

# PEKING REVIEW

8

February 18, 1977

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**Chairman Hua Meets Delegation  
Of Norwegian Workers'  
Communist Party (M-L)**

**Study Documents Well and  
Grasp Key Link**

— Editorial by "Renmin Ribao," "Hongqi" and  
"Jiefangjun Bao" (Excerpts)

***A Straight Race Between the Two  
Superpowers***

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北京周报

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## **Chairman Hua Meets Delegation of Norwegian Workers' Communist Party (M-L)**

**C**HAIRMAN of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China Hua Kuo-feng on February 12 met and had a cordial and friendly conversation with the Delegation of the Norwegian Workers' Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist) headed by its Chairman Paal Steigan.

Attending the meeting were Li Hsien-nien, Member of the Political Bureau of the C.P.C. Central Committee, and Keng Piao and Feng Hsuan, Members of the C.P.C. Central Committee

and Head and Deputy Head of its International Liaison Department.

After the meeting, Chairman Hua gave a banquet to warmly welcome Chairman Steigan on his visit to China at the head of the delegation.

In his toast, Comrade Li Hsien-nien pointed out that the present international situation is excellent and continuing to develop in a direction favourable to the people throughout the



world but unfavourable to the two superpowers, the Soviet Union and the United States. "Under the leadership of the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua," he added, "we smashed at one blow the anti-Party 'gang of four,' thus bringing about in our country an excellent situation which is becoming better and better. Filled with pride of victory, the hundreds of millions of people in our country are deepening the great mass movement to expose and criticize the 'gang of four,' grasp revolution, promote production and other work and preparedness against war and are striving for new and greater victories in our country's socialist revolution and socialist construction."

He continued: "The Norwegian Workers' Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist) has worked energetically to integrate the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with concrete practice in the Norwegian revolution, resolutely opposed modern revisionism, opposed the two hegemonic powers, the Soviet Union and the United States, especially the aggression and expansion of Soviet social-imperialism, opposed the monopoly capitalist class at home, struggled for the realization of socialism and made beneficial contributions to the working class and other labouring people of Norway. We are deeply convinced that you will win even greater victories in your future struggle."

"The fraternal friendship between our two Parties," Comrade Li added, "is founded on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. We have supported and learnt from each other in our common struggle. Through the current visit of the delegation led by Comrade Paal Steigan, our revolutionary friendship and militant unity will certainly be further strengthened and enhanced."

Comrade Steigan said in his toast: "The smashing of the counter-revolutionary 'gang of four' at one stroke by the Central Committee headed by Comrade Hua Kuo-feng shows that he is the worthy successor to Chairman Mao." He pointed out: "The 'gang of four' decked themselves out as 'radicals,' but their sole aim was to wave the red flag in order to oppose the red flag. What they had in mind was to undermine the dictatorship of the proletariat and set up the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie."

"The smashing of the 'gang of four,'" he added, "has crushed the class enemies' plot to restore capitalism in China. During our visit, we have seen for ourselves that the situation in China is excellent and that the masses are rallying round the Party Central Committee and its Chairman Comrade Hua Kuo-feng. A new upsurge has been brought about in the movements to learn from Tachai in agriculture and to learn from Taching in industry."

Expressing his deep condolences over the death of Chairman Mao and Premier Chou En-lai, he said: "Chairman Mao was the greatest Marxist-Leninist of our time. His immortal works will give us strength and enable us to continue our advance along the road pioneered by him."

Exposing the threat to Norway by the two superpowers, by Soviet social-imperialism in particular, he said: "Social-imperialism has even resumed the territorial claims of the old tsars on Norway and carried out military provocations against it."

He said: "The scramble by the two superpowers for world hegemony has greatly increased the danger of world war. Today, it is social-imperialism that is most likely to start a new world war. Hence, it is particularly dangerous to underestimate it. Likewise, to underestimate the struggle of the third world peoples is also dangerous since today they are the main force opposing the two superpowers and fighting for revolution. In this situation, China's revolutionary foreign policy formulated by Chairman Mao and implemented by Premier Chou is a great, significant support to the people of the world."

Comrade Steigan said: "We are very glad to note that the international Marxist-Leninist movement is developing steadily, while modern revisionism is moving toward deepening crises. Our Party will strive to enhance the unity and fighting strength of the international Marxist-Leninist movement."

The Norwegian comrades arrived in Peking on January 26 at the invitation of the C.P.C. Central Committee.

## Vice-Chairman Teng Ying-chao in Burma

"We have brought with us the cordial friendship of the Chinese people and will return home bringing back the cordial friendship of the Burmese people. I sincerely wish the Burmese people greater successes in safeguarding national independence and state sovereignty and building their country."

This was said by Teng Ying-chao, Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, at the end of her one-week friendly visit to Burma.

Lasting from February 5 to 11, the visit was an unforgettable one. The greeting and seeing off by tens of thousands of people at the airport, on the streets of Rangoon and the friendly speeches at the banquets all

expressed the *paukphaw* (kinsman in Burmese) friendship of the people of the two countries. What particularly impressed the Chinese guest was that President U Ne Win and his wife personally greeted and saw her off as well as accompanied her during the visit.

Vice-Chairman Teng Ying-chao called on President U Ne Win; General San Yu, Secretary of the Council of State; and Prime Minister U Sein Win. She met friends from a wide variety of circles. She laid a wreath at the tomb of Burmese national hero Aung San. She also went sightseeing in Rangoon and Pagan, a famous Burmese city.

*Paukphaw* friendship between the two countries has been traditional from ancient

times. They have always sympathized with and supported each other in the struggle against imperialism and colonialism. China and Burma jointly initiated the famous Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence in 1954 and satisfactorily settled in 1960 their boundary question left over by history.

Since the establishment of diplomatic relations, leaders of both countries have exchanged many friendly visits. Premier Chou En-lai visited Burma on nine occasions. President U Ne Win has made six visits to China. These made important contributions in promoting friendly relations between China and Burma. Today, the two peoples who face the common tasks of building up their countries and opposing imperialism and hegemonism, need solidarity and friendship. It is the sincere desire of the two governments and peoples to further strengthen the friendly relations between the two countries. Vice-Chairman Teng Ying-chao's successful visit shows that the good neighbourliness between both countries will further develop.

## Death of Indian President Mourned

Premier Hua Kuo-feng on February 13 sent a message to Indian Prime Minister Mrs. Indira Gandhi expressing condolences on the death of Indian President Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed. The message says: "I request you to accept the deep condolences of the Chinese Government and myself and convey our sympathy to the Indian

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Vice-Chairman Teng Ying-chao greeted by President U Ne Win and his wife at the airport in Rangoon.

# Study Documents Well and Grasp Key Link

Editorial by "Renmin Ribao," "Hongqi"  
and "Jiefangjun Bao"  
(Excerpts)

THE two important documents — our great leader and teacher Chairman Mao's brilliant work *On the Ten Major Relationships* and Chairman Hua's speech at the Second National Conference on Learning From Tachai in Agriculture [see our issue No. 1, 1977] — have received warm acclaim and support from the whole Party, the whole army and the people of various nationalities throughout the country since their publication. At present all of them are studying and discussing these documents. Studying the two documents well and grasping the key link and exposing and criticizing the "gang of four" in a deep-going way is the key to the successful fulfilment of the various fighting tasks in 1977.

Chairman Mao said: "As an old saying goes, 'Once the key link is grasped, everything else falls into place.' Take hold of the key link and everything else will get into its proper place. The key link means the main theme. The contradiction between socialism and capitalism and the gradual resolution of this contradiction — that is the main theme, the key link." The contradiction between socialism and capitalism, between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, and between Marxism and revisionism at present is epitomized in the contradiction between our Party and the "gang of four." The current main theme, or key link, is to make a thorough exposure and criticism of the "gang of four." When this key link is grasped firmly, we can keep

to the general orientation of the struggle and get all work done in proper order. "Once this principal contradiction is grasped, all problems can be readily solved." Party committees at various levels must have a very clear understanding of this ideologically. It should be made known not only to the leaders, but to the cadres and masses as well.

In his speech, Chairman Hua pointed out that it is a strategic policy decision by the Party Central Committee to achieve **stability and unity** in our country, consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and bring about great order across the land in the course of acute struggle between the two classes. Building our socialist country into a more powerful one in accordance with this policy is in the fundamental interests of the people throughout the country and is their common desire. Don't forget the tiger and wolf facing us. We are required to act in accordance with this policy in order to be prepared against imperialist and social-imperialist aggression. The implementation of this strategic policy demands that we firmly grasp the key link, namely, the thorough exposure and criticism of the "gang of four." All localities, departments and units must act according to this policy and grasp this key link in all their work and in handling various kinds of contradictions.

Chairman Mao taught us time and again that it was necessary to educate Party members

and the people in the Three Main Rules of Discipline and the Eight Points for Attention [for the People's Liberation Army]. **"The first of the three main rules of discipline is to obey orders in all actions, for concerted action alone leads to victory. No concerted action, no victory."** What is needed today is for us to take concerted action in accordance with the strategic policy decision of grasping the key link and running the country well under the unified command of the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua and the Party committees at various levels.

Concerted action demands that we first achieve unanimity in thinking. Therefore, we should first of all conscientiously study these two important documents, laying stress on understanding the basic principle of mobilizing all positive factors to build a powerful socialist country advanced by Chairman Mao in his *On the Ten Major Relationships*, and on understanding the strategic policy decision of grasping the key link and running the country well put forward by Chairman Hua in his speech.

Our purpose in studying the documents well is to guide our practical struggle. Party committees at all levels should **raise political consciousness and improve in the art of leadership** and make great efforts in their own localities, departments and units to do a good job in the movement to penetratingly expose and criticize the "gang of four." They should lead the masses in deepening the movement until final victory.

The cadres and masses have shown deep hatred for the "gang of four" in the course of exposing and criticizing the gang over the last four months and through the activities commemorating the 83rd anniversary of the great leader Chairman Mao's birth and the first anniversary of the passing of the esteemed and beloved Premier Chou. Their political enthusiasm is at an all-time high. Party committees at various levels must learn from the masses in real earnest, fully reflect and cherish their enthusiasm and be skilled in turning this enthusiasm into concrete action in their current work, so as to fulfil in a better way the various militant tasks of 1977 set by Chairman Hua in his speech.

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For more than half a century, the great leader and teacher Chairman Mao led us through fierce battles including ten major inner-Party struggles between the two lines. The history of this period proves repeatedly the fact that the revolution triumphs when we follow Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and instructions and that it fails or suffers setbacks when we depart from them. The banner of Chairman Mao is the banner of victory. We united and fought under his great banner during his lifetime. We should hold aloft and defend this great banner all the more resolutely now that he has departed. This is the sacred duty of our 800 million people and more than 30 million Party members; this is the political basis on which we continue our united struggle and the fundamental guarantee for new victories. Chairman Hua has led us in carrying out Chairman Mao's behests, in waging and continuing the struggle to smash the "gang of four," which is another major struggle between the two lines in the history of our Party. The present struggle has defended the great banner of Chairman Mao and ensured our country's continuous advance along Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. This is a great historic contribution by Chairman Hua. Led by our wise leader Chairman Hua, we have begun a new march forward, a great undertaking to carry on the unfinished task and blaze the way to the future. We have a heavy responsibility. There are still many difficulties ahead. But we have courage and confidence; we can shoulder this responsibility and overcome all difficulties. Chairman Mao once called on us to **"unite, put the interest of the whole above everything else, brace up and work hard."** Let us hold Chairman Mao's great banner high, adhere to his revolutionary line even more consciously, resolutely defend all his policies, steadfastly abide by all his instructions, rally most closely round the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua, closely follow its strategic plans, obey its orders in all our actions, work with one heart and one mind, march in step, firmly grasp the key link of thoroughly exposing and criticizing the "gang of four" and strive for new victories in bringing about great order across the land.

(February 7)

# A Battlefield for Criticizing The "Gang of Four"

by Our Correspondent Chou Chin

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**T**HE Second National Conference on Learning From Tachai in Agriculture held in Peking last December reviewed the 1976 achievements gained under the guidance of Comrade Hua Kuo-feng's report in 1975. (See pages 6-10 of our last issue.) At the same time, the more than 5,000 delegates from all over the country also studied Chairman Mao's *On the Ten Major Relationships* and other related documents issued by the Party Central Committee and exposed and criticized the "gang of four" in the light of the situation in their localities. Feelings ran high and everyone was determined to carry the present campaign to expose and criticize this gang through to the end.

The delegates pointed out: The "gang of four" opposed going all out to criticize revisionism and capitalism and build socialism in the rural areas, and tried to pull down the red banner of Tachai. The learn-from-Tachai movement and agricultural production suffered serious losses because of the sabotage and intervention of this anti-Party clique. The consequences were particularly damaging in places where they interfered directly.

## Chekiang's Zigzag Course

Chekiang Province is a case in point.

Located on the eastern seaboard south of the Yangtze River, the province is known as the "land of silk, fish and rice." Chairman Mao and his close comrade-in-arms Premier Chou went there several times on inspection tours and issued many important instructions concerning

Chekiang. In 1971, Comrade Hua Kuo-feng went there to give guidance to its work. Guided by Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, and especially in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the province prospered. Its 1966 grain output and its 1964 cotton output and number of pigs surpassed the targets set in the National Programme for the Development of Agriculture for areas south of the Yangtze. In 1972, Chekiang topped all the other provinces by producing an average of 8.1 tons of grain per hectare while each of its peasant households raised an average of 3.4 pigs. Total industrial output value and revenue in 1973 set a record for the province.

However, at a time when the Chekiang people were advancing triumphantly, Wang Hung-wen went to Chekiang to prop up Weng Shen-ho, a bad egg who had wormed his way into the provincial Party committee during the Great Cultural Revolution in the guise of a "revolutionary rebel." Following this, the "gang of four" went their own way in the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius which was started in 1974, instigating the people to dig out "Confucius' disciples" and "representatives of the restorationist forces" in the leading organs at various levels. Their aim was to seize power from the provincial Party committee and from Party committees at various levels set up in the Great Cultural Revolution. They even went so far as to incite bourgeois factionalism within the militia organization and create splits and fan up violence. As a result, many

factories stopped or partially stopped production, and many local government offices and enterprises were paralysed. Capitalism spread unchecked in many places. Industrial and agricultural output fell in 1974.

Chairman Mao went to the provincial capital of Hangchow in spring 1975 and showed great concern for the well-being of the Chekiang people. Twice, he sent leading comrades from the central authorities to Chekiang to help solve problems in the province. In July that year Chairman Mao endorsed a document of the Party Central Committee for solving the Chekiang problem, and the provincial Party committee and the Hangchow city Party committee were reorganized. This won the wholehearted support of the people of the province. Acting in accordance with the instruction of the Party Central Committee, the provincial Party committee firmly grasped class struggle and mobilized the masses to launch an attack on a handful of class enemies and criticize bourgeois factionalism and capitalist activities such as speculation and dividing up the land among peasant households with each working on its own. Unity of the revolutionary ranks was thus strengthened and the Party's centralized leadership consolidated. After the First National Conference on Learning From Tachai in Agriculture closed in October 1975, the province sent more than 40,000 cadres to the countryside to study and implement the decisions of the conference together with the peasants. A new upsurge in the movement to learn from Tachai emerged and farmland capital construction such as soil amelioration and building water conservancy projects was carried out on a scale unknown before. Meanwhile, industrial production again climbed swiftly, with December topping any previous monthly record. The masses acclaimed: "Here's another big leap forward!"

But in 1976, the "gang of four" called its own tune in criticizing Teng Hsiao-ping, poked their noses into Chekiang again and made trouble. At a meeting convened by the Party Central Committee last February, Wang Hung-wen and Chang Chun-chiao went to the Chekiang group many times to stir up trouble and attack several leading comrades of the provin-

cial Party committee by name. Their aim was to negate Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee's important instructions in 1975 on solving the problems in Chekiang. Chairman Mao pointed out clearly in one of his talks that Weng Shen-ho was a bad element, yet they deleted Weng's name from the minutes of the talk, hoping to reverse the correct verdict on that newborn counter-revolutionary and bestow on him again the laurel of a "revolutionary rebel." Through its secret liaison centre in Peking, the "gang of four" ordered followers in Chekiang to instigate the masses to dig out "capitalist-roaders" at various levels. Thus, the province was once again thrown into chaos.

Like Lin Piao, the "gang of four" was a bunch of old hands at waving red flags to oppose the red flag. They were accustomed to "transporting their cargo under a false flag." (Lenin: *Under a False Flag*.) They took over the revolutionary slogans raised by Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee and made changes by putting in reactionary content. In interfering with the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius and going their own way in criticizing Teng Hsiao-ping, they hoped to overthrow a large number of revolutionary leading cadres at both the central and local levels. Opposing Chairman Mao's repeated instruction that "we must be confident that over 90 per cent of the cadres are good or comparatively good," they openly clamoured that "most of the cadres in Chekiang are Rightists." On the other hand, Wang Hung-wen did everything he could to bolster that scoundrel Weng Shen-ho whom Chairman Mao had criticized by name.

To achieve their scheme of seizing power amidst chaos, the "gang of four" also tried to undermine the movement to learn from Tachai and sabotage agricultural production. Chekiang suffered much in this respect. In learning from Tachai, it is necessary to grasp class struggle as the key link, carry out education on the Party's basic line and criticize capitalism in the countryside. But the "gang of four" opposed this, saying that these activities "divert the general orientation of struggle." What they meant by the "general orientation of struggle" was to seize power from the Party committees

at various levels and to usurp the supreme leadership of the Party and state. In learning from Tachai, great efforts must be made to develop socialist agriculture. But the gang opposed this, babbling that it amounted to "exerting oneself for the erroneous line." They ordered their cohorts in Chekiang to label cadres adhering to the socialist road "capitalist-roaders" while on the other hand they described all those who supported dividing up the land among individual households, undermined the collective economy and wanted to restore capitalism as "revolutionaries." They called their followers and those using coercion or force in a debate heroes who "dare to go against the tide," on the other hand they asserted that the industrious poor and lower-middle peasants were working to "prettify capitalist-roaders." They even dragged the former into the Party and promoted them to high posts. In a nutshell, they reversed the relationship between ourselves and the enemy and between right and wrong in a socialist society.

Delegates from Chekiang to the second national learn-from-Tachai conference pointed out in their speeches: The aim of the "gang of four" to usurp Party and state power was to restore capitalism. The situation in Wenchow Prefecture testified to this. Capitalism was rampant after Wang Hung-wen sent his cohorts to seize power there. In some places in the prefecture, farmland was divided up among the peasant households with each working on its own, and the socialist collective economy disintegrated. Class polarization was quite evident, with only a few suddenly becoming rich through speculation and other capitalist activities. For a time some mines and factories stopped work and production and free markets were to be seen everywhere. Class enemies strutted about while the poor and lower-middle peasants suffered. Old ideas, culture, customs and habits were revived and even some decadent operas of the old society were restaged.



The workers denounce the "gang of four" at a meeting in Wenchow.

The delegates said that if the "gang of four" had realized its scheme, the situation would have been just as Chairman Mao had pointed out in 1963 — a counter-revolutionary restoration on a national scale would inevitably occur, the Marxist-Leninist Party would undoubtedly become a revisionist party or a fascist party, and the whole of China would change its colour.

The delegates angrily denounced the "gang of four" as a pack of ultra-Rightists, out-and-out capitalist-roaders and the most ferocious counter-revolutionaries. What "Leftists"! What "radicals"! They could not have carried out a line farther to the Right!

### High Hopes in Chekiang

What the "gang of four" did was diametrically opposed to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. They undermined the fine tradition which our Party has cultivated over the past several decades. What they hankered after was restoration of the old order, and they represented the wishes of the overthrown class enemies and newborn bourgeois elements. Thus they placed themselves in a position directly opposed to the labouring people. The cadres and

(Continued on p. 15.)

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## "GANG OF FOUR" — THE NATION'S SCOURGE

When the Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao anti-Party "gang of four" was smashed last October, the Chinese people hailed this as "getting rid of the four pests." In the eyes of the people, the gang was truly repulsive vermin.

Since that momentous event, people throughout the country have been exposing and criticizing the "gang of four's" crimes. In the process, the gang has been conclusively proved to have been neither "Left" nor "radical," but a bane of socialist China. Beginning with this issue, we will publish in this column highlights of articles of criticism which have appeared in the press. — Ed.

### Chang Chun-chiao Tampers With Chairman Mao's Educational Policy

**T**HE great leader and teacher Chairman Mao, in accord with the thesis of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, summed up both the positive and negative experience of the class struggle in the educational sphere at home and abroad and laid down for our Party the proletarian educational policy. Chairman Mao in 1957 pointed out: "Our educational policy must enable everyone who receives an education to develop morally, intellectually and physically and become a worker with both socialist consciousness and culture." (*On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People.*) In 1958, Chairman Mao further pointed out: "Education must serve proletarian politics and be combined with productive labour. Working people should

master intellectual work and intellectuals should integrate themselves with the working people."

The anti-Party "gang of four" did all it could to distort, tamper with and sabotage Chairman Mao's policy on education so as to turn education into its instrument for subverting the dictatorship of the proletariat and restoring capitalism. On November 8, 1975, Chang Chun-chiao declared: "Bring up exploiters and intellectual aristocrats with bourgeois consciousness and culture, or bring up workers with consciousness but no culture: which do you want? I'd rather have workers without culture than exploiters and intellectual aristocrats with culture."

In advancing this "two types of people" nonsense, Chang Chun-chiao was not without an ulterior motive. According to his logic, there are either "exploiters and intellectual aristocrats with culture" or "workers without culture." According to him, "with culture" and "workers" became two diametrically opposed concepts. Workers with both socialist consciousness and culture simply did not exist for Chang Chun-chiao.

According to Chairman Mao's educational policy, proletarian education should bring up workers with both socialist consciousness and culture. "Socialist consciousness," "culture" and "workers" are three dialectically interrelated aspects of one indivisible entity. Proletarian education aims at radically altering the situation existing in the old society whereby exploiters monopolized culture and education and the workers were barred from acquiring an education; it also aims at fostering a new type

of people with communist consciousness under the socialist system.

In training workers with socialist consciousness, moral development holds first place. This demands that our education must persist in taking class struggle as the main subject to enable the young people to give top priority to having a firm, correct political orientation. Only in this way can people with a high consciousness of class struggle and two-line struggle and a firm, correct political orientation be fostered. "With culture" means intellectual development, and it means, under the precondition of putting proletarian politics in command, allowing pupils and students to study hard to master culture and scientific knowledge, acquire the ability to analyse and solve problems and have real competence to serve the people. Only those who have socialist consciousness in the first place and a mastery of cultural and scientific knowledge, that is, people who persist in the orientation of being both red and expert, can be workers of a new type who are genuinely at home in both mental and manual work.

In asserting that he would "rather have workers without culture," Chang Chun-chiao was blatantly advocating doing away with intellectual development and peddling that "studying is useless." This is in essence ultra-Right nonsense. While bleating incessantly that "in the various fields of the superstructure some sectors are still dominated by the bourgeoisie," Chang Chun-chiao tried to prevent successors to the proletarian revolutionary cause from acquiring necessary socialist cultural and scientific knowledge. How can we in this way wrest the supremacy in the realm of knowledge and technology from the bourgeoisie? Revolutionary teachers have always paid great attention to acquiring revolutionary culture. Lenin pointed out: "You know that a communist society cannot be built in an illiterate country." (*The Tasks of the Youth Leagues.*) Chairman Mao taught us: "Revolutionary culture is a powerful revolutionary weapon for the broad masses of the people." (*On New Democracy.*) "An army without culture is a dull-witted army, and a dull-witted army cannot defeat the enemy." (*The United Front in Cultural Work.*)

For us to combat and prevent revisionism, consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat,

prevent a capitalist restoration and build socialism and communism, we must, while doing a good job of getting the intellectuals to integrate with the working people, speed up the task of enabling the working people to master intellectual work. This is an important task for the proletarian revolution in education.

Since the start of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and under the guidance of Chairman Mao's line in the educational revolution, we have attained notable achievements. As the "gang of four" did not have the truth on their side and had no support from the masses, they used the big stick and resorted to name-calling. If anyone even so much as mentioned "acquire knowledge" or tried to do something about promoting intellectual development, the gang started throwing charges round like "giving top priority to intellectual development," "putting culture above everything else," "restoration of the old" and "taking the old path again." They purposely confused proletarian intellectual development with "giving top priority to intellectual development," two totally different concepts, so as to muddle people's thinking.

Our difference with the revisionist line in education is not a question of whether we want to acquire knowledge or not, but a question of who should have knowledge, how to acquire knowledge and how to apply such knowledge once it is acquired. To promote intellectual development according to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line is essentially different from the bourgeoisie's "giving top priority to intellectual development." The bourgeoisie hypocritically declares that "schools are only places to disseminate knowledge." They use "giving top priority to intellectual development" as a pretext to oppose the political orientation of the proletariat. Actually, "the bourgeoisie themselves, who advocated this principle, made their own bourgeois politics the cornerstone of the school system." (Lenin: *Speech at the Second All-Russia Congress of Internationalist Teachers.*) There never has been any pure and simple "giving top priority to intellectual development" in the world. "Giving top priority to intellectual development" means, in fact, giving top priority to bourgeois politics. Liu Shao-chi's ranting about "shutting the world out and

devoutly applying oneself to studying the classics" and Lin Piao's idiotic "get full marks, become top-notchers" were both advancing the bourgeoisie's cry of "giving top priority to intellectual development." These were bait to mislead young people to shut themselves behind closed doors and devote themselves to book study and regard the knowledge so obtained as capital for the advancement of their personal interests. Many young people were led astray in this way.

We have always been against this. Chairman Mao pointed out that the old system of education destroyed talent and the youth and that he was very much against it. Hence, to promote intellectual development in accordance with Chairman Mao's revolutionary line is to put proletarian politics in command, to teach the young people the necessity to study hard and acquire cultural and scientific knowledge so as to better serve the great cause of socialist revolution and socialist construction.

Since the start of the Great Cultural Revolution, many schools have adhered to the policy of "open-door" education, combining education with productive labour and theory with practice and, in accordance with the Marxist theory of knowledge and the socialist orientation, organized classes for instruction. These measures have played an important role in the political-ideological education of the students, helping them establish the proletarian class outlook, a correct approach to labour and towards the masses, and the dialectical-materialist and historical-materialist outlook.

Chang Chun-chiao's loud proclamation that "studying is useless" actually called for the continued cultural despotism of the bourgeoisie. Chang Chun-chiao's assertion that he would "rather have workers without culture" was really an attempt to stop the labouring people from acquiring cultural and scientific knowledge their predecessors had created, a futile scheme to keep the workers and poor and lower-middle peasants for ever in a state of ignorance and without culture.

In tampering with Chairman Mao's educational policy, Chang Chun-chiao's "eschewing of culture" was aimed at negating the political precondition of "with socialist consciousness."

Culture itself is not without its class nature. Man's socialist consciousness does not arise spontaneously. It has to be acquired and gradually enhanced through diligently studying Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought in the course of the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment. But to have a good understanding of Marxist theory it is necessary to have some general knowledge as a foundation and instrument.

Chang Chun-chiao's "workers" also calls for careful analysis. Not one of the "gang of four" knew how to work and farm or about military affairs. They abhorred manual labour and detested the labouring people. Chiang Ching viciously attacked the great working class, saying: "The workers are fundamentally dirty." Isn't it clear that the "gang of four" was against the workers and peasants and their children acquiring socialist consciousness and against their studying culture? The "workers" whom they talked so glibly about could be nothing more than working people condemned for ever to be ignorant, dull-witted slaves. Their aim was to have the working people "trained in such a way as to be useful servants of the bourgeoisie, able to create profits for it without disturbing its peace and leisure." (Lenin: *The Tasks of the Youth Leagues*.)

The aim of the "gang of four" was to addle people's minds, throw the line in education into confusion, sabotage the revolution in education, undermine socialist revolution and socialist construction and thus realize their criminal aim of restoring capitalism. That was why Chang Chun-chiao and the other members of the gang opposed Chairman Mao's line in education, and distorted and tampered with Chairman Mao's educational policy.

## A Concocted Hero

IN the summer of 1973 the "gang of four" had newspapers it controlled publish an article entitled "An Answer Which Calls for Deep Thought." The article made Chang Tieh-sheng, who took exams for college admission, "a hero" who "dares to go against the tide." After the

"gang of four" was toppled in October last year, the truth was out and it was shown that the gang had engineered a put-up job to further their scheme to usurp Party and state power.

What really happened was this.

The State Council issued a directive in April 1973 concerning enrolling college students. It stressed the need for changing the old method of enrolment and explicitly stated: Prospective students should be enrolled from among outstanding workers, peasants and soldiers with at least two years of practical experience and with the recommendation of the masses after adequate discussion. Their political qualities must first be taken into consideration and there should be tests to ascertain their educational levels and verify their grasp of basic knowledge and their ability to analyse and solve problems.

The new method not only avoided the defects of the pre-Cultural Revolution method which solely took marks into account, but also clearly broke with the metaphysical approach of rejecting the need for basic general knowledge. This change in the method of enrolling college students is of considerable significance to the consolidation of the achievements of the revolution in education and the implementation of Chairman Mao's principles in education.

The "gang of four" was against this new method and falsely charged that testing the candidates' educational level was "giving top priority to intellectual development" and "forcing the workers, peasants and soldiers to conform to the old educational system." The thrust of the gang's attack was directed against Premier Chou En-lai of the State Council and Chairman Mao's proletarian line in education.

Chang Tieh-sheng had completed middle school in his county town in 1968 and had gone to settle in a village where he later became a production team leader. When he took his entrance exams in the summer of 1973 in Hsingcheng County, Liaoning Province, candidates were notified well beforehand. The questions asked were not difficult and the candidates could refer to textbooks. But Chang's level was hopelessly low. He got 61 in mathematics, 38 in Chinese language and 6 in physics and chemistry. He did not hand in his papers

"unanswered," as the "gang of four" asserted. Knowing he would flunk, he wrote a letter to the examiner-in-charge complaining about the new method of enrolment and also charging that "bookworms" and people "madly desirous of getting into college" had been recommended by the communes and brigades. He claimed that he himself was a production team leader who worked wholeheartedly to serve the people. "Will the leadership at all levels please give consideration to my application?" he pleaded.

After the exams Chang went to see a former teacher of his who had become the director of the county bureau of education. He begged the director to help him get admitted to college.

Hearing about Chang's letter, a top henchman of the "gang of four" in Liaoning immediately saw that he could make capital out of this for the "gang of four." He carefully edited Chang's letter written on the examination paper and after deleting "This is what I have always dreamt of and wanted. Will the leadership at all levels please give consideration to my application" and other telling passages, he ordered the provincial paper to publish the doctored letter. He could do this because he had usurped some power at the provincial level. In the accompanying editor's note he wrote: "Although Chang Tieh-sheng returned his papers unanswered, he had, with regard to the political line in college enrolment, returned an answer which is clear and calls for deep thought."

The "gang of four" used this fabricated "hero" who handed in exam papers "unanswered" and "who dares to go against the tide" to launch an attack against the State Council. Chiang Ching, that bourgeois careerist, hailed Chang, saying: "Marvellous! Here is a hero. He dares to go against the tide." The gang's Liaoning henchman described him as "a slab of rock with sharp cutting edges" and announced: "I'm going to use this rock on someone."

To incorporate Chang Tieh-sheng into their scheme to usurp Party and state power, the "gang of four" used that portion of power they had usurped to get Chang into college — by

hook or by crook. The gang set to work and set the keynote for the campaign, claiming that "Chang Tieh-sheng's consciousness of the two-line struggle is high," that "he is most qualified for admission" and that "admitting or not admitting him is a question of which line is being implemented." Thus Chang swaggered his way into college and in no time at all was "admitted" into the Party and made a member of the college's Party committee.

Along with the accompanying fuss and clamour kicked up by the "gang of four," Chang grew more and more outrageously reactionary. He went to Peking and elsewhere engaging in demagoguery, fomenting trouble and sowing discord and confusion. "More than 75 per cent

of the veteran cadres are bourgeois democrats and they inevitably become capitalist-roaders," he truculently proclaimed. He spread such reactionary fallacies as: "Veteran cadres are democrats, and democrats are capitalist-roaders." He attacked Chairman Mao, Premier Chou and Comrade Hua Kuo-feng whom the Chairman had personally selected to succeed him. Chang Tieh-sheng inveighed against the Communist Party of China, the socialist system and the people's army. It was an all-out offensive.

By word and by deed, Chang Tieh-sheng proved that he was a stalwart henchman of the "gang of four" and an active counter-revolutionary.

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*(Continued from p. 10.)*

the masses hated what the gang did and many rose in resistance. Even in places which suffered seriously from the "gang of four's" interference, not a few counties carried on the struggle and continued to advance. For example, after the first national learn-from-Tachai conference, the Party committee of Tunghsiang County, which lies between Shanghai and Hangchow, led the people in resisting the "gang of four's" interference and made great strides forward in learning from Tachai. The county reaped an all-round rich harvest in agriculture in 1976, with grain output increasing 20 per cent. The movement to learn from Tachai in many other places in Chekiang also brought new successes. The province's output of grain, oil-bearing crops, tea and silkworm cocoons last year was bigger than that of 1975.

The smashing of the "gang of four" has eliminated the root of the evil. The people of the whole province warmly acclaim this great historic victory and firmly support Chairman Hua. Today people throughout the province are exposing and denouncing the gang and settling accounts with them for the harm they caused Chekiang. More than 260,000 criticism meetings were held in the two months after mid-October last year in the province and 980,000 persons took the floor. The class enemies were stunned while the people were

elated. The masses' enthusiasm for socialism has soared to an unprecedented height. In places where farmland was divided up, the peasants have organized themselves again and collective production in the people's communes has been restored. Industrial production is rapidly rising. The situation in the places where no peace and order was to be found due to sabotage by the gang has quickly returned to normal.

Delegates from Chekiang said with confidence: Chekiang has high hopes.

During the conference, delegates from other provinces, prefectures and counties which had suffered from the "gang of four's" pernicious influence also denounced the gang for its crimes.

The conference was a veritable battlefield where the people opened fire on the "gang of four." It has greatly stimulated the revolutionary spirit of the delegates, strengthened their determination to fight against the enemy and brought forth enormous enthusiasm to go all out in building socialism. The participants' initiative and determination to learn from Tachai has become stronger than ever before.

The conference has mobilized the country's 700 million peasants to fight the Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao anti-Party clique to the end and set off a new national upsurge in learning from Tachai and building Tachai-type counties.

# Reminiscences of Premier Chou En-lai

— Episodes in the Second Revolutionary Civil War (1927-37)

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*January 8 this year was the first anniversary of the passing of Premier Chou En-lai whom the Chinese people hold in high esteem and love. To mark the occasion, newspapers and periodicals all over the country published many articles in his memory, recalling his revolutionary activities in various revolutionary periods and paying tributes to his noble qualities. Beginning with this issue, highlights of some will be published. — Ed.*

## During the Nanchang Uprising

THE Chinese revolution entered a new historical period after the founding of the Chinese Communist Party in 1921. And with the united front established in 1924 between our Party and the Kuomintang which was under Dr. Sun Yat-sen's leadership, the First Revolutionary Civil War (1924-27) against imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism began. However, the revolution aborted in the first half of 1927 when it was on the upsurge, primarily because of the betrayal by the Chiang Kai-shek and Wang Ching-wei clique which represented the interests of the big landlords and the big bourgeoisie, and also because Chen Tu-hsiu, ringleader of the Right opportunist line in the Party, gave up the Party's leadership over the revolution and especially over the armed struggle. Beginning April 12 that year, revolutionaries were wantonly arrested and slaughtered by the Kuomintang reactionaries. White terror descended on the whole of China and the revolutionary forces suffered a serious blow.

To save the revolution, our Party, under the guidance of the Marxist-Leninist line represented by Chairman Mao, decided to launch

an armed uprising in Nanchang, Kiangsi Province. Commissioned by the Party, Comrade Chou En-lai assumed the post of secretary of the front committee which was to lead the uprising.

Towards the end of July, Comrade Chou En-lai and Comrades Ho Lung and Yeh Ting led their troops in marching to Nanchang from Wuhan in Hupeh Province. On July 27, under Comrade Chou En-lai's personal direction, the front committee was formally set up in the Kiangsi Hotel in Nanchang. In disregard of the grave danger under the reign of white terror, he worked day and night and successfully completed preparations for the armed uprising scheduled for July 30.

But Chang Kuo-tao, a Right opportunist in the Party, (he later betrayed the revolution and became a Chiang Kai-shek secret agent) went on July 29 to Chiuchiang north of Nanchang as the representative of the Party Central Committee. He sent two telegrams to Nanchang saying that "there should be circumspection in starting the uprising" and that no action should be taken before he got to Nanchang. After considering the situation at that time, Comrade Chou En-lai decided that the uprising had to be carried out as planned. Chang Kuo-tao arrived in Nanchang on the morning of July 30 and put forward various "reasons" against the uprising at an emergency meeting called by the front committee. In addition, he raised the issue that without the approval of Chang Fa-kuei, a Kuomintang warlord, the uprising should not be started. Seeing through Chang Kuo-tao's plot to oppose the uprising, Comrade Chou En-lai forcefully repudiated his erroneous views and resolutely called for immediate action. He

also explicitly pointed out that our Party must lead the uprising on its own and must not turn to warlords for help. His correct stand was unanimously endorsed by the other members of the committee and it was decided that the timing of the uprising be reset at 02:00 hours on August 1.

Exactly on time, the general headquarters under the command of Comrade Chou En-lai, Comrades Chu Teh, Ho Lung, Yeh Ting and Liu Po-cheng, fired three shots from the city wall to give the signal. All at once shooting burst out in and outside the city of Nanchang. When the fierce fighting was going on, Comrade Chou En-lai issued commands in a school near one of the enemy's stubborn strongholds — a Catholic church on Sungpai Street. Bullet holes and marks of the intense fighting are still visible today on the building's walls. The 30,000-odd insurrectionists attacked late at night and the enemy was taken by surprise. After five hours of fierce fighting, the five enemy regiments were completely annihilated and the city of Nanchang was taken. The uprising was a success.

Firing the first salvo against the Kuomintang reactionaries, the Nanchang Uprising went down as a brilliant chapter in the annals of the armed uprisings led by our Party on its own. This uprising seriously punctured the arrogance of the Kuomintang reactionaries and greatly inspired the fighting will of the workers and peasants. In 1933, the Workers' and Peasants' Democratic Central Government (at Juichin, Kiangsi Province) under Chairman Mao's leadership proclaimed that "August 1" be the Day of the Chinese Workers' and Peasants' Red Army. This is how August 1 became the day marking the founding of the Chinese People's Liberation Army.

Comrade Chou En-lai's historic contributions in leading the Nanchang Uprising have

been recorded for ever in the annals of revolution.

### On the Long March

After the Fourth Plenary Session of the Sixth Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party in 1931, a "Left" opportunist line — then represented by Wang Ming — held sway over the whole Party for the third time. As a result, the Workers' and Peasants' Red Army dwindled and the revolutionary base areas shrank from day to day. The Red Army was forced to evacuate the central revolutionary base area in Kiangsi in October 1934 and began the Long March. But because of the sabotage brought to the military actions by the "Left" opportunist line, the Red Army continued to suffer casualties after the Long March got under way. In January 1935, after the Red Army seized Tsunyi in northern Kweichow, the Party Central Committee convened an enlarged Political Bureau meeting there.

The Tsunyi Meeting was a most important turning-point in the history of our Party. Chairman Mao's leading position in the whole Party



P.L.A. fighters visiting Comrade Chou En-lai's bedroom during the Tsunyi Meeting.

and the whole army was established at it, the errors in military and organizational work were set right — an accomplishment of decisive importance at that moment — and the rule of Wang Ming's "Left" opportunist line was brought to an end. Comrade Chou En-lai stood fast throughout the meeting to the revolutionary line, and resolutely supported Chairman Mao's leadership, thus making great contributions to the meeting's success. The meeting also decided that Comrade Chou En-lai, then Vice-Chairman of the Military Commission of the Party Central Committee, was to take part in organizing and leading the Chinese Workers' and Peasants' Red Army in completing the Long March under the supreme command of Chairman Mao.

The Red Army went through Kweichow and Yunnan after the Tsunyi Meeting and entered Szechuan. Manoeuvring among the heavy enemy forces, it successfully frustrated the 400,000 Kuomintang troops' encirclements, pursuits, obstructions and interceptions. Comrade Chou En-lai always stayed by the side of Chairman Mao in all the fierce battles. He actively collected information and made proposals to assist Chairman Mao in directing the military operations. With his great enthusiasm and outstanding talent, he organized the army units to carry out Chairman Mao's strategic plans and disposition of troops for a campaign or a battle.

After the Red Army entered Szechuan, the careerists Lin Piao and Peng Teh-huai conspired to usurp Chairman Mao's leadership and wanted Peng to be the "commander-in-chief at the front." They wrote to the Party Central Committee to demand the "removal" of Chairman Mao who was in charge of the Military Commission of the Party Central Committee. At the enlarged Political Bureau meeting called by the Party Central Committee at Huili in southwestern Szechuan in May 1935, Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee severely criticized Lin Piao and others. Comrade Chou En-lai conducted a serious struggle against Lin Piao and others at the meeting, displaying the noble qualities of a Marxist — open and above-board and always ready to uphold the truth.

When the First Front Army of the Red Army joined forces with the Fourth Front

Army in the Maokung area in the western part of Szechuan in June 1935, Chang Kuo-tao of the Fourth Front Army opposed the correct decision made by Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee to continue the northward march and insisted on withdrawing to Chinghai, Sinkiang or the western part of Szechuan. Especially when the Red Army reached Pahi in northwestern Szechuan, Chang Kuo-tao even tried to threaten the Party Central Committee and Chairman Mao by force and usurp the leadership of the Party and the Red Army. Upholding Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, Comrade Chou En-lai waged repeated face-to-face struggles against Chang Kuo-tao.

In July, when the Red Army reached Maoerkai bordering on the grassland and decided to rest, train and regroup the troops for some time there, Comrade Chou En-lai suddenly fell ill from fatigue on the long journey and hard work over the previous half year. His temperature was as high as over 39° and he lay in a coma all day. Chairman Mao, Yeh Chien-ying, Liu Po-cheng and other comrades were greatly anxious and telegraphed for doctors. After four days of medical treatment, Comrade Chou En-lai's temperature began to drop and several days later the illness took a favourable turn. But immediately after that, and though he was still unable to get up, he had documents and books and papers sent to him and resumed work.

The Red Army made its way through the vast grassland in August. During the first several days, there were three meals a day and a bowl of barley gruel at each meal. Later, barley ran out, as did the wild plants. Word came from above that horses be slaughtered for meat. But this did not last long because there were more people and fewer horses. At this moment, Comrade Chou En-lai told his guard to take out a small amount of barley flour he had saved and give it to other comrades. Showing consideration for Comrade Chou En-lai's health, the guard was reluctant. Comrade Chou En-lai said sternly: "So long as the comrades are alive, I am alive. Sustenance of a revolutionary comrade's life means adding strength to the revolutionary cause. Take it out and distribute it!"

There are many such examples that show how Comrade Chou En-lai defied difficulties and dangers, worked with utter devotion and was concerned about his comrades.

Thanks to Chairman Mao's wise leadership and the assistance of Comrade Chou En-lai and other comrades in command, the Workers' and Peasants' Red Army, after repulsing the enemy's pursuits and interceptions with a huge force of several hundred thousand men, crossing over snow-capped mountains and passing through trackless grassland, successfully completed the 25,000-li Long March.

### "Sian Incident"

Immediately after arriving in northern Shensi in October 1935, under the leadership of Chairman Mao, the Party Central Committee set to furthering the struggle to establish an anti-Japanese national united front to usher in a new upsurge in the resistance to Japan.

In 1936, Japanese imperialism stepped up its aggression against China while Chiang Kai-shek continued to pursue the policy of non-resistance to Japan and anti-communist civil war. He flew to Sian, the capital of Shensi Province, and was about to convene a meeting of high-ranking officers to make plans to attack the Red Army. Influenced by our Party's policy of the anti-Japanese national united front, the Kuomintang's Northeastern Army (stationed in Sian and the surrounding areas because the Northeast had been occupied by the Japanese invaders) headed by Chang Hsueh-liang and Northwest Army headed by Yang Hu-cheng demanded that Chiang Kai-shek should stop the civil war and unite with the Communist Party to resist Japan. Chiang Kai-shek turned down their proposal and Chang and Yang arrested Chiang on December 12. This was the famous "Sian Incident."

A tense situation suddenly arose in China. Within the Kuomintang, the pro-Japanese group headed by Ho Ying-chin quickly mustered forces and pressed towards Sian, trying to use the incident to start a large-scale civil war so as to clear the way for the Japanese invaders. Based on a correct analysis of the situation, Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee resolutely opposed a new round of civil war and stood for a peaceful settlement of the "Sian

Incident," holding the view that if Chiang Kai-shek agreed to stop the civil war and jointly resist Japan, he would be released. At the invitation of Chang Hsueh-liang and Yang Hu-cheng, Comrade Chou En-lai, accredited by Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee as the Party's plenipotentiary, went to Sian.

Partly because he had been ill several times during the Long March and partly because of being overtired from work, Comrade Chou En-lai was not physically fit at the time. However, in order to fulfil the important mission the Party had assigned him, he immediately left Paoan (now Chihntan County in Shensi Province) where the Party Central Committee headquarters was located. Disregarding heavy snow, piercing cold and the rugged hilly roads, he rushed by horse to Yen-an, a hundred kilometres away. He arrived in Sian on December 16 aboard a special plane sent by Chang Hsueh-liang.

Comrade Chou En-lai plunged into work immediately after arriving. In accordance with the principles and policies formulated by Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee, he expressed full approval for the Chang-Yang action and, at the same time, explained the situation, both internal and external, to them. His incisive analysis plus patient persuasion convinced Chang and Yang of our Party's stand for a peaceful settlement of the Sian Incident. He also consulted with them about how to win over people of all walks of life, and together they made military arrangements in order to repulse the Kuomintang pro-Japanese group's "punitive expedition" against Sian.

Comrade Chou En-lai waged a struggle against Chiang Kai-shek on just grounds, to our advantage and with restraint, which finally forced Chiang Kai-shek, the die-hard ringleader who bent on opposing communism and committing national betrayal, to accept the demand put forward by Chang and Yang to halt the civil war and unite with the Communist Party to resist Japan.

The "Sian Incident" was thus peacefully settled. It helped form and develop the anti-Japanese national united front. At a time calling for national survival, Comrade Chou En-lai made a contribution of historic importance to the revolution.



*Kwangsi: Revolution in Health Work (I)*

## Put the Stress on the Rural Areas

by Our Correspondents Hua Sheng and Hsiang Jung

*On June 26, 1965, Chairman Mao issued an important instruction in which he sharply criticized the Ministry of Health which was then subject to interference and sabotage by the revisionist line, and pointed out that it should be renamed the "Ministry of Health for Urban Overlords" and that "In medical and health work, put the stress on the rural areas." Since the start of the Great Cultural Revolution in 1966, China's health work has undergone profound changes as a result of the fierce struggle against the revisionist line. Kwangsi, a minority area where there used to be a shortage of doctors and medicine in the rural areas, is a case in point.*

**T**RAVELLING 2,500 kilometres by train from Peking, we arrived in Nanning, capital of the Kwangsi Chuang Autonomous Region on China's southern border.

Located in the subtropical zone, Kwangsi has many mountain ranges, rivers and valleys. Of the more than 30 million people of 14 different nationalities living there, one-third are Chuangs and the rest include Hans, Yaos, Miaos, Tungs, Molaos and Maonans.

Nanning is a clean and beautiful city with blocks of light-coloured new multi-storeyed buildings amid clusters of palm, jackfruit and mango trees. It is a far cry from what it was at the time of liberation in 1949. As many "old Nanning hands" told us, the city was a complete shambles where rubbish piled high and bred swarms of mosquitoes and flies. There were epidemic diseases all year round. In the vast rural areas, living and health conditions of the minority people were even worse, for

they were forced to live in the mountains and valleys by reactionary ruling classes which pushed a Han chauvinist policy.

Before liberation, there was a high incidence of malaria. Schistosomiasis, filariasis, ancylostomiasis and other parasitic diseases were very common. When fulminant infectious diseases like smallpox, cholera and bubonic plague raged, they took a heavy toll of the people in a single place.

Statistics in 1947 showed that there were only 187 health centres and 1,100 health workers in the whole of Kwangsi. Out-of-the-way villages had no doctor and medicine at all. Patients could do nothing but wait for death while family members prayed to god for help or asked a sorcerer or sorceress to "exorcize the sick."

### Harm Caused by Revisionist Line

Health and medical conditions began to improve after liberation. Big efforts have been made to prevent and treat epidemic and parasitic diseases. The number of medical and health centres has multiplied and minority medical workers have been trained. But owing to sabotage by Liu Shao-chi's revisionist line prior to the Great Cultural Revolution, no radical changes had taken place in the rural areas where doctors and medicine remained limited and medical personnel, equipment and funds were mostly allocated to the cities.

The autonomous region's health bureau gave us the following figures. In 1965, the year preceding the start of the Great Cultural Revolu-

tion, there were 47,000 medical and health workers in the whole region, among them only 6,700 worked in the rural areas, an average of six for each of the 1,000 people's communes. Only 2.3 per cent of the total investment in capital construction in health work from 1953 to 1966 went to commune-run health centres. Other expenses earmarked for communes (pay for staff and money for medicine included) accounted for only 6 per cent of the total.

The revisionist line brought harm to health and medical work in every respect. Liu Shao-chi and his cohorts opposed the ideological remoulding of medical personnel, with the result that many of them failed to devote themselves to serving the labouring people. Kwangsi had 4 medical colleges and 9 secondary health schools, but all were aimed at training medical personnel for the cities. More than 80 per cent of the graduates were assigned to work in the cities, or at least in county seats. Medical and pharmaceutical researchers buried themselves in medical books and seldom stepped out of their laboratories, while paying no attention to studying the common diseases in the rural areas. In 1960, Kwangsi built a medical apparatus plant which successfully trial-produced small X-ray machines and portable autoclaves urgently needed in the countryside. But due to interference by the revisionist line, the plant switched to manufacturing mirrors, scissors and other articles for daily use which brought in more profits.

This way of doing things enraged the labouring masses who demanded a quick change.

### **Progress Through Struggle**

After Chairman Mao in 1965 issued the instruction on putting the stress on the rural areas in medical and health work, revolutionary medical personnel and the masses conscientiously studied and firmly supported it. Soon after the Great Cultural Revolution started in 1966, the revisionist line came under fire and Chairman Mao's revolutionary line struck deeper root in people's hearts. Hence big and swift changes in Kwangsi's health work.



A city medic explaining acupuncture to barefoot doctors.

The following figures are illustrative of the new advances.

Since 1969, production brigades in rural communes have introduced a co-operative medical system and built up a contingent of barefoot doctors doing both medical and farm work. Statistics for 1975 showed that there were 12,000 clinics at the brigade level in the whole autonomous region, each brigade having two to four barefoot doctors. Of the region's 38,000 barefoot doctors, one-third are women. All 180,000 production teams had their own small clinics staffed by one or two health workers. Totalling 218,000, these health workers are also selected from among commune members and trained to treat minor injuries and illnesses. While taking part in collective productive labour as the other peasants do, they practise medicine in their spare time, giving a helping hand to the barefoot doctors. The co-operative medical system and barefoot doctors — two socialist new things — have played a significant role in the revolution in rural health work. (For details, see the next report in this series.)

The region had 19,000 medical personnel working at the commune level in 1975, triple the figure in 1965. Of the region's 4,000 medical college graduates between 1966 and 1975, some 3,500 were assigned to work in county hospitals

or commune clinics; four-fifths of the 10,000 graduates of secondary health schools trained in the same period went to the countryside. In addition, large numbers of urban medical personnel have settled in the countryside since 1969 — 5,000 from the cities in the autonomous region and 2,000 from Tientsin in north China. Meanwhile, city hospitals have made it a rule to send mobile medical teams to the countryside to help treat and prevent diseases, develop the co-operative medical system and train bare-foot doctors.

State investment in health work capital construction in the autonomous region has increased year by year since the Great Cultural Revolution began. The 1975 amount was two and a half times that of 1970, with more than 70 per cent for the rural areas. Other expenses on health work in 1975 were twice as much compared with 1965, of which the countryside took up 71 per cent. X-ray machines used in commune hospitals have increased from nine before the Cultural Revolution to more than 900. Kwangsi's 1,000 communes have basically been equipped with X-ray machines, apparatuses for laboratory tests, autoclaves and instruments for abdominal surgery and birth control.

### Many-Sided Changes

Chairman Mao pointed out: **"A line or a viewpoint must be explained constantly and repeatedly. It won't do to explain them only to a few people; they must be made known to the broad revolutionary masses."** Thanks to sustained efforts to carry out mass revolutionary criticism, those working in the departments concerned have now consciously implemented the principle of putting the stress on the rural areas in medical and health work.

We visited Nanning's No. 1 People's Hospital, which has grown to its present size on the basis of the former U.S. missionary-run Little Eden Hospital through gradual reform and expansion. Chairman Li of the hospital's revolutionary committee told us that the political consciousness of the hospital's medical personnel has been raised to a much higher level in the Great Cultural Revolution. They have earnestly studied Chairman Mao's instruction **"This question of 'for whom?' is fundamental; it is a**

**question of principle"** (*Talks at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art*) and other directives, which have enabled them to realize that revolutionary medical personnel must serve the labouring people and that they should have **"boundless warm-heartedness towards all comrades and the people."** (Mao Tsetung: *In Memory of Norman Bethune*.) For the convenience of workers and peasants on the city's outskirts, the hospital has made arrangements for its out-patient department to offer 24-hour service. It also has sent medical personnel to work in rotation in two people's communes in the vicinity and at the same time to be re-educated by the poor and lower-middle peasants. Chairman Li said: "Before liberation, the hospital was the 'Eden' of the rich and the labouring people were kept out. It didn't really serve the labouring people before the Great Cultural Revolution. It is only now that the hospital is run in their interests."

When we visited the Nanning Health School, all the teachers and students were ready to go to the countryside to carry out open-door education. Last year when the pharmacology speciality was having classes in the rural areas, its teachers and students helped clinics of 19 communes build small pharmaceutical factories.

Research personnel of the region's institute of medical and pharmacological sciences now often go to the countryside to do research work and make clinical observation together with local cadres and medical personnel. They completed 18 prescriptions in 1975 alone and have succeeded in using medicinal herbs to treat appendicitis instead of surgical treatment.

Responsible members of a medical instrument and apparatus plant took us around to see the 30-milliampere X-ray machines ready for shipment to users. The weight has been reduced to half the original 190 kg. after improvements were made, and it is more convenient for shipping them to mountainous areas where transport is difficult.

We also visited a pharmaceutical factory in Nanning, one of the 16 all told in Kwangsi. It not only produces large quantities of Western medicine, but also more than 30 kinds of pills and injectants which are prepared from locally available medicinal herbs and are commonly used in the rural areas.



Helping the Chuang people increase knowledge about hygiene.

### Fight Against the Bourgeoisie Inside the Party

During an interview, a deputy director of the health bureau in the autonomous region talked about his understanding of the revolution in health work. He said: Chairman Mao raised the question as early as 1945: "If the 360 million peasants are left out," does not "public health' become largely empty talk?" (*On Coalition Government.*) He taught us in 1957: "We have a rural population of over five hundred million, so the situation of our peasants has a most important bearing on the development of our economy and the consolidation of our state power. (*On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People.*)

Our country, he went on to say, is a socialist state of the dictatorship of the proletariat led by the working class and based on the worker-peasant alliance. Our general policy in developing the national economy is "taking agriculture as the foundation and industry as the leading factor." The exploiting classes' rule over several thousand years gave rise to a vast difference between the cities and the countryside in terms of medical and health conditions. Throughout the historical period of socialism, efforts must be made to gradually reduce this difference and create conditions for ultimately

eliminating it. All this shows that we must attach great importance to medical and health work in the rural areas. Why then did the Ministry of Health become the "Ministry of Health for Urban Overlords" before the Great Cultural Revolution?

Chairman Mao taught us: "You are making the socialist revolution, and yet don't know where the bourgeoisie is. It is right in the Communist Party — those in power taking the capitalist road. The capitalist-roaders are still on the capitalist road." He also pointed out: "The bureaucrat class on the one hand and the working class together with the poor and lower-middle peasants on the other are two classes sharply antagonistic to each other." "Those leading cadres who are taking the capitalist road have turned, or are turning, into bourgeois elements sucking the blood of the workers." Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and the "gang of four" which was smashed not long ago were none other than the bourgeoisie inside the Party. Holding a portion of Party and state power, they pushed a revisionist line in a vain attempt to restore capitalism in all fields including health work. What these persons were after was to restore and expand the vested interests of the exploiting classes they represented. This determined that they were bent on turning the Ministry of Health into the "Ministry of Health for Urban Overlords" and, under various pretexts, opposed putting the stress on the rural areas in medical and health work. The "gang of four" are typical representatives of the bourgeoisie inside the Party and a pack of voracious bloodsuckers. As was the case with other fields of work, they also meddled in the medical circles. Donning the cloak of Marxism, they pretended to support the revolution in medical and health work, but actually did all they could to undermine socialist revolution and construction and the revolution in health work as well.

The deputy director said with full confidence: "The tremendous changes in Kwangsi's medical and health work are the result of the struggle against the bourgeoisie in the Party. Through the current struggle to expose and repudiate the "gang of four," we will better implement Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in medical and health work and make new progress in serving the peasants and other labouring people.

# A Straight Race Between the Two Superpowers

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AT the beginning of this year when the White House was changing hands, the debate in the United States on its policy towards the Soviet Union became more intense. The burden of the discussion was: Who benefits by the "detente" so highly praised by the Soviet Union and to what extent is the United States threatened by the quickening Soviet arms expansion and war preparations?

Involved in the debate were many well-known figures both in and outside the government; among them were members of the newly founded Committee on the Present Danger, government personnel and brasshats whose tenure of office in the outgoing administration had just expired. As pointed out in the latest statements or reports by a congressional research institute, the Central Intelligence Agency and by non-governmental researchers with some understanding of Soviet military capabilities, the relative military strength of the United States and the Soviet Union is continuing to move in a direction favourable to the latter. In the development of nuclear weapons, Moscow is seeking not just rough parity but superiority over the United States. The noted American military commentator Drew Middleton, reporting in *The New York Times*, observed that while his country now spends only 5.4 per cent of its GNP on defence, the Soviet military outlay has been brought to as high as 12 to 14.5 per cent of the Soviet GNP. He further pointed out that, compared with Soviet military strength which has been growing at an accelerated tempo, U.S. military power in the past decade has been on the decline. In the circumstances, he said, there would be a world of difference between the military situation confronting the President-elect when he took over and the situation his postwar predecessors had faced.

Now well aware of the danger of Soviet arms expansion and war preparations, many people in the United States are opposed to a policy of appeasement towards the Soviet Union, against a reduction in military spending and have a strong urge for more military might. A reflection of the fierce contention between the two superpowers for world hegemony, the debate in the United States points to the fear of more and more people in the U.S. ruling group that Moscow will use the "detente" fraud to keep boosting its armaments so as to achieve military superiority over the United States. From the standpoint of safeguarding their national interests, they have sensed the true existence of the Soviet threat to their country, which, they also have acknowledged, will loom large if things are allowed to go on as they are now.

In view of this awakening in the United States, the Soviet authorities have of late issued one statement after another to further promote their "detente" gimmick in an effort to help foster the growth of the appeasement mentality in that country. This "detente" rhetoric, of course, can in no way cover up Moscow's strenuous endeavours for a military buildup. The contradiction between the two superpowers is as irreconcilable as their race for military superiority is permanent. Now that the United States has felt the growing Soviet menace, it certainly will not take things for granted. The arms race between the two is sure to go on and on. Washington's decision to trial-produce three different versions of the Cruise missile, its initial production of the B-1 — a strategic bomber of a new generation — and its test launching of the Trident missile is the latest proof of this.

# Is It Not for Arms Superiority?

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**I**N his speech in Tula on January 18, Brezhnev said that the policy pursued by the Kremlin is "not a course at superiority in armaments, but a course at reducing them." Again and again, Moscow has assured the world that its tenth five-year plan (1976-80) is in effect a programme of continued struggle for peace and international co-operation. But what are the facts? The plan for economic development being implemented zealously by the Soviet Union provides an answer.

A look at the implementation of the plan in 1976, its first year, and some of its provisions shows the following features:

## **Developing Munitions Industry in a Big Way**

First, to gain superiority in weapons, the Soviet Union has readjusted the proportional relations between different sectors of the economy and put the accent on the development of the munitions industry.

The Kremlin bosses told their 25th revisionist party congress that they "will do everything to have the fine armed forces of the Soviet Union provided, in the future as well, with all the necessary means for fulfilling their responsible task." To this end, it was stressed, priority must be given to the development of heavy industry at high speed, and the machine-building industry "is of first-rate importance."

Thus, greater emphasis is laid in the tenth five-year plan on heavy industry development. By 1980, the output of the means of production is to grow by 38 to 42 per cent and that of the

machine-building industry 50 to 60 per cent. In contrast, consumer goods output is to increase 30 to 32 per cent and that of the light and food industries 26 to 28 per cent.

According to official Soviet statistics on the implementation of the 1976 plan, national income, labour productivity in industry and the building trade, and technological equipment and spare parts for light industry and the food industry and many other important items all fell short of the plan. Many food industry products were far below the 1975 level. But industries closely linked with the production of munitions, such as the machine-building industry, metal-working and chemical and petrochemical industries, overfulfilled their production plans.

The Western press reported that the annual growth rate of Soviet arms production in recent years reached 16 per cent, 2.3 times that of the total industrial output value. The Soviet Union has surpassed by a big margin its adversary — the United States — in production of many weapons. *The New York Times* admitted that "Soviet superiority in conventional weapons is reflected by the fact that in tanks, armoured personnel carriers, artillery and tactical aircraft, the Russians have been outproducing the Americans since 1965. The current American advantage in helicopters will be ended by 1977."

## **Changing Distribution of Productive Forces**

Second, to prepare for a war of aggression, the Soviet Union is busy improving the distribu-

tion of its productive forces. The Soviet press declared that from the point of view of the national economy and national defence, it is an important policy in the distribution of productive forces to establish industrial centres in a planned way in the newly exploited areas with few industrial enterprises.

In order to scatter industrial enterprises so as to maintain productive capacities in wartime and to speed up exploitation of natural resources, the Soviet Union is making full use of the newly exploited areas. The tenth five-year plan stipulates that to improve the distribution of productive forces, the Soviet Union will further enhance the economic potentiality of the eastern regions and augment their role in the country's industrial production. The eastern regions are counted on to provide all of the increased oil, gas and aluminium, 90 per cent of the increased coal and 80 per cent of the increased copper as stipulated in the tenth five-year plan. The plan also explicitly emphasizes the development of the existing regional productive complexes and industrial centres and the establishment of new ones. This, in fact, means setting up some economic zones of strategic importance including power and raw material producing centres and industrial complexes.

The Soviet authorities also put great emphasis on the ability to place the whole economy on a war footing in a minute. The Kremlin has clamoured time and again that the state should be prepared at any time to put the economy on the warpath. The Soviet magazine *Communist of the Armed Forces* reiterated in its fifth issue last year the importance of the flexibility of the military economy (the ability to make a rapid change according to the needs of the strategic military situation).

### **Network of Strategic Communications and Reserves of Material**

Third, the five-year plan stresses the vigorous development of the strategic communica-

tions and transportation network. At present, the Soviet Union is disposing and building a land, water and air transport network and subways according to wartime needs. It was reported that it has widened the canal linking the Baltic Sea and the White Sea, which is of economic and military significance. It is developing transportation with the other C.M.E.A. member states and further developing international truck and railway transport on the basis of the long-term special plan they have jointly worked out. According to Western reports, the Soviet Union has begun building Soviet-style broad-gauge railways in certain areas in some East European countries and carrying out a unified automatic coupling system to speed up transportation of materials. In addition, it has forced certain East European countries to accelerate the building of east-west strategic highways.

Fourth, as a step towards war, the Soviet Union is redoubling its efforts to increase the reserves of material, including not only strategic and conventional weapons, machines and equipments, but daily necessities. The tenth five-year plan stresses that "a necessary state reserve of farm products should be set up." The Soviet authorities adopted a resolution in 1975 to allocate a state investment of 3,500 million rubles during the five-year plan to build big elevators with a total storage capacity of 40 million tons. The Western press has pointed out that Soviet efforts to set up reserves of farm products are specifically a war preparation.

Facts show that Brezhnev's "peace psalms" of not seeking "superiority in armaments" or "never going along the road of aggression" are sung to put his counterpart off guard in the contention for world hegemony. What Soviet social-imperialism is seeking at all costs is precisely the realization of a whole set of "economic plans" worked out to "gain superiority in armaments" and of the dream to bring the whole world under its domination.

# Growing Anxiety of Western Creditors

**M**ONEYLENDING has always been a way for Western financial capital to pile up more money. The bigger the loan, the greater the profit. All moneylenders take a professional "pride" in this and will never tire of this business.

Lately, however, Western bankers have become more and more anxious about the consequences of the huge loans they have made to the Soviet Union and the East European member countries of the C.M.E.A.

As disclosed by the British paper *The Sunday Telegraph* on January 23, some financial magnates in the United States and Western Europe are now surprised by the tempo of the "Eastern bloc" in seeking loans and their heavy borrowing. The same paper recalled that only

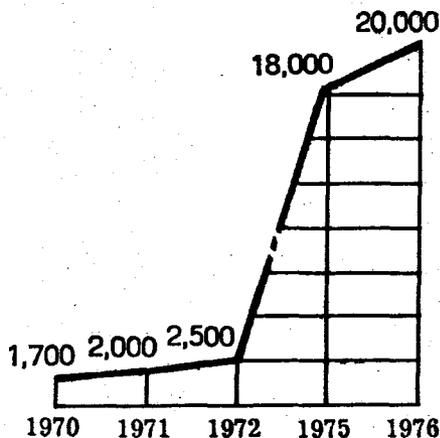
a few years ago, under the impact of the much-publicized Soviet "detente" fraud, they had for a time flocked to lend the Soviet Union money, thinking it a profitable undertaking.

They have found out that the total amount of Western loans to the Soviet Union zoomed from 1,700 million U.S. dollars in 1970 to 18,000 million in 1975, a more than 11-fold increase in a matter of five or six years. Moreover, the total debt the C.M.E.A. as a whole owed the West was somewhere between 40,000 and 50,000 million dollars by the end of 1976. Besides, there is not the slightest indication that this borrowing trend will slow down.

They also have discovered that the way Moscow uses the money from the West is most revealing:

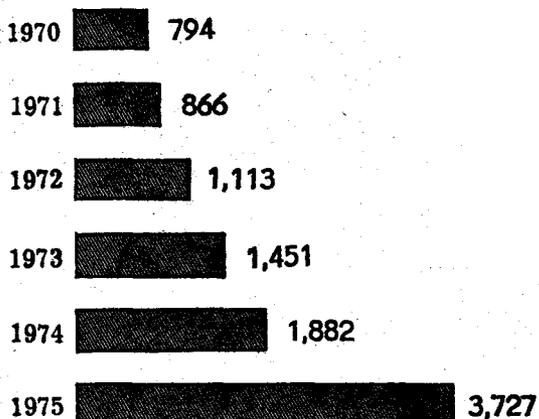
## NET SOVIET DEBT TO THE WEST

(million U.S. dollars)



## SOVIET IMPORTS OF WESTERN MACHINERY & EQUIPMENT

(million U.S. dollars)



Whenever there is a crop failure and its granaries are running out of stock, Moscow borrows money to import sizable amounts of food grain;

Whenever Soviet industrial production comes to a standstill and technology lags behind, those who control the Kremlin use the loans they get from the West to finance imports of machinery and equipment in quantity;

Whenever there is a shortage of merchandise on the domestic market, the Soviet Union without fail borrows more money from the West to buy food, clothing and other consumer goods for window dressing. . . .

As the same British paper observed, what makes the West feel even more uneasy is that the financial and technical aid has enabled the Soviet Union not only to exploit the resources within its economic framework but also to oil its military machine. That in recent years the Soviet Union, the superpower with a stringent domestic economy and an acute shortage of consumer goods, has been able to pump large amounts of money into its frenzied campaign of

arms expansion and war preparations must, to some extent, be attributed to the steady flow of loans from the West. All the men in the Kremlin have to do is to pay a certain amount of interest for big loans to increase their military spending. With it they are able to develop their military hardware and strengthen their military muscle.

The Western bankers who in the past flocked to open their purses to the Soviet Union are now said to be not so willing to issue more loans on the past scale. The same British paper noted meaningfully that the consequences arising from loans to the Soviet Union have become not only a question of concern to Western bankers, but a question of main concern to Western statesmen as well.

Who profits by it, those who lend the money or those who borrow it? What aftermath will be produced tomorrow by the financial help given to the Soviet Union today? These are indeed questions that the West can no longer afford to ignore.

## 1976 in Retrospect

# CARICOM Advances in Struggle

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**T**HE process of national independence and self-determination in the Caribbean region which started in the 1960s had new successes last year.

Bounded by the Greater Antilles, the Lesser Antilles, the South American continent and Central America, the Caribbean Sea region with 2.754 million square kilometres is one of the world's important waterways linking the various land masses. Over 30 countries and areas make up its shoreline.

Set up in August 1973, the Caribbean Community (CARICOM) is part of the British Com-

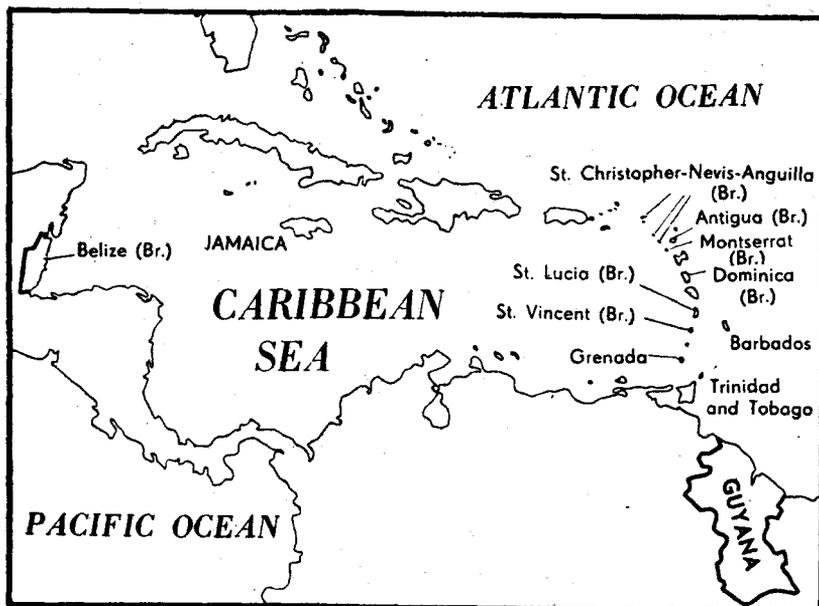
monwealth's Caribbean region covering the 16 countries and territories stretching from the Commonwealth of the Bahama Islands off the U.S. southeast coast to Guyana in the north-eastern part of the South American continent. The region's more than 272,000 square kilometres are inhabited by some 4.8 million people. A feature of the countries in this region is their small size and low population—surface areas range between 100 to 250,000 square kilometres and populations vary from 15,000 to 2 million. Politically, they once were British territories which later were subjected to U.S. imperialist

plundering and became objects of Soviet social-imperialist penetration. For a long period they were isolated and unassisted. It was in line with their desire to defend their national existence and to oppose old and new colonialism that they set up CARICOM. Members at first consisted of only four independent countries — Barbados, Guyana, Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago. They were later joined by Grenada which was newly independent and Antigua, Belize, Dominica, Montserrat, St. Christopher-Nevis-Anguilla, St. Lucia and St. Vincent, which are striving for complete independence, to bring the membership up to 12.

### Accelerating the Process of National Independence

A speed-up of the process of national independence in the community took place in 1976. Trinidad and Tobago last August ended its status as a member of the British Commonwealth since its independence in 1962, and was the second country to proclaim the establishment of a republic after Guyana which became a Co-operative Republic in February 1970. Jamaica too is planning to cut the last institutional links with its former suzerain state. St. Lucia's House of Assembly adopted a resolution to realize independence and Dominica decided to proclaim its independence this November. Other CARICOM member territories that have internal self-government, such as Belize and St. Christopher-Nevis-Anguilla, have reaffirmed their determination to attain complete independence.

The mighty historical trend — countries want independence, nations want liberation and the people want revolution — has engulfed these territories which were the earliest colonies in the Western hemisphere. Presiding over



CARICOM's ministerial council meeting early last year, Grenada's Minister Without Portfolio Derek Knight declared that more countries in the East Caribbean region will attain their independence. Although very small, they nevertheless have a real right to speak in the current world tribunal.

### Eliminating Vestiges of Colonialist Influence

Having nationalized all its forestry and bauxite industries in the last few years, Guyana won a new victory in May by expelling all foreign capital from the sugar industry, another principal sector of its economy. In this struggle, the Guyana Government took over all the assets of the British-owned Booker Company which had operated in Guyana for 160 years. Its operations covered the sugar industry, retail outlets, shipping, printing, breweries and insurance. With the acquisition of the company, 80 per cent of Guyana's national economy came under state control.

Despite a tight economic situation, Jamaica has adhered to the policy of government participation in the bauxite and alumina industry, the country's most important economic sector, which had been completely controlled by six

North American companies. To date, the Jamaican Government has reached agreements on stock sharing with four of the six. The Government also has bought eight big hotels in a move to revive its depressed tourism.

By the beginning of last year, the Trinidad and Tobago Government had obtained shares in 32 enterprises, including oil companies. On this basis, it increased the government's shares in Caroni Ltd., the biggest sugar company, from 55 per cent to 98 per cent. In addition, it acquired another foreign-owned sugar company holding 5,000 acres of land and a foreign cement plant with an annual output of 250,000 tons.

Other CARICOM member countries also made progress in the struggle to nationalize foreign-owned enterprises. For example, Antigua, which is on its way to complete independence, requisitioned a U.S.-owned oil refinery in July.

In their efforts to change the lopsided colonial economic structure, the CARICOM member countries also attach importance to developing agriculture and small industry. All have increased appropriations for farming and water-conservancy projects. Trinidad and Tobago, Guyana, Jamaica and Grenada have each greatly expanded their rice acreage. The number of small industrial enterprises has steadily gone up. A brick factory and a cassava processing plant have been built in Guyana for the first time in the country's history. Trinidad and Tobago has set up the country's first state-owned fish processing plant and Jamaica has built four small industrial complexes embracing 56 factories. Now advancing on the road to independence, some East Caribbean territories are erecting, according to plans, small factories making bricks, nails, plastic goods and other commodities. These measures have showed initial successes and reduced imports of food and other daily consumer goods.

### **Guarding Against the Tiger While Repulsing the Wolf**

Though the people of the CARICOM member countries in the past year had some successes in their struggle against U.S. imperialism with its investment of billions of dol-

lars in the region, Soviet social-imperialism, harbouring unbridled expansionist ambitions, moved into the region in every way, hoping to replace the former as the region's overlord and take over the gains of the anti-imperialist struggle from the local people. Together with its agent in the Caribbean, the Soviet Union held naval exercises on an unprecedented scale in a show of force last August. Taking advantage of some countries' desire for foreign aid and passing itself off as the "sympathizer" and "supporter" of the local people's anti-imperialist struggle, Moscow promised to give them economic and technical "aid" while actually trying to put these countries under its economic control. Furthermore, through the local henchmen it has fostered in the region, it is meddling in the internal affairs of certain countries. Such a situation has presented the CARICOM member states with the arduous task of "guarding against the tiger at the back door while repulsing the wolf at the front gate."

Confronted with this task, the CARICOM member nations have quickened the pace of their unity in struggle so as to overcome their weakness of being not sufficiently strong individually, and strengthened their combat power against all kinds of imperialist forces of aggression. This was reflected at last June's emergency meeting of the Prime Ministers of Barbados, Guyana, Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago. The participants reached agreements on a number of important matters which included large loans to Jamaica, measures to increase trade within the community, establishment of joint ventures to produce cement, textiles, fertilizer and steel, financial aid to the less-developed member states and expansion of regional air and shipping services. A communique issued at the end of the meeting pointed out that concerted action was required to reduce the region's vulnerability to external forces and outside political, economic and military pressure.

The peoples of the CARICOM member nations are vigorously advancing in their just struggle against colonialism, imperialism and hegemonism.

# ROUND THE WORLD

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COMMUNIST PARTY OF  
PORTUGAL (M-L)

## The 7th Congress

The Communist Party of Portugal (C.P.P.) (Marxist-Leninist) held its 7th Congress from January 15 to 18 in Lisbon.

Heduno Gomes (Vilar), General Secretary of the C.P.P. (M-L) Central Committee, made a report on "The Activities of the Central Committee." In it, Vilar analysed the international and domestic political situation and the main social contradiction in Portugal and put forward the present political line of the Party.

The report pointed out that profound changes have taken place in the international situation and the communist movement. The changes in international relations testify to the correctness of Mao Tsetung's brilliant theory of dividing the present-day world into three parts or three worlds which are co-related and at the same time contradictory.

The report analysed the uneven development of the Soviet Union and the United States. It said that Russian social-imperialism is not only the arch-enemy of countries like the East European countries, Mongolia, Cuba and Angola, but also of various West European countries, at which most of its guns are aimed.

It continued: We strongly oppose U.S. imperialist hegemonic ambitions. We support the second world countries in their just struggle against hege-

monism practised by the two superpowers, especially in their struggle against the threat by social-imperialism. We will fight firmly against the oppression and exploitation of the people of the third world countries by old and new colonialism.

The congress adopted Vilar's report, the new Party Programme and Constitution, and elected the 7th Central Committee.

TANZANIA

## Achievements Through Self-Reliance

February 5 was the tenth anniversary of publication of the Arusha Declaration. A grand celebration held that day to mark the occasion in Tanzania was attended also by foreign guests from more than 40 countries and regions, including China.

Issued ten years ago by President Julius Nyerere, this declaration is a programmatic document which makes self-reliance the fundamental policy for national development. The declaration points out: "Independence means self-reliance. Independence cannot be real if a nation depends upon gifts and loans from another for its development." It stresses in particular that agriculture is the basis for developing the national economy.

Since publication of the declaration, Tanzania has adopted a series of measures to nationalize foreign banks, insurance companies, big enterprises, food

factories and wholesale trade as well as the import and export trade. At the same time, a number of factories have been built or expanded, cadres Africanized and universities set up to develop adult education. In the rural areas, efforts have been made to raise grain output and build irrigation works. The "Ujamaa villages" campaign has been launched in a big way to help scattered peasant households move to designated or newly built villages so as gradually to promote collective production.

Guided by the spirit of self-reliance embodied in the Arusha Declaration, Tanzania has scored remarkable achievements in the past ten years.

- Total industrial output value rose 13 times.
- The industrial population went up 2.5 times.
- Before 1967, the country could hardly produce any cloth from its own cotton, but in 1975 it had 8 textile mills with an annual output of more than 84 million metres. The sisal-growing area has been greatly expanded.
- The "villagization" campaign has been completed in the main and there are 7,684 villages, with inhabitants constituting about 85 per cent of the nation's population.
- Agricultural production has made progress. For instance, the Arusha region had bumper harvests in 1975. It sold more than 26,600 tons of corn and over 24,500 tons of wheat.
- Primary school enrollment was 1,532,000 in 1975 as against some 825,000 in 1967.

ZIMBABWE

## Armed Struggle Intensified

In a press release issued recently in Maputo, the Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe reaffirmed its determination to step up the armed struggle for the realization of genuine independence.

The press release said that the objectives of the Patriotic Front are to "liquidate imperialism and colonialism and thereby overthrow the racist minority regime of Rhodesia," and "create a national-democratic state of the people of Zimbabwe." It added that the Patriotic Front had decided to set up a 10-member co-ordinating committee to study relevant problems, including the reorganization of the Zimbabwe People's Army.

Held in Lusaka between January 29 and February 4, the 28th Session of the O.A.U. Liberation Committee adopted a recommendation on Zimbabwe to be submitted to the next meeting of the O.A.U. Council of Ministers. The recommendation reaffirmed Africa's commitment to the liberation of Zimbabwe through armed struggle and expressed the determination to "build a united national army for the liberation of Zimbabwe." The session en-

dorsed "the decision of the front-line states to give full political, material and diplomatic support to the Patriotic Front."

The recommendation called upon nationalists in Zimbabwe to unite in a common struggle against the enemy. It also appealed to "all people and cadres inside Zimbabwe irrespective of their political affiliation to contribute to the intensification of the armed struggle till total victory is achieved."

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

## Expelling Each Other's Correspondents

The U.S. State Department announced on February 5 that the United States had decided to expel Vladimir Alekseyev, a TASS correspondent in Washington, and ordered him to leave the country within a week. This was a reply to the Soviet expulsion of George Krimsky, an AP correspondent in Moscow.

The event took place at a time when the U.S. State Department recently issued a statement on the Moscow-instigated suppression by the Czechoslovak Government of those involved in "Charter 77." The statement condemned the action as infringement on human

rights and freedom and expressed much regret over the Soviet violation of the "Final Act" of the Helsinki conference which stipulates that all signers should undertake to promote, respect and observe the "human rights and fundamental freedoms" of all people. At a White House meeting with Soviet Ambassador Anatoly Dobrynin, U.S. President Jimmy Carter reaffirmed his commitment to human rights.

It was against this background that the Soviet Union on February 4 announced the expulsion of Krimsky. A statement by the AP general manager said that Krimsky "had been reporting activities of dissidents demanding more human rights in the Soviet Union."

The Soviet-American quarrel brought reaction from the Western press. A *Washington Post* report on February 5 saw the Soviet action as "a direct challenge to the Carter administration." A Reuter dispatch said that "President Carter's young administration has reacted strongly to what it considers the first test of its relationship with the Soviet Union." The French paper *L'Aurore* said that the immediate U.S. riposte "goes much beyond the facts themselves."

(Continued from p. 5.)

people and the bereaved family."

## Government Delegation of People's Democratic Republic of Yemen

Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien met and had a cordial and friendly conversation on February 5 with the Government Delegation of the People's Dem-

ocratic Republic of Yemen led by Foreign Minister Mohammad Saleh Mutie.

At the meeting, the Foreign Minister handed the Vice-Premier a letter of congratulation from Chairman Salem Robaya to Chairman Hua. Vice-Premier Li conveyed Chairman Hua's regards to Chairman Robaya.

The delegation was in Peking and Shanghai for five days.

Foreign Minister Huang Hua had a talk with it in the capital.

Foreign Minister Mutie had been in China twice before. His third visit made a new contribution to further consolidating and developing the friendship between the two peoples and the friendly relations and co-operation between the two countries.