

PEKING REVIEW

7

February 11, 1977

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報

A Year of Advance Amid Storms

— The 2nd National Learn-From-Tachai Conference reviews progress in 1976

The "Gang of Four" and The Trotskyites

Just and Reasonable Proposal

— "Renmin Ribao" editorial supporting national salvation proposal put forth by Workers' Party of Korea and other parties and organizations

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Chairman Hua and Vice-Chairman Yeh Receive Representatives to National Conference on People's Air Defence Work and Other Meetings

HUA Kuo-feng, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, Chairman of the Military Commission of the C.P.C. Central Committee and Premier of the State Council; Yeh Chien-ying, Vice-Chairman of the C.P.C. Central Committee and Vice-Chairman of the Military Commission of the C.P.C. Central Committee; and other leading comrades of the Party Central Committee, the State Council and the Military Commission Li

Hsien-nien, Chen Hsi-lien, Chi Teng-kuei, Wang Tung-hsing, Wu Teh, Chen Yung-kuei, Wu Kuei-hsien, Hsu Hsiang-chien, Nieh Jung-chen, Wang Chen, Yu Chiu-li, Ku Mu, Sun Chien and Su Yu on February 5 received in the Great Hall of the People more than 800 representatives attending the national conference on people's air defence work, the meeting of leading cadres of the enterprises under the Third Ministry of Machine-Building, and the two meetings called by



the Science and Technology Commission for National Defence of the Chinese People's Liberation Army—one to discuss plans and the other on scientific research and production.

When Chairman Hua and the other leading comrades of the central organs entered the hall amid stormy applause, the elated representatives cheered heartily: "Salute to Chairman Hua!" "Salute to the Party Central Committee!" and "Step up preparedness against war and strengthen national defence!" Chairman Hua together with the other leading comrades greeted the representatives with prolonged applause and had group photographs taken with them.

The representatives said: It is a tremendous inspiration to us that Chairman Hua, Vice-Chairman Yeh and other leading comrades took time out to receive us. This will also be a powerful impetus to the work of preparedness against war throughout the country. Chairman Mao taught us to **"be prepared against war, be prepared against natural disasters, and do everything for the people."** We are determined to rally closely round the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua, wage a people's war to expose and criticize the Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao anti-Party "gang of four," push forward the people's air defence work, the national defence industry, including production and scientific research, and other work in strengthening national defence, so as to be ready at all times to

wipe out any enemy that dares to invade us and to liberate Taiwan.

Representatives to the national conference on people's air defence work said: Our great leader and teacher Chairman Mao and our respected and beloved Premier Chou En-lai paid great attention to the people's air defence work. Now that the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua has smashed the "gang of four" and swept away the obstacles, we will be able to better implement Chairman Mao's great strategic principle: **"Dig tunnels deep, store grain everywhere, and never seek hegemony."** We are determined to do a still better job in the people's air defence work and make preparations against wars of aggression.

Resolutely responding to the call of the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua, the leading cadres, engineering personnel, workers and commanders and fighters of the People's Liberation Army engaged in the national defence industry and research work pledged to bring about an upsurge in the movement to learn from Taching in industry, exert themselves to build Taching-type enterprises, adhere to the principle of independence and self-reliance, grasp revolution and promote production, so as to make up for the losses caused by the "gang of four's" interference and sabotage, push forward the national defence industry and research work and modernize national defence and science and technology.

Vice-Chairman Yeh Meets Madame Han Suyin

Yeh Chien-ying, Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, met and had a cordial conversation on February 5 with the British writer Madame Han Suyin.

After the meeting, Vice-Chairman Yeh gave a dinner in her honour.

Teng Ying-chao, Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, had met her earlier on her visit.

Madame Han came to China last December for a friendly visit.

Promoting Light Industrial Production

The national light industry meeting on learning from Taching closed on January 27. It was attended by more than 400 representatives of cadres and workers in light industry from various provinces, municipalities, prefectures and coun-

ties as well as representatives of advanced enterprises.

Minister and Vice-Minister of Light Industry made reports at the meeting. Vice-Premiers of the State Council Li Hsien-nien, Wu Kuei-hsien, Wang Chen, Yu Chiu-li, Ku Mu and Sun Chien received all the representatives and Vice-Premiers Li Hsien-nien and Yu Chiu-li addressed the meeting.

At this 17-day meeting, the representatives earnestly studied Chairman Mao's brilliant work *On the Ten Major Relationships* and Chairman Hua Kuo-feng's important speech at the Second National Conference on Learning From Tachai in Agriculture. With a better understanding of what Chairman Mao pointed out in his work that we should **"adjust properly the ratio between investment in heavy industry on the one hand and in agriculture and light industry on the other in order to bring about a greater development of the latter,"** they realized that light industry is of great importance to the national economy, for its development will ensure a flourishing market and stable prices in the interests of the people, help increase state revenue and further consolidate the foundation for the development of heavy industry. Through discussions, the representatives deepened their understanding of Chairman Hua's call for efforts "first to run agriculture well and also to run light industry well and organize the market well." Regarding this as a glorious task set for

light industry, they were determined to exert themselves in 1977 to make a success of light industrial production.

Speaking at the meeting, many representatives exposed and criticized the crimes of the Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao "gang of four" in practising revisionism, creating splits and engaging in intrigues and conspiracies in a vain attempt to usurp supreme Party and state leadership. The gang also did great harm to light industry. It meddled in some of the key enterprises, split the ranks of the working class, instigated bad elements to coerce and beat up people and engage in smashing and looting and force workers to stop production. The Kiangsi Cotton Textile Printing and Dyeing Plant, an enterprise with more than 8,000 staff members and workers, is one example. Before the "gang of four" butted in, the situation in both revolution and production there was excellent. But, in 1974, an accomplice of the gang incited work stoppages in the plant, causing a heavy drop in production. In the past three years, production losses were equivalent to the funds needed to build two plants of the same size.

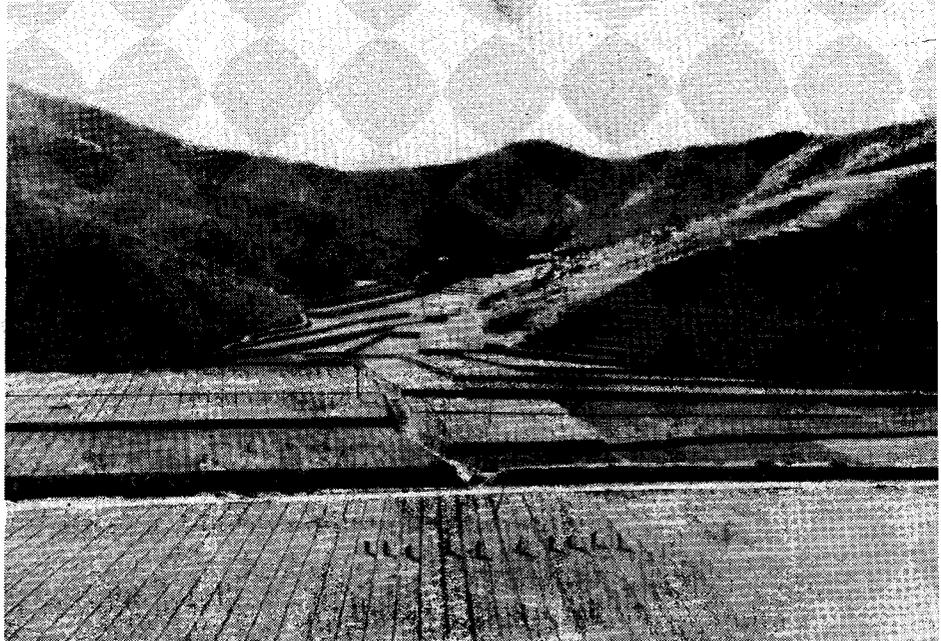
The representatives also exchanged experiences in learning from Taching. The experience passed on by representatives of a number of advanced units shows that each of these units generally has a firm and revolutionized leading body capable of mobilizing the mass-

es to carry out the general line of **"going all out, aiming high and achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results in building socialism"** put forward by Chairman Mao. They have displayed the spirit of self-reliance and hard struggle and done a good job in production.

Adhering to the principles of self-reliance and simultaneously building large, medium and small enterprises, Hopei Province's Tsunhua County has brought into full play the initiative of the local authorities in making big efforts to develop light industry. The county's industrial products have multiplied from 300 to over 1,500 kinds. More than half of the over 200 varieties of consumer goods on sale are produced locally. A medium-sized city with a population of 400,000, Kiangsu Province's Changchow has accumulated funds for rapidly developing its industry by speeding up the growth of light industry. The city has now become a socialist industrial one known all over the country.

Before the conclusion of the meeting, the representatives discussed the 1977 production and construction plans for light industry and worked out ways of fulfilling or overfulfilling them. Full of confidence, they pledged that after the meeting they would further mobilize the masses, bring about an upsurge in learning from Taching, grasp revolution and promote production and do their utmost to quicken the pace in developing light industry.

for example, were set up in all the people's communes in Hunan Province and over 96 per cent of their production brigades, and their proceeds accounted for 25 per cent of the communes' total income (referring to the total income of the communes themselves and their production brigades and teams as well). In the past two years, there was a huge increase in funds and materials for buying and making farm machinery, building water conservancy projects and aiding poor brigades.



Tachai-type fields in Yentai Prefecture, Shantung Province.

Many less advanced counties made big efforts in 1976 to catch up with Hsiyang (a county in Shansi Province where the Tachai Production Brigade is located and which is the first Tachai-type county in China) and thus speedily narrowed the gap between themselves and the advanced counties. A typical example in this respect was Tungwei County in northwest China's Kansu Province, which became more than self-sufficient in grain. Before, it had, for 18 years running, been receiving supplies from the state.

Meanwhile, advanced areas set themselves higher standards. Many have chalked up successes comparable to the Soochow Prefecture in east China's Kiangsu Province, which in one year turned 37,000 hectares into fields giving a stable and high per-hectare yield of 15 tons of grain and increased the output of all three food crops as compared with the year before.

Province-wide emulation campaigns were in full swing in Shantung, Anhwei and Kiangsu where output from large tracts of land soared. Take Shantung Province for instance. The number of advanced counties in learning from Tachai rose from 24 to 41, or one-third of the province's total. Last year's autumn harvest was marked by high grain and cotton yields in vast areas on both banks of the Yellow River. The province gathered 15 per cent more grain in 1976 than in the peak year 1975 and provided the state with half a million tons of marketable grain.

Three Major Tasks

These were hard-won achievements gained after a fierce struggle against the "gang of four."

In the past year or so, our Party waged a serious struggle against the gang over the issue of whether to persist in learning from Tachai in agriculture or oppose it. Out of the need to usurp Party and state power and restore capitalism, the gang launched an all-out attack on Comrade Hua Kuo-feng's 1975 summing-up report. They were against going all out to criticize revisionism and capitalism and build socialism, and tried to pull down the red banner of Tachai. They butted in everywhere, labelled revolutionary leading cadres "capitalist-roaders" at will and incited struggles against them at all levels. They instigated people to force the withdrawal of work teams sent to the countryside so as to undermine the Party consolidation movement and education in the Party's basic line in the rural areas. They also incited people to meddle in the work of agriculture and other branches of the national economy so as to plunge the country into chaos and pave the way for them to fish in troubled waters and seize power. But Chairman Mao's great call **In agriculture, learn from Tachai** has taken deep root in the hearts of the people. And Comrade Hua Kuo-feng's report, which followed Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and clearly pointed out the orientation, played a significant role in guiding and inspiring the



Young tractor drivers in Nanhshien County, Hunan Province.

people. Advancing in the face of the evil wind fanned up by the "gang of four" and sweeping away its interference, the cadres and masses in the rural areas have pushed forward the learn-from-Tachai movement in the midst of acute class struggle.

Acting upon what Comrade Hua Kuo-feng had said in his report, many local Party committees in the past year did the following three things of great importance in the countryside.

First, they deepened the education in the Party's basic line. To help Party organizations at the grass-roots level carry out this education, work teams composed of 1.6 million cadres from Party and government organs all over the country were sent out to help organize rural cadres and commune members to study Chairman Mao's theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat so that they would better understand and consciously implement the Party's basic line (see p. 11 in issue No. 2 this year) and various policies. While employing the methods of persuasion and education and criticism and self-criticism to imbue the peasants with socialist ideas and criticize capitalist tendencies, these teams made it a point to criticize and eliminate capitalist tendencies in the collective economy, such as leaving farm work behind to engage in trade, feathering one's own nest at the expense of the public interests, breaking up the collective to farm on one's own, planting whatever crops one pleases in disregard of state plans and dividing up all income and farm prod-

uce without putting aside anything for reserves. The masses were mobilized to expose and criticize a handful of class enemies engaged in disruptive activities. In some localities, they seized back that portion of leadership usurped by the enemy. In this way, class struggle was grasped as the key link and the peasants' initiative was brought into play. The upshot was concerted efforts were made to develop socialist agriculture.

Facts have proved the Tachai people to be absolutely correct when they declared: "Without blocking the road to capitalism, we cannot make great strides in building socialism."

Second, they consolidated Party organizations and rectified the style of work. "The key to building Tachai-type counties lies in the county Party committees." In accordance with this directive issued by Comrade Hua Kuo-feng in his report, the county Party committees set about consolidating Party organizations and rectifying the style of work. **The rectification movement is "a widespread movement of Marxist education."** Rectification means the whole Party studying Marxism through criticism and self-criticism. (Mao Tsetung: *Speech at the Chinese Communist Party's National Conference on Propaganda Work*, March 12, 1957.)

In the course of rectification, the county Party committees invited representatives of cadres at the grass-roots level and commune members to attend their meetings to make criticisms and suggestions so as to improve their work. Together they criticized revisionism and capitalism and their bad influences as well as sluggards' and cowards' ideas characterized by inertia. They also criticized manifestations of arrogance, self-complacency and conservatism. This enabled the county Party committees to strengthen their determination to go all out in building socialism and learn from Tachai and catch up with Hsiyang. While rectifying their own style of work, the county Party committees helped the Party organizations of the communes, production brigades and teams do the same. The result was that many of them truly became vanguard organizations like the Party branch of the Tachai Production Brigade in leading the masses to oppose capitalism and uphold socialism.

Though natural conditions there are fairly good, Chiangyin County in Kiangsu Province

south of the Yangtze River had made little progress in previous years. When the rectification movement got under way, the poor and lower-middle peasants voiced their criticism, saying: "We haven't learnt from Tachai well because our county Party committee has failed to lead the way. If we are to bring changes to Chiang-yin, the Party committee members must first change their ideas and style of work." Accepting this criticism, the Party committee began to look where the snag was. They found that one important reason for slow-footed farm production lay in the quite serious spontaneous capitalist tendencies. Instead of taking part in collective production, many able-bodied peasants went elsewhere to make money, while the Party committee turned a blind eye to it. This was tantamount to giving capitalism the green light. To solve this problem, the Party committee made decisions and took concrete measures to stop all capitalist practices and called on the masses to supervise this. Later, it formed learn-from-Tachai work teams comprising 1,100 people with standing committee members of the Party committee at the head and sent them to less advanced communes and brigades to help with their work. Before long great changes took place and examples were set for other communes and brigades to follow. As a result, the sinister plot of the "gang of four" to oppose learning from Tachai and instigate the work teams to go back to the county seat and "rebel against the county Party committee" fell through, the capitalist tendency of going it alone was checked and an upsurge in learning from Tachai started. Last year, the county made outstanding achievements in building capital construction projects, raising farm output and developing commune- and brigade-run enterprises. Thus the slogan of "building Chiang-yin into a Tachai-type county in one year" was turned into a reality.

Third, they went in energetically for socialist agriculture. Chairman Mao pointed out: "Socialist revolution aims at liberating the pro-

ductive forces." (*Speech at the Supreme State Conference, January 25, 1956.*) He also issued the call: "We must do our best to mobilize all positive factors, both inside and outside the Party, both at home and abroad, both direct and indirect, and build China into a powerful socialist country." (*On the Ten Major Relationships, April 25, 1956.*)

Comrade Hua Kuo-feng pointed out in his 1975 report that it is necessary "to guide the cadres' and masses' socialist enthusiasm engendered in the course of vigorously criticizing capitalism on to the great drive to develop socialist agriculture." In the 1975-76 winter-spring period, the various localities brought about an upsurge in farmland capital construction involving building water conservancy projects, terracing hillsides, improving the soil and other basic measures for expanding the cultivated area and increasing per-hectare yields. During slack farming seasons, some 60 or 70 per cent of the labour force in the rural areas were allocated to this work. Many counties and communes had their own full-time capital construction contingents. Statistics for 18 provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions show that these and other full-time contingents were manned by 17 million people. A number of large projects were jointly undertaken by several brigades, communes or counties under the unified leadership of the local Party committees



Leading members of the Party committee of Tung-wei County and commune and brigade cadres mapping out a plan for farmland capital construction.

concerned and according to an overall plan for transforming mountains, harnessing rivers, building fields, planting trees and building roads.

The project known as the "battle to the west of Tsouhsien County" was a case in point. Built in the Paima River basin in southwestern Shantung Province, it now benefits 90,000 hectares of cultivated land belonging to six counties which, working on their own in the past, could not prevent floodwaters from inundating large tracts of farmland whenever the river overflowed. After the First National Conference on Learning From Tachai in Agriculture, the six counties plunged into the "battle" in close coordination by mobilizing 200,000 able-bodied peasants to take part. They cut a new waterway and dredged the tributaries in less than three months. Last summer when there was a heavy downpour of 300 mm., there were no

floods. The area's grain output last year was 35 per cent higher than that of the year before.

Looking back on the efforts they have made in the past year, the representatives to the Second National Conference on Learning From Tachai in Agriculture unanimously pointed out: The summing-up report by Comrade Hua Kuo-feng at the first learn-from-Tachai conference is permeated with Mao Tsetung Thought and is an important Marxist document. Practice by the people is the only criterion for testing the truth. What our 700 million peasants have done in the past year demonstrates that achievements have been made in areas where things were done in line with this report and where interference and sabotage by the "gang of four" were resisted and brushed aside. Now that the gang has been smashed, we are filled with greater confidence in speeding up the development of our socialist agriculture.

The "Gang of Four" and The Trotskyites

by Chung Lien

AS proved time and again in the history of the international communist movement, every time the revolution came to a head, the bourgeois representatives lurking in the Communist Party surfaced without fail and tried to usurp Party and state power, sabotage the cause of the proletarian revolution and uphold or restore capitalism. For this purpose, they inevitably practised revisionism, created splits and carried out intrigues and conspiracies. This has become a law of history, and has been scientifically epitomized by our great leader Chairman Mao in his three basic principles: **"Practise Marxism, and not revisionism; unite, and don't split; be open and aboveboard, and don't intrigue and conspire."**

Our struggle against the "gang of four" bears a striking resemblance to the struggle by

the Bolshevik Party against the Trotskyites more than half a century ago.

Both Practised Revisionism

Revising Marxism — this is a characteristic of all opportunists.

Trotsky who slandered Leninism as "old" and "useless" raved that "the entire edifice of Leninism at the present time is built on lies and falsification." Adding insult to calumny, he tried to replace Leninism with an ism of his own. Chang Chun-chiao vilified that after reading Chairman Mao's work *Analysis of the Classes in Chinese Society*, he was "still not clear about the classes in Chinese society." He flagrantly declared that Mao Tsetung Thought was "outdated," and his cohorts spoke of so-

called "Chang Chun-chiao thought" and shamelessly described it as "the fourth milestone in the history of the development of Marxism."

With the "theory of permanent revolution" as its basic tenet, Trotskyism opposed Lenin's theory that socialism could be victorious in one country alone, maintaining that victory could be won only simultaneously in the major European countries. While trying to make people believe they were striving for immediate victory in the world revolution, the Trotskyites were in effect undermining the cause of the proletarian revolution in general and the Russian socialist revolution in particular.

As though they had a strong desire to hasten the advent of communism, the "gang of four" waxed eloquent about eliminating bourgeois right, exercising "all-round dictatorship" over the bourgeoisie and sweeping away what they called the "fortified villages" of the bourgeoisie. But what they actually did far exceeded the limits of bourgeois right; in fact, they arrogated to themselves not only the prerogatives of the bourgeoisie, but those pertaining to feudal lords and slave-owners. They were hellbent on toppling the dictatorship of the proletariat, restoring capitalism, founding a new feudal dynasty with Chiang Ching as the empress and putting China under a fascist dictatorship.

On the eve of Lenin's death and immediately afterwards, Trotskyite anti-Party activities were most rampant. This was a time when the Soviet Union was in a period of economic rehabilitation; though not everything was well and good, there had been marked achievements in industry and agriculture and life for the workers and peasants had improved. But the Trotskyites, in an anti-Party declaration, asserted that a grave economic crisis was in store for the country and predicted the fall of Soviet power. They made no suggestions whatsoever as to how to boost industrial and agricultural production and improve the life of the working people, since they had no interest in all this. What they did propose was higher prices for industrial goods and heavier taxes on the peasants, all aimed at undermining worker-peasant relations. Trotsky even spread the nonsense that a good harvest might "become a factor which . . . would disorganize the economy by worsening mutual relations between town and country." At that

time, their sole interest was to carry out factional activities and, taking advantage of the fact that Lenin was incapacitated because of illness, they went all out to undermine the foundations of the Party and usurp the leadership of its Central Committee.

The "gang of four" did things in the same way. As far as they were concerned, modernizing China's agriculture, industry, national defence and science and technology, promoting industrial and agricultural production, and raising the people's living standard had no significance at all. In an effort to sabotage the revolution and production, they searched high and low for people who grasped revolution and promoted production, jumping on them and charging them with having followed the "theory of productive forces." They publicized the idea that "a low socialist rate [of growth] is preferable to a high capitalist one," absurdly suggesting that the socialist system was incompatible with a high rate of economic development. They went so far as to say: "What does it matter if there is nothing to reap at harvest time?" When Chairman Mao was seriously ill and after his death, they were obsessed by the desire to "ferret out capitalist-roaders at all levels" and overthrow a large number of leading cadres in the Party, government and army at the central and local levels.

Both Created Splits

Whoever practises revisionism politically is bound to create splits organizationally.

An old-timer in forming an anti-Party bloc, Trotsky set himself against the Party Central Committee and tried to place himself over and above it. He was denounced by Lenin who pointed out: "**Trotsky behaves like a despicable careerist and factionalist**"; "**he pays lip service to the Party and behaves worse than any other of the factionalists.**" (To G.Y. Zinoviev.) The Trotskyites openly created a split in the Party and tried to undermine the Party apparatus by setting up their own central and local organs working underground. With Petrograd, then the biggest city in Russia, as the centre of their counter-revolutionary activities, they distributed inside the Party anti-Party documents signed in their own names. The "gang of four" did exactly the same thing; in fact they went one

How the Trotskyites Stepped Up Anti-Party Activities When Lenin Was Sick

— Excerpts from Section Four, Chapter Nine of *History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks) Short Course*

THERE is a great resemblance between the underhand activities of the Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao "gang of four" to usurp Party and state power and the anti-Party activities of the Trotskyites in 1923. Here are some passages from Section Four, Chapter Nine of "History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks) Short Course" (1938), which not only illustrate how the "gang of four" stepped into the shoes of the Trotskyites, who were a bunch of counter-revolutionary gangsters, but also show that they were really jackals of the same lair. — Ed.

What was now required was that everybody should join in the common effort, roll up his sleeves, and set to work with gusto. That is the way all who were loyal to the Party thought and acted. But not so the Trotskyites. They took advan-

tage of the absence of Lenin, who was incapacitated by grave illness, to launch a new attack on the Party and its leadership. They decided that this was a favourable moment to smash the Party and overthrow its leadership. They used everything they could as a weapon against the Party: the defeat of the revolution in Germany and Bulgaria in the autumn of 1923, the economic difficulties at home, and Lenin's illness. It was at this moment of difficulty for the Soviet state, when the Party's leader was stricken by sickness, that Trotsky started his attack on the Bolshevik Party. He mustered all the anti-Leninist elements in the Party and concocted an opposition platform against the Party, its leadership, and its policy. This platform was called the Declaration of the Forty-Six Oppositionists. All the

better in divisive activities. They turned a deaf ear to Chairman Mao's severe criticisms, heedless of what Chairman Mao had warned them: **"Don't form factions. Those who do so will fall."** Ganging up for selfish interests, they set up clandestine liaison centres to be used as bases for activities to seize supreme Party and state leadership. They issued orders in their own name behind the back of the Party Central Committee and formed a separate system of their own inside the Party.

The Trotskyites raised a hue and cry against the old guard who had joined Lenin in the revolution. They smeared the old guard as having become "degenerated" and "bureaucratic," saying "the main core of the Party is no good" and clamouring about the need of

"shaking up the Leninist cadres." At the same time, with a sinister motive, they laid it on thick in praising the young people by calling them the "truest barometer" reacting most sharply against bureaucracy. In this way they tried to make use of the youth who knew little about the history of the struggle waged by the Bolshevik Party against the Trotskyites, and make the old and new cadres oppose each other with the sinister aim of "replacing the Party leadership." Stalin at that time observed most cuttingly: **"What does inciting the youth against the cadres mean? It means working to disintegrate the Party."** **"What does the effort to discredit the Party cadres by talk about degeneration mean? It means trying to disrupt the Party, to break its backbone."** (*The Results of the Thirteenth Congress of the R.C.P. [B].*)

opposition groupings — the Trotskyites, Democratic-Centralists, and the remnants of the “Left Communist” and “Workers’ Opposition” groups — united to fight the Leninist Party. In their declaration they prophesied a grave economic crisis and the fall of the Soviet power, and demanded freedom of factions and groups as the only way out of the situation.

This was a fight for the restoration of factionalism which the Tenth Party Congress, on Lenin’s proposal, had prohibited.

The Trotskyites did not make a single definite proposal for the improvement of agriculture or industry, for the improvement of the circulation of commodities, or for the betterment of the condition of the working people. This did not even interest them. The only thing that interested them was to take advantage of Lenin’s absence in order to restore factions within the Party, to undermine its foundations and its Central Committee.

The platform of the forty-six was followed up by the publication of a letter by Trotsky in which he vilified the Party cadres and levelled new slanderous ac-

cusations against the Party. In this letter Trotsky harped on the old Menshevik themes which the Party had heard from him many times before.

First of all the Trotskyites attacked the Party apparatus. They knew that without a strong apparatus the Party could not live and function. The opposition tried to undermine and destroy the Party apparatus, to set the Party members against it, and the young members against the old stalwarts of the Party. In this letter Trotsky played up to the students, the young Party members who were not acquainted with the history of the Party’s fight against Trotskyism. To win the support of the students, Trotsky flatteringly referred to them as the “Party’s surest barometer,” at the same time declaring that the Leninist old guard had degenerated. Alluding to the degeneration of the leaders of the Second International, he made the foul insinuation that the old Bolshevik guard was going the same way. By this outcry about the degeneration of the Party, Trotsky tried to hide his own degeneration and his anti-Party scheming.

In order to usurp Party and state power, the “gang of four” likewise made a massive attack on the Party cadres. They made false charges and branded without exception all the veteran cadres who have adhered to Chairman Mao’s revolutionary line as “empiricists,” “bourgeois democrats,” “capitalist-roaders inside the Party” and “capitulationists.” These diatribes were again followed by hullabaloes such as: “Organizationally, radical surgery is needed.” “If we can’t overthrow them, we will force them to quit; if they refuse to quit, we’ll launch more attacks to impair their health and put them on the sick list.” “Some of them will have to face the firing squad.” At the same time, they demagogically paid such complimentary remarks to the youth as “great young men” and “heroes going against the tide.” While doing all they

could to win over the young people to their side and corrupt them, the “gang of four” also worked hard to disrupt the unity of the new and veteran cadres and undermine the principle of combining the old, the middle-aged and the young in leading bodies.

Like all splittists, both the “gang of four” and the Trotskyites concentrated their attacks on the proletarian Party leaders. **“The training of experienced and influential Party leaders,”** Lenin said, **“is a long and difficult job. And without it the dictatorship of the proletariat, and its ‘unity of will,’ remain a phrase.”** (*A Letter to the German Communists.*) The Trotskyites, however, mounted a vicious attack on Lenin and maligned his successor Stalin, trying to overthrow the Party Central Committee now headed by Stalin. The “gang of four” too stopped at

nothing to torment Chairman Mao and oppose Premier Chou and made false accusations against him. After the passing of Chairman Mao and the Premier, they directed the spearhead of their attack at Comrade Hua Kuo-feng, who had been selected by Chairman Mao to be his successor, and also at the Party Central Committee with Comrade Hua Kuo-feng at its head; at the same time, they stepped up their plot to usurp Party and state power.

Both Engaged in Intrigues

With Marxism winning one victory after another and the dictatorship of the proletariat becoming more consolidated than ever, all those practising revisionism and working to create splits will as a matter of course carry out intrigues. Both the Trotskyites and the "gang of four" were such counter-revolutionary double-dealers who spoke nice words to one's face while using dirty tricks behind one's back.

Trick One. Hypocritically saying one thing in public and doing the very opposite in private. Following the victory of the October Revolution, the Trotskyites changed their old tactics of openly attacking Lenin and lauded him as "the greatest of geniuses" while behind his back colluding with the whiteguards to murder him. The "gang of four" called themselves Chairman Mao's "pupil," his "comrade-in-arms" or his "representative." Actually, they betrayed the revolutionary cause in China pioneered by Chairman Mao and they went so far as to torment him.

Trick Two. Rumour-mongering plus mud-slinging. The Trotskyites spread the rumour that the Central Committee of the Bolshevik Party had "hidden" Lenin's testament and "acted" against it. To oppose Stalin and compromise the good name of the Party Central Committee, they even spread this rumour abroad. The "gang of four" concocted Chairman Mao's "last words" — "act according to the principles laid down," as they put it — and gave them great publicity to oppose Chairman Hua. (See "A Desperate Move Before Destruction" in issue No. 52, 1976.) They dwarfed the Trotskyites in rumour-mongering by insisting that everyone should accept the rumours they spread without questioning their authenticity, and by dismissing their own scandals that people were talking about as

"rumours" and insisting on finding where these "rumours" came from. They even called Chairman Mao's criticism of them "rumours" and gave strict orders to trace their source.

Trick Three. Telling lies to hoodwink people. The Trotskyites lied that the majority of the members on the Bolshevik Party's Central Committee had opposed the October uprising. While lauding Trotsky as "the sole leader of the October uprising," a "creative" and "outstanding" theoretician, they vilified Lenin as one "who settles important questions in the quiet of his study, by intuition." The "gang of four" called themselves "proletarian revolutionaries," "representatives of the correct line," "Marxist theoreticians" with "every single cell cultivated in Mao Tsetung Thought." They spread rumours attacking Chairman Mao, vilified Comrades Chou En-lai, Chu Teh and others who had long worked alongside the Chairman. They tampered with history as they liked so as to build up their own prestige. They not only credited the achievements of the Great Cultural Revolution to themselves, but also the victory of the Chinese revolution.

Trick Four. Double-dealing. In the face of criticisms by the Bolshevik Party, the Trotskyites made one statement after another, taking themselves to task and denouncing their own crimes of engaging in factional activities. But simultaneously with all these self-denunciations and promises to mend their ways, they redoubled their efforts to carry out new intrigues. When severely criticized by Chairman Mao, the "gang of four" declared on many occasions their determination "to act according to Chairman Mao's instructions." But actually they continued to stick together and worked still harder to usurp Party and state power. Both the Trotskyites and the "gang of four," dangerous and deceitful, were like chameleons constantly changing their protective colouring to adjust themselves to the changing situation.

Same Fate

The "gang of four" and the Trotskyites were very much alike in their counter-revolutionary careers. During the public trial by the Soviet Court in 1937, the Trotskyites were shown to be a pack of counter-revolutionaries who had a long record of colluding with the

whiteguards at home and who were in the service of foreign intelligence agencies. They worked frenziedly against Lenin, against the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks) and the Soviet state. Three of the "gang of four," Chang Chun-chiao, Chiang Ching and Yao Wen-yuan, had been connected with the Chiang Kai-shek Kuomintang reactionaries in

one way or another, while Wang Hung-wen was a typical representative of the newborn bourgeoisie. They worshipped foreign things, fawned on foreigners and had illicit foreign relations. Both the "gang of four" and the Trotskyites started from the same point, took the same counter-revolutionary road and inevitably came to the same ignominious end.

Chiang Ching: A Political Swindler

— Peeling away her disguise as "standard-bearer of the revolution in literature and art"

by Jen Wen

THE "gang of four" spared no effort in setting themselves up as absolute "authorities" in order to realize their plot to usurp Party and state power. One of their tactics in deceiving the people and taking all the credit for themselves was to eulogize Chiang Ching, saying that she was the "standard-bearer of the revolution in literature and art" who "pioneered" the revolution in Peking opera and carefully "nurtured" the eight model theatrical works which constitute an important hallmark of the revolution in literature and art.

Was she really the "standard-bearer"? In the present nationwide criticism and denunciation of the "gang of four," literary and art workers have brought to light numerous facts showing that Chiang Ching was a political swindler who seized all the fruits of this revolution for herself.

A Dirty Deal

How did Chiang Ching get the laurel of "standard-bearer"? It was bestowed on her by revisionist chieftains such as Lin Piao, Chen Po-ta, Wang Hung-wen, Chang Chun-chiao and Yao Wen-yuan who lauded her to the skies.

Chiang Ching once extolled Lin Piao as a "brilliant model" and Chen Po-ta, Wang Hung-wen, Chang Chun-chiao and Yao Wen-yuan as "representatives of the correct line." To repay

this, Lin Piao and the rest lavished praises on her, using words that gave one the creeps. Back in early 1966, Lin Piao sounded the trumpet for Chiang Ching's coming into the limelight, saying that she had a "good brain" and was "politically strong and artistically competent." Chen Po-ta even shamelessly put her on a par with Dante during the Renaissance in Europe and with China's great man-of-letters, thinker and revolutionary Lu Hsun (1881-1936). He said: "Chiang Ching is the heroic standard-bearer" in the revolution in literature and art. Chang Chun-chiao asserted: "The model revolutionary theatrical works personally nurtured by Chiang Ching have ushered in a new era for the proletarian revolution in literature and art." Yao Wen-yuan acclaimed the revolution in Peking opera "led" by Chiang Ching as "having set up a brilliant model for the revolution in literature and art." This was how Chiang Ching got the laurels of heroic "standard-bearer," "brilliant model" and so forth.

To Whom Should Credit for the Revolution In Peking Opera Go?

The revolution in Peking opera, from preparatory work to its development, was carried out under the direct leadership of the great leader and teacher Chairman Mao Tsetung. In 1962, Chairman Mao personally presided over the Tenth Plenary Session of the Party's Eighth

Central Committee at which he put forward comprehensively the Party's basic line for the entire historical period of socialism. He pointed out: **In the historical period of socialism, there are still classes, class contradictions and class struggle, there is the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road, and there is the danger of capitalist restoration.** Chairman Mao also issued the great call: **Never forget class struggle.** In 1963 and 1964, Chairman Mao gave two important instructions concerning literature and art, sharply criticizing the literary and art associations which were under Liu Shao-chi's control. Chairman Mao said: **"Unless they remould themselves in real earnest, at some future date they are bound to become groups like the Hungarian Petofi Club."** **"The social and economic base has changed, but the arts as part of the superstructure, which serve this base, still remain a serious problem. Hence we should proceed with investigation and study and attend to this matter in earnest."** Chairman Mao's instructions sounded the clarion call for the proletariat to launch a counterattack against the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes and greatly stimulated the development of the proletarian revolution in literature and art.

Guided by Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, revolutionary literary and art workers broke through the trammels of Liu Shao-chi's revisionist line. They went among the workers, peasants and soldiers and created a great number of works reflecting class struggle and singing the praises of the workers, peasants and soldiers. Some of their achievements were presented at the 1964 national festival of Peking opera on contemporary themes. The victory of the revolution in Peking opera belongs entirely to Chairman Mao.

Chairman Mao warmly supported the model revolutionary theatrical works when they had just emerged.

After seeing the modern revolutionary ballet *The Red Detachment of Women* in 1964, Chairman Mao gave the following instruction: **"The orientation is correct, the revolutionization successful and the artistic quality good."** He encouraged revolutionary literary and art workers to advance valiantly along this road regardless of all difficulties. He received them on many occasions and gave many important instructions

on the themes, the portrayal of the images and the singing in some model theatrical works. Take for instance *Shachiapang*, a Peking opera depicting how a communist-led contingent fought with both courage and resourcefulness against the Japanese aggressors and Kuomintang traitors. Chairman Mao pointed out that this opera should highlight armed struggle, showing how armed revolutionaries wiped out armed counter-revolutionaries. The ending should show frontal attacks on the enemy stronghold. Scenes about army-civilian relations and the images of the positive characters depicted through singing should be given more prominence.

It was Mao Tsetung Thought that enabled *Shachiapang* and other revolutionary theatrical works to continually improve and become the models they are today. Chiang Ching tried to make changes in *Taking Tiger Mountain by Strategy*, another revolutionary Peking opera on a contemporary theme loved by the people, but she was promptly stopped by Chairman Mao.

All the model revolutionary theatrical works were adaptations of works that had appeared before 1964. Some can be traced as far back as the 50s and even earlier. The predecessor to the ballet *The White-Haired Girl* was an opera by the same name, one of the first group of outstanding works created under the guidance of Chairman Mao's *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art* in 1942. All these works provided the basis for adaptation into model revolutionary theatrical works. Using Mao Tsetung Thought to analyse the original versions, literary and art workers adopted and developed their strong points while overcoming their weak points. They gave careful thought to the themes, the portrayal of heroes and heroines, the music, singing and decor, and did their best to achieve the unity of revolutionary political content with the highest possible perfection of artistic form. The model revolutionary theatrical works are truly the crystallization of the efforts of revolutionary literary and art workers.

Sheer Fraud

In 1964, the careerist Chiang Ching attended a meeting during the national festival of Peking opera on contemporary themes in Peking and made a trite and dull speech. But the "gang of

four," skilled in the art of distorting history, lauded her speech as an epoch-making document in the revolution in literature and art. They wanted people to believe that, prior to her speech, China's proletarian literature and art was a blank sheet of paper.

The fact was as early as 1942 Chairman Mao had comprehensively and scientifically summed up the basic experience of the proletarian literary and art movement in China and abroad and published his immortal work *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art*. The orientation set forth in the *Talks*, that literature and art should serve the workers, peasants and soldiers, drew a clear demarcation line between the literature and art of the proletariat and that of all exploiting classes. The proletarian line in literature and art affirmed in the *Talks* is the beacon lighting up the course of progress for China's literary and art revolution. The publishing of this work signified that China's proletarian literature and art had entered a great new era.

Back in 1944, Chairman Mao already pointed out the orientation of the revolution in Peking opera in his letter to the Yen-an Peking Opera Theatre. He wrote: **"History is made by the people, yet the old opera (and all the old literature and art, which are divorced from the people) presents the people as though they were dirt, and the stage is dominated by lords and ladies and their pampered sons and daughters. Now you have reversed this reversal of history and restored historical truth, and thus a new life is opening up for the old opera."**

Since the founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949, Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee issued many instructions on the revolution in literature and art. In the revolutionary struggle of the past half-century, China's literary and art workers and the masses have created a large number of excellent works. Chairman Mao's poems and Lu Hsun's writings are exemplary works of Chinese literature and art.

But all these were negated by the "gang of four."

To cover up their dirty trick, Chiang Ching and her cohorts slandered the original scripts from which the model revolutionary theatrical

works were adapted as "bad" and "poisonous," and banned their publication and performance. Politically, they persecuted the writers and labelled them counter-revolutionaries. They even forbade the word "adaptation" to be used on model theatrical works so that these works appeared to be completely original.

Old Trumpeter of Reactionary Literature and Art

For quite a long time Chiang Ching styled herself a "progressive artist in the 1930s." When we check this with history, it also is a sheer lie.

When the Japanese imperialists tried to swallow up all China in the mid-1930s, the Kuomintang government carried out a policy of compromise and concession to the Japanese invaders but went all out to "encircle and suppress" the Communist Party. China faced the real danger of being subjugated. In collaboration with the Kuomintang and Chiang Kai-shek, the chieftain of the opportunist line in the Communist Party Wang Ming pushed a Right capitulationist line. To meet the needs of this line, Chou Yang of Shanghai's literary and art circles raised the reactionary slogan of "a literature of national defence" which negated class contradictions at home and opposed the proletariat's leadership over literature and art. It was at that time that Chiang Ching went to Shanghai and joined a film studio run by the Kuomintang government. Hoping to become a bourgeois star, she performed in "national defence plays" and "national defence films" in the service of Wang Ming's Right capitulationist line. She willingly served Chiang Kai-shek's propaganda machine to oppose the Communist Party and betray the country.

In September 1936 the Kuomintang reactionaries held a "grand celebration" for Chiang Kai-shek's "fiftieth birthday" and took this opportunity to raise funds to buy some 80 planes as a "birthday gift" for him. Chiang Ching took an active part in the "Theatrical Festival for Buying Planes as Birthday Gift" sponsored by Shanghai film circles. At the opening of the festival she joined the chorus in singing the Kuomintang party song and later performed in the one-act play *Courtship*, all for the purpose of raising funds for the Kuomintang to buy

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Flourishing Proletarian Literature And Art

CHINA'S stage and screen have sprung to life since the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua smashed the "gang of four."

New Works

In Peking and elsewhere throughout the country recently, theatre, cinema, TV and radio audiences have had a grand feast served them by professional and amateur troupes as well as performers from the People's Liberation Army.

There have been many new modern dramas, musical items, songs, dances, ballads and poems extolling the magnificent deeds of our great leader Chairman Mao for the Chinese revolution and the world revolution. Others sang of the immortal contributions to the proletarian revolutionary cause by Premier Chou En-lai and Chairman Chu Teh of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, and still others praised the great victory won over the "gang of four" by the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua in carrying out Chairman Mao's behests.

The performances were extremely moving. Silent tears coursed down the cheeks of those on and off the stage for they cherish the memory of Chairman Mao, Premier Chou and Chairman Chu Teh with very deep love and respect. They love Chairman Hua, too, whom Chairman Mao selected to succeed him.

Literary and art workers have also brought forth a good many works denouncing the "gǎng of four," stripping them down to what they were through lively and biting dialogue.

There are also works dealing with grasping revolution and promoting production, depicting the excellent situation which has emerged on every front in the country since the toppling of the "gang of four." These items show the people's firm determination to bring about within this century the comprehensive modernization of China's agriculture, industry, national defence and science and technology.

Beginning in January, a number of fine new feature films, documentaries, animated and science and educational films appeared on the nation's screens. The colour documentary *Celebrating the Great Victories* recapitulates the nationwide rejoicing at the two historic victories last October: Comrade Hua Kuo-feng's appointment as Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and Chairman of the Military Commission of the C.P.C. Central Committee, and the destruction of the "gang of four." Although the colour documentary *Battle Song of Taching* was completed according to Premier Chou's instructions in 1968, it is only now being shown publicly. The nine-year delay was due to the interference and sabotage by the "gang of four." It is a factual record acclaiming China's heroic working class who in the early 60s built a modern oilfield in Taching in the face of tremendous hardships and by relying on their own persevering efforts.

In colour, two of the new feature films are *Pearl of the Sea* and *On the March*. The first is about a fishing hamlet's efforts to learn from Tachai, the national pace-setter in agriculture; the other deals with a group of educated urban

youths who have settled in a border area where conditions are rather harsh.

Liberation of "Song of a Gardener"

The fine Hunan opera *Song of a Gardener*, for many years banned by the "gang of four," has now returned to stage and screen. It was made into a film in 1973 at the suggestion of Comrade Hua Kuo-feng, who was then the leading comrade on the Hunan provincial Party committee. The story is about teachers tempered in the Great Cultural Revolution who, with the same loving care lavished by gardeners on their young plants, bring up their charges to become worthy successors to the proletarian revolutionary cause. It is another tribute to Chairman Mao's line in educational work. The "gang of four," of course, made all sorts of absurd charges against it. Simply because of this one sentence in the script: "How can one shoulder heavy revolutionary responsibilities without culture?" they maligned the opera and the film as "propagating giving top priority to intellectual development," advocating the revisionist line in education and "counterattacking the Great Cultural Revolution." The anti-Party "gang of four" ordered articles written to criticize the opera and the film. They also said they would "get the person behind the scenes" who had backed the opera and film.

It so happened that at that time Chairman Mao was on an inspection tour of Hunan and when he saw the film *Song of a Gardener*, the Chairman applauded. The "gang of four" heard this. But instead of accepting Chairman Mao's opinion, they turned their rage on responsible comrades on the Hunan provincial Party committee. This is another example showing how much the gang was against Chairman Mao and Comrade Hua Kuo-feng.

Outstanding Works Are Back

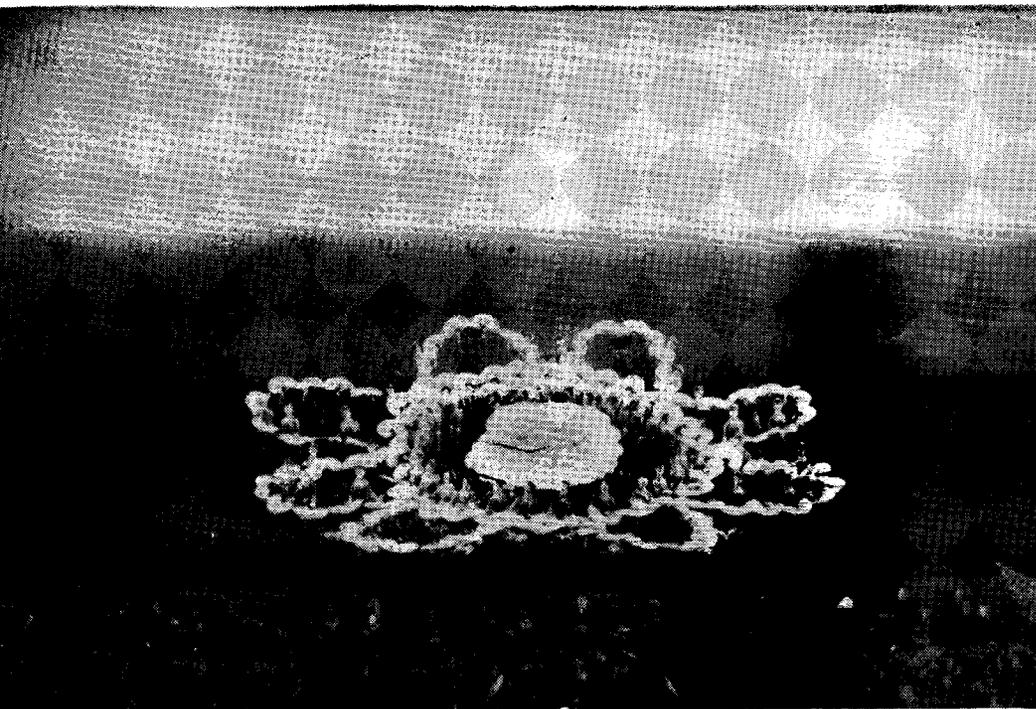
Many outstanding pre-Cultural Revolution works long banished from stage and screen by the "gang of four" are now again on the repertoire. One of them is *The East Is Red*, a colour film of the song and dance pageant of the same name which was made under the personal care and concern of Chairman Mao. The Chairman had issued important directives concerning the work after seeing it, and on October 16, 1964



Teacher and pupil in *Song of a Gardener*.

Chairman Mao met all the comrades who took part in its production. Premier Chou had personally provided leadership in its creation, performance and subsequent filming and had issued many specific directives on its theme, the plot and changes in important librettos and the narrative. This led the script-writers and cast to call Premier Chou their "chief director." The story is told through songs and dances and stirring music. In scene after spectacular scene, like a scroll painting, the history of the Chinese revolution unfolds: the founding of the Communist Party of China in 1921, the First Revolutionary Civil War (1924-27), the Second Revolutionary Civil War (1927-37), the War of Resistance Against Japan (1937-45) and the Third Revolutionary Civil War (1945-49). It is an inspiring and invigorating experience to see it on the stage and screen but, because of the "gang of four," it was removed out of public viewing for many years.

"The Suite of Songs: The Red Army Fears Not the Trials of the Long March." These stirring songs in praise of the Red Army led by Chairman Mao is magnificently sung in a sequence of imposing scenes formed by the chorus against colourful projected backdrops. The theme is the victory of the epic 25,000-li Long March after the defeat of the "Left" and Right opportunist lines of Wang Ming and Chang Kuo-



The "Sun-Facing Flower" — A scene from the song and dance pageant *The East Is Red*.

tao. Chairman Mao had high praise for these songs and Premier Chou issued important instructions during its creation, rehearsals, staging and presentation. He spoke to the cast on many occasions during rehearsals, filling them in on facts about this period of the revolutionary struggle and about the Red Army on its Long March. These songs have won the acclaim of the workers, peasants, soldiers and revolutionary cadres.

The "gang of four" denounced this suite of songs as a "poisonous weed" and alleged that it was an effort "to revive the doddering old marshals' past glories." The gang abused and condemned Comrade Hsiao Hua, the lyricist and one of the comrades who had made the triumphant Long March. The "gang of four" even sent their hatchetmen to spy and report on veteran comrades attending performances and collect material to use against them when it suited the gang. The "gang of four" who had control of the news media banned any mention of this group of songs, kept it off the air and forbade cutting any records of it.

"Red Guards of Hunghu Lake." A colour feature film based on the popular opera of the same name. It is about the courageous and resourceful fight put up during the Second Revolutionary Civil War by guerrilla Red Guards of the revolutionary base around Hunghu Lake in co-ordination with units of the regular forces against the counter-revolution. It had been

highly commended by Chairman Mao and Premier Chou. When the film was shown to the public in 1961, its enchanting theme song immediately became a great favourite of the people in the cities and the countryside. The heroine of the story who stood firm and defiant before the enemy left a lasting impression in the hearts of the people.

The "gang of four," however, had faulted the opera and the film, pronouncing it "another poisonous weed." It teamed up with Lin Piao to malign and persecute Comrade Ho Lung who had led the fighting around Hunghu Lake and the adjacent areas against the Kuomintang reactionaries.

"Sunny Valley." This Honan opera was first presented in the big leap forward year of 1958. It was the first successful stage portrayal of educated youth from the cities settling in the countryside, this being one of the many socialist new things. When Premier Chou saw it, he called it "a leap forward opera" because it successfully challenged the bevy of emperors, kings, ministers, generals, scholars and beauties then occupying the nation's stage. Premier Chou praised the opera and also suggested improvements. When it was staged in Peking on New Year's Day 1964, Chairman Mao and other Party Central Committee comrades warmly acclaimed it, and Chairman Mao next day sent someone to the troupe with specific suggestions for further improvement.

Naturally enough, Chiang Ching did not like the opera. "A portrayal of middle characters!" she screamed and banned it. The writer later made revisions in the opera according to Chairman Mao's instructions and it reappeared in revised form in the summer of 1975. But after one performance, the person installed in office by the "gang of four" to oversee literary and art work in Honan immediately charged that it was "an affront to Chiang Ching" and the writer was victimized even more cruelly.

"Storm of August 1." This Peking opera is about a detachment led by the Party which defied the erroneous line in the Party during the First Revolutionary Civil War and started an armed uprising against Chiang Kai-shek when he betrayed the revolution and unloosed a reign of white terror. The opera's background is the Nanchang Uprising of August 1, 1927, which was the first salvo fired against the Kuomintang reactionaries. This uprising concretely bore out the truth of Chairman Mao's teaching **"Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun."** It extols the part played by Chou En-lai, Chu Teh and other veteran proletarian revolutionaries in building the people's army.

After a successful run of more than 700 performances in 12 provinces and cities, it was driven off the stage during the Great Cul-

tural Revolution by the "gang of four" under the pretext that it must give way to the model theatrical works. The "gang of four" later set up their own outfit to rewrite the opera according to Chiang Ching's falsified version of this period of history. But the scheme fell through owing to the resistance put up by the original authors.

"Battle of Paotzuwan." Also proscribed by the "gang of four," this modern drama shows how the great production campaign by the troops and people of the Shensi-Kansu-Ningsia Border Region under Chairman Mao's leadership during the anti-Japanese war helped them tide over their shortages of food and clothing caused by the Kuomintang reactionaries' military encirclement and economic blockade. The drama depicts all this through the exploits of a company of the Eighth Route Army (a designation for the Red Army).

Premier Chou, Chu Teh, Yeh Chien-ying and other comrades of the Party Central Committee saw and lauded this drama, but Chiang Ching kept it off the stage for many years on the preposterous charge that its portrayal of the heroic men and women who had battled and triumphed over hardship and deprivation only showed "a swarm of beggars hopping about the stage."



A scene from *Red Guards of Hunghu Lake*.

Apart from the above, the "gang of four" had cut down many other items which extolled our fine revolutionary tradition and which the masses enjoyed and welcomed. With the downfall of the "gang of four," many of these revolutionary works are again being performed for enthusiastic audiences of workers, peasants and soldiers.

After *The East Is Red* and other works made their reappearance recently, the national daily *Renmin Ribao* published the commentary "A New Spring in Proletarian Literature and Art" which said: "Prior to the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, Chairman Mao's



Wang Kun at a recent performance.

revolutionary line in literature and art had all along fought against Liu Shao-chi's counter-revolutionary revisionist line in literature and art. Serious problems existed in this field due to the sabotage and interference of the revisionist line. The situation was clearly defined on December 12, 1963 by Chairman Mao: **'Problems abound in all forms of art such as the drama, ballads, music, the fine arts, the dance, the cinema, poetry and literature, and the people involved are numerous; in many departments very little has been achieved so far in socialist transformation. The "dead" still dominate in many departments.'** However, it must not be overlooked that Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in literature and art was winning victories and developing in its fight against the counter-revolutionary line. Guided by Chairman Mao's line of making literature and art serve the workers, peasants and soldiers, revolutionary literary and art workers have produced many good or fairly good works in the service of workers, peasants and soldiers and welcomed by them. . . . Chairman Mao in the same directive said: **'What has been achieved in the cinema, new poetry, folk songs, the fine arts and the novel should not be underestimated.'** . . . But the 'gang of four,' this cabal of bourgeois careerists, opposed

Chairman Mao's important directive and, taking the stance of negating everything and bashing every pre-Cultural Revolution work in literature and art, tried to write off Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in literature and art altogether." "Now that the 'gang of four' which once tyrannized the stage, screen and press has been demolished, Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in literature and art will certainly be better implemented and hundreds of flowers will bloom, thus marking the coming of a new many-splendoured spring of proletarian literature and art."

Spring Comes Again

The "gang of four" persecuted many literary and art workers who had carried out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in order to use literary and art works in their scheme to usurp Party and state power. With the much-hated "gang of four's" demise, the fetters shackling China's literary and art workers have fallen off.

Many artists who suffered much at the hands of the gang are again seen on stage. Few could hold back their tears and audiences applauded loud and long at each performance, evidence that they shared their joy and welcomed them back. Comrade Wang Kun was one of these artists. She had joined the revolution in Yen-an when she was 12 and was the first to play the title role in the popular opera *The White-Haired Girl*. Chairman Mao had congratulated her on her singing and acting, and Premier Chou had said Comrade Wang Kun had done much to make the opera a success. But because Comrade Wang Kun had during the Great Cultural Revolution taken exception to Chiang Ching's reactionary slogan of "attack by reasoning and defend by force," which was in direct opposition to Chairman Mao's instruction that when there is debate it should be conducted by reasoning, not by coercion or force, Comrade Wang was branded a "counter-revolutionary" by Chiang Ching and deprived of her freedom for ten years. Last October she regained her liberty when the "gang of four" was overthrown. Since then she has made many appearances, singing *Chairman Hua's Heart Beats in Unison With Ours* and other much-loved revolutionary songs. She has

not fully recovered her singing voice but her rich and informal rendition of revolutionary and folk songs never fails to draw prolonged applause.

Wang Kun is not the only singer to have come back since the fall of the "gang of four." There is quite a number, and all of them have recently done their best before eager and appreciative audiences.

Among recent items at public recitations are some new works by veteran poets, many of whom were the victims of the gang's persecution. Since the fall of their persecutors the poets have again taken up their pens and given free rein to their unburdened hearts. Ho

Ching-chih, composer of the opera *The White-Haired Girl*, one of the best works of the '40s to come out under the guidance of Chairman Mao's *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art*, has written *China's October*, a long poem greeting the successors to the proletarian revolutionary cause in China pioneered by Chairman Mao and hailing Chairman Hua as the new helmsman of the Chinese revolution. Another well-known poet, Chao Pu-chu has written the poem *Fan Ting Chu* which tersely and bitinglly refutes and exposes the hypocritical "gang of four." The poets have given voice to what is in the hearts of hundreds of millions of people, and their words are being heard and repeated all over the country.

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fighters and bombers to attack the forces led by the Chinese Communist Party.

At the end of November 1936, the film *Bloodshed on Wolf Mountain*, a representative piece of "national defence films" in which Chiang Ching played the No. 3 role, was shown. It exaggerated the military strength of the Japanese aggressors and negated the fact that internal class contradictions continued in China while contradictions between Japanese imperialism and the Chinese nation were sharpening. It portrayed the Kuomintang reactionaries as being of one mind with the masses, determined to fight the Japanese aggressors to the end. It was no surprise that the film was praised by the *Central Daily* — the organ of the Kuomintang authorities — which said it was "the best and most significant film made in China."

The modern play *Sai-Chin-Hua*, staged in Shanghai around that time, was a specimen of "national defence drama" advocating national betrayal. Sai-Chin-Hua was a traitor prostitute who sold herself body and soul to the German commander Waldesee of the combined forces of eight imperialist countries which invaded Peking in 1900. She was a national traitor pure and simple, but was glorified in the play as the "saviour" of the people of Peking who "would

otherwise have been massacred." Infuriated, the great man-of-letters Lu Hsun wrote: "Even Sai-Chin-Hua who slept for a time with the German commander Waldesee during the Yi Ho Tuan Uprising [the patriotic anti-imperialist armed forces of the Chinese people who resisted the forces of the eight allied countries] has been canonized as a goddess in heaven to guard our realm." When the play was being readied, Chiang Ching fought for the title role. When the director decided her acting was not up to it and gave her a minor role, she raised a big uproar.

Chiang Ching in the 60s and 70s was exactly what she was in the 30s. Even after she was eulogized as the "standard-bearer of the revolution in literature and art," she and her gang had frequent showings of trashy foreign films put on for their own enjoyment and they watched decadent and reactionary operas of old China with great relish.

To dress Chiang Ching up as the "standard-bearer of the revolution in literature and art" was not only a shameless fraud but also a political plot. The aim was to deck this bourgeois careerist out as a "Leftist" and a "radical" so as to facilitate the "gang of four's" usurpation of the supreme leadership in the Party and state and the restoration of capitalism in China.

Just and Reasonable Proposal



THE Workers' Party of Korea, the Korean Democratic Party, the Chondoist Chongu Party, the Central Committee of the Democratic Front for the Reunification of the Fatherland and 14 other political parties and social organizations held a joint meeting in Pyongyang on January 25. They discussed the important questions of preventing the nation from being split permanently, eliminating the danger of war and bringing about the independent and peaceful reunification of the fatherland at an early date. The meeting adopted the Letter to Political Parties, Public Organizations and People of All Strata in South Korea and Compatriots Overseas. The letter solemnly put forth a national salvation proposal aimed at an early realization of the country's reunification. It advocated a great alliance of the socialist forces of the north and the patriotic democratic forces of the south; easing of the tense situation between north and south and elimination of the danger of a nuclear war; removal of the source of discord within the nation and creation of an atmosphere of great national unity; and convocation of a north-south political consultative conference. This national salvation proposal fully manifests the Korean people's national aspiration for the independent and peaceful reunification of their country. The Chinese Government and people express warm sympathy and firm support for it.

The Workers' Party and Government of Korea have for a long time made unremitting efforts and put forward a series of reasonable suggestions and proposals for the realization of the independent and peaceful reunification of the fatherland. The three principles of independence, peaceful reunification and great national unity advanced by President Kim Il Sung in May 1972 led to the publication of the July 4, 1972 north-south joint statement, thus blazing

the trail to north-south contact. In June 1973, President Kim Il Sung set forth a five-point programme on preventing the permanent split of the nation and realizing the reunification of the fatherland, a programme which points out the correct road for the further promotion of the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea. The national salvation proposal made by the 18 political parties and social organizations, like the series of proposals put forth by the Workers' Party and Government of Korea, is of great significance to the realization of the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea. It will certainly win the heartfelt support of the entire Korean people and the sympathy and support of world progressive opinion.

It is common knowledge that the division of Korea is entirely the result of the aggression and intervention of U.S. imperialism. Today, nearly 24 years after the Korean armistice, U.S. troops are still hanging on in south Korea. Backed and dominated by the United States, the south Korean authorities are stepping up their scheme to create "two Koreas," doggedly pushing ahead with the policy of a national split, carrying out bloody suppression and ruthless persecution of the south Korean patriotic people and democrats and keeping the south Korean people under prolonged fascist rule. The south Korean authorities have recently set up a roar about the "threat of southward invasion" and called for "a high degree of combat readiness" in a deliberate attempt to aggravate tension on the Korean Peninsula. At the same time, they have renewed the clamour for the notorious "proposal" of "signing a non-aggression pact" between north and south and alleged that the pact would be the prerequisite for the withdrawal of U.S. troops from south Korea, trying in vain to perpetuate the division of Korea. It is evident that what the south Korean

authorities have done runs completely counter to the letter and spirit of the three principles of the July 4 north-south joint statement, and totally violates the national interests of the Korean people, thus meeting with their strong opposition.

The Korean people are the masters of their country. The Korean problem should be settled by the Korean people themselves. The United States must stop its aggression and intervention in Korea, disband the "U.N. command" and withdraw all its troops from south Korea in accordance with the resolution adopted at the 30th Session of the U.N. General Assembly. So long as the Korean people eliminate foreign intervention, act in line with the just proposition set forth in the national salvation proposal and

make joint efforts, they can surely realize the national aspiration for the independent and peaceful reunification of the fatherland.

Under the leadership of their wise leader Chairman Hua Kuo-feng, the Chinese Government and people are determined to carry out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in foreign affairs firmly, adhere to proletarian internationalism, and, as always, resolutely support the Korean people in their just struggle for the independent and peaceful reunification of their fatherland. We are firmly convinced that under the leadership of their great leader President Kim Il Sung, the Korean people are bound to win complete victory in the great cause of the reunification of their fatherland.

("Renmin Ribao" editorial, February 5)

Moscow's Setbacks on Indian Ocean Peace Zone Issue

1976 saw new progress in the third world countries' struggle to turn the Indian Ocean into a peace zone and more serious setbacks for Soviet social-imperialism on this issue.

Back in 1971, the 26th U.N. General Assembly adopted a resolution jointly submitted by Sri Lanka and 12 other Asian and African countries to "declare the Indian Ocean a zone of peace." In the five years that followed, the number of countries approving and supporting this resolution rose to over a hundred. Soviet representatives at U.N. General Assembly sessions from 1971 to 1975 all along refused to back this proposal and, like the U.S. representatives, abstained from voting on the relevant resolutions.

Last year, however, the Soviet Union made a switch. In his report to the 25th congress of

the Soviet revisionist party last February, Brezhnev suddenly expressed "sympathy" for the proposal. Since then, the Soviet press and officials have jumped on the bandwagon and made a big to-do, as if they supported the Indian Ocean peace zone.

But facts show otherwise.

The new tsars try to distort the Indian Ocean peace zone proposal into merely one of removing U.S. military bases from that ocean. In other words, Moscow only gives "sympathy" and "support" to dismantling the U.S. military bases, while making no mention of Soviet military bases in the region. It even tries to forbid discussions of great power presence there.

To this end, the Kremlin exerted pressure and influence on the representatives of some

countries attending the Fifth Conference of Heads of State and Government of Non-Aligned Countries in Colombo last August in an attempt to get the conference to adopt a document to its taste. Soviet officials even said enticingly that their stand at the U.N. General Assembly might change to voting for the peace zone proposal if the non-aligned summit did not bring up the military presence question.

However, the non-aligned countries were not taken in. The Political Declaration adopted at the Colombo summit clearly called for "the elimination from the Indian Ocean of foreign bases, military installations and logistical supply facilities, the disposition of nuclear weapons and weapons of mass destruction and any manifestation of great-power military presence in the Indian Ocean conceived in the context of great-power rivalries." The Indian Ocean Peace Zone Proposal adopted at the conference pointed out that great-power military presence in the Indian Ocean "constitutes a real threat not only to the peace, freedom, security and territorial integrity of the littoral and hinterland states but also to world peace in general."

Since 1968 the Soviet navy has set up a permanent naval squadron in the Indian Ocean. Today it consists of more than 20 warships. If no mention is made of military presence and only U.S. military bases are squeezed out, then the Soviet Union would have sole hegemony over that ocean.

The Colombo summit documents represented a setback for Moscow whose propaganda machine was soon full of invective for the conference and the non-aligned countries. In reporting the sections of the Political Declaration in connection with the Indian Ocean peace zone, TASS deleted the words "combating the military presence of great powers."

During the U.N. General Assembly debate over the draft resolution on the Indian Ocean peace zone last year, the Soviet delegation, while glibly talking about its "support" for the proposal, was carrying out intense behind-the-scenes activities, passing the word around that it would vote for the resolution if the sponsor

states deleted the words "great-power rivalries." The Soviet aim was quite obvious. Deletion would conceal its hegemonic contention with the United States in the region and divert the spearhead of the third world countries' struggle. However, its demand was flatly rejected by these countries. Many of their representatives pointed out that the Soviet delegation intended to emasculate the proposal. The First Committee of the General Assembly adopted a resolution on the realization of the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace by an overwhelming majority of 97 votes. This was another slap in the face for Moscow.

The Indian Ocean is of major strategic significance in Soviet-U.S. contention for hegemony. It is the world's third biggest ocean where the United States has air and naval bases and important communication lines with the Near and Middle East and the African continent. It is also the only passageway through which Western Europe and Japan transport their oil from the Middle East. Control of this ocean in any emergency would cut the strategic sea lanes of the United States and its allies. It is precisely the new tsars' southward expansion and the fierce rivalry between the two hegemonic powers that are menacing peace in the Indian Ocean. If "great-power rivalries" are not specified, wouldn't the Indian Ocean peace zone lack any real meaning?

The Indian Ocean countries have voiced an increasingly strong demand for turning the ocean into a zone of peace. Prime Minister Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike of Sri Lanka pointed out in Manila last November that the United States and the Soviet Union should withdraw from the Indian Ocean. The joint communiqués published after her visits to the Philippines and Malaysia indicated that the three countries would abide by the U.N. resolution on declaring the Indian Ocean a zone of peace. Shahanshah Mohammad Reza Pahlavi of Iran pointed out that Iran hopes the Indian Ocean "will not be a zone of competition between big powers." Tanzanian First Vice-President Aboud Jumbe said: "The superpowers should leave the Indian Ocean as a zone of

sharp Soviet competition for the general carrying trade. Public opinion elsewhere in the region noted that when the Soviet Union reduces freight charges, it has an ax to grind: Once it succeeds in gaining control of seaborne trade in the region, it is sure to "remove its veil of benevolence and unilaterally as well as unreasonably jack up freight charges to further its economic and political designs," as it already has done in Thailand.

Facts show that the Soviet Union is expanding its shipping services in Southeast Asia not just for economic gain but, more important, to achieve, under the cover of ordinary business activities, maritime supremacy that fits in with its global strategy for world hegemony. As reported in the Southeast Asian press, Soviet naval personnel and KGB agents speaking languages of the countries concerned often pass themselves off as Soviet merchant ship crew members to gather political and military intelligence or engage in subversion and sabotage in ports of arrival. A Thai government release last July noted that about half the 80-odd Soviet commercial ships entering Bangkok harbour in the first five months of 1976 neither took on nor discharged any cargo. Soviet merchant ships often ply the inland sea of the Philippines between the middle and southern parts of the archipelago without advance application and permission although over 80 per cent of that country's exports and imports are loaded or discharged at Manila farther up in the north. The Soviet Union, moreover, keeps sending ships for espionage into Southeast Asian waters under the guise of making sea lane surveys, meteorological and scientific research, navigation training and trawling.

All these underhand activities have aroused strong resentment and resistance. Some Soviet vessels have been refused entry; some were caught red-handed while engaging in espionage. In July 1976, Bangkok notified the Soviet Embassy there that Soviet "commercial vessels" would be forbidden to enter or anchor in its territorial waters if they had nothing to take aboard or unload in that country. On three occasions in 1975, Djakarta detained Soviet ves-

sels intruding into Indonesia's territorial waters and arrested Soviet "seamen" who had gone ashore to carry out subversive activities.

With the extension of shipping services came increased rampant Soviet manoeuvres to gain, by means of "aid," the right to use these countries' port facilities or establish military bases there. Accompanied by Soviet "port service experts," the Soviet Ambassador in Malaysia was reported to have gone to Sabah and Sarawak with an offer of Soviet "aid" to the three ports in Sabah on condition they would allow Soviet merchant ships and men-of-war to refuel and get provisions there and also permit Soviet sailors to go ashore for "holidays and recreation." Soviet auxiliary naval ships disguised as commercial ships got provisions in Singapore. One newspaper in that city-state reported that the Soviet Union had signed ten contracts with local shipyards for ship repairs. Soviet officials now make no secret of the Kremlin's intention to use Singapore as a centre for its maritime activities in Asia and a base for repairing its ships.

Soviet attempts to acquire military bases in the region have, however, met with resistance from ASEAN member countries. Ranking Philippine and Thai officials repeatedly have made it known that their governments will not allow the Soviet Union to step in and fill the "vacuum" created by the U.S. military withdrawal from their countries. To let another country use these military bases, they have pointed out, is not in their interest.

Soviet seaborne trade expansion in Southeast Asia has made people there more and more aware of the immediate importance of "keeping away the tiger while repulsing the wolf." There has been a growing demand for a more developed regional shipping service to cope with Soviet expansion and infiltration. Last April, ASEAN decided to found the Federation of ASEAN Shippers Council. According to President Ferdinand Marcos of the Philippines, its purpose is to develop a shipping service in the region and win back the right of these countries to determine their own destiny and future in the seaborne trade.

The Struggle Continues Unabated

LATIN America is at a crucial historical moment in its national-democratic revolution. While major victories have been won in the struggle against imperialist plunder and for recovering sovereignty over natural resources, a struggle that began growing in tempo in the late 60s, the Latin American countries are facing the much more arduous task of national revolution—to consolidate political independence by completely stamping out the entrenched superpower control over their national economies.

Developments in Last Decade

Venezuela, the third largest petroleum exporter in the capitalist world, nationalized its petroleum industry on January 1, 1976. It took back all rich petroleum resources which had been controlled and plundered for 61 years by foreign monopoly groups, mainly those of the United States. This move pushed to a new high the nationalization drive to recover mineral resources, public utilities and fruit and sugar-cane concessions.

Reviewing the course of struggle in the last 10 years, one can see that torrential waves of nationalization swept southwards along the Andes Mountains and then turned northwards till they engulfed the Caribbean region. From 1968 to 1970, Peru took over all the assets of the International Petroleum Company, the shares of the International Telephone and Telegraph Corporation and the concessions of the Cerro de Pasco Copper Corporation, all U.S.-owned firms. In 1971, the Allende government in Chile, which ranks second in world copper exports, took over copper, sodium nitrate and

other important mineral deposits long controlled by U.S. consortia. In 1975 and 1976, Guyana, Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago and other Caribbean countries either nationalized all foreign aluminium companies or requisitioned the majority of shares in these companies, or expanded their shares in foreign-controlled petroleum industries or other economic sectors. Other Latin American countries also recovered in part, or began to control, their rights and interests in mining and public utility enterprises dominated by foreign monopoly groups. Some Central American and Caribbean states took back fruit and sugar-cane concessions from the hands of U.S. or British monopoly groups.

Major Achievements

Thus, the Latin American countries have recovered their sovereignty over most of those mineral resources that are of world importance from foreign and primarily U.S. monopoly groups, though these groups still retain certain influence and interests in some mining sectors. This is a heavy blow to U.S. investments in Latin American mining enterprises. Official U.S. statistics showed that U.S. investments in petroleum, mining and metallurgy amounted to 5,610 million U.S. dollars in 1968, or 42 per cent of total U.S. direct private investments in Latin America that year. However, in 1975 these investments dropped to 4,842 million U.S. dollars, or 21 per cent of the total investments then. In 1976, when Venezuela nationalized a U.S.-owned petroleum enterprise with a total investment of some 1,800 million U.S. dollars, some Caribbean countries followed suit by taking similar action in the petroleum, mining and metallurgical industries. As a result, U.S. in-

vestments in these industries further declined by big margins in terms of both absolute figures and the percentage of total investments. This represents a major change in the Latin American situation that has taken place in the course of the national-democratic revolution since U.S. capital got control of the economic lifeline of the continent.

At the beginning of the century, U.S. capital began making big inroads into Latin America, with mining as one of the main areas of initial investments. For a long time, U.S. monopoly capital groups engaged in the most primitive and naked plunder, in both form and substance, of Latin America's rich mineral resources. From the early 30s on, some countries nationalized certain public utility and petroleum enterprises controlled by foreign capital. But U.S. monopoly capital's interests in the mining industry were in the main untouched because of U.S. intervention and pressure. It is only under the impetus of the historical trend — countries want independence, nations want liberation and the people want revolution — that the nationalization movement in Latin American countries is merging with the struggle to uphold the 200-mile maritime right, safeguard national marine resources, maintain reasonable prices for raw materials and establish a new international economic order, and the two are converging into a mighty current against economic hegemony. The successful development of this nationalization movement has provided the Latin American countries with a source of revenue due them, promoted the development of their national economies and consolidated political independence.

Arduous Tasks Along a Long Road

These achievements, however, are only partial and the Latin American countries still have a long way to go in their national-democratic revolution. A number of their important economic sectors still are controlled by U.S. monopoly capital whose investments far exceed 20,000 million U.S. dollars, primarily dominating the manufacturing industry, trade, and the financial and insurance business. This domination has assumed alarming proportions in certain countries. As quoted in the November 1975 issue of

the Argentine magazine *Dinamis*, the Brazilian paper *Jornal do Brasil* had reported that foreign, principally U.S., "participation" in Brazil's economy was 100 per cent in the auto industry, 87 per cent in machine-building, 71 per cent in electrical appliance making, and 99.5 per cent in the tobacco industry.

The situation has been further complicated by the growing rivalry between the two superpowers in Latin America, which has resulted in instances of the social-imperialists replacing the U.S. monopolies as the dominant force in a country's economy. Though exceptional thus far, the new experience of regained national interests and rights being lost again is a warning to Latin America as a whole that it has to guard against and shake off the grasping talons of social-imperialism while struggling for total national liberation from U.S. imperialist oppression, control and plunder.

While proceeding with the recovery of natural resources, the Latin American countries have imposed various restrictions in recent years on foreign monopoly capital in other economic sectors. In some countries such capital is now subject to control in investment areas, in the size of equity participation, and in the rate of profit and profit remittance. On the basis of protecting and developing their national economies, efforts are being made to promote economic integration among countries. At the same time, many countries are planning common measures to regulate operations by transnational companies and seeking to develop their own know-how to end technological dependence on foreign countries. All this shows that, on the way to a more developed national economy, they are keenly aware of the irreconcilable contradictions between their development pursuits and the presence of huge amounts of foreign monopoly capital, and that a new and strenuous struggle to control or liquidate foreign monopoly capital is in fermentation.

The Latin American countries' struggle to regain sovereignty over their natural resources is a product of their expanding national forces. A new and more bitter struggle to smash the economic and political shackles of the imperialists and social-imperialists lies ahead for these nations.

ROUND THE WORLD

BELGIAN MARXIST-LENINIST
COMMUNIST PARTY

Second Congress

Held on January 22 and 23, the Second Congress of the Marxist-Leninist Communist Party of Belgium reviewed the major struggle between the two lines within the Party, adopted a political report and the Party Constitution and elected the members of the leading organ of the Party.

The press communique, published in the latest issue of *Clarte et L'Exploite*, organ of the Party Central Committee, said: The congress stressed that "Belgium is in the stage of monopoly capitalism — imperialism which is the highest stage of capitalism. The principal contradiction in our country is the antagonistic contradiction between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. The target of the revolution in our country is the monopoly capitalist class."

The communique added: "The analysis of the international situation should be made in the light of the theory of three worlds as elaborated by Chairman Mao. The theory constitutes a great enrichment of Marxism-Leninism. It helps us to determine who are our friends and who are our enemies in class struggle on a worldwide scale. It is a powerful weapon for the proletariat of all countries and all the people of the world."

In his political report, First Secretary of the Party Central Committee Fernand Lefebvre talked about the great theoretical importance of the concept of three worlds advanced by Chairman Mao. The report said: "The United States and the Soviet Union are the biggest international oppressors and exploiters. U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism are intensifying their intrigues and aggressive manoeuvres to ensure their world hegemony." "The two superpowers are the same kind of imperialist brigands, but Soviet social-imperialism is most dangerous."

Referring to the European security conference stage-managed by the Soviet social-imperialists, the report said: This conference is aimed at lulling, dividing and disintegrating Western Europe so as to conquer it part by part and finally get hold of it. It is a conference of European insecurity, a Munich conference. The report stressed the need to "combat the spirit of Munich."

Dwelling on the third world countries' struggle for political independence, it said: "The third world countries today constitute the main force in the struggle against U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism." "They know the importance of relying on their own strength, of waging armed struggle and reinforcing their unity."

"The principal tendency of the second world countries," the

report noted, "is their wish to get rid of the influence, enslavement and control by the superpowers" and "their desire for national independence." "That is why it is in the interest of the people of the second world to struggle for unity among themselves and with the countries of the third world."

U.S.A.

Mondale Visits Six Countries

U.S. Vice-President Walter Mondale made "a fact-finding and consultation trip" between January 23 and February 1 to Belgium, West Germany, Italy, Britain, France and Japan.

The visit was made against a background of economic difficulties of varying degrees in the Western countries and increasing contradictions among them. It also took place at a time when the Soviet Union has been intensifying its military expansion and war preparations and increasing its military threat against the West, Western Europe in particular. Under these circumstances, the allies of the United States urgently want to know what economic and foreign policies the Carter administration will adopt.

Mondale said that "economics is up front as an issue" for the United States and its allies. In the talks Mondale held with government heads of the countries he visited, he briefed them on the Carter ad-

ministration's plan to spur economic recovery, and called for "common efforts" to overcome their economic difficulties.

Western press reports disclosed that knotty problems cropped up during the talks in this respect. For instance, the West German authorities were unwilling to further artificially stimulate the country's economic expansion by risking graver inflation at home in order to "spur" the economic activities of the entire Western world, an act urged by the United States and some West European countries. Other problems include Japan's huge surplus in its bilateral trade with the United States.

On the question of defence, Mondale told the NATO Council in Brussels on January 24 that the United States "is prepared to consider increased U.S. investment in NATO's defence" and expects its European allies "to join with us in improving NATO's defence forces." On the other hand, he said that the Carter administration felt that it was imperative to continue the East-West dialogue, "ever seeking to expand its depth and compass." Mondale also reaffirmed the U.S. intention to resume the strategic arms limitation talks with the Soviet Union.

During his West Berlin visit, the U.S. Vice-President noted: "The President of the United States has asked me to make one of my first visits to the city of Berlin to make commitment to the security and freedom of . . . Berlin."

NEW SOVIET FISHERY DECREE

A Many-Bladed Dagger

The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. issued on December 10 a decree on "temporary measures for the preservation of marine resources and the regulation of fisheries in the sea area up to 200 miles wide around the coasts of the U.S.S.R.," and on the "exercise of [Soviet] sovereignty over fish and other sea resources." A January 12 article in the Soviet paper *The Literary Gazette* said that the Soviet Union recognized that littoral states "have the right to establish economic zones of up to 200 miles." But "if a coastal state cannot land 100 per cent of the harvestable fish or other sea products," the paper declared, "it should allow other states to draw on the unused portion of its fish and other sea resources in the area."

It seems that the Soviet decree is aimed only at safeguarding its sovereignty and permits foreign fishermen to operate in its 200-mile fishing zone whenever the optimal fishing limit exceeds the Soviet fishing capacity. But the fact is that, through its strong fishing capability, Moscow holds a tight grip on fish and other sea resources in Soviet coastal waters. At the same time, it wantonly hauls in the resources in the coastal waters of other countries. In the past, 90 per cent of the Soviet Union's total annual catch came from far-off oceans and the offshore waters of small and medium-sized countries, the developing countries in particular. To maintain its vested interests, the Kremlin

has in the last few years desperately opposed the legitimate demand of the third world countries for the establishment of 200-mile exclusive economic zones. Later, under the pressure of the situation, it acceded to the demand in words while actually insisting on the agreement of the littoral countries to allow foreign fishermen to operate in the economic zone of a country in case it cannot land 100 per cent of the harvestable fish and to grant other states the freedom to draw on the unused portion. This is the logic of Soviet hegemonism: "What's mine is mine and what's yours is mine too."

Like a dagger with many blades, the Soviet decree also hits many second world countries. Concerned Japanese quarters are worried over the Soviet practice because once the decree goes into effect, the waters of the Sea of Okhotsk and the Kamchatka Peninsula which have long been regarded as Japan's biggest deep-sea fishing grounds, including even those off Japan's four northern islands under Soviet occupation, will all be inside the Soviet Union's 200-mile fishing zone.

The Soviet decree is also a weapon in its contention with the United States for hegemony over maritime resources. For before the Soviet decree was issued, the United States had announced a 200-mile fishing zone which will come into effect in March.

Correction: In issue No. 1 this year, page 11, right-hand column, line 2 in the 3rd paragraph from the bottom, for the word "ration" read "ratio."