the irrigated area was expanded from the original 14 to 29 counties, and from the plains to hilly land, bringing the expanse under irrigation to 530,000 hectares.

From my visit to the Tuchiangyen project I saw the wisdom and diligence of our ancestors. I also saw how much greater an advance was made by the Szechuan people during the 29 years after liberation than in over 2,000 years of the old society. Standing before the surging Minchiang, this idea came to my mind: Now that the "gang of four," that monstrous obstacle to China's development in recent years, has been overthrown, Szechuan, like the rest of China, will certainly quicken its pace of advance and our ancient civilized country will not lag behind for long.

Seeking Truth From Facts

When the "gang of four" ran wild, there were people who had formed the habit of talking in empty and bombastic terms, refusing to proceed from reality and disrespecting the opinions of the masses. For example, a few years ago the arbitrary expansion of the acreage of double-cropping paddy was advocated in



People's Canal intake, Tuchiangyen project.

disregard of concrete conditions. There was even the assertion that whether or not one grew double-cropping paddy was a "matter of political line."

It is of course correct to encourage people in areas where conditions permit to grow doublecropping paddy as a good measure to increase grain yields. But it is not feasible in some western Szechuan places where the output of double-cropping paddy is low because there is often a long spell of autumn rain and severe shortages of manpower and fertilizer in the late rice transplanting season. This usually causes a drop in the output of late rice. According to present conditions, the growing of a single crop of mid-season rice (then growing another grain crop or rape) would yield better results.

The Szechuan provincial Party committee now attaches great importance to seeking truth from facts, stresses investigation into the real situation and listens to the voice of the people. This represents the will of the people and therefore has their support. First secretary of the provincial Party committee Chao Tzu-yang (who accompanied Chairman Hua on his visit to Romania, Yugoslavia and Iran) went personally to Wenchiang County to make an on-the-spot investigation in the paddyfields. He concluded: In the light of the present conditions in Szechuan, we must emphasize growing mid-season rice and actively create conditions for the popularization of double-cropping rice.

Peasants in the whole province were greatly elated at the news, saying that the secretary's call reflected exactly what was in their minds. The cadres and commune members pooled their efforts to reap a rich mid-season rice harvest. There was a big increase in the province's grain output last year and a rich harvest is within sight this year. The Szechuan people say: Seeking truth from facts is the way to wrest more grain from the land.

A Bright Future

From my tour of eight counties and four cities of Szechuan, I came to know the general views of the

local people. Social order is stable, the authority of leading organs at all levels has been restored, people's livelihood has been improved, and the people are working in earnest. People hate the pseudo-revolutionary slogans raised and the havoc wrought by the "gang of four's" followers, the mere mention of which today still arouses their anger.

Agriculture is the foundation of the national economy. In the rural areas, people are devoting great efforts to reinforcing this foundation. They are working hard and in a scientific way. As long as they go on doing so, they will certainly be able to do many splendid things.

In the countryside, for instance, I often came across a new-type of interesting-looking ricefield planted in orderly plots with five rows of short-stalk rice sandwiched in between two rows of long-stalk rice. Upon inquiry I learnt that that was a field for breeding hybrid strains. The long-stalk rice was the paternal plant and the short one, the maternal. The second generation of improved, hybrid strains can give much bigger yields.

In Wenchiang County, I visited vast tracts of paddyfields of hybrid strains which grow rice plants with strong stalks, large ears and many grains. Given the same conditions of water and fertilizer, such strains can yield 800-1,500 kg. heavier per hectare than ordinary strains. This year a total of 330,000 hectares have been planted to such strains throughout the province and the acreage is expected to increase 4- or 5-fold next year. This is a new method of increasing output.



Supporting Kampuchea's Struggle Against Vietnamese Aggression

Our No. 40 issue carried a number of statements and articles by Marxist-Leninist Parties and organizations condemning Vietnamese aggression against Kampuchea and supporting the Kampuchean people's just struggle. Here are more such statements and articles. - Ed.

• Jacques Jurquet, General Secretary of the Marxist-Leninist Communist Party of France, at a meeting in Paris on October 28, called for support of the just struggle of Democratic Kampuchea against Vietnamese aggression. He said: "We must reveal the truth about Democratic Kampuchea so that we can oppose in the best possible way the ideological propaganda which seeks to justify and legalize the Vietnamese-Soviet aggression against the Kampuchean people today and tomorrow."

When the General Secretary visited Phnom Penh last September as the head of the delegation of the Marxist-Leninist Communist Party of France, he declared that the delegation resolutely supported the Kampuchean people in their struggle against Vietnamese, imperialist and hegemonist subversion and aggression. He expressed the conviction that the Kámpuchean people will certainly defeat the aggressors.

• Unidade Popular, organ of the Communist Party of Portugal (Marxist-Leninist), stated in a recent article: "The Vietnamese expansionists are preparing for a large-scale aggressive military attack against Kampuchea. They also are concentrating armed forces along the Sino-Vietnamese borders and making provocations against China."

The article said: "Viet Nam is now much more feverishly committing aggression against its neighbours such as the People's Republic of China and Democratic Kampuchea in an attempt to improve its deteriorating internal situation. This is also the result of its tailing after the Russian social-imperialist policy of war. Viet Nam has now further degenerated into an instrument of Russian social-imperialism for expansion in Southeast Asia."

It also pointed out that by following the Kremlin, Viet Nam will reap the fruit of its own sowing. The Vietnamese economy, which is beset with difficulties, now has to rely on social-imperialist "fraternal aid." The country is gradually becoming a new colony of Russia.

• The Alarm Bell, organ of the Marxist-Leninist League of Struggle of Sweden, said in an editorial in its 20th issue that the facts clearly show "Viet Nam is attempting to invade Kampuchea on a large scale." It pointed out that the Vietnamese Government, formerly in its formal statement, recognized and respected Kampuchea's territorial integrity within the present boundaries. But now the Vietnamese

Szechuan Province is crossed by rivers which provide rich water resources but sometimes also, when in flood, bring danger to the life and property of the people. People are building water conservancy projects on a large scale. I visited the works to harness the Chingyi and Minchiang Rivers in Loshan city and Meishan County. The pebble-and-cement dykes dozens of kilometres long is wide enough for vehicles, and floodwaters have been kept under control. This is really something for the

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Szechuan countryside where the level of mechanization is still rather low.

In addition, I saw with my own eyes the use of sprinklers in some areas and the popularization of biogas in a large number of villages.

With an environment of stability and unity, the 80 million hard-working and intelligent Szechuan people can now devote themselves to developing their richly endowed province. Government has changed its stand, and this "could only further disintegrate the faith in the present Vietnamese Government."

• Clarter et L'exploite, organ of the Central Committee of the Marxist-Leninist Communist Party of Belgium, carried an article in its recent issue, saying: "Vietnamese leaders have repeatedly tried to stage a coup d'etat in Kampuchea." Vietnamese troops were launching an offensive against Kampuchea, with many more being in combat readiness. A large quantity of Soviet weapons has arrived in Hanoi and Soviet "technicians" are commanding Vietnamese troops.

The article pointed out: "The conductor of the Vietnamese aggression is Soviet socialimperialism, the most dangerous enemy of the European people." It further noted that the Soviet Union had deployed unprecedentedly large forces of aggression in Europe and become the main source of war in the world.

• A joint statement of the Communist League of Austria and the Worker-Peasant Party of Turkey published in the September 11 issue of Klassenkampf, organ of the Communist League of Austria, said that Kampuchea was being attacked by Vietnamese leaders at the instigation of the social-imperialists. The two Parties declared their support for the Kampuchean people's heroic struggle to defend their revolution and country, and regarded the fight to support Democratic Kampuchea as a glorious, internationalist duty of the proletariat.

• Benito Scocozza, Chairman of the Communist Workers' Party of Denmark, and Peter Bischoff, leader of a Party delegation to Kampuchea, wrote in a letter on August 16 to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kampuchea: "The expansionist power of the Soviet Union is standing behind Viet Nam. Viet Nam and the Soviet Union have common interests on the question of an 'Indochina federation' and their infiltration into Southeast Asia. Especially for the Soviet Union, this is part of its high stake in its contention for global hegemony. It takes Cuba and Viet Nam as its tools in Africa and Southeast Asia respectively."

"Your struggle for safeguarding independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity and the principles of non-alignment constitutes part of the third world people's struggle. It is of great significance not only for the Kampuchean people but also for the Southeast Asian people as a whole, the working class and the oppressed people in the world."

• Chairman Paal Steigan of the Norwegian Workers' Communist Party (M-L) said in Phnom Penh on September 23: "The Norwegian Communists fully support the Kampuchean people and the Kampuchean Communist Party. The Kampuchean Communist Party is a glorious Party and the Kampuchean people are an heroic people." He added: "At present, the Kampuchean workers and peasants are waging a new struggle. Kampuchea is attacked by the Vietnamese authorities. The big power, the Soviet Union, is behind them. The anti-imperialist people and the freedom-loving people the world over should support the Kampuchean people in their struggle to defend their fatherland. You have not only safeguarded the independence of Democratic Kampuchea, but also defended the interests of the peoples of other countries in this area who are being threatened by the expansionist policies of the Vietnamese authorities, as well as the people of the world facing the threat of Soviet hegemonism."

• Class Struggle, political paper of the Revolutionary Communist League of Britain carried an article in its recent issue, pointing out that the Soviet social-imperialists' attempt to dominate Kampuchea through an "Indochina federation" headed by the Vietnamese authorities was apparent not only in the armed aggression on Kampuchea's borders, but also in the attempted coups to overthrow the socialist government in Kampuchea. The article said that the idea of an "Indochina federation" was strongly promoted by the Soviet Union because "the Soviet Union sees such a federation as a way of dominating the whole of Southeast Asia and encircling China."

"The Soviet social-imperialists have always opposed the Kampuchean revolution. They supported Lon Nol, the military dictator installed by the United States during the liberation war." The article concluded that since Kampuchea's victory over the U.S. imperialists, the Soviet Union had turned its attention to using the Vietnamese authorities to attack Kampuchea.

Latin American Tour

In the Indian People's Homeland

S EVERAL months ago, we toured Guyana, Venezuela, Peru and Mexico. We paid special visits to local Indians. We were deeply impressed by their old civilization, as well as their history and indomitable spirit of struggle.

Ancient Civilization

The Indian culture is one of the ancient civilizations of mankind. More than 20 kinds of agricultural and industrial crops which people in all parts of the world are familiar with today, including corn, potatoes, peanuts, cocoa, tomatoes, pumpkin, sweet potatoes, chili, tobacco, sisal and vanilla, were first cultivated by the Indians. The corn fossil and pila on display at the Mexican Museum show that as early as 3,500 B.C. the Indians cultivated corn as food. Historians see cultivation of corn as the foundation of Indian culture.

During our stay in Peru and Mexico, we visited a number of ancient Indian cultural remains. We found the scale of their ancient architecture more grandiose than we had anticipated. The unearthed ancient pottery sculptures, jade carvings, gold vessels and textiles at the Peruvian Museum indicate quite a high level of art. We visited the big ancient city of Machu Picchu in the Andes Mountains in the southeastern part of Peru. This is a historical site of the Incan Empire, with neatly arranged and impressive palaces, squares, temples, fortresses, workshops, terraced fields and tombs. We also visited the ancient city of Cuzco about 3,400 metres above sea level. The strong, massive city wall was built of huge black stones. each one weighing scores of tons, some over 100 tons.

Besides the cultures of the Incas, Mayas and Aztecs which we are relatively familiar

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with, there are other time-honoured and splendid Indian cultures. On the northwest coast of Peru, we visited Chan-Chan (meaning "the sun-the sun"), the ancient capital city of the Chimu people. It was built of adobes. The attractive clay sculptures which adorn the walls of the palaces provide vivid pictures of the marine life and the fishermen's activities at the time. In the suburbs of Mexico City, we toured the ancient town of Teotihuacan, with its Pyramid of the Sun and Pyramid of the Moon. It was built by the Toltec people centuries earlier than the centres of Aztec culture.

On the Lowest Rung of Social Ladder

As creators of a splendid culture in America, the Indians had undoubtedly been masters of the continent. But after the discovery of America by Columbus in 1492, European colonialists poured into the land in "gold rush." With sword and cross, they deprived the Indians not only of their right to rule the continent, but of their right to live. This genocidal policy led to the extinction of an estimated 14 to 40 million Indians. At the same time, their culture and art were devastated. Since then, the Indians have been held down to the lowest level of American society.

During our visit to the four countries, we took every opportunity to get first-hand knowledge of how Indians live. When we arrived in the remote, thickly wooded mountains from a modern city, we found them living under the conditions of a past era. What we saw at the coastal Peruvian city of Trujillo presented a striking contrast: Ships of over 10,000 tons were out at sea while small reed boats were still being used by the Indians for fishing.



A bronze statue of the Aztec people's hero Cuitlahuac in Mexico City

In the woods along the Caroni River in Venezuela, we called on two families of the Chibcha people. They live mainly by gathering cassava and fishing. Their houses are wall-less huts and they sleep in hammocks.

As a Mexican friend told us, while some of the Indians in Mexico live by hunting and fishing, most of them depend mainly on farming. In the remote mountainous areas where they live, the land is poor and half the people are landless. In Mexico today, there are 6 million Indians making up 10 per cent of the total population, but their income amounts to less than 1 per cent of the national income.

Admirable Spirit

For centuries, the Indians have risen in struggle wave upon wave against colonialist enslavement and for the right to live. And one hero after another came forward in the struggle. In Peru, decades after the first Indian hero Tupac Amaru gave his life in the struggle, the second hero, also named Tupac Amaru, arose; and two centuries after he was killed in cold blood in the struggle, the third hero, also of the same name, taking over the cause of his forerunners, launched an uprising that shook the whole country. After he met an untimely death in battle, his brother succeeded to the title of Tupac Amaru and continued the fight. Today, the portrait of the second Tupac Amaru hangs in the hall of the Presidential House in place of the portrait of Pizarro, the colonial conqueror. Portraits or bronze busts of the hero can be seen at fishing ports, factories, offices and in peasants' homes. The administrative programme of the Peruvian Government is called the "Tupac Amaru Plan."

The dauntless spirit of the Indian people has nurtured the Latin American people and inspired their nations in the struggle to defend their national independence and develop their national economies. Everywhere you look, you can find that this tremendous inspiration manifests itself in many different ways. Though the number of Indians in Guyana is estimated to be less than 40,000, a small percentage of the country's total population, the national emblem is characterized by the Caribbean Indian feather headdress. A Guyanese official presented us with a valuable gift — a wood carving of an Indian shooting with a bow and arrow.

In Mexico, the last stop in our four-country tour, Mr. Juan Larrios, a scholar who had studied the Indian question for 18 years, had a talk with us. He said: Though the Indians lead a poor life, they have preserved their dignity and they never fall on their knees. He added: "Their tradition of struggle is of great significance for us today. For centuries, they have made important contributions to preserving our national culture, our national traditions and our national character." A Mexican official told us: The Indians have always been the right hand of the Mexican revolution. They have played an important role in the struggle, but they have always been bullied and oppressed.

What these friends said was sincere and to the point. The cream of the Latin American people includes the Indians, but they are at the same time among those on the lowest rung of the social ladder. Not a "conquered and vanishing people" at all, the Indians today number 60 million in America. After long centuries, far from perishing, they are now taking on a new lease of life.

- by Chung Hsin

Explanatory Notes to Volume V of "Selected Works of Mao Tsetung" (24)

The three component parts of Marxism

(See p. 367, Vol V, Eng. Ed.)

These are: (1) Marxist philosophy, that is, dialectical materialism and historical materialism, which deals with the general law of development of the contradictions existing in nature, human society and man's thought; (2) Marxist political economy which elucidates the law governing the development of the society's economy and exposes how the capitalist class exploits the working class (the theory of surplus value); and (3) scientific socialism which shows that the capitalist society is bound to develop to a higher stage of society and that the proletariat is the grave-digger of the capitalist system. (For details see Lenin's The Three Sources and the Three Component Parts of Marxism.)

The Marxist theory of the unity of opposites

(See p. 382.)

This theory is the kernel of dialectics. The law of the unity of opposites is the fundamental law governing the development of the universe. The Marxist theory of the unity of opposites holds that there are contradictory, mutually exclusive, opposing tendencies or aspects in everything, that is, contradictions are inherent in everything. The interdependence of the contradictory aspects present in all things and the struggle between these aspects determine the life of all things and push their development forward. There is nothing that does not contain contradiction; without contradiction nothing would exist. Contradiction consists of two aspects --- identity and struggle. The identity of contradiction, that is, the dependence of its two aspects on each other and their transformation into each other, is relative and conditional, while the struggle of the two

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aspects of a contradiction is absolute and unconditional. The combination of conditional, relative identity and unconditional, absolute struggle constitutes the movement of opposites in all things. Because the identity of contradiction is conditional, different conditions form contradictions of different nature. Contradictions exist universally while at the same time each has its particularity. The universality of contradiction resides in the particularity of contradiction. The struggle between opposites in contradiction is absolute, but the methods of resolving contradictions, that is, the forms of struggle, vary with the differences in the nature of the contradictions. Some contradictions are antagonistic while others are not, and so it is necessary to differentiate between the particular forms of the struggle of opposites in contradiction.

The Marxist theory of the unity of opposites provides a powerful ideological weapon for the proletariat to know the world scientifically and change it in a revolutionary way. Chairman Mao wrote On Contradiction, On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People and a series of other brilliant works in which he inherited, defended and developed the Marxist theory of the unity of opposites.

"The man of Chi worried lest the sky fall"

(See p. 458.)

This is an old Chinese story about a man of the state of Chi, a principality of the Spring and Autumn Period (770-475 B.C.) located in area of the present-day Chi County of Honan Province. He worried so much that the sky would fall and he would have no place to live, that he lost his appetite and was unable to sleep. This story was later used metaphorically in referring to unnecessary, ungrounded worries or misgivings.

ROUND THE WORLD

YUGOSLAVIA-ROMANIA

To Fortify Co-operation

During a two-day visit to Belgrade beginning November 16, Nicolae Ceausescu, General Secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, held talks with President Tito on relations between the two countries and Parties, the international situation and urgent questions facing the communist and workers' movements.

The joint communique issued after the visit said: "The enduring and irreplaceable basis for developing the relations and co-operation between the two countries is that the two sides observe the principles of independence, sovereignty, equality, territorial integrity and noninterference in each other's internal affairs, unite with, help and respect each other and appreciate the characteristics of each other's own road in building socialism and of each other's international position."

The communique stressed the high degree of unanimity of views held by the two sides on the international issues discussed. The two leaders pointed out that there was a growing demand by the peoples and countries of the world for freedom and independence, for relations of equality and mutual respect, and for opposing all forms of control and pressure and interference in the internal affairs of other countries.

The two leaders condemned the tendency "to intensify outside interference and build spheres of influence, especially in Africa, the arms race and the policy of strength in all its forms."

They noted the growing contribution made by the nonaligned movement in the struggles to achieve peace and the democratization of international political and economic relations and to combat imperialism, colonialism and neocolonialism and all forms of domination. They drew attention to the major, constructive role played by the non-aligned countries in the settlement of key interna-They proposed tional issues. all-round neighdeveloping bourly co-operation in the Balkans and reiterated their determination to further promote bilateral and multilateral co-operation with all other Balkan countries.

VIET NAM

Rumour Plus Bombs

In a dispatch on November 18, *Nhan Dan*, mouthpiece of the Vietnamese authorities, carried a sensational report to the effect that China was going to send Lon Nol and his officers "back to Phnom Penh."

It is known to all that the Chinese Government and people took a resolute stand in supporting the Kampuchean people's heroic five-year struggle to defeat the traitorous Lon Nol clique. Who can believe that China would send Lon Nol and his officers "back to Phnom Penh"?

Not that there weren't people who hitched up with Lon Nol in those days. It was none other than the Soviet Union, now allied with Viet Nam. After the Lon Nol clique staged its counter-revolutionary coup on March 18, 1970, Moscow kept up a steady flirtation with it. Together they opposed the Kampuchean people's revolu_{$\overline{1}}$ tionary struggle. And the Soviet ambassador remained in Phnom Penh until the Lon Nol regime was overthrown.</sub>

Not that there weren't also people who sent Kampuchean reactionaries back on subversive missions. It is Viet Nam itself. Hoang Tung, a member of the Vietnamese Communist Party Central Committee and editor-in-chief of Nhan Dan, openly admitted not long ago that his country "supports those who oppose the present regime" (Democratic Kampuchea). Hanoi even went so far as to receive and groom Lon Nol puppet troops which had fled to Viet Nam, and use them against Kampuchea.

After the cock-and-bull story Hanoi spread not long ago about Vang Pao of Laos visiting Peking on the sly was discredited in Western press reports, Vietnamese authorities went on to churn out more ru-Why is that? The mours. answer is: Willing to be cat'spaws for Soviet hegemonism, they are striving to divert world attention from their large-scale aggression against neighbouring Kampuchea. On November 18, the same day the rumour appeared in the newspaper, everything became clear when Hanoi dispatched Mig jets to strafe and bomb Kampuchea's Chhlong and Sre Rolean area in Kratie Province, killing and wounding many women, children and old people.

U.S.S.R.-ETHIOPIA

Military Co-operation

L.I. Brezhnev and Mengistu Haile Mariam, Chairman of the Provisional Military Administrative Council of Ethiopia, signed in Moscow on November 20 a "treaty of friendship and cooperation" between the Soviet Union and Ethiopia. It stipulates that both sides "shall continue to co-operate in the military field."

Article 4 of the treaty stipulates that "the high contracting parties shall continue to make every effort to safeguard international peace and the security of peoples."

Article 6 states: "The high contracting parties shall consult each other on important international questions directly involving the interests of the two countries."

Article 7 of the treaty says: "In the event of a situation which constitutes a threat to or a breach of international peace, the high contracting parties shall endeavour to immediately contact each other with a view to co-ordinating their positions in the interests of removing the threat that has arisen or restoring peace."

Article 10 provides that "in the interests of ensuring the defence capability of the high contracting parties, they shall continue to co-operate in the military field."

In addition, Article 12 of the treaty states that "the high contracting parties declare that the provisions of the present treaty are not inconsistent with their commitments under international treaties in force and undertake not to enter into any international agreements incompatible with this treaty."

This treaty shall remain in force for 20 years. Unless either party declares, one year prior to the expiration of the said period, its desire to terminate the treaty, it shall remain in force for successive periods of five years.

This is the fifth treaty of "friendship and co-operation" signed by the Soviet Union with African countries. But Egypt and Somalia have officially abrogated their treaties of this sort.

U.S.S.R.-U.S.A.

Quarrel in Moscow

The clash between Soviet leaders and a visiting delegation of U.S. Senators in Moscow in mid-November shows clearly that in the scramble for world domination, the Soviet Union is on the offensive and the United States on the defensive.

The quarrel centred on the Soviet-U.S. SALT talks. On November 15, B.N. Ponomaryov, Chairman of the Commission for Foreign Affairs of the Soviet of Nationalities, told the Senators: "There U.S. are moves in the United States which have led to a deterioration in relations and undermined the process of easing international tension. The talks on SALT II have been slowed down, while the arms race has been stepped up. An anti-Soviet crusade under the pretext of a 'Soviet war threat' has been going on with greater momentum."

Using "sharp words" in his talk with the U.S. delegation on November 16, Kosygin was adamant against U.S. incorporation into the SALT talks of Soviet actions such as selling Mig-23 jets to Cuba. The next day saw Brezhnev come out in person. He told the Senators that "attempts to oppose a development healthy of U.S.S.R.-U.S.A. relations are connected with the increased efforts of certain circles in the U.S.A. to whip up the arms race." If the United States first let fly the missiles, "we can still destroy the United States," he stated.

In face of such pressure, the U.S. Senators declared that it would be "very difficult" for the U.S. Senate to approve a fresh SALT accord. They accused the Soviet Union of increasing their military threat over Europe, infiltrating into the Middle East and Africa inch by inch and shipping Mig-23s to Cuba. The possibility of a new SALT accord, they insisted, should be linked with these Soviet actions,

Why did the Soviet leaders, defying elementary diplomatic courtesy, exert pressure on the U.S. delegation? It shows Soviet anxiety to move on with the SALT talks which have been stalled for six years so as to profit by a new accord which would strengthen its strategic nuclear advantage. People are aware that past agreements between the two superpowers have all been to the Kremlin's advantage. Through them the Soviet Union has been gaining military supremacy and strengthening its hand in the contention for spheres of influence throughout the world. Where the latest SALT talks will lead warrants attention.

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ON THE HOME FRONT

A Released Tibetan Criminal

HAGYARI Namgyal Gyagso, Cone of the 24 released major Tibetan criminals, told a Hsinhua correspondent recently: "We lost because we inflicted unlimited miseries ົດກໍ the Tibetan people. The Communist Party won because it not only liberated the Tibetan people from the abyss of serfdom, but also gave former exploiters, people like me, a new lease of life."

He was a dzasak in the former local Tibetan government (an official of the third rank), and held the hereditary title of honour Prince of Loka that had been conferred on his ancestors by an emperor of the Yuan Dynasty (1271-1368).

Chagyari Namgyal Gyagso was arrested 19 years ago (1959) for joining in a rebellion started by a small handful of serfowners. The latter tried to split Tibet off from China, rather than give up their hereditary privileges. He put his on the so-called signature "Tibetan independence declaration" and ordered the artillery detachment under his command to open fire at the foreign affairs office in Lhasa. On being arrested he thought he would be executed and refused to answer any questions when interrogated.

However, not one of them was put to death, but all were sent to a prison on the northern outskirts of Lhasa. There they were made to do manual labour and study Party policies. During his 19 years of imprisonment, Chagyari Namgyal Gyagso was assigned work in the kitchen to cook meals for his fellow prisoners.

"Every one of us was given a monthly ration of 21 kilogrammes of food grain, 2 kilogrammes of meat and 1.5 kilogrammes of cooking oil. This was more than I could consume. We also had regular medical checkups," he said.

With a guilty conscience, he added: "When we were in power, we often threw innocent people into prison and even tortured them to death. The Communist Party. however. treated us as people who could be transformed, though we counter-revolutionaries were and national traitors. The more I studied, the more deeply guilty I felt."

Recently he toured the areas around Lhasa as well as the city itself, including the county south of the Yalu Tsangpo River, where he used to own 25 manors, vast grazing grounds and more than 3,000 serfs. It amazed him to see green winter wheat and trees growing on former barren mountain slopes, a hydropower station in a gully and tractors and other machines in use everywhere.

He also visited families of former serfs, now members of the people's communes. An old couple who worked as servants in a manor belonging to a branch of his family have been able to save 2,000 yuan and put aside two tons of grain. On seeing this, he said: "I can still remember that my serfs were so poor, in one case a cotton

quilt was used by a family for generations and lasted 95 years."

He always took with a grain of salt the reports about new changes in Tibet in the newspapers they were asked to read every evening. Now that he has seen with his own eyes what great changes have taken place since they were overthrown, he is convinced that socialism is good.

As an aristocrat and a serfowner, he had never dreamt that serfs could become leaders, and always regarded them as people too stupid to manage their own affairs. But during this tour, they were greeted by Party and state cadres most of whom were former serfs. In Chhonggyae County, he met a vice-chairman of the county revolutionary committee who used to work on his estate as a stable boy.

Chagyari Namgyal Gyagso will be given a job by the united front work department of the Tibet Autonomous Region. The emancipated serfs account for 95 per cent of the Tibet's population. He is happy that he has been turned from an enemy of them into a man who will join them in the effort to build a new Tibet.

Group Dancing

BEFORE the closing of the Tenth National Congress of the Chinese Communist Youth League last October, the delegates joined in some group dancing with young people in Peking at a soiree. The scene was transmitted on TV over a nationwide network. It was warmly welcomed by young people throughout the country.



Group dance.

Created by revolutionary literary and art workers on the basis of rich dance forms from various nationalities in China, this graceful group dancing is easy to learn and has been popular with the young people.

After the founding of New China on October 1, 1949, young people often gathered in Tien An Men Square and squares in other cities on the evening of May Day and National Day to perform group dance and sing in praise of the Party, Chairman Mao and the socialist motherland.

But during the Cultural Revolution which started in 1966, Lin Piao and the "gang of four" took advantage of a certain portion of power they usurped to exercise cultural autocracy. Under their censorship, the slightest mention of emotion between a man and woman in literature and men dancing with women were decreed evil.

In this way the people were confused and, even after the live transmission of group dancing over TV, some young

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Sketched by Ah Lao

people still wondered if this was an aspect of the bourgeois way of life.

An article in the newspaper Zhongguo Qingnian Bao said that it is natural for young people to be physically active, to make friends and to start courting at a certain age. Healthy social activities should therefore be arranged to direct their energies along the right track.

"We believe that group dancing introduced again by the Tenth National Youth League Congress will soon spread to different parts of the country," said the article.

Shanghai Trains Young Cooks

A CATERING service technical centre was set up recently in Shanghai to train cooks and restaurant service personnel.

There are many skilled cooks in this metropolis' 600-odd restaurants, who can serve up a total of 2,000 dishes representing 14 different types of cuisine including those of Peking. Kwangtung, Soochow and Yangchow. special-Sixteen grade and seven retired famous cooks have been invited to teach at the centre.

The first batch of 65 young trainees were chosen from various restaurants in the city. Some of them are to study culinary arts under the careful coaching of their teachers while others will learn how to arrange banquets and wait on tables. They also learn some English or Japanese. A number of experts have been invited to lecture on the history of Chinese cuisine, nutrition, cooking materials and catering management.

The trainees will serve the public at the centre after a period of training. Their names will be made known together with the menus so that diners can comment on each trainee's work.

Agricultural Briefs

• Central China's Honan Province, an important sesame producer, has reported a rich harvest on its 210,000 hectares this year. The total output of sesame seed was 30 per cent higher than last year's, with average per-hectare yield up 14 per cent.

• The total output of mandarin oranges in Huangyen County, east China's Chekiang Province, reached 40,000 tons, 30 per cent over last year.

• China's main tussah cocoon producer Liaoning Province in northeast China expects to get a total of 37,500 tons this year, a 20 per cent increase compared with last year.

• In the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region in north China, the seed yield of oil flax, a variety of sesame, was 500 to 600 kilogrammes per hectare against 400 to 500 in the past. The highest reached 1.5 tons.

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Radio Peking

Schedule for English language transmissions beginning October 30, 1978

	GMT	Local	Standard Time	Metre Bands	kHz
NORTH AMERICA	00:00-01:00	19:00-20:00	(E.S.T.)	19, 16	15060, 15520, 17680
(EAST COAST)	01:00-02:00	20:00-21:00	(E.S.T.)	19, 16	15060, 15520, 17680
	02:00-03:00	21:00-22:00	(E.S.T.)	24, 19, 16	12055, 15060, 17680
	12:00-13:00	07:00-08:00	(E.S.T.)	30	9820
NORTH AMERICA (WEST COAST)	03:00-04:00	19:00-20:00	(P.S.T.)	25, 24, 19	11685, 12055, 15 060, 15300
	04:00-05:00	20:00-21:00	(P.S.T.)	25, 24, 19	11685, 12055, 15060, 15300
AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND	08:30-09:30	18:30-19:30 20:30-21:30	(Aust. E.S.T.) (N.Z.S.T.)	31, 25, 19, 17	9460, 11600, 11720, 15045, 17635
	09:30-10:30	19:30-20:30 21:30-22:30	(Aust. E.S.T.) (N.Z.S.T.)	31, 25, 19, 17	9460, 11600, 11720, 15045, 17635
SOUTHEAST ASIA	12:00-13:00	19:00-20:00	(Western Indonesia, Bangkok)	32, 25, 19, 16	9290, 11650, 15270, 17805
		19:30-20:30 20:00-21:00	(Singapore) (Ho Chi Minh City, Manila)		
	13:00-14:00	18:30-19:30 20:00-21:00	(Rangoon) (Western Indonesia, Bangkok)	32, 25, 19, 16	9290, 11650, 15270, 17805
and a second sec		20:30-21:30 21:00-22:00	(Singapore) (Ho Chi Minh City, Manila)		
		19:30-20:30	(Rangoon)		
SOUTH ASIA	14:00-15:00	19:30-20:30 19:00-20:00 20:00-21:00 19:40-20:40	(Delhi, Colombo) (Rawalpindi) (Dacca) (Kathmandu)	30, 25, 19	9860, 11650, 15080
	15:00-16:00	20:30-21:30 20:00-21:00 21:00-22:00 20:40-21:40	(Delhi, Colombo) (Rawalpindi) (Dacca) (Kathmandu)	30, 25, 19	9860, 11650, 15080
	18:00-19:00	23:30-00:30	(Delhi)	247	1210
EAST AND SOUTH AFRICA	16:00-17:00	18:00-19:00 19:00-20:00	(Cape Town, Salisbury) (Dar-es-Salaam)	30, 19	9860, 15670
	17:00-18:00	19:00-20:00 20:00-21:00	(Cape Town, Salisbury) (Dar-es-Salaam)	30, 19	9860, 15670
WEST AND NORTH AFRICA	19:30-20:30	18:45-19:45 19:30-20:30 20:30-21:30 21:30-22:30	(Monrovia) (Accra, Freetown) (Lagos) (Cairo)	39, 30, 26	7620, 9880, 11302
	20:30-21:30	19:45-20:45 20:30-21:30 21:30-22:30 22:30-23:30	(Monrovia) (Accra, Freetown) (Lagos) (Cairo)	39, 30, 26	7620, 9880, 11302
EUROPE	20:30-21:30	21:30-22:30	(London, Stockholm, Paris)	47, 43, 40	6270, 6860, 7470
	21:30-22:30	22:30-23:30	(London, Stockholm, Paris)	47, 43, 40	6270, 6860, 7470
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