China Reconstructs

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In Memory of Premier
When our Premier Chou En-lai died a year ago, messages of condolence from all over the world fell like heavy snowflakes on Peking, merging with the tears that engulfed China in shared sorrow over this gigantic loss.

From working class revolutionaries everywhere came tributes to his great services to the cause of the Chinese people's liberation and the cause of communism, his consistent defense and faithful, effective application of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought.

Messages from governments spoke of him as a remarkable statesman of our time. With particular warmth, many from the third world hailed him as a fellow fighter in their own cause, who in a great many ways encouraged and helped their self-reliant struggle and development.

Countries want independence, nations want liberation, peoples want revolution. Wherever this irresistible tide of our times surges high, there Premier Chou is remembered as a friend in need, and in deed.

Always a patriot, always an internationalist, Chou En-lai was a complete proletarian revolutionary. Beginning his political activity in the patriotic anti-imperialist, anti-feudal awakening of the May 4 Movement of 1919, he came quickly to Marxism and propagated it among the Chinese students and workers abroad. He joined the Communist Party of China in 1922.

Returning to China in the period of the First Revolutionary Civil War of 1924-27, when the Chinese Communist Party entered into revolutionary cooperation with the Kuomintang founded and led by Sun Yat-sen, he became political director of the Whampoa Military Academy and helped create a vigorous armed force for the war against imperialist-backed, feudal, reactionary northern warlords. There I first met him in the mid-1920s, as a young but already seasoned and versatile leader, firm and clear-cut in his commitment to revolution. Shortly afterwards, in Shanghai he led the workers' uprising which heroically wrested that great city from warlord hands.

But Chiang Kai-shek, backed by all the imperialist and feudal forces, which feared and hated the revolution, then betrayed the cause of Sun Yat-sen,
betrayed the united front of the time, turned on the people, massacred the workers and peasants, and became the biggest reactionary comprador warlord of all.

Chou En-lai was one of those who, uncowed by the murderous white terror, never stopped fighting but proceeded at once to organize the people’s counterblow. With Comrades Chu Teh, Ho Lung, Chen Yi and others he led the Nanchang Uprising of August 1, 1927 whose forces joined with those of the Autumn Harvest Uprising led by Chairman Mao. The Nanchang Uprising fired the first gun against the Kuomintang reactionaries. Today, August First is China’s Army Day.

In the course of the heroic and world-renowned Long March, of which he was one of the political and military organizers, Chou En-lai gave his full support to the crucial decision of the 1935 Tsunyi Meeting which established Chairman Mao’s leadership in both Party and army and so put the Chinese revolution on its sure road to success. For decades thereafter, he was Chairman Mao’s constant aide and comrade-in-arms, the day-to-day executive of his revolutionary line in struggles both domestic and international.

After the Long March triumphed, his capabilities were outstandingly demonstrated in the peaceful settlement of the Sian Incident* of December 1936. In consequence, the united front against the Japanese imperialist invaders was built and defended, and China’s continued existence as a nation was achieved in 1945 after eight years of war.

To expose China’s reactionaries in struggle in the form of negotiations was one of the arduous and complex tasks in those years, and I saw how well Chou En-lai shouldered it on behalf of the Party and people. In Chungking in the early 1940s peril constantly dogged his steps, but when he came to see me in connection with my work, he was always fearless and confident. When the war with Japan drew toward its end, his suggestions helped me to re-orient the work of the China Defense League to that of

* Under the influence of the Chinese Red Army and the people’s anti-Japanese movement, the Kuomintang’s Northeastern Army headed by Chang Hsueh-liang and the Kuomintang’s 17th Route Army headed by Yang Hu-cheng agreed to the anti-Japanese national united front proposed by the Communist Party of China and demanded that Chiang Kai-shek unite with the Communist Party to resist Japan. He refused, became still more active in his military preparations for the suppression of the Communists and massacred young people in Sian who were anti-Japanese. Chang Hsueh-liang and Yang Hu-cheng took joint actions and arrested Chiang Kai-shek. This was the famous Sian Incident of December 12, 1936. He was forced to accept the terms of unity with the Communist Party and resistance to Japan, and was then set free to return to Nanking.

the China Welfare Fund (now Institute) in the new situation. Setting itself up in Shanghai, which in 1945-49 was under Kuomintang control, it initiated various projects of interim benefit to the working people while doing its utmost, by medical and other material aid, to channel help to the liberated areas that fought to bring full emancipation to our whole country and people.

The Party, its army and the united front were the weapons of victory in the Chinese revolution — and to the forging of each of these, Chou En-lai made his lasting contribution.

After World War II he fought and worked with equal loyalty, courage, tirelessness and skill. In the complex period of internal negotiations in 1945-46, in the decisive all-out armed struggle of 1947-49, and in the clarion proclamation of the People’s Republic of China that marked the final throwing-off by the Chinese people of the three crushing burdens — imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism — he was at Chairman Mao’s side.

CHINA RECONSTRUCTS
In 1949, Chou En-lai became the premier of our new state, and continued so for 26 years, till the end of his life. He stood firmly with Chairman Mao against all opportunists and deviations, Right or "Left" in the multiple struggles of line within the Chinese Communist Party, in battling revisionism in the international communist movement, and in the steering of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution to overcome the threat of revisionism at home.

He was Chairman Mao's chief lieutenant in the building of the people's state power, the repairing of the internal ravages of war, the help to our neighbor Korea to repel U.S. imperialist invasion and defend our own borders, the successive transformations of our agriculture from land reform to cooperatives to communes and the building, on the basis of this progress, of China's industry. Under his premiership, China's economy forged ahead, her finances were well-balanced, foreign trade expanded and the people's livelihood markedly improved.

The economic policy he helped conduct is one adapted to a developing country, with a proper balance between centralization and local initiative, with the promotion of small industries in the rural communes, and with emphasis on agricultural development as the road to rapid and well-founded industrialization. It provides a contrast to the course taken in the Soviet Union, where agriculture and light industry are always in crisis, heavy industry is stressed in isolation, and the gap between workers and farmers has widened instead of narrowing. Another key feature Premier Chou helped build in China's economic policy is self-reliance, combined with readiness to learn all that is of use to us from...
Premier Chou working at the construction site of the Ming Tombs Reservoir in Peking, May 1958.

Chatting with school graduates from Shanghai who had gone to work on an army land reclamation farm in Sinkiang, 1965.
Inscriptions by Premier Chou En-lai on the fifth and tenth anniversaries of China Reconstructs

**For the tenth anniversary of China Reconstructs:** Spread farther and wider the Chinese people’s wish for friendship with all the peoples of the world, and make stronger our solidarity with them.

Chou En-lai, November 23, 1961

**Continue to do good work in promoting understanding and friendship among people of all countries.**

Chou En-lai

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foreign advances in science and technology. And a year before his death, he reiterated from the rostrum of the Fourth National People’s Congress Chairman Mao’s great plan of transforming China, which up to the middle of this century was so poor, backward and oppressed, into a great socialist country whose modern agriculture, modern industry, modern national defense, modern science and technology would be in the world’s front ranks by this century’s end. In this vast task of continuing socialist revolution and construction, we are now all engaged.

PREMIER Chou too was incessantly active in China’s international affairs on the Party, government and people-to-people level. He traveled to a score of countries, talked with thousands of visitors to China, sent out many friendship delegations and was an architect of the famous Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. At the Geneva Conference of 1954 he waged diplomatic struggles to ensure to the peoples of Indochina the fruits of their heroic anti-colonial fight. At the Bandung Conference of 1955 his persistent stress on agreement on common basic interests and on shelving secondary differences helped unite what we now know as the third world—a bastion against imperialism, social imperialism and superpower hegemonism. In 1961 in Moscow he publicly defied the revisionist Soviet misleaders’ attempt to outlaw and destroy Albania and pervert the then socialist camp and the world communist movement into a tool of their own betrayal of revolution. On his return, he was met at the airport by Chairman Mao whose instructions he had unwaveringly followed. Thus the seeds of genuine Marxism-Leninism were helped to sprout anew in the world.

In the sphere of diplomatic relations, Premier Chou carried out with great virtuosity Chairman Mao’s policy of broadening to the utmost extent, and with no sacrifice of principle, the equal international links of China as a state—with a view first of all of overcoming barriers to the friendship among the peoples. One such success was the signing of the Shanghai Communiqué with U.S. President Richard Nixon in 1972. Another was the restoration of long-broken diplomatic relations with Japan. These achievements breached the imperialist policy of political and economic blockade of the People’s Republic of China, and were helpful to understanding among peoples.

Here I would like to mention the warm encouragement he always gave to our magazine China Reconstructs which is devoted to helping readers abroad to know and understand the new China. Two inscriptions he wrote for us, on our fifth and tenth anniversaries of publication, are reproduced on this page.

A TRUE Communist in his personal behavior and style, as well as in political action, Premier Chou lived simply and modestly, always accessible, always among the masses of working people as one of themselves. His food was plain—in the Red Army of old, in the economically difficult early 1960s and at all other times—he ate only what was readily available to all. He wore his clothes until they were threadbare or patched. At work he generally took canteen
With Comrades Soong Ching Ling, Chen Yi and Teng Ying-chao, Premier Chou En-lai viewed an exhibition while attending the celebration of the tenth anniversary of China Reconstructs, 1962.

meals with his assistants including the most junior, often with his driver or, when traveling, with the crew of his plane, and in conversation both educated them and sought their opinion. So he was loved and appreciated by all around him, especially the young, who recall these contacts with tear-filled eyes.

Premier Chou kept himself closely informed about the people's livelihood, for which he showed incessant and deep concern. When a severe earthquake hit Hsingtaí prefecture, Hopei province in 1966 he dashed there while the area was still heaving with aftershocks to supervise relief and encourage the people to overcome the disaster. To an old man weeping inconsolably among the ruins of his home, he said, "Just consider me as your son." Thus he gave courage to all and moved beyond words those who heard him.

It is as a true Communist in every fiber of his being, as well as a communist statesman, that Chou En-lai will be forever remembered by the people. Upon the news of his death, hundreds of thousands of men, women and children in Peking flocked spontaneously to Tien An Men Square, covering it with flowers and wreaths. And in huge numbers they came to Chinese embassies and missions around the globe to mourn and honor him.

His entire life from his early student days before the 1920s until his heart stopped beating on January 8, 1976 was wholly devoted to the welfare of the people. His dying wish was that his ashes be scattered from the air over China's mountains and rivers. He is mingled with the people forever, in the earth they till, in the air they breathe.

Now, after the overthrow of the "gang of four", pretenders to power who were in every respect his opposites, and rallying around the Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua Kuo-feng, we once more pay tribute to Premier Chou. This gallant, tireless, intrepid and warmhearted fighter and worker who is loved by the people because he loved them, who was able to defeat all enemies and to unite all who could be united in the forward march, will be an example to us forever.
WHEN the Japanese imperialists stepped up aggression against China in the early 1930s the Kuomintang government headed by Chiang Kai-shek pursued a policy of non-resistance and capitulation. The invaders rapidly occupied China's northeastern provinces of Liaoning, Kirin and Heilungkiang and set up local puppet governments in a part of Hopei province. The aggression quickened national consciousness and a movement rose to resist it and save the country.

Recognizing Japanese imperialism to be China's principal enemy at the time, near the end of 1935 the Chinese Communist Party decided to pursue the policy of building a national united front which would mobilize and unite the forces of all social strata and political parties for resistance. During 1936 the Communists made repeated proposals to the Kuomintang that it stop making civil war and that the two parties unite to stop Japan. This proposal was supported by patriotic people of all strata.

The United Front

After the Sian Incident* in December 1936 Chiang Kai-shek was forced to state agreement with the Communist Party's proposal to stop the civil war and fight in alliance with it against Japan. But he feared the rapid growth of the people's revolution led by the Communist Party and his troops were still being defeated again and again by the invaders. His real desire was to surrender to the Japanese so his resistance to them was passive, but he was most active in fighting the Communists. He hoped in this way to conserve his forces. He would wait for a chance to destroy the army and people who were really fighting.

In December 1938 Comrade Chou En-lai arrived in Chungking, then seat of the Kuomintang government. It was the second year of China's all-out resistance war. The invaders had penetrated deeply into Chinese territory. For the nation the question had become one of survival or enslavement, depending on her course of action. Chou En-lai was sent by the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman Mao to mobilize and lead the people in the rear to unite in the resistance. As Secretary of the Party's South China Bureau he also had the task of leading underground work in the Kuomintang-controlled areas.

The anti-Japanese united front was constantly being undermined by the Kuomintang reactionaries. Chou En-lai firmly implemented the Party's principles for the united front put forth by Chairman Mao — maintaining independence and initiative, continuing the resistance and persisting in working for unity and progress. He carried on tit-for-tat struggles against the Chiang Kai-shek clique. These were always with good reason, to the people's advantage and with restraint.

On the one hand he met the Chiang clique head-on across the negotiating table, and on the other conducted publicity among the masses and patriotic people of all walks of life for the policy of unity against Japan advocated by the Party Central Committee and Chairman Mao. He explained over and over again that China could win against Japan only by fighting a protracted war — the strategic idea in Chairman Mao's "On Protracted War" written in May 1938. This helped people in the Kuomintang areas see that victory was possible if they were determined to fight for it.

Chou En-lai was also in charge of the New China Daily, the Communist Party's organ in Chungking. In addition to writing editorials and commentaries himself, he contacted other progressive periodicals and art and literary groups and got them to publicize the Communist Party's proposals and expose how the Chiang Kai-shek clique was capitulating to Japanese imperialism and actually fighting the Communists.

In September 1940 the Axis powers, Germany, Italy and Japan, were riding high. Britain, routed on the continent, had just made its retreat through Dunkirk. Then, to appease Japan, it had closed the Burma Road in Asia, which was unoccupied China's only highway link with the rest of the world. The United States was holding talks with Japan in Tokyo and Washington, trying to effect a compromise. Both Britain and the United States had cut back their financial aid to the Kuomintang government. What supplies were sent had a hard time getting in. Prices soared. The Kuomintang, which had all along relied on foreign aid, now wavered still more in fighting Japan. It also became more openly anti-Communist.

How would the international situation develop? Would the united front collapse? Could the
Accompanying Chairman Mao to Chungking to negotiate with the Kuomintang, August 1945.
resistance be continued? These questions weighed heavily on people's minds.

Chou En-lai decided to give his answers in a speech titled “The International Situation and China's Anti-Japanese War” at a public meeting sponsored by a people's organization. From early morning crowds began flocking to the square where it was to be held. Among the several thousand who came were workers, students, housewives, armymen and government and other office employees. Kuomintang troops and police ringed the square but the meeting proceeded without a hitch as the audience listened to Chou En-lai speak.

In his characteristically forceful voice Chou En-lai analyzed the international situation and the future of the war of resistance. He pointed out that the present war between the imperialists was steadily expanding. While China should make use of every international change advantageous to her fight against Japan, she should not pin her hopes for winning the war on aid from any imperialist country. Victory could come mainly through self-reliance and hard struggle, but victory was certain so long as unity and the resistance were maintained. Chou En-lai also exposed the corruption and incompetence in the Kuomintang and how its high officials were taking advantage of the war to build up their personal fortunes. The speech was interrupted frequently by loud applause. Its spirit of national integrity and confidence in victory helped disperse the prevailing pessimism and inspired popular morale and confidence to fight the aggression to the end.

Chou En-lai also did much to win over the middle forces. Under his influence democrats in the Kuomintang's People's Political Council, such as Shen Chun-Ju and Tsou Tao-fen, organized the Society of Comrades for Uniting to Build the Country. It became a political force fighting alongside the Communist Party against the Kuomintang reactionaries. When Tan Kah-kee, a well-known patriotic overseas Chinese, arrived back in China, Chou En-lai suggested that he take a trip to Yenan. Tan went and was received by Chairman Mao. After he returned to Chungking, in speeches he described Yenan as the only clean and honest place in China. His words made a big impression among the people in Chungking and on Chinese living abroad.

Chou En-lai also succeeded in winning over people at the upper level of the Kuomintang. One of these was Feng Yu-hsiang, a well-known figure who had many differences with Chiang Kai-shek and eventually became a friend of the Communist Party.

By correctly implementing Chairman Mao's tactic of “developing the progressive forces, winning over the middle forces and combating the diehard forces”, Chou En-lai expanded and consolidated the anti-Japanese united front and helped create conditions for winning the war.

The Southern Anhwei Incident

Between 1939 and 1943 Chiang Kai-shek launched three large-scale campaigns against the Communists. The second one was the Southern Anhwei Incident.

Responding to Japanese inducement to surrender, Chiang Kai-shek stepped up suppression of the resistance movement. On January 7, 1941 Kuomintang troops suddenly surrounded and attacked 9,000 troops of the New Fourth Army, a Communist-led anti-Japanese force, moving on order from southern Anhwei province to the northern bank of the Yangtze River. After a heroic fight lasting seven days and nights 1,000 men of the New Fourth Army broke through. Most of the rest were slaughtered. Yeh Ting, its commander, was wounded and captured.

On receiving an emergency message from the New Fourth Army Chou En-lai protested to the Kuomintang. Unheeding, Chiang Kai-shek issued an order on January 17 to cancel the designation of the New Fourth Army, and instructed the Kuomintang press to give a grossly distorted account of the incident. Chou En-lai was enraged. He telephoned Ho Ying-chin, Kuomintang General Chief of Staff. “What you have done,” he declared, “can only make our own people sad and the enemy happy. You have done what the Japanese invaders wanted to, but could not do. You, Ho Ying-chin, are a traitor to the Chinese nation!”

Chou En-lai instructed the New China Daily to publish a full account of the incident, accompanied by commentaries. When the story was cut out by Kuomintang censors, in his own handwriting Chou wrote and signed lines to put in the blank spaces in the paper of January 18. “Mourn for those who died in the national disaster south of the Yangtze”, and “A great wrong such as history has never known. Is done to one Yeh south of the Yangtze. Being members of the same household, Why does one take up the hatchet against the other? These informed the country and the world of Chiang Kai-shek's scheme to disrupt unity and the resistance war in order to suppress Communist forces.

When the papers appeared in the streets Kuomintang troops, police and secret agents came out in force to seize and destroy them. They beat up or arrested the newsboys. Chou En-lai protested to the Kuomintang authorities and demanded the immediate release of the news-
At the Chungking office of the Chinese Communist Party delegation to the negotiations.

What Comrade Chou En-lai wrote for the space where Kuomintang censors removed articles on the Southern Anhwei Incident.
boys and the return of the seized papers. Then he and people from the Eighth Route Army office in Chungking and the New China Daily went out on the streets to distribute the papers themselves. He issued a statement saying that unless the newsboys were released the Communists would go out on the streets and sell the papers themselves. Chou En-lai’s presence in the streets attracted wide notice.

The Chungking Negotiations

On August 15, 1945 Japan declared unconditional surrender. China’s war against Japan was won.

Having fought hard for eight years, the Chinese people hoped that they would now have peace, democracy and unity. But Chiang Kai-shek was bent on seizing the fruits of victory for himself and continuing his fascist dictatorship in China. Under pressure of public opinion, however, and also to stall for time to get ready for a civil war, he tried a political sleight of hand — inviting Chairman Mao to Chungking for peace negotiations. Expecting Chairman Mao to refuse, Chiang planned to shift the blame for breaking the peace onto the Communist Party.

Chairman Mao saw through his scheme. In order to make every effort to win peace and in the process expose the true intentions of U.S. imperialism and Chiang Kai-shek to start a civil war and to unite and educate the people, he accepted the invitation and flew to Chungking accompanied by Chou En-lai.

They stayed in Chungking 43 days. Chou En-lai was constantly at Chairman Mao’s side, negotiating with the Kuomintang, meeting people from all walks of life, at forums held by the Communist Party delegation. Attended by representatives of various political parties and circles, the forums were held to inform participants of the progress of the negotiations, to make clear the Communist Party’s sincerity about settling matters by peaceful negotiation and to solicit opinions. These meetings won wide support for the Communist Party.

During the negotiations, Chiang Kai-shek launched a military attack against the liberated areas in southeastern Shansi province, but was badly beaten. In the meantime people throughout the country were voicing opposition to civil war and demanding peace and democracy. World progressive opinion supported them. This compelled Chiang Kai-shek to change his tactic of prolonging the negotiations indefinitely. On October 10 he signed the “Summary of Conversations Between the Representatives of the Kuomintang and the Communist Party of China” (also known as the “October 10th Agreement”). Chairman Mao triumphantly returned to Yenan.

While in Chungking Chou En-lai almost never left Chairman Mao’s side. He took personal charge of security for the Chairman and saw to it that he was well looked after. The Chairman’s safety was directly linked with the cause of our Party and the interests of the people, he stressed again and again to those with them in Chungking. He had chats with the guards and drivers assigned by the Kuomintang to escort them and treated them on equal terms, an important factor in ensuring Chairman Mao’s safety in Chungking.

Tireless Warrior

The Eighth Route Army office in Chungking was surrounded by Kuomintang gendarmes, secret agents, machine gun positions and watch towers. Chou En-lai and his staff occupied and received visitors on the first and third floors of a three-story building. On the second floor lived “important officials” of the Kuomintang. Lining the narrow street were several “teahouses” and “tobacco stores”, all set up for spying. Tai Li, chief of the Kuomintang secret service, had a house not far away.

Living and working at the heart of the counter-revolutionary regime, Chou En-lai often cleverly threw off the secret agents tailing him and kept up wide contacts with patriotic people of all social strata. Nor was he deterred by threats and terror. Once a letter containing a bullet came addressed to him. Others were worried that this would mean an attempt on his life, but he only smiled and said, “This is something Chiang Kai-shek and other scoundrels do all the time.” He continued to meet people and appear in public.

In February 1946 a mass rally was held at Chiaochangkou in Chungking to celebrate the opening of the Political Consultative Conference of that time. Though professing to be “a disciple of the Three Principles of the People” Chiang Kai-shek would not tolerate as much democracy as this rally. Soon after the meeting started secret agents and ruffians burst in. They beat up Kuo Mo-jo, Li Kung-po and other patriotic people and injured a large number of rally participants.

As soon as he received word of the trouble Chou En-lai hurried to the meeting place and delivered a scathing denunciation of the troublemakers and those behind them. Under the righteous anger of this staunch proletarian revolutionary the Kuomintang agents slipped away.

In Chungking Chou En-lai usually worked far into the night, getting only two or three hours of sleep. He would hand his old pocket watch to his guard and tell him to wake him at a certain time. Once the guard, wanting Chou to get a little more rest, did not wake him until his guests had arrived. Firmly but gently Chou said, “You know my time is not mine alone. It belongs to the Party, the revolution. I know you want me to sleep longer, but sometimes this may harm the cause of the Party.”

Throughout his eight years in Chungking Chou En-lai resolutely carried out Chairman Mao’s policy of national united front against Japanese aggression. Whether faced with sharp confrontations or complex negotiations, he was brave, resourceful and firm. Chairman Mao had high praise for Chou En-lai for his work during this period. Chou En-lai was, he said, loyal to the Party, brave against the enemy and tireless in work.
IN the early morning sun of June 21, 1962, workers of the new Taching oil field had gathered at the small railway station to wait for the arrival of their beloved Premier Chou En-lai.

For China it was a time of economic difficulties. Abroad, the Soviet revisionists had launched a vicious political attack and enforced a tight economic blockade. At home, drought and flood had struck three years in a row. Liu Shao-chi and his followers had seized this chance to demand that the construction of the Taching oil field be halted.

They said that the battle to open Taching had been only "tangled warfare" and "disorder", and that it was "not the way industry should be developed".

In 1960 when the Taching people began to open the field, it was Premier Chou who had pointed out the
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correct way for building it into a socialist enterprise. He urged them to study Chairman Mao's *On Contradiction* and *On Practice*, and to analyze and solve problems with dialectical materialism. Now, as they faced a severe test, Premier Chou had come to support them!

The train pulled in amid a cheering welcome. The premier got off and strode toward the oil field leaders. Firmly shaking hands, he looked at the straw sandals on their feet and said, "Fine! Just like back in the old revolutionary base in Yanan." His words reminded the oil workers of the revolutionary Yanan spirit of hard work during the years of fighting against the Japanese imperialists and the war to liberate the country.

Warmly shaking hands with the workers, he told them, "Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee have sent me to bring you their regards." Cheers of "Long live Chairman Mao!" burst out like thunder.

Ignoring the fatigue of his trip, Premier Chou and Comrade Teng Ying-chao, who had come with him, got in an old jeep and asked to begin touring the oil field right away.

First they went to two famous drill teams, Nos. 1202 and 1205. They shook hands with the grimy, oil-covered men and asked about their work, their study, their living conditions and the capacities of their machines. Because Premier Chou laughed and talked warmly, the workers felt they were talking with an old comrade they hadn't seen for a long time.

He climbed onto a drilling platform to watch the roaring drill boring into the earth. Paying no attention to the danger, oil and mud, he watched the men at work with great interest.

Before he left, he asked to have a photograph taken with the workers, cheerfully arranging the group himself. When he was satisfied with the pose, he stood between two veteran workers, putting his arms on their shoulders. This photograph became a picture treasured by the workers.

At 11 o'clock Premier Chou arrived at a water injection station. In the pump room, he picked up a wad of cotton waste and began helping the workers clean a pump, asking them how their machines were holding up. Putting his hand on pump No. 2, he said, "This one was made in China, so take good care of it." In the office he read some regulations on a wall poster listing the various responsibilities of the workers. When an oil field leader told him that the workers were implementing these regulations in the injection station to gain experience that could be spread in other parts of the field, the premier praised them.

Premier Chou talked with the injection station workers nearly an hour. Then, pointing to two mud-walled houses, a hundred meters away, he said, "Let's go over there and have a look around."

"But it's time for lunch," one of the leaders said, "you ought to eat now. Besides those are just the workers' dormitories. You don't need to see them."

The premier just began walking. "That's where the men sleep? Then I should go."

Most of the workers in these dormitories were ex-service men. The premier looked at the quilts, all neatly folded on the beds and the books and reading material on the desks. "I see you're still keeping up the fine style of work you had in the army." In the kitchen he shook hands with the two cooks and talked about their home villages. He picked up a ladle and tasted the soup bubbling in the pot.

"You have a tough life here," Comrade Teng Ying-chao said.

"Not so tough," one of the cooks answered. "We live pretty well."

"It's a fact that China is having hardships right now," the premier said gravely. "They're trying to choke us off and put pressure on us to pay their loans. We've had three hard years of bad weather, floods and drought..." Taching people knew who the premier's "they" was — the Soviet revisionist clique which had suddenly torn up its contracts with China and withdrawn its experts. But the premier smiled and said firmly, "With Chairman Mao's leadership and by working hard and relying on ourselves we can certainly build better!"

On the way back to the oil field headquarters, Premier Chou asked a political director in the jeep with him how many of the workers were old hands, how many younger, how many ex-army men. What was in the workers' minds? Did they have much chance to see films? "Study Chairman Mao's works conscientiously, so you can raise your work ability," he told them. "You should also be concerned with well-being of the workers." Turning to the oil field leaders, he said, "The workers don't have enough film shows. You should arrange for more."

At the headquarters, leaders of the Ministry of Petroleum Industry and the Taching oil field asked the premier for his advice. "The masses", he told them, "are the real heroes. What I want to say you have already done. In fact, you are even doing things I hadn't thought of."

Premier Chou had complete confidence in the initiative of the masses. This, coupled with a modest and unassuming air, made his inspection of Taching an event to
remember and a great encouragement to the oil field pioneers, leaving them with more strength and enthusiasm for doing their work well.

A year later, at 11 o’clock on June 19, 1963, Premier Chou arrived at Taching for the second time. With him was Vice-Premier Chen Yi.

He went straight to drill team No. 1203, shook hands with the workers and called some he had met before by name. It was not so much his memory but his genuine friendship that moved the drillers. As he went along the premier explained drilling, water injection and extraction to the other comrades with him. His concern for the oil industry and his spirit of down-to-earth study and work won the workers’ respect.

“Well,” Comrade Chen Yi remarked, “our premier has finished his apprenticeship as an oil worker now.” Everyone laughed.

“Oh no,” objected Premier Chou. “Alongside the workers I’ll always be an apprentice.”

On this inspection trip, the premier went to a number of workers’ dormitories, carefully noting the improvements. He went out to the farm fields on which the oil workers and their families were growing grain and vegetables in an effort to be more self-reliant.

His careful investigations enabled him to summarize the experience of Taching and outline the principles needed for building socialist industries. Plain living and hard work, he said, not magnificent buildings. Separate rural settlements, not a big city. Organizing the workers’ families to grow food, getting the workers themselves to help in their spare time. In short, combining industry with agriculture, integrating town and countryside, facilitating production and making daily life better. These principles would help narrow the differences between town and country, worker and peasant, and mental and manual labor. In line with Chairman Mao’s idea of hard work and struggle, these principles enabled the Taching people to use the method of relying on themselves to build the oil field.

Guided by Chairman Mao’s revolutionary line and inspired by Premier Chou’s visits, Taching’s oil workers helped make China self-sufficient in oil by the end of 1963.

On May 3, 1966, as the cultural revolution was unfolding, Premier Chou came to inspect Taching for the third time. He again stayed in a mud-walled house that served as one of the oil field’s offices. He told the field leaders, “We must learn from you and revolutionize
our thinking. I'll eat with you and travel around by bus." He ate the sorghum and kidney beans, and the cabbage, turnip and potato mixture the workers ate, often asked for more.

Again he visited the Nos. 1202 and 1205 drill teams. The workers fought to shake hands with him as if he were a relative they had not seen for a long time. When he asked about their annual drilling footage, a leading comrade told him it had surpassed that of the top Soviet drill team. "Very good," the premier said. "Work still harder and leave them far behind!" When "Iron-man" Wang Chin-hsi, leader of drill team No. 1205, and Wu Chuan-ching, head of team No. 1202, told him that their teams were determined to drill 50,000 meters that year, Premier Chou shook their hands and told them, "When you reach your target, I'll report the news personally to Chairman Mao."

In the evening he had a talk with Taching's pacesetters and model workers. "Comrade Chin-hsi," he said to "Iron-man" Wang sitting next to him, "you have worked according to Chairman Mao's teachings. You have the revolutionary spirit of daring to break through and act. We must all learn from you."

It was nearly midnight when the meeting ended. But the premier went to listen to reports from the oil field leaders. He gave them important instructions, stressing that Taching must first of all grasp class struggle and fight bourgeois ideas in people's minds with proletarian thinking. "Ideological struggle is a long-term struggle," he said. "Without it we can make no progress. Old thinking still exists in our heads. We must be constantly on guard and fight it."

He emphasized the importance of struggling against class enemies, pointing out that if we deny that there is class struggle, we will eventually abolish political leadership. The Party would then degenerate into a "party of the whole people" and our country into a "state of the whole people" as in the Soviet Union.

The reports lasted until 1:30 in the morning. Showing no sign of fatigue, he went outside the meeting room to see the Taching technical innovation exhibition.

At 2:00 a.m. people tried to persuade him to rest. "You're always telling me to rest," he answered. "I'm nearly seventy. Let me work a little longer for the people. Is that such a bad thing?" When he came back to the office, he continued to work for another hour. After only a short sleep, he was up at 5:00 a.m. An attendant came in to clean the room and found that he had folded up his quilt and put the desk in order. The premier had already begun another day's work.

At 10 o'clock he went to visit "Bumper Harvest Village", a model unit run by the workers' families according to the premier's advice on building a socialist oil field. He went to their fields and dug into the soil to see whether the wheat and corn had been sown well. He inspected the village's nursery, clinic and barbershop. In the mill and bakery he tasted the bread and biscuits made from corn and beans. He praised the workers. "You have really racked your brains. Your jian bing (something like a pancake) tastes better than the ones we had last night."

Many of the workers' family members in the village had a chance to shake hands with Premier Chou. "The men fight on the oil front," he told the women, "you should hold up the other half of the sky. Times have changed. Today men and women are equal."

Premier Chou's three visits to Taching left a deep impression on the people. He had shown concern for them and supported them in their fight with difficulties — especially in the fierce struggles between the bourgeois and proletarian classes, between the proletarian and the revisionist lines. He upheld the slogan, "In industry, learn from Taching", raised by Chairman Mao.

During the cultural revolution Lin Piao and the Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao gang thought of many vicious ways to run down Taching. In December 1966 Chang Chun-chiao said, "Wang Chin-hsi's behavior is not good", claiming that "he is a man with vested interests". He said, "How can he have any drive to make revolution? He is bound to turn to his opposite." Chiang Ching also attacked Taching, charging its leaders with "sweating for the wrong line".

At this point Premier Chou stepped in to support Taching. In January 1967 he received Comrade Wang Chin-hsi and other representatives of the workers and staff members of the petroleum industry in the Workers' Stadium in Peking. "Taching is a red banner upheld by Chairman Mao," he told them. "We must defend it. Why do some people now insist on opposing this banner? Why are they so determined to overthrow 'Iron-man' Wang? It is a plot attacking the red banner of Taching upheld by Chairman Mao."

Premier Chou counted on his fingers the reasons for Taching's success. The principal one was that the Taching people used Mao Tse-tung Thought to guide their work. The second was that they worked hard. The third was the support of the Party, government, army and people of the country. But, the premier pointed out, without comrades actually leading the work of opening up the oil field, one would have to say that the battle had been won without commanders, an impossibility. His analysis dealt a hard blow at Lin Piao and the "gang of four".

Later, during the Party's Ninth Congress in 1969, Premier Chou introduced Comrade Wang Chin-hsi to Chairman Mao, who warmly shook hands with him as Premier Chou stood at their side. A photographer captured the moment.

Looking back at the progress they have made, the Taching people realize that Premier Chou put great effort into carrying out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in Taching. Their every success is linked with his advice and concern. Without his support, overcoming difficulties would have been far harder. Premier Chou's death prevented him from joining them in celebrating the downfall of the "gang of four". The Taching people are working hard to live up to his expectations and keep Taching in the lead in industry by building it even better.
His Support to Tachai

SHA YIN and KUNG LING-HSIEN

In May 1965 the people of the Tachai farm brigade learned that Premier Chou En-lai was coming for a visit.

In 1964 Chairman Mao had called on the nation's peasants to learn from Tachai. Toward the end of the year, in his report on government work at the Third National People's Congress Premier Chou summed up Tachai's basic experience.* He took Tachai's Party branch secretary Chen Yung-kuei to meet Chairman Mao in his home. A little before this a work team pushing Liu Shao-chi's counter-revolutionary revisionist line had come to Tachai. It harassed and slandered leaders and members and attacked the brigade, saying that "termites are eating the pole on which Tachai's red flag flies". After the congress Premier Chou sent out a new work team to replace Liu's team and help Tachai carry out the socialist education movement among the peasants.

Now Premier Chou was coming himself. The Tachai people were excited. They swept the streets and spruced up their cave-houses. Girls tied their braids with red ribbons. The "Iron Girls", famous for their courage in the fight against a flood in 1963, put on their holiday best. Even Party secretary Chen Yung-kuei tied a brand new towel around his head.

Premier Chou arrived on the morning of May 21 with Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien. The village burst with cheers and the sound of drums and cymbals. Callused hands stretched eagerly, the premier warmly gripping them.

"Hello, everybody!" he said, smiling and waving. Among a group of girls he asked one of them, "Are you a member of the Iron Girls?"

"Yes."

"How many workdays did you put in last year?" he asked. Embarrassed, the girl told him. "Excellent," he said. "An Iron Girl in name and deeds."

Touring the village with its new cave-houses and streets, Premier Chou was full of praise for the Tachai people. Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien said, "You don't have many people but you have done a great many things. You're actually remaking nature." Premier Chou stopped at one of the new cave-houses and sat down to chat with the peasants. Beneath a big willow tree he held a child close to him and sang "The East Is Red" with the children.

Premier Chou stopped at a well near the village entrance and looked over carefully. "How deep is it? Is there enough water for all your needs?" It's the only well in Tachai, they told him—all right in a normal year but just enough for drinking and making a little compost in a dry year.

"Then you should try to find more water sources and go on to irrigation," the premier said. Water, the lifeline in developing a socialist agriculture, was the key. "You must think of dry spells," he said. "What if you have three dry years in a row?"

Talking and laughing, he began to climb Tiger Head Mountain above the village. He listened carefully as the brigade leaders described how they had turned the gullies and hillsides into terraced fields, often interrupting with questions. What kind of manure do you use? Would readjusting the ratio of grain crops affect total output? Can the check walls in Wolves' Den hold back an exceptionally heavy flood? On top of Tiger Head Mountain, which was still bare of trees, the premier looked around and saw a hill above neighboring Wuchiaping Village covered with pines and cypresses. He pointed to it and said, "You should make Tiger Head Mountain as green as that one."

The visitors came to a gully full of weeds and rocks. "We're leaving this gully untouched so our young people will have an idea what the land in the old society was like," a leader explained. "We've named it Education Gully."

"Good idea," the premier said, pleased at the Tachai people's foresight. "How about adding a few words and calling it Gully to Educate the Young?" He thought for a while and said, "You should also add the words 'Work hard for prosperity through self-reliance' to the young people of Tachai to always carry on the revolution and never forget the past."

One of the leaders accompanying Premier Chou up Tiger Head Mountain that day was Kuo Feng-lien, today the brigade's Party branch secretary, then only 18 and secretary of the brigade's Youth League.

"Well, Little Kuo," the premier asked her, "which is stronger, people or water?"

"People."

The premier smiled and purposely said, "No, I think water is stronger. Look," he pointed at a big rock, "water has washed a deep cut in this rock."

The premier had been so warm and hearty that Kuo Feng-
lien, though not fully understanding why he raised such a question, felt free to say what she had learned from practical experience. "Yes, water can wash cuts in stones, but people can harness and control water. When the big 1963 flood wrecked all our fields, we built better ones that have withstood floods since then. It's people who controlled the erosion by turning our gullies and slopes into terraced fields."

The premier threw back his head and laughed. "Feng-lien is right," he said. "People are stronger. The older generation at Tachai are full of revolutionary drive, You young people should learn from them. You should work hard and build up Tachai into a still better place."

After coming down the mountain the premier went with Kuo Feng-lien to her home. He sat down and chatted with Feng-lien's grandmother who was over seventy and hard of hearing. "The premier's come to see you, Grandmother," Feng-lien told her in a loud voice. "Vice-Premier Li is with him. The premier wants to know how you are." The old woman gazed at the premier's face and said, "This must be a tiring trip for you. How long did it take you? Stay with us for a few days before you go back to Peking." The premier smiled and answered, "I'm not tired. I came by plane. It only took a few hours. There's a lot of work waiting for me and I have to go back tonight. You must take good care of yourself."

Tears came to the old woman's eyes. She told the premier about the hard life before liberation and that a member of her family had given his life for the revolution. Now there were only she and her granddaughter left. Feng-lien worked in the brigade and she herself was well looked after by the collective. "We owe all this to the good leadership of the Communist Party and Chairman Mao," she said. The premier told Kuo Feng-lien to take good care of her grandmother and make her last years under socialism happy ones.

That noon Premier Chou was served a typical Tachai meal—a few simple dishes, steamed corn bread and fried dough. He sat down with the Tachai leaders and ate with relish.

"You have great potential at Tachai," he told them. "With effort I'm sure you can double your grain output." The Tachai people, he said, should always be modest and prudent. At Wolves' Den he had asked Kuo Feng-lien, "What did Chairman Mao say about the attitude we should always take?"

"Modesty helps one go forward, conceit makes one lag behind."

"Right," said the premier. "We should never forget this teaching of Chairman Mao's."

On April 9, 1967, as the cultural revolution was unfolding rapidly, Premier Chou came to Tachai again. Working almost around the clock to handle the thousand-and-one details of the cultural revolution had added grey streaks to
his hair. When he started to walk up Tiger Head Mountain, Comrade Chen Yung-kuei put out his hand to help him. The premier looked at Chen, smiled and said, "I must learn from Tachai and be self-reliant. I’ve been here before and know the way around."

The pine and cypress saplings planted two years before at the premier’s suggestion had given Tiger Head Mountain patches of green. A canal winding around the mountain was being built—a project launched in line with the premier’s advice to build water projects. Pleased by the new look, the premier said, "Tachai has changed a lot in two years."

Men from the PLA were helping Tachai build the canal. When they saw the premier they cheered until it echoed in the valley. The premier waved to them and called out, "Are you working hard like the Tachai people?"

"We’re learning from them," the men answered.

The premier’s laugh was so unreserved and infectious that everybody laughed too. One of the men began to sing "Sailing the Seas Depends on the Helmsman", immediately joined by the others. The premier clapped the rhythm and sang with them.

On April 23, 1973, a day Tachai will always remember, Premier Chou made his third and last visit.

The first thing he did was to tour the village. Very pleased at the great changes in six years, he said to Chen Yung-kuei, "Tachai has changed again, tremendously! I hardly recognize it any more. You old and young people have made great progress."

Climbing Tiger Head Mountain for the third time he saw the slopes green with trees. "It’s eight years since 1965," he said. "In that time Tiger Head Mountain has gotten its own forest. But it’ll be several more years before it matches that mountain of Wuchiaping’s." Moved by the encouraging words, Chen Yung-kuei answered, "If you hadn’t criticized us we wouldn’t have thought growing trees on the mountain was important. If we
had done it sooner, our mountain would be like Wuchiaping’s by this time. We’ll have to plant more trees.”

Premier Chou nodded and then posed for pictures with Chen Yung-kuei and some foreign visitors with Tiger Head Mountain and then the green mountain of Wuchiaping in the background. “If you come again in 20 years,” the premier said to the foreign guests, “you’ll find this an entirely different place.”

At Wolves’ Den the premier found that the narrow terraces he had seen six years before had been transformed into bigger and wider ones. “What a change!” he said. As he heard a sound of blasting he murmured almost to himself the Tachai people’s slogan: “We’ll move mountains and fill in gullies, and create high-and-stable-yield fields.”

As he climbed higher he saw rows of new cave-houses and new fields with green shoots in the distance—the Chinshihpo brigade of the Tachai commune. Pleased, he said, “That place has also changed.” Chen Yung-kuei told him that big changes had taken place in all 21 brigades of the Tachai commune since the beginning of the cultural revolution. Some had taken two years, some three, some five. “What about Wuchiaping?” the premier asked. The first time he came he had learned that though located right next to Tachai, Wuchiaping wasn’t following their example and so wasn’t doing well in political work and production. “Now it has caught up with Tachai,” Chen Yung-kuei told him. “If Tachai doesn’t go forward with big strides, Wuchiaping will soon pass it.” Premier Chou burst into laughter. “Caught up with, overtaken, that’s good to hear. I’d like to see many places overtake Tachai. Then you’ll have to work harder and catch up with them. If the whole country works like Tachai, everything will be fine.”

The premier’s earnest hope, warm concern and bold vision filled the Tachai people with strength.

Coming down the mountain, the visitors passed two peasants, Niu Kuo-tung and Chia Cheng-lu, who were mixing compost. Delighted to have a close look at the premier they applauded vigorously, grinning from ear to ear. The premier stopped and asked, “How old are you?”

“How old do I look?” the premier shot back.

“Sixty, Premier,” Niu said.

“I’m seventy,” Chia said.

The premier smiled and said, “You’re both younger than I.”

“How old are you, Premier?” Niu asked.

“How old do I look?” the premier asked.

“Seventy-six,” the premier said with a smile.

The two old men were moved to learn that the premier, older than they, had come from Peking to climb Tiger Head Mountain on foot. They asked about Chairman Mao.

“He’s doing well,” the premier told them. “He’s approaching eighty.”

Premier Chou then went to the home of peasant Chia Cheng-fu and chatted with Chia’s 86-year-old mother, then to Kuo Feng-lien’s home to say hello to her grandmother.

When it was time for Premier Chou to return to Peking, people lined the roads and shouted goodbyes, beating drums and cymbals. “Come back soon, Premier,” they called.

The premier was so full of energy and in such high spirits that nobody at Tachai suspected he was already gravely ill. They realized it only after his death.

On January 8, 1976 Party secretary Kuo Feng-lien called the villagers together in the meeting room by the willow tree and said between sobs, “Two years ago I asked you to come here to tell you that Premier Chou was coming to visit us for the third time. Today I’ve called you here to tell you that our beloved Premier Chou will never be able to come to Tachai again . . .”

As if a clap of thunder had rolled across the sky, as if a typhoon had suddenly lifted the sea, the quiet meeting room was suddenly filled with sobs. After a long time a member of the Party branch committee said, “Let’s wipe away our tears, comrades, and think for a while. Of the many things Premier Chou advised us to do, what haven’t we done yet?”

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Premier Chou En-lai in the Cultural Revolution

In the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution Premier Chou En-lai worked night and day against great difficulties helping Chairman Mao organize and lead a political revolution such as had never before been seen in history. While continuing to direct the daily work of the Party Central Committee, he faithfully carried out Chairman Mao's strategic plan and implemented his directives to wage a determined struggle against sabotage by Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and the "gang of four", Wang Hung-wen, Chang Chun-chiao, Chiang Ching and Yao Wen-yuan.

The "gang of four" anti-Party clique hated Premier Chou bitterly. They teamed up with Lin Piao's anti-Party clique when the cultural revolution began to misrepresent it as a "struggle between the new Cultural Revolution Group and the old government" in an effort to turn the attack against Premier Chou. At every stage of the cultural revolution they used all kinds of underhanded means and fabricated countless trumped-up charges. As Chairman Hua Kuo-feng pointed out in December 1976, "Their object was to overthrow Premier Chou and then seize the supreme leadership of the Party and the state."

The masses knew who are their enemies and who are their friends. The people saw how Premier Chou, bearing the heavy burden of the affairs of state, made a lasting contribution to the success of the cultural revolution by his tireless work and selfless devotion. The article below is based on reminiscences of the people of Peking.

In the summer of 1966 the cultural revolution was sweeping like wildfire across the country. Called upon by Chairman Mao to rebel against revisionism, hundreds of millions of workers, peasants and soldiers entered the battle. The Red Guard movement sprang up and soon the revolutionary young people became a valiant vanguard force in the revolution. Following instructions by Chairman Mao, Premier Chou took the lead in going deep among the masses to mobilize them to fight staunchly against the bourgeois headquarters led by Liu Shao-chi inside the Communist Party.

On the Front Line

For several days on end in the latter half of July 1966 Premier Chou appeared at four in the morning at Peking's Foreign Languages Institute No. 2 to read the big-character posters. Early risers at the institute discovered who it was and the word was out. People came from all directions and thronged around the premier.

"I'm here because Chairman Mao tells us to investigate," he said. "I've come to read your big-character posters, to learn from you, to back you up in making revolution and to report the situation to Chairman Mao." Later Premier Chou went two more times to the institute to take part in mass debates and explain the fighting tasks of the cultural revolution.

Liu Shao-chi had for years promoted a counter-revolutionary revisionist line. Now, sensing disaster to himself, he set forth another bourgeois reactionary line for suppressing the masses in this revolutionary mass movement. Tsinghua University in Peking became a major battleground. Many teachers, students, staff members and workers rose to rebel against the counter-revolutionary revisionist line. Then Liu Shao-chi sent a work team there under his wife's command. Carrying out his bourgeois reactionary line, they unleashed a reign of white terror. Several hundred of the most active teachers and students were labeled "counter-revolutionaries". Liu Shao-chi was trying to hold his ground there. He had hoped to get the work team's "experience" in Tsinghua applied in other places so as to put out the flames of cultural revolution.

At this critical juncture Premier Chou took the Tsinghua University problem in hand. Between July 30 and August 22 on more than 20 occasions he received representatives of the teachers, students and workers as well as members of the work team, and on four occasions went to the university to hold discussions and take part in mass rallies. He rehabilitated the teachers and students who had been branded as "counter-revolutionaries" by the work team. In no uncertain terms Premier Chou declared, "I've come to stir up a socialist wind, to light the fire of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. With you I wish to hold aloft the torch of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution."

A mammoth meeting was called at Tsinghua University on the evening of August 22 to criticize Liu Shao-chi's suppression of the masses. It had been raining all day and those responsible for arrangements, with the premier's health in mind, telephoned him and asked if they should postpone the meeting. "Have the people started coming?" he asked. When he was told they were already arriving for the meeting, he said, "A rainstorm is nothing. I'll be right there."

It was pouring when he got there. He arrived without a raincoat or umbrella, dressed as usual in his worn grey suit. Sloshing through ankle-deep muddy water, amidst thunderous applause he
The great leader Chairman Mao and Premier Chou reviewing Red Guards in November 1966.
mounted the hastily-erected platform which had no shelter against the rain and took his seat on a wet stool. The rain soaked him and trickled off his hair. Autumn was replacing summer and even the young people began shivering. But there was Premier Chou, nearing 70, sitting in the rain. The people were extremely moved. The 100,000 participants who filled the football field began chanting, “An umbrella for the premier! An umbrella for the premier!”

“Didn’t you give me a Red Guard armband?” Premier Chou said with a smile. “You are being tempered in the wind and rain, so let me be tempered with you.”

The meeting went on for three hours before Premier Chou rose to speak. The applause was deafening. He spoke passionately of Chairman Mao’s policies and principles for the cultural revolution and called on everyone to study and learn to apply the Decision of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party Concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (the 16 Points) and to keep firmly to the general orientation of the struggle and make a fierce attack on the capitalist readers in the Party. The meeting ended with the premier leading the spirited singing of “Sailing the Seas Depends on the Helmsman”. With Premier Chou’s personal attention, the meeting was a huge success. Liu Shao-chi’s plot to suppress the masses in Tsinghua University and sabotage the cultural revolution was smashed.

The people of the capital will never forget the time when Chairman Mao reviewed 13 million Red Guards from all over the country on eight different occasions at the height of the Red Guard movement. When millions of Red Guards poured wave on wave into Peking, their food, clothing, accommodations, transportation and medical facilities were well taken care of. Premier Chou had supervised these arrangements.

During this period the premier made a number of important speeches supporting and encouraging the young people and leading them along the road of proletarian revolution. Premier Chou constantly met with groups of Red Guards, and in talks with them far into the night praised their revolutionary spirit of daring to think, to speak out and to act. He used incidents from his own several decades of revolutionary experience to show them how they must study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and always advance according to Chairman Mao’s revolutionary line.

**Promoted Unity**

As the cultural revolution surged ahead in 1967 and Liu Shao-chi’s bourgeois reactionary line became completely exposed, the Lin Piao anti-Party clique and the “gang of four” came forward and plotted to create disorder throughout the country. They hoped to seize power in the midst of confusion. They did their utmost to stir up bourgeois factionalism among the masses and split the ranks of the revolutionaries. When Chairman Mao stated that reasoning should be used instead of force, Chiang Ching distorted this into “You should attack by reasoning but use force in self-defense”. Under such “self-defense” they

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**A Big-Character Poster**

IN the spring of 1967 Premier Chou En-lai, always busy with the many day-to-day tasks of the Party and government, was bearing an even heavier load as the cultural revolution started and led by Chairman Mao surged ahead. He worked day and night and thought of a thousand stratagems to uphold and defend Chairman Mao’s revolutionary line and push the movement forward in the right direction.

His already limited sleep was reduced to two or three hours a day. He often worked for 30 or more hours at a stretch, reading, making decisions on reports, talking with people, holding meetings, receiving visitors. Often he did not take time to eat. His attendants sometimes had to prepare cornmeal porridge mixed with vegetables and chopped meat and serve it to him in a cup so that he could eat while working. He became thinner and thinner. All this was clearly affecting his health.

Once though he was not feeling well, he decided to meet representatives of the Red Guards right after he had talked with some visitors from abroad. A staff member asked him to take a break, but he said, “How can I rest when so many things have to be done?” Then the doctor discovered that he had heart trouble. Everyone around him was worried. Repeatedly they went to his wife Comrade Teng Ying-chao and asked her to help get him to take care of himself. Even this produced no results.

As nothing helped, on February 3, 1967 the members of his staff got together and decided as a group to write a dazibao (big-character poster) addressed to him. It read:

**Comrade Chou En-lai:**

We want to “rebel” against your way of working and your habits of living. Only by making some changes to meet your changed health condition will you be able to work longer and do more for the Party. We are considering things from the viewpoint of the overall and long-range interests of the Party.
sought to stir up fighting among the masses and provoke total civil war.

Premier Chou struggled resolutely against them. To bring about unity between the two revolutionary mass groupings and establish revolutionary committees with representatives of cadres and masses on both sides, Premier Chou spent night and day receiving delegations from revolutionary organizations in various fields and from different parts of the country. He persuaded them to drop their factionalism, stop fighting and unite against the enemy. In one of these all-night sessions he began losing his voice, but simply asked a nurse to spray his throat and continued.

The workers at the Peking Hotel, the capital's largest, will never forget the premier's concern for them. There as in other places sharp antagonism existed between the two groupings. One evening early in 1967 it reached fever pitch. Premier Chou went to the hotel in the cold wind directly from a meeting in the Great Hall of the People without taking time for supper. Seated with the workers on the steps leading to the banquet hall, he listened carefully to the opinions of both sides. As he ate a bowl of noodles in lieu of supper he talked earnestly with their representatives about Chairman Mao's instruction on the use of reason, not force. He admonished them to seek common ground on the major issues though they still had minor differences, to do more self-criticism and to unite and direct their attack against Liu Shao-chi's bourgeois headquarters. With Premier Chou's help the two groupings soon formed a revolutionary alliance and set up a revolutionary committee for the hotel.

Protected Revolutionary Cadres

Chairman Mao consistently taught us that we must make a clear distinction between ourselves and the enemy and unite more than 95 percent of the masses and cadres, and that the more people we unite with the better. During the cultural revolution he repeatedly expounded this principle. The "gang of four", working hand in glove with the Lin Piao anti-Party clique, did otherwise. They advocated "overthrow everybody", persecuted many revolutionary cadres and made false accusations against veteran revolutionaries who had fought north and south alongside Chairman Mao, in an attempt to overthrow them and thus seize leadership of the Party and state.

Premier Chou resolutely countered such disruption. Believing that most of the cadres are good or comparatively good, he patiently helped those who had made mistakes to see what they were, and encouraged these cadres to study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought seriously in order to raise their political understanding, and to continue with the revolution. He took steps to protect the good cadres being persecuted by Lin Piao and the "gang of four". His struggle in August 1967 to protect Comrade Chen Yi is remembered vividly by the people of the capital.

Comrade Chen Yi, Vice-Premier and Minister of Foreign Affairs for many years, was a veteran proletarian revolutionary who had made important contributions to the revolution. We earnestly ask you to heed our request.

They tacked the poster to the door of the premier's office. When Comrade Teng Ying-chao saw it she underlined in red the word "changed", which referred to the doctor's discovery of the premier's heart condition.

Two days later, after consulting with Comrade Teng Ying-chao, they wrote a xiaozibao (small-character poster) with supplementary suggestions and put it up on the door. They were:

1. Try hard to reduce night working hours and do as much as possible during the daytime.
2. Try to take a break between meetings, talks and other activities instead of working continuously.
3. Try to leave some leeway for unforeseen events when making daily schedules.
4. Except in the case of very urgent matters, try not to see people right after you return from meetings or tasks outside in order to have a breathing space.
5. Try to make meetings short and urge everybody to speak concisely.

We hope Comrade Chou will try hard to carry these out. All comrades concerned will give their full support.

The two posters reflected deep proletarian feeling for the premier on the part of those who worked closest to him. After they were put up many of his old comrades-in-arms in the revolution, out of the same kind of feeling, added their names. Among them were Comrades Yeh Chien-ying, Li Hsien-nien, Nieh Jung-chen and the late Comrades Kang Sheng, Chen Yi and Li Fu-chun.

Premier Chou always showed respect for the opinions of the masses. The day after the poster was put up, he wrote on it the neat notation:

"Sincerely accept these suggestions. Will have to see how it works out in practice."

Although Premier Chou accepted the suggestions, conditions did not permit him to get adequate rest.

Three months later, on May 21, his nieces and nephews on a visit to him observed, "Your actions fall short of the comrades' suggestions. You ought to do as they say or you're not being a real supporter of the 'rebels'."

In fact, the premier had been working as tirelessly as before.
Party. In 1967 Lin Piao and the “gang of four” and their henchmen in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs sought to overthrow Comrade Chen Yi and seize power in foreign affairs.

There was to be a mass meeting concerning him on August 11. In line with an instruction from Chairman Mao, on behalf of the Party Central Committee Premier Chou declared that if Comrade Chen Yi had made mistakes these could be criticized, but he should not be overthrown. Lin Piao and the four had instigated some people to violate this. Launching a surprise attack they shouted “Down with Chen Yi!” and displayed a streamer with the same slogan.

Premier Chou chose to walk out of the hall in protest and ordered the guards to escort Comrade Chen Yi safely from the meeting as a way of exposing the enemy to those who had been hoodwinked.

On August 26 Lin Piao and the gang sent the same trouble-makers to engage in exhausting talks with Premier Chou, allowing him neither meals nor rest for 18 hours straight. They even threatened to intercept Comrade Chen Yi’s car and storm into the Great Hall of the People to seize him, persecute and harass him. “If anyone dares intercept his car,” said the premier, “I’ll stand in his way. If you want to seize Comrade Chen Yi, I’ll be at the gate of the Great Hall and you’ll have to step over my body to get him!” In this way Lin Piao and the gang’s plot to overturn Comrade Chen Yi was thwarted.

Premier Chou’s warm concern and patient help enabled countless organizations and localities to smash through obstructions to the cultural revolution, bring about unity between contending mass organizations, rehabilitate revolutionary cadres and set up revolutionary committees composed of both cadres and representatives of the masses.

For New Socialist Things

Faithfully carrying out Chairman Mao’s instruction to bring about a profound socialist revolution in the superstructure, Premier Chou gave enthusiastic support for the new socialist things that appeared as a result of the cultural revolution.

The people of the capital cannot forget Premier Chou’s interest in and support for the school graduates going to work in the countryside. In the early days of the cultural revolution, influenced by the reactionary idea “suspect everything” and “overthrow everybody” stirred up by Lin Piao and the gang, some people claimed that for young people to go to the countryside after graduation represented a wrong political line.

Premier Chou pointed out, “It is Chairman Mao’s revolutionary line for young school graduates to go and work in the countryside. We must follow it without wavering.” Later he pointed out, “The young school graduates go to work in the countryside in response to the call of the Party and the government. We must think of their welfare and their future.” Out of his great concern for these young people Premier Chou gave careful consideration to the problems of their food and lodging, political life, cultural activities, medical care, the matter of marriage and, if married, provisions for their families.

On the 20th anniversary of the founding of the People’s Republic in 1969 many representatives of these young people were sent from the localities where they were living to participate in the celebrations in Peking. Some of them stayed in Chungnanhai where the State Council offices are located. One night when the young people were sound asleep, Premier Chou and his wife Comrade Teng Ying-chao toured their rooms, walking from bed to bed. The following morning when the young people learned that the premier had been there they were greatly moved and regretted that they had slept so soundly.

Always concerned for the people’s health, Premier Chou paid close attention to the revolution in medical and health work. He received cadres and other personnel in this field on more than 70 occasions during the cultural revolution. He called on them to carry out Chairman Mao’s instruction to go to the rural areas and serve the peasant masses. He repeatedly urged the medical and health departments to “turn your attention to the needs of the countryside and the masses” and “solve the problem of prevention and treatment of illness for the 700 million peasants”. He encouraged setting up cooperative medical services and combining the use of traditional Chinese medicine with western medical science.

In June 1967 he organized the first medical team from Peking to go to the northwest province of Kansu. Before the team left the premier personally gave it instructions and outlined its concrete tasks. Among other things he asked the team to help the local peasants rebuild their stoves, wells, latrines and animal shelters. On May 20, 1971 he learned that 16 medical people from Peking had volunteered to work in Tibet’s Ari prefecture, where conditions were very difficult and were ‘leaving that day. He asked them to postpone their departure and received them the next day in the Great Hall of the People. He praised their revolutionary spirit and encouraged them to wholeheartedly serve the former serfs who were now their own masters.

Premier Chou had the same concern and gave the same enthusiastic support to the new socialist things the revolution was bringing about in education, literature and art, and science and technology. He also paid great attention to the selection and training of young cadres and carried out faithfully the principle of having old, young and middle-aged cadres working together. He gave warm support to the new cadres who came to the fore in the cultural revolution. The “gang of four” passed themselves off as heroes of the cultural revolution, representatives of the new socialist things. But the people long ago saw through them and realized they were saboteurs of the cultural revolution and arch-enemies of the new socialist things. The people saw and will always remember how Premier Chou, loyal to the Party and the people, indefatigably carried out Chairman Mao’s revolutionary line in the cultural revolution. He fought heroically, selflessly, giving his all to the end of his life and made lasting contributions to its victory.
JANUARY 8, 1977 — the first anniversary of the death of Premier Chou En-lai — fell during the coldest days of the coldest winter Peking had seen in many years. Yet it did not stop hundreds of thousands of people from streaming to Tien An Men with portraits of Premier Chou and beautiful hand-made wreaths, bouquets or flower baskets to lay before the gold-roofed vermilion gate. It was the people's way both of paying tribute to the memory of a great proletarian revolutionary and communist fighter and celebrating the downfall of the anti-Party "gang of four" who tried to erase his memory from the people's minds.

Different groups of people held their own ceremonies, singing "The International" and pledging to carry on the revolution. Even kindergarten children came, shepherded by their teachers and wearing white chrysanthemums they had made themselves pinned on their coats. This went on from morning until late in the night for a whole week. The street lights were brighter than usual so people could still read the memorial poems pasted on walls, balustrades and pillars or attached to the wreaths and bouquets.

Factories, communes, offices and schools held solemn commemorative activities. Concerts, poetry readings and programs in many other forms were presented with feeling and artistry in memory of Premier Chou. There were moving performances by singers, musicians and poets who had known Premier Chou's concern but had been persecuted by the "gang of four". Liberated, they let their feeling flow. Kuo Lan-ying, the well-known folk singer, was one of them. She wrote new words for the popular north Shensi folk tune "Embroidering in Threads of Gold". When she sang "You are the people's beloved premier, you devoted yourself to the revolution to the end of your days, we cherish you deeply", tears streamed down her cheeks and there was not a dry eye in the audience.

Not only in Peking but all across the country people commemorated the anniversary with meetings, visits to the sites where Premier Chou had lived and worked, and cultural programs honoring his memory. His revolutionary life and indelible contributions were recalled in personal memoirs and praised in poems. The authors included Red Army veterans who had been with Premier Chou on the Long March, Communists who had worked with him in face-to-face struggles against the Kuomintang reactionaries, steelworkers with whom he had tapped furnaces, peasants who had chatted with him, PLA frontier guards he had received on inspection trips, the first group of city medical workers he sent to the northwest highlands to serve the peasants, deaf-mutes who on regaining hearing through acupuncture treatment had sung "Sailing the Seas Depends on the Helmsman" with the premier conducting, and patriotic overseas Chinese who had met him at Bandung, Indonesia. In every part of the country, in every walk of life there were people who had met and talked to the premier.

Radio and television programs constantly featured Chou En-lai.

People packed cinemas and auditoriums to see the color documentary film Eternal Glory to Our Beloved Premier Chou En-lai, suppressed for almost a year by the "gang of four". They streamed to exhibitions of photographs showing the premier fighting for the communist cause from his youth until the day he died. They stood in long lines in the biting cold to buy portraits of him, photo albums, commemorative song books and postage stamps. It was a spontaneous people's tribute.

A year after the premier's death the people's grief was mixed with pride over the defeat of the "gang of four". It had been an extraordinary year in which the struggle between the proletariat and bourgeoisie came to a head when the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua Kuo-feng led the people and smashed the Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao anti-Party gang's conspiracy to seize supreme Party and state leadership. The removal of the four, who opposed Chairman Mao and Premier Chou, prevented capitalist restoration and a major retrogression in China. In commemorating Premier Chou's first death anniversary and this great historic victory, people released their pent-up emotion in praise of the premier's proletarian qualities and denunciation of the "gang of four" for attacking him.

The Conspiracy

Chou En-lai's life work demonstrated that he was a long-tested and close comrade-in-arms of our
The People Mourn
—from the color documentary film Eternal Glory to Our Beloved Premier Chou En-lai

"Tears blur our eyes."

People wait along the boulevard where the hearse will pass, oblivious of cold, forgetting time.

The hearse passes Tien An Men.
January 1976. Grieving crowds come to lay wreaths to Premier Chou at the foot of the Monument to the People's Heroes.

White chrysanthemums cover the pines, the cypress hedge and chain barrier around the monument.

"Rest in peace, beloved Premier Chou, there will be successors to carry on the revolutionary cause."
great leader Chairman Mao, the staunchest defender and executor of his revolutionary line. Chou En-lai’s name is linked closely with every milestone and victory of the Chinese revolution. Because it is so, the people love him and the enemy hates him. To the “gang of four” Chou En-lai was a big obstacle to their ambition to seize top leadership and had to be removed.

In 1966 when the cultural revolution had just begun, members of the gang, in league with the Lin Piao anti-Party clique, unleashed a reactionary trend to “suspect everything” and “overthrow everybody” in leading positions. They referred to the State Council under Premier Chou as the “old government” and said the cultural revolution was a “struggle between the new Cultural Revolution Group and the old government”. They styled themselves “leaders of the cultural revolution”, “Leftists” and “revolutionaries” and labeled the Party, government and army leaders who upheld Marxism, represented by Premier Chou, as “conservatives” and “capitalist readers” who should be overthrown.

Chairman Mao saw through their conspiracy. Premier Chou firmly carried out Chairman Mao’s revolutionary line and policies. He defended all the fine cadres who had worked beside Chairman Mao in the revolution for decades and who are loyal to the people and the socialist cause. He helped those cadres who had made mistakes to correct them. He guided new cadres who showed during the cultural revolution that they possessed the qualities necessary for carrying on the revolution as leaders. Premier Chou’s firm stand defeated the gang’s attempt to disorient the cultural revolution.

Instead of giving up after the downfall of Lin Piao, the gang took advantage of their high positions in the Party and government and stepped up their opposition of Premier Chou and their attempt to split the Party Central Committee.
The movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius begun in 1974 was a strategic move initiated by Chairman Mao to clear away the destructive influence of the Lin Piao anti-Party clique. But the gang took over the movement for their own purposes. Behind the back of Chairman Mao, without bringing the matter up in the Political Bureau, members of the gang called two meetings, each attended by more than 10,000 people, during which they obliquely attacked Premier Chou and other central leaders. When Chairman Mao found out he sharply criticized them and withheld the tape recordings of the meeting which they had intended to circulate throughout the country.

This still did not stop the gang from trying to create public opinion against the premier. In the May 4 Movement of 1919 Premier Chou was among the first to denounce Confucianism. Yet articles written by hirelings of the gang implied that he was “the biggest Confucian of our time”. The gang also ordered their hirelings to publish articles distorting and fabricating history with the purpose of building up their own prestige. This stirred up strong indignation among the people.

Counter-revolutionary Tactics

In the autumn of 1974 preparations were being made for the convening of the Fourth National People’s Congress and discussions were going on about people for leading posts. The “gang of four” thought this an excellent opportunity to grab more power. Twice they sent Wang Hung-wen to Chairman Mao with false charges against Premier Chou, attempting to overthrow the premier and form a “cabinet” of their own. Chairman Mao criticized them sharply and said, “Chiang Ching has wild ambitions. She wants Wang Hung-wen to be Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People’s Congress and herself to be Chairman of the Party Central Committee.”

Unabashed, the gang tried another tactic. Chairman Mao had always warned that revisionism is the main danger in the communist movement. The gang in the spring of 1975 spread the idea that “empiricism is the chief enemy at present”. They did this because a large number of central and local leaders, long tested in revolutionary struggle under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, have accumulated a wealth of experience. By artificially calling experience empiricism, they hoped to have all these older cadres removed from their posts. This would include Premier Chou whom they tried to label as the representative of empiricism. When Chairman Mao saw what they were trying to do he again pointed out that the main danger was revisionism. This was another upset in their plans.

The gang pretended to accept Chairman Mao’s criticism but covertly carried on with their schemes. When Premier Chou became gravely ill they tried to interfere with his treatment. They constantly went to visit him, having long talks “discussing work” with him so that he could not get proper rest. Chiang Ching actually said, “Too bad there isn’t time to ferret out the big contemporary
Beloved Premier Chou, We Will Always Remember You", sung by workers from the Capital Iron and Steel Works, Peking.

Premier Chou Draws Up New Blueprints for Us", poetry recitation and songs by peasants of Miyun county near Peking.

We Remember Our Beloved Premier Chou", duet by Chang Chen-fu and Keng Lien-teng.

Yin Chih-kuang recites "The Light in Premier Chou's Office" to the accompaniment of music by pianist Liu Shih-kun.

Kuang Wei-ji-an, well-known poet, reads his own work, "1976, a Tempestuous Year".
On January 8, 1977, the first anniversary of the passing of Premier Chou En-lai, the Ministry of Posts and Telecommunications issued a set of four commemorative stamps. All stamps bear Chinese characters in gold reading: "First anniversary of the death of Comrade Chou En-lai, a great proletarian revolutionary of the Chinese people and an outstanding communist fighter, 1976-1977."

Stamp 1. A portrait of Premier Chou En-lai. At the bottom of the stamp is a design of pine boughs symbolizing Premier Chou's lofty proletarian revolutionary spirit which spurred him to fight so heroically and dedicate his whole energy throughout his life to the struggle for the liberation of the Chinese people and the victory of communism. Like the sturdy pines he will live forever in the hearts of hundreds of millions of the people. Salmon, deep blue, black, grey, light blue and gold.

Stamp 2. Premier Chou delivering a report on behalf of the Party Central Committee at the Tenth National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party. A design of ocean waves at the base symbolizes his bold proletarian revolutionary vision and openness of character, his life of struggle for the cause of communism and his perseverance in continuing the revolution. Salmon, lake, grey and gold.

Stamp 3. A black-and-white photograph of Premier Chou shaking hands with Comrade Wang Chin-hsi, "Iron Man Wang" from the Taching oil field, when the premier received representatives of outstanding units of China's petroleum industry in Peking in October 1956. Slate-purple, light blue and gold.

Stamp 4. Premier Chou with members of the Tachai brigade in Shanxi province on his third visit there in April 1973 shown in a black-and-white photo. Slate-purple, light blue and gold.

The Taching oil field and the Tachai brigade are examples held up by Chairman Mao—one for China's industry and the other for her agriculture. Stamps 3 and 4 recall Premier Chou's warm concern for these two outstanding units.

All stamps are of 8 fen denomination and measure 52 X 31 mm. Perf. 11.5. Color photogravured. Serial numbers: J. 13 (4-1 to 4-4).

Kuo Lan-ying sings "Embroidering in Threads of Gold".

Wang Kun sings "Saying Farewell to Premier Chou on Changan Boulevard".

Wang Yu-chen sings "A Song from Lake Hunghu for Premier Chou".

Hung Liu, a native of Taiwan province, recites "The People of Taiwan Remember Premier Chou".
Confucian", and saw to it that the premier learned of what she said. When the premier's condition became critical they succeeded in getting the doctor in charge of his treatment transferred, to the great consternation of the other doctors and nurses at the premier's side.

The tactic used by the four in their bid for supreme power was merely a modern edition of the age-old tactic employed by ambitious careerists and conspirators throughout China's history — "removing the ministers from the emperor's side". While professing loyalty to the highest leader, they worked to remove his most loyal right-hand men and real supporters in order to clear the way for their own climb to the top. In the same way, in order to seize top Party and state leadership and destroy the proletarian revolution in China pioneered by Chairman Mao, the "gang of four" used the most despicable methods in their attempt to have Chou En-lai removed.

The People's Victory

News of Premier Chou's death on January 8, 1976 shocked China and the world. While the Chinese people grieved, the "gang of four" and their henchmen rejoiced. But they knew, too, that the premier's high prestige among the people was still a threat to their bid for power. Using their authority, they did everything to suppress the people's expression of mourning. They issued orders: "Do not wear black armbands", "Do not take wreaths to Tien An Men", "Do not set up special places for paying tribute" — they were set up in every factory, farm brigade, army barrack, office, school and compound on China's 9,600,000 square kilometers of land. Even on the snowbound northern frontier, a squad of PLA men guarding Chen-pao Island gathered before Premier Chou had lived and fought — the Premier's portrait to pay their last respects. In places where Premier Chou had lived and fought — Tientsin, Kwangchow, Shanghai, Nanchang, Chungking, Yenan, Nanking — people pledged to carry on his unfinished cause.

Practically all the news stories and press photos showing the people's spontaneous expression of grief were killed by the gang's henchmen in the media. Periodicals under their control did not print the orbital notice or the memorial speech. Newspapers under their control printed no memorial article and not a word about the hundreds of thousands of people lining Changan Boulevard for five kilometers as the premier's hearse passed by or how they took over Tien An Men Square for their own tributes. And all this time the press in the rest of the world ran dispatches and articles of recollections and praise for Chou En-lai.

What was more, the Chinese press under the control of the "gang of four" continued to try to pin by innuendo the label of "the biggest capitalist roadster" on the premier. They actually told their press hirelings, "Denounce him even though he has turned to ashes."

The gang thought that suppression and attacks could destroy the people's high regard for Premier Chou. They were wrong. What they did only enraged the people and made them see clearly that they faced a grave struggle involving the fate of the country. The people threw themselves into the struggle.

"Do not wear black armbands" — people wore them throughout the mourning period. "Do not send wreaths" — hand-made wreaths surrounded the Monument to the People's Heroes like a mountain. "Do not set up special places for tributes" — they were set up in every factory, farm brigade, army barrack, office, school and compound on China's 9,600,000 square kilometers of land. Even on the snowbound northern frontier, a squad of PLA men guarding Chen-pao Island gathered before Premier Chou's portrait to pay their last respects. In places where Premier Chou had lived and fought — Tientsin, Kwangchow, Shanghai, Nanchang, Chungking, Yenan, Nanking — people pledged to carry on his unfinished cause.

On the day the premier's death was announced, the Ministry of Culture, then a stronghold of the "gang of four", ordered musical and theatrical troupes to go on with their scheduled performances, despite protests by the performers. When it learned that the troupes were playing to nearly empty theaters, it hurriedly sent out hirelings to drag people in to fill the empty seats. In spite of the pressure, the performers protested in different ways. The Central Philharmonic Orchestra and Chorus, for example, ended their program with "The International!", played and sung to a sobbing audience.

Lifting their cameras to capture scenes of the people's grief, cameramen from the Central Newsreel and Documentary Film Studio found their own eyes blurred with tears. Confronted with "Who told you to shoot these scenes?" from the four's henchmen in the studio, they answered, "The people." As the cameramen continued their work at Tien An Men Square far into the night, a worker coming off night shift said to them, "You are cameramen with a conscience. Take as many pictures of this scene as you can for the sake of our children's children and their children."

The warm, simple words brought home to the cameramen the historic meaning of their self-imposed assignment. (See page 28.)

The film documenting Premier Chou's death was ready for distribution in 20 days. The "gang of four" suppressed it, hating and fearing to publicize the people's deep feeling for their great and beloved premier. But the filmmakers kept the complete file of the film in a safe place, confident that one day it would be shown.

The day came. The gang's rabid attacks on Premier Chou brought the wrath of the nation down on them. In October 1976 when the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua Kuo-feng, carrying out Chairman Mao's behests, smashed their conspiracy for restoration, the Chinese people were as jubilant as if it were their second liberation. The film was shown throughout the country on the first anniversary of Premier Chou's death and ran for many weeks. Tears flowed freely as the victorious people relived their deep sorrow of a year ago. Many saw the film more than once in order to watch historical scenes showing Premier Chou during the various periods of the revolution from his youth to his last major speech at the Fourth National People's Congress. The monument to Premier Chou En-lai, built in the hearts of the people and fiercely defended by them, inspires them to forge ahead toward a communist society.
This Man's Contribution Was Universal

ROSE SMITH (Britain)

THIS is a time to rejoice! Millions of class fighters of the proletariat in the People's Republic of China have crossed the Luting Bridge* despite the treacherous reactionary forces (the "gang of four") which a year ago threatened to engulf them in the raging, troublesome waters below. But yesteryear we sorrowed as men have rarely sorrowed before. We sorrowed over the passing one after another of a number of respected and well-loved friends, tried and trusted proletarian Chinese statesmen. We cherish their memory all the more now that the "gang" has been overthrown.

The memory of these class fighters who have made tremendous contributions to the revolutionary struggle of countless millions, in China and in every other country of the world, will not easily be blotted out for they shaped the path to tomorrow. As their contemporary and a foreigner living and working in China for more than a decade, as a proletarian fighter, this writer would like to pay a small tribute to their memory, and particularly to that of Premier Chou En-lai with whom she had personal contact.

To Premier Chou En-lai, the writer owes a great personal debt. Her grief at his death was indeed "weightier than Mount Tai". It is he who with gentleness and skill taught this would-be Marxist how a good Communist should behave and how to distinguish Marxism from revisionism.

The writer was privileged to meet him on three occasions. I was past 70 years old on the first occasion I met him and somewhat confused and apprehensive about changes then taking place in the international communist movement and the various national communist parties following the untimely death of Stalin. As a founder-member of the Communist Party of Great Britain, I had avidly studied Liu Shao-ch'i's How to Be a Good Communist with little avail apart from an increase in personal vanity and arrogance. This book made one concerned to correctly appraise the class forces involved, and accordingly determine tactics and method, when we were engaged in class confrontations such as strikes and hunger marches. It was not until I met Vice-Chairman Chou En-lai of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, in 1963 that I understood what really constitutes a good Communist.

The occasion was a 1963 family tea-party in celebration of the fifth anniversary of the publication of Peking Review. Chou En-lai, moved quietly from table to table welcoming and placing foreign newcomers at their ease, respectfully listening to their comments. Everyone was eager to have a word with him, and spoke freely as they would to a concerned friend. He seemed to have a remarkable ability to break down racial and other barriers.

Chou En-lai approached my table, head slightly tilted to one side, shy and respectful, to be blasted by my sharp and bitter comments on recent Chinese criticism of Khrushchov and the Russian leaders' departure from the principles of Leninism and class struggle. Older readers will recall that this was the period of the great polemic on the general line of the international communist movement, soon after the withdrawal of the Russian experts from China, and after three years of great natural catastrophes. I was too conceited and stupid to recognize my own ignorance of events. For like many others of my generation, I still thought in terms of the magnificent achievements of the 1917 Russian Bolshevik revolution and blindly assumed that any opposition or criticism of anything said or done in Moscow was a betrayal of Marxism-Leninism. I failed to recognize the revisionism of Khrushchov's advocacy of peaceful coexistence with capitalism, peaceful transition (the parliamentary road) and the big nation chauvinism inherent in his advocacy. So I publicly blasted away at overpatient Chou En-lai.

The premier, sensing something of my class background, preferred to regard my behavior as a contradiction among the people. This attitude of correctly differentiating and handling two different types of contradictions was a salutary lesson to me, one which led me to investigate the strong revisionist trend then shaking the foundations of international communist movement and to see the Khrushchov doctrine as a negation of Marxism-Leninism. It led me

*The capture of Luting Bridge was one of the important operations of the Red Army during the 12,500-km. Long March (1934-35). Situated at a vital communication link between Szechuan and (the then) Sikang provinces, Luting Bridge over the Tatu River was held by enemy forces. In May 1935 the brave Red Army destroyed most of the enemy in a fierce fighting and crossed the formidable Tatu River.
to a closer examination of the Chinese position, a better understanding of Mao Tsetung Thought and to recognize its application of Marxism-Leninism to the particular circumstances of China as a development of Marxism-Leninism.

It has since helped me to adapt my thinking to new conditions, helped me to find my bearings under strange circumstances, and above all to recognize the universal importance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought.

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution came, and day by day I witnessed Chou En-lai closely following and collaborating with Chairman Mao Tsetung in the safeguarding of the fruits of the 1949 liberation, consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, overcoming and outmaneuvering the confusion sown by those betrayers of the masses, Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and the “gang of four”.

It was a great demonstration of how a good Communist always keeps the main objective in mind in spite of possible diversions and distractions in dealing with scores of immediate issues, and contending with long hours of questioning by misguided elements. Ruthlessly pushed aside by elements which were concerned to stir up strife and to discredit foreigners, I left China in December, 1968. During my nearly two years of exile from what I had come to regard as my socialist home, I was sustained by the conviction that People’s China always rights a wrong, and great was my joy when I was told that Premier Chou En-lai invited me to return. This was another example of how a good Communist behaves — an old woman Communist long past her prime is offered the opportunity to continue to play a useful role in society. What a contrast to the treatment meted out to Chinese veteran proletarian fighters by the “gang of four”. I quickly resumed my former duties and continued my old style of living. A few months later, I found myself being pushed forward to meet him during the course of a reception in the Peking Hotel. It was a very brief encounter but it was one of the highlights of a long life. Picture my feelings when this daughter of an obscure English potter and kitchen maid received the apologies of the premier of mighty China. I was unable to utter a word after he exclaimed in my mother-tongue, “We have done mistaken things.” I was particularly affected by the way he did not attempt to exonerate himself from responsibility, and was overwhelmed by the directness, simplicity and sincerity of the premier’s words. My honor as a member of the working class was vindicated and I was freed from suspicion by a comrade who, I am sure, understood the pain caused by loss of trust by one’s colleagues.

Three years later I was a special guest of the premier at the celebration of International Women’s Day in the Great Hall of the People.

There, in the presence of hundreds of guests the premier publicly apologized to all foreign experts on behalf of the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese government for the delay in carrying out the instructions of Chairman Mao Tsetung in relation to their treatment. There were not many dry eyes as Chou En-lai unfolded the heroic struggle of the revolutionary masses during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution to
defeat the capitalist roaders and explained how evil forces had tried to use foreign experts to fish in troubled waters exactly as they had done with the Chinese.

Many foreigners then began to understand that the same evil forces, which had maliciously assaulted Chairman Mao's headquarters and tried in vain to turn China back onto the capitalist road, were the same evil forces that had tried to sow dissension and create disputes between Chinese and foreigners as well as between foreigner and foreigner.

Premier Chou En-lai, always a strong internationalist and ever loyal to Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, helped to form links of friendship between the Chinese and millions of proletarian class fighters of other countries. He took great care of the foreign experts residing in China. At the “March 8th” tea party, he cordially talked with foreign experts, showed warm interest in everybody and their families, and concern for their welfare, their domestic and working life. In sharp contrast, Chiang Ching was all along withdrawn and aloof, never left her seat, nor showed any inclination to mingle with them.

But the evil forces have been finally ferreted out. Despite the rejection and wanton destruction of the lovingly-made memorial wreaths, the tearing down and suppression of his photographs, the banning of all mention of him and the vain attempts to blot out Chou En-lai’s name, his name remains indelible. His revolutionary spirit lives on.

This is a time to rejoice, for the Chinese masses have crossed the Luting Bridge and are advancing high in spirit, confident of victory under the leadership of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, headed by Chairman Hua Kuo-feng, selected by Mao Tsetung and close worker side by side with Chou En-lai.
HE LOVED THE PEOPLE

Teacher

ON the Long March in 1934-35 Comrade Chou En-lai, who was then Vice-Chairman of the Military Commission of the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee, had two orderlies, Ting Chen-yu and Tseng Chi-hsiang. He treated them like younger brothers. Whenever they billeted, he asked if they were tired, urged them to heat water to wash their feet and helped them treat their blisters.

When he learned that they were illiterate, he pointed out, "You didn't go to school because your parents were exploited and oppressed by the landlord class and were too poor.

"Beginning from tomorrow," he said, "I'll teach you two words a day." After that he always found time to do so no matter how busy he was.

Once, seeing that Hsiao Ting wrote his own name badly, Comrade Chou En-lai took a pencil and showed him how to write it properly with the strokes in the right order. He taught Hsiao Tseng to do the same. Take some paper, he urged them, and make a small notebook and practice whenever they could. He taught them to write things like "Red Army", "peasants", "serve the people" and "fight the local bullies", explained their meaning and showed the boys how to use them in sentences. He also told them stories of the revolution: about the Autumn Harvest Uprising, about Chairman Mao in the Chingkang Mountains, how Commander-in-Chief Chu Teh had carried rice up the mountains on a shoulder pole.

By the time they reached Kwei-chow the two had learned to write about a hundred words. One morning Hsiao Ting wrote a letter to his parents and showed it to Comrade Chou En-lai. "You've written it very well," he said with a smile. "Send it out just this way. How happy your parents will be to see it!"

The Parachute

ON January 29, 1946, Comrade Chou En-lai boarded a two-engine plane in Yenan to return to Chungking with the staff of the Eighth Route Army office there. They had been in Yenan reporting to Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee on the political struggle with the Kuomintang at the former political consultative conference, which was to hold its closing session in Chungking in a few days.

On the same plane was Yeh Yang-mei, eleven-year-old daughter of General Yeh Ting. Her father, commander of the New Fourth Army, had been imprisoned by the Kuomintang since January 1941 when Chiang Kai-shek had perfidiously ambushed and attacked the New Fourth Army in what became known as the Southern Anhwei Incident. Now General Yeh Ting was to be released as a result of a determined struggle against the Kuomintang reactionaries waged by the Party Central Committee. Yang-mei, on her way to meet him in Chungking, was laughing and singing.

Flying over some mountains the plane encountered a mass of cold air and clouds which crusted the wings with ice. The already heavily-loaded aircraft dropped lower and lower. To reduce weight the captain ordered a mechanic to open the cabin door and throw out the baggage. He told the passengers to put on their parachute and be ready to jump at any moment. Yang-mei began to cry. There was no parachute for her seat. Comrade Chou En-lai strode across the bucking cabin, untied his own and put it on her back. "Don't cry, Yang-mei," he said. "Be as brave as your father. You have to learn to fight difficulties and danger." His voice was calm, firm and affectionate.

Just then the plane broke out of the cold air mass. They could see the mountains below them again. The coating of ice melted away quickly in the sunshine as the plane regained altitude.

Stretcher Bearer

ONE day in August 1947 in the War of Liberation during a fierce Kuomintang attack around the north Shensi town of Shachi-tien in the Shensi-Kansu-Ningsia border region, a stretcher-bearer fell ill while passing Liangchiacha Village where Comrade Chou En-lai, then Vice-Chairman of the Military Commission of the Party Central Committee, had his quarters. The wounded man had to be put down at the entrance to the village. Comrade Chou En-lai saw him and came over.

"Where are you wounded, comrade?" he asked.

"In the thigh."

"Don't worry. You'll be all right after a few days in the hospital." Turning to the stretcher-bearer, he said, "Get him to the hospital right away."

"I can't," the man replied, pointing to his partner lying under a
tree. "The other bearer has a pain in his stomach and can't go on. The villagers are all out carrying stretchers or transporting grain and I can't find anyone to take his place till I get to the next village. I don't know what to do."

Calling to his bodyguard to escort the sick stretcher-bearer to a nearby medical station, Comrade Chou En-lai picked up one end of the stretcher. "Come on, let us two carry him to the next village."

As they passed through the village a soldier saw them and rushed forward to take over the stretcher. Comrade Chou En-lai refused and finally only after repeated requests relinquished his hold. With the words, "Now don't worry. Just take it easy while your wound heals," he bade the wounded man goodbye and watched until they were out of sight.

Photographer's Helper

ONE day in early autumn 1956 Premier Chou went with Chairman Mao to meet a foreign head of state at the Peking airport in the western suburbs. As Chairman Mao shook hands with the guest, Chinese and foreign journalists converged on them snapping photographs. In his eagerness to capture the historic scene one of the photographers snapped his pictures as he held the camera over the shoulder of a cadre standing nearby, who obligingly stood still.

When he had finished, the photographer retreated with his camera and the cadre turned around. It was Premier Chou, who smiled and nodded to the mortified photographer.

Dancing with the Tais

PREMIER CHOU visited the Tai Autonomous Prefecture in Yunnan province on April 13, 1961 for the traditional Water-Sprinkling Festival, which is New Year's Day in the Tai lunar calendar.

Wearing traditional Tai costume—a white shirt, brown trousers and a red turban—Premier Chou joined a group of young Tais at Mantingchhai in the Long Drum Dance, beating his drum gaily and dancing beneath the litchi trees.

Then the water sprinkling began, the climax of the New Year's Day celebration. Out of silver bowls the premier and the local people of various nationalities sprinkled water on one another with cypress twigs.

According to Tai custom the more water you sprinkle on someone, the greater warmth and respect you show him. Feeling that a small bowl of water was not sufficient to express their feeling for Premier Chou, the people went and got basins. He too put down his bowl, grabbed a basin and sloshed away merrily.

The Raincoat

AS People's Liberation Armyman Kuo Yi-kang was standing guard one night in July 1955 at a house in the summer resort of Peitaiho where Premier Chou En-lai and his wife Comrade Teng Ying-chao were staying, a sudden heavy rainstorm came up. In the midst of it he heard someone coming. It was Comrade Teng Ying-chao, holding an umbrella and carrying something under her arm. "The premier sends you this raincoat," she said. "Put it on. And he said to
remind you not to stand under a tree when there’s lightning.”

**Concern**

CHI CHU-LIANG lay in his bed in the hostel with other young soldiers in Chungnanhai but couldn’t sleep. It was the night of September 30, 1966 and, representing his unit, he had come to Peking to attend the National Day celebrations. He couldn’t stop thinking of the events of the day. With representatives from all parts of the country he had been received by Premier Chou En-lai. “I welcome you,” the premier had said, “on behalf of Chairman Mao, the Party Central Committee and the State Council.”

As he was thinking, the door opened and Premier Chou came quietly in and walked about the room. At Chi’s bed he stopped. One of Chi’s feet had found its way out of the quilt. He gently pulled the covers over it and tucked them in.

**In an Earthquake**

TWO small pine trees stand at the entrance to the Paichiachai brigade in the Hsingtai prefecture of north China’s Hopei province. Eleven years ago Premier Chou En-lai visited the village after it had been devastated by an earthquake. When he passed away on January 8, 1976, the brigade members planted the pines to stand in memory of the occasion.

A strong earthquake rocked the Hsingtai prefecture on March 8, 1966. Many people were killed. The Paichiachai brigade was one of the hardest hit. The next day, while aftershocks were still going on, Premier Chou En-lai arrived from Peking.

Several thousand people were waiting for him in a field north of the village. “Comrades, villagers,” he said to them on alighting from the helicopter, “you’ve been struck by disaster and lost a lot. Chairman Mao has sent me to see you. The Party Central Committee is concerned about you.” With tears in their eyes the people raised their fists and shouted, “Long live Chairman Mao!” “You’ve studied The Foolish Old Man Who Removed the Mountains, haven’t you?” the premier continued. “He could move mountains, and you, too, can surely overcome this difficulty. Mourn for the dead, but do not bow your heads. You’re peasants of Mao Tsetung’s era. Unite! Unity is strength.” Raising his right arm, he led them in shouting, “Self-reliance, hard work, develop production, rebuild our homes!” As soon as he had left, the brigade members with new confidence went to work in the fields.

Yu Hsiao-chun had lost four children in the quake and her husband was in a coma. Premier Chou heard about it and went to visit her in the hastily-built shed where she was lodged. “With Chairman Mao’s leadership,” he told her, “we can overcome all difficulties.” His words were a great comfort in her grief.

Ignoring sand and water spurting from the earth and the after-shocks which kept coming, Premier Chou walked the length of the village, striding across foot-wide fissures and past shattered walls which could tumble at any moment. He asked everyone he met how they had fared. Hearing that some people’s kitchen utensils had been smashed so that all they could eat was steamed bread, he told the people from the earth quake headquarters, “Think of a way for them to get hot meals as soon as possible. Guarantee that
county, he bent down to shake hands with 140 patients. The premier crouched down and clasped the hands of Ho Chuan-sheng, from a family of three generations of hired hands, who had a broken pelvis. He felt the mattress to see how thick it was and gently lifted the quilt to examine the dressing. "Premier," the injured man said with tears in his eyes, "the People's Liberation Army rescued me and you, who are busy all day managing the affairs of state for us, have come to see us. How can we thank you?"

"The PLA serves the people," the premier replied, "and so do I."

Premier Chou toured the disaster area with only two members from his staff accompanying him. He urged the leaders of the prefecture and the county Party committees to remain at their posts directing rescue and relief work.

Addressing mass meetings at the Tungwang and Kengchuangchiao communes in a sixth-grade wind that filled the air with dust, he arranged for the audience to sit with their backs to the wind while he spoke into it.

Premier Chou concerned himself with the smallest details of produc-

every family has a kerosene lamp, a wash basin, a cooking pot and a ladle and that everyone has a bowl and chopsticks."

Seeing a child standing beside her demolished house, he rushed over and picked her up. "Where's your papa?" he asked. "Your mama?" When she replied that they were both alive, he relaxed and put her down. "Be sure you've made provisions for children who have no one to take care of them," he said to the comrades accompanying him.

AFTER another strong shock hit Hsingtai, Premier Chou went to the disaster area again on April 1. Visiting a field hospital at Tungwang commune in Chinning
tion and the people's living conditions in the disaster area. At a well in Paichiachai he inquired, "Is this water fresh or brackish?" It was brackish. "You've got to find something better," he told the brigade cadres. "Try to dig a fresh-water well."

After the meeting at Tungwang Village they had to pass through a field of young wheat to get to the tents housing the injured. "Don't step on the shoots," he cautioned the person behind him, and had the word passed back.

He saw that there were not many trees around Hochiachai Village. "You should plant trees," he told the leaders.

"What are you going to do about production and reconstruction?" he asked in Paichiachai Village.

"We'll build a new village," brigade Party branch secretary Chin Ching-yin replied.

"How many years will it take?"

"Three," said Chin.

"Fine," said the premier. "I'll be back and see it."

The Tale of a Blouse

LIU HSIU-HSIN, a young worker at the Peking Low Voltage Electrical Equipment Plant, held up a white dacron blouse at a meeting to honor Premier Chou En-lai on the first anniversary of his death. With tears in her eyes she told its story.

In the year 1972, when she was still an apprentice lathe operator, August 3 was her day off. That evening she thought she'd take a bicycle ride to Tien An Men Square to cool off. About nine o'clock as she was nearing the western gate of the State Council offices she speeded up and swung out just over the line between the bicycle and auto lanes in order to pass some riders ahead of her. Four Red Flag limousines were coming from behind. The first one passed her, with the second right behind it. Liu Hsiu-hsin, who had only recently learned to ride a bike, began to get nervous. She stopped and jumped down. Before she was firmly on her feet she felt something catch the back of her blouse, tearing it. She was knocked off balance and fell.

As she started to pick herself up she turned to see the familiar face of Premier Chou En-lai looking at her from the car window with a worried expression. The driver was already out of the car and asking, "Comrade, are you hurt?"

"It's nothing," Hsiu-hsin replied.

The premier sent one of the cars and a man who was with him to take her to a hospital. When they got there this person gave her a careful examination, had an X-ray taken and then dressed the place where she had been scratched. She guessed him to be the premier's personal doctor.

Just as they were finishing the dressing the doctor received a telephone call. Liu Hsiu-hsin learned that the premier himself had called to inquire about her, and was deeply moved.

When the dressing was finished the doctor sent for the secretary of her workshop Communist Party branch and leader of her work group and asked them to accompany her to the traffic police office. "Don't worry," he said, "the premier gave instructions that they were not to criticize you."

They went in the Red Flag limousine to the Tien An Men traffic office where she told her story. Then a person from the State Council office appeared and presented her with a new white dacron blouse. She was at a loss for words. She put on the blouse and was sent home by car.

The next afternoon Premier Chou sent three members of his staff to visit her. They asked about her injury and if there was anything they could do for her.

Liu Hsiu-hsin was very touched that the premier, who is so busy, should show so much concern for a person like herself, an ordinary worker from a poor peasant family.

"I'll work very hard to try to repay his thoughtfulness through my own actions," she said.

His Last Flight

On December 23, 1974, Vice-wing Commander Wang Yun, a member of the second group of women fliers to be commissioned in China, and her crew were to fly Premier Chou En-lai to Changsha for a report-back to Chairman Mao. They had heard that the premier was seriously ill and were concerned for his health. Now, hearing that he would be going in their plane, they thought this meant he was well enough to travel and were overjoyed.

As usual, the premier shook hands with everyone on the air staff when he got to the airport. When some asked about his illness, he replied, "Well, one has to fight it." He was thinner and walked with difficulty, and needed help to climb the gangplank. His hand trembled as he drank a cup of tea. Then the crew realized that the premier was making the trip in spite of his illness.

During the flight he asked Division Commander Yang Fu-chen who accompanied him, in detail about how political study and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius were going in units under him, and about their training.

Four days later the crew flew Premier Chou back to Peking. Though it was already 9 p.m., before getting off the premier, helped by his secretary, went to the cabin to say goodbye to the crew. "Take good care of yourself," they said with tears in their eyes.

"Thank you all," the premier said with a warm smile. "The flight was very smooth. You are highly skilled. I'd like to take your plane next time I fly."

They did not realize that this was his last flight.
STRUGGLE AGAINST ‘FOUR’ ADVANCES TACHAI MOVEMENT

Staff Reporter

WHETHER or not to learn from Tachai — around this issue a fierce struggle has been going on in China’s countryside over the past year and a half.

Tachai is a commune brigade outstanding for achieving agricultural progress the socialist way. In 1964 Chairman Mao called on the nation’s farming people to learn from Tachai. This became a movement for counties to get every brigade to be like Tachai. The “gang of four”, true to their role as representatives of the bourgeois class in the Communist Party, did everything they could to discredit Tachai and break up the movement for Tachai-type counties. The 700 million peasants, led by the Communist Party, fought against these attempts, kept to the Tachai road and launched a new upsurge in the movement. This has been a fierce struggle in which Marxism overcame revisionism and the proletariat overcame the bourgeoisie.

Situated on the loess plateau in north China, Tachai is a small mountain village of 83 peasant families. Its mountain slopes were seriously eroded and it perennially suffered from drought, flood or both. Guided by Chairman Mao’s revolutionary line, the Tachai people kept to the socialist road, relied on their own strength and in several years of hard work brought their once poor and backward village to prosperity. The road taken by Tachai represents the way forward for China’s peasants.

Nationwide application of the Tachai experience in the dozen years since Chairman Mao’s call has resulted in excellent harvests year after year and provided the guarantee of adequate food and clothing for China’s 800 million.

In September 1975 the first National Conference on Learning from Tachai in Agriculture was convened in Shansi province’s Hsiyang county where Tachai is located. It was called on a decision of the Party Central Committee and Chairman Mao and presided over by Comrade Hua Kuo-feng.
A meeting to criticize the "gang of four" for trying to disrupt the learn-from-Tachai movement, Liutu commune, Kiangsi province.

The conference enabled farming units from all over the country to exchange their experience in learning from Tachai and in mechanizing agriculture.

Comrade Hua Kuo-feng delivered an important speech on behalf of the Party Central Committee: "Mobilize the Party, Make Greater Efforts to Develop Agriculture and Strive to Build Tachai-type Counties Throughout the Country". In line with Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, principles and policies, the report elucidated the basic experience of Tachai, analyzed and summed up the progress of the learn-from-Tachai movement and put forth goals and measures for building Tachai-type counties step-by-step in a planned way. It was a document of Marxism-Leninism. As a guide for advancing in a socialist direction in the countryside, it was enthusiastically received by the delegates.

After the conference 1,600,000 rural cadres went among the commune members to educate them in the Party's basic line— the necessity to constantly combat capitalism and develop socialism. Leading groups at the county, commune and brigade levels, guided by Marxism-Leninism, held movements to rectify their style of work and strengthen Party organizations.

Millions of peasants turned out to work on making basic improvements to farmland. The "learn and build" movement entered a new stage.

The Attack

The "gang of four" saw the movement and the excellent situation in China's countryside as a threat to their scheme to seize top Party and state leadership. They went all out to disrupt the movement.

Chiang Ching was the first. She had tried to sabotage the first learn-from-Tachai conference even before it began. She arrived in Tachai a week before the conference and in a talk on Water Margin, a Chinese classical novel which in describing a 12th-century peasant uprising makes capitulation a virtue, launched a thinly-veiled attack on Premier Chou En-lai and other central leaders. She said that the heart of the matter in Water Margin was that the protagonist made Chao Kai, leader of the peasant uprising, into a figurehead. "Today in the Central Committee there are people who are trying to make Chairman Mao a figurehead," she said.

No speech by her was on the agenda for the opening session approved by the Central Committee and Chairman Mao, but she maneuvered her way in and spoke on the same theme. She wanted to have tape recordings of her talk circulated at the conference and printed copies of it distributed to the delegates, hoping to create confusion in their minds and turn the discussion into other channels. Comrade Hua Kuo-feng who presided over the meeting saw through her and reported her talk to Chairman Mao. "Shit! Barking up the wrong tree," Chairman Mao said and gave the specific instruction, "Don't publish the talk, don't play the recording or print the text." Chiang Ching's scheme was frustrated.

The "gang of four" did not give up. They turned their fire on Comrade Hua Kuo-feng. Although his report at the conference had been discussed and approved by the Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee, right after he delivered it Chiang Ching attacked it as "a revision of Marxism-Leninism". Chang Chun-chiao instructed his followers in Shanghai not to communicate the report to the lower-level cadres. Yao Wen-yuan ordered the People's Daily, also under his control, not to publicize Tachai. The gang used its control of the media to distort the main aspects
of the report in an attempt to negate it. Finally Chairman Mao authorized it to be issued as a Party Central Committee document.

Tachai's experience has been shown to be in accord with the peasants' wishes and basic interests. It is the practical application of the Marxist line in rural work.

What is Tachai's experience? Premier Chou En-lai had summed it up as: adherence to the principle of putting proletarian politics in command and Mao Tsetung idea that under socialism there is still class struggle—the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road. It means that Party organizations at every level should constantly educate the peasants in socialist thinking and criticize capitalist tendencies so as to develop socialism and overcome capitalism.)

In their attempt to discredit Tachai the "gang of four", posing as Marxists, said that Tachai was "an example of developing production only", that it was "carrying out revisionist instructions" and had Readying a waterlogged field for digging an irrigation and drainage ditch in the Red Flag commune, Hoilien county, Sinkiang.

Improving farmland on a large scale at the Liehiaichai brigade, Shantung province.

Thought in the lead, the spirit of self-reliance and hard work, and the communist style of love for the state and the collective. Comrade Hua Kuo-feng in his report reiterated this sum-up and pointed out, "Building a Tachai-type county means spreading Tachai's basic experience throughout the country. . . . The basic guarantee to building a Tachai-type county is to deepen education in the Party's basic line in the countryside." (Education in the Party's basic line means acting in accord with the "lagged behind politically". At the same time they tried to set up other brigades as models which would serve their aim of capitalist restoration.

The four especially opposed education in the Party's basic line, since this is the heart of the Tachai experience. "Who knows if conducting education in the Party's basic line is the correct thing to do?" Chang Chun-chiao said. The gang claimed that the work teams carrying out this task were actually "seeking vengeance" and "working for capitalist restoration". When work teams dealt decisively with capitalist forces the four said this was "pointing the spearhead at the grass-roots levels", and "the big bourgeoisie criticizing the small bourgeoisie". Brigades, communes and counties which had worked hard to build socialist agriculture were declared to be "following the theory of productive forces", that is, pushing production and neglecting to carry on the class struggle. Efforts to mechanize farming were
maligned as "emphasizing modernization to the detriment of revolution". Chang Chun-chiao proclaimed, "As long as you grasp class struggle effectively, it doesn't matter if you don't harvest a single grain."

The "gang of four" was in fact against criticizing capitalism and revisionism and building socialism. That was why they tried to discredit Tachai. But in order to achieve their purpose they had to try to pass themselves off as "representatives of the correct line" and call others "capitalist roaders". They got their followers to "ferret out capitalist roaders" at every level, hoping in this way to paralyze Party and government units, create confusion and disrupt production. This would give them an opportunity to pin the blame on Party, government and army leaders, both central and local, get them removed from their posts and replace them with their own people.

Sharp Contrast
Learning from Tachai gets one kind of result and not learning from it quite another.

The richly-endowed Wenchow prefecture in Chekiang province south of the Yangtze made rapid advances during the cultural revolution. By 1970 the prefecture was getting 6.8 tons of grain per hectare. Then the "gang of four" stepped in. Their retainers in power there impeded and finally broke up the movement to learn from Tachai and production plummeted. Cadres in some places were instigated to agitate for redistributing the land to individual households and going back to private farming. These cadres were said to be the "revolutionaries". The "gang of four" actually forced through redistribution of the land in many places by attacking as "capitalist roaders" those cadres who wanted to hold the collective together thus keeping to the socialist road. Where individual farming was restored a few families were becoming well to do while a majority of the peasants became poorer. Capitalist tendencies grew rapidly. A black market flourished and the collective economy fell apart. Embezzlement, theft and profiteering spread unchecked. The masses of the peasants suffered. After the fall of the "gang of four" the people criticized them roundly: "They were absolutely not representatives of the correct line but counter-revolutionary revisionists who betrayed Marxism and pushed an ultra-Right line."

In sharp contrast to Wenchow is Pingting county in Shansi province, which bucked the interference of
the "gang of four", did things the Tachai way and became an advanced farming unit in one year.

Though situated not far from Tachai, until a little more than a year ago Pingting had not applied Tachai's experience wholeheartedly. For a long time its production had stayed in the same place. In September 1975 Yao Wen-yuan, one of the "gang of four", stopping by Pingting on his way to the learn-from-Tachai conference, said, "How are you going to get the whole country to learn from Tachai when even Pingting, so close to it, won't do so?" He was implying that Tachai's experience was not applicable everywhere. The Pingting people were stung by his cynical words. After hearing stories of successful Tachai-type brigades they decided to prove him wrong.

Leaders of the Pingting county Party committee discussed Comrade Hua Kuo-feng's report to the first Tachai conference and decided that the first thing to do was to have a rectification movement. They invited representatives of the peasants to point out and criticize capitalist tendencies in the work of the leaders of the county Party committee.

Then the idea began to spread that "rectification means restoration" and that "criticizing capitalist tendencies among grass-roots cadres is pointing the spearhead at the masses". These were spread by the "gang of four" and caused some feeling that the rectification movement should be stopped. The county Party committee leaders knew that they were doing according to Chairman Mao's teachings, as Comrade Hua Kuo-feng's report had urged. "We believe rectification means making revolution," they said, "and that's a good thing." The Party secretary described how the Tachai people had given tit for tat in a confrontation with a revisionist big shot. "Chairman Mao said we should learn from Tachai," he declared. "Criticizing capitalism is an important part of it, and this is what we're doing. What's wrong about that?" They went on with the rectification and strengthening of the leading group.

After the rectification, the county Party committee sent out 750 county and commune cadres in work teams to carry out education in the Party's basic line in 150 brigades. They pushed ahead in spite of the four's attempts to disband the work teams. As a result, 65 laggard brigades began to follow Tachai's experience in earnest and 40 of them soon became advanced brigades.

The gang tried to mix up "grasping revolution and promoting production" as called for by Chairman Mao with following the "theory of productive forces" and claimed that the slogan "All-out effort to build socialism" was promoting production at the expense of grasping revolution. Pingting's cadres and masses replied, "We will criticize the theory of productive forces, but we will also go all out to build socialism. We'll not only talk socialism, we'll go all out to build it. Anybody who just talks about it and does not work to bring it about does not really want socialism."

Rectification raised the Pingting people's political consciousness and deepened their understanding of the Tachai way. Since the winter of 1975, 15,000 people have turned out to work on farmland improvement projects. Instead of each brigade or commune laboring by itself to change a single river or terrace a single ravine, several got together to build multi-purpose projects under unified planning. In one year the Pingting people moved 51 million cubic meters of earth and stone, three times as much as the year before. They improved 4,000 hectares of fields that now compare with Tachai's best and built 6,700 hectares of terraced fields and 2,064 water conservation projects. This helped Pingting achieve a 30-percent increase in per-hectare yield of grain, a total net increase of 25,000 tons. The county was able to supply the state with three times as much commodity grain as the year before. It thus refuted Yao Wen-yuan by becoming a Tachai-type county in one year. The people's conclusion: "Whoever opposes learning from Tachai is a capitalist roader."
New Advances

The smashing of the “gang of four” by the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua Kuo-feng removed the biggest obstacle to the movement to learn from Tachai and build Tachai-type counties. In December 1976, at the proposal of Chairman Hua, the Party Central Committee convened the second National Conference on Learning from Tachai in Agriculture. During the year between the first and second conferences China’s 700 million peasants had carried on a struggle against the “gang of four” and against serious natural calamities, and brought in another good harvest, the country’s 15th in a row. Over a hundred more counties had become counties of the Tachai type, and the original 317 such counties continued to make progress.

During 1976, 150 million people worked on farmland construction throughout the country, centering on soil improvement and water control. They moved 25,000 million cubic meters of earth, an unprecedented amount for one year. Many formerly poor and backward places have become transformed as a result of the learn-from-Tachai movement. The 18 counties and cities under the Shih-chin-chuang prefecture in Hopei province, plagued by drought and flood, had been unable to raise their low grain and cotton yields for a long time. Before 1965 the area had to buy part of its food grain every year. In 1967, two years after it began learning from Tachai, the prefecture had become self-sufficient in grain and even had a surplus to sell. Its 1974 per-hectare grain yield was 81 percent over 1965’s, and the two years since then have both seen excellent harvests. The area now regularly gets high yields in both grain and cotton.

Similar changes took place in Shantung, Honan and the northern parts of Kiangsu and Anhwei provinces, whose cultivated land accounts for one-fourth of the country’s total. In old China these were areas of chronic famine. Farming units in these places began learning from Tachai during the cultural revolution, building all kinds of projects to help them withstand the effects of natural disasters. By 1976 these places were supplying their own grain and had a surplus to sell.

Areas already getting high yields made further progress in recent years. The Soochow prefecture on the lower Yangtze River had achieved the high yield of six tons of grain per hectare by 1964. In the Tachai campaign its commune members have rebuilt their fields to help them withstand the effects of natural disasters. By 1976 these places were supplying the state with large quantities of marketable grain, cotton, rapeseed and hogs.

The future promises to be even brighter for China’s farming people. With the Party under Chairman Hua Kuo-feng and the second learn-from-Tachai conference to inspire them, they are moving toward the goal of making one-third of China’s counties the Tachai type and basically mechanizing farming by 1980.
CHINA recently completed another large modern petrochemical base—the Shengli General Petrochemical Works in Shantung province.

The complex includes a refinery, two fertilizer plants, a catalyst plant and a synthetic rubber plant. Processing crude oil from the nearby Shengli field, it produces gasoline, kerosene, diesel oil, asphalt and other derivatives, and chemical fertilizer, acrylonitrile, benzoids and 30 other chemical products.

Work on the big base began in April 1966, just before the cultural revolution. With great socialist enthusiasm the workers completed the refinery in just a year and a half. Collective technical innovations and transformations since then have raised capacity 140 percent. The first fertilizer plant, which uses petroleum gas, went into operation in 1974 and achieved its designed capacity the following year. It is presently operating above this level.

Work on the second fertilizer plant was begun in April 1974. However, in spite of Chairman Mao and Premier Chou En-lai's approval, the "gang of four" attempted to stop the work by provoking splits among the workers and fanning up anarchism. But the workers knew that the project would speed up the pace of agriculture and knew its significance in the policy for developing the national economy—"taking agriculture as the foundation and industry as the leading factor". They resisted the gang's efforts.

Later, when workers, staff, commune members and armymen were working day and night to speed up construction, the four condemned their efforts as following the "theory of productive forces" (an anti-socialist economic theory) and claimed they were "using production to stifle revolution". A worker retorted, "Socialism doesn't fall from the sky. We're right in acting in line with Chairman Mao's principle of grasping revolution and promoting production!" The plant was completed in 1976 and produces 300,000 tons of synthetic ammonia per year.

The rubber plant went into production recently, a victory over time won with an under-strength construction force.

The complex fulfilled its 1976 plans for the total value of industrial production and for its main petrochemical products ahead of schedule.

Another Large Coal Mine Doubles Production

THE Yangchuan Coal Mine in Shansi province is China's largest producer of anthracite. Without opening any new shafts, last year it mined 12,470,000 tons—twice its designed capacity of 6,210,000 tons—to overfulfill its plan for the ninth year in a row.

The Shengli General Petrochemical Works.

The Kailuan Coal Mines, China's largest, had earlier doubled production.

In July 1974 Chairman Mao praised the excellent situation in revolution and production at the mine. This greatly encouraged its mining coal at Yangchuan.
workers. They discussed it and decided to try to get more out of the old mine. They planned to “learn from Taching, catch up with Kaikuan and double production in three years”. That year the output of raw coal jumped 1,700,000 tons. Production grew another million tons in 1975.

Then the absurdities pushed by the “gang of four” to disrupt revolution and production interfered. The gang claimed that the Taching oil field was a model only of grasping production but not of making revolution. They labeled as revisionist a national meeting of extraction and tunneling team leaders called by the Ministry of Coal Industry in 1975 to discuss grasping revolution and promoting production. Strengthening management, they alleged, was stifling the masses.

The Yangchuan workers overcame this interference. They realized that as long as they held to the socialist orientation and kept proletarian politics in command, the faster production developed the better. Producing more and better coal for the country was their duty as members of the working class. Enthusiastic socialist labor emulation in 1976 increased production by 1,800,000 tons to reach a level 120 percent over 1965. They had achieved their goal.

China’s Longest Road Bridge

The new bridge across the Yellow River at Loyang is 3.4 kilometers long. Linking highways north and south of the river, it is of great importance for developing industrial and agricultural production and speeding up socialist construction.

In the old society there wasn’t a single road bridge across the Yellow River along its 600-kilometer course in Honan province. Junk ferried people, animals and vehicles across. During the flood season a strong wind would whip up waves big enough to capsize the boats, and transport would be disrupted. The people on both banks badly wanted a bridge.

Their wish came true. Premier Chou approved the decision to construct a bridge at Loyang. The state sent experienced builders. People along the Yellow River rushed to volunteer for work on the project.

Soon after work began, the “gang of four” started to interfere and sabotage. They attacked many cadres throughout the province as “capitalist readers big and small”, and talked about a “movement to seize power” from them. This created many difficulties for Party committees at all levels. Proceeding in fits and starts, work on the bridge was halted for a total of eight months during the next three years.

In these difficult days, the workers, cadres and engineers recalled Chairman Mao and Premier Chou’s interest in bridge building. In 1956 Chairman Mao had inspected the bridge over the Yangtze River at Wuhan. During emergency repairs of the steel bridge on the Yellow River at Chengchow in 1958, Pre-

Opening ceremony for the Yellow River Bridge at Loyang.
One day during the autumn harvest, a girl in the Shenlufang Primary School outside the city of Sian wrote on the weather forecast blackboard outside the school gates: “Rain today.” Another girl took the forecast to the farm brigade’s broadcasting room where it was promptly announced over the loudspeaker system. Out in the fields the harvesters immediately reorganized their work and brought in all the cut grain before the rain came.

The two girls are observers in a small weather station run by their school. While on duty that day they noted that humidity was rising, temperature had dropped and atmospheric pressure was rising again after having gone down. They also noticed that the top of a mountain to the west was beginning to be shrouded in clouds. A local proverb says, “Cloud-capped peaks bring rain.” They analyzed their findings with their teacher and concluded that it would rain in their locality although the provincial weather station had forecast good weather over a much wider area.

The Shenlufang school’s weather station is one of many such posts run by peasants and students in China’s rural areas. To benefit local agriculture, these make local observations and forecasts to supplement the provincial reports. Since it was set up a dozen years ago, the Shenlufang station’s young observers have taken their jobs seriously and many times given reports that helped farm work. The peasants continually praise them.

The children work in groups and go on duty by turns. They read the instruments three times a day, observing cloud formations, wind, humidity, ground and atmospheric temperatures, precipitation and pressure. They are trained never to guess or estimate but to record only the figures and phenomena they see with their own eyes, and to keep everything tidy and clean. After the final reading each day they discuss the weather phenomena, instrument readings, and local weather folklore. Every child is encouraged to state his or her own views. When they cannot reach a conclusion, a young teacher who has had some training in the provincial meteorological observatory helps them.

The children are encouraged to learn from old peasants who are experienced in predicting the weather from natural signs. They have, for example, learned that when people with rheumatism feel aches and pains, or when chickens will not enter their coops at dusk, or when smoke won’t rise easily from the chimneys, it means that humidity is high. They have collected several hundred folk sayings about the weather.

Such grass-roots weather forecast activities have increased greatly since the cultural revolution began. Schools do it to help students apply knowledge to practice, widen their knowledge and make their lessons more lively. It helps develop a serious and meticulous attitude toward work, a will to overcome difficulties, an ability to analyze problems and the spirit of serving the people.

The Shenlufang school weather station began with only a thermometer. The teachers and students gradually built up the necessary instruments themselves. They made a wind vane with scrap iron and wire, a wind velocity counter from an old rubber ball. They also made a wind pressure meter, a mercury barometer, a rain gauge and a device for measuring solar radiation. Their radiometer is a tightly sealed flask containing two thermometers, one painted white and the other black. This is hung in the sun. The radiant energy intensity is measured from the difference in the readings of the two thermometers. Their radiometer was recently exhibited at a national meteorological meeting together with other home-made instruments.

In its dozen years, the Shenlufang school weather station has trained more than 300 observers. Many of them have gone on to become meteorological workers after graduation and further study.

— Huang Heng
Along the Kansu Corridor

The long narrow neck of central Kansu province west of the Yellow River is known as the Kansu Corridor. This was an important section of the Old Silk Road, 1,200 kilometers long and about 100 km. wide, lying between the Chilien Mountains on the south and the Holi and Lungshou mountains on the north. The second-century B.C. traveler Chang Chien passed through it twice on his way to the Western Regions as an envoy of China. The famous 13th-century Italian traveler Marco Polo came through it on his memorable sojourn to the court of Kublai Khan.

The Corridor contains 19 counties and one municipality. It is populated by 3,600,000 people of nine nationalities—Han, Mongolian, Tibetan, Hui, Kazakh, Yuku, Paoan, Tunghsiang and Chiang. There are 670,000 hectares of farmland in the past disastrously affected by lack of water, sandstorms and alkali. A wealth of mineral deposits and water resources lay untapped for thousands of years. Ancient poets passing through wrote such lines as: "A vast expanse of sand with no sign of human life/ Only white grass grows amid ten thousand rocks", "Westward from Yangkuan Pass there's no more familiar face" and "The winds of spring never cross Yumen Pass".

Under Kuomintang rule crushing taxes so impoverished the people that they knew only such ballads as: "Once out of Chiayukuan Pass, our tears never dry up. Look forward, there is only the desert's fringe. Look backward, there are only the gates of ghosts."

Today this is history, and my 50-day, 3,000-km. round trip through the Corridor along the Lanchow-Sinkiang railroad proved it. Everywhere I saw long rows of green shelter belts protecting farmland and villages from the sand, reservoirs in deep gorges holding back the melting snow from the Chilien Mountains, irrigation canals snaking through deserts into fields and woods, and factory buildings silhouetting a new skyline in the towns.

Grain harvests are a further proof. They have been increasing 10 percent a year for the past six years—the Corridor is becoming one of China's new granaries.

Harnessing Water

Scant rainfall, frequent sandstorms and alkaline soil are the main obstacles the people of the Kansu Corridor fight in expanding their farm production. Their answer has been large-scale and comprehensive plans to harness water, control the sands and improve the soil.

The glaciers and perennial snow of the Chilien Mountains make them a huge natural reservoir. Little was done about it before liberation. Seventy percent of the water from melting snow evaporated in stony beds before it went a hundred kilometers.

Since the people's republic was founded, the government has spent 100 million yuan to reconstruct and
harness the Heiho and Shuleh rivers which flow from the Chi-lien Mountains. Liu Shao-chi's revisionist line, however, opposed the simultaneous construction of many local water projects and thus for a long time grain yields in the area lingered around 2.25 tons per hectare.

During the cultural revolution this line came under fire. Mass criticism enabled the people of the Kansu Corridor to see that water conservation would expand more quickly if peasants collectively built small works in addition to the big state projects. Guided by the policy stressing small and collective projects for water storage, in the last nine years they have built 154 reservoirs and 230 storage ponds with a total capacity of 948,000,000,000 cubic meters, more than double pre-cultural revolution capacity. These are linked by 16,000 km. of trunk and branch canals to form a huge irrigation network. Many reservoirs are paved with red clay and canals are lined with huge cement blocks or large round stones. There are also 2,000 pump wells. More than half of the area's 670,000 hectares of land are neatly laid out in stable-and-high-yield fields bordered by canals, roads and shelter belts. Two and a half times more land is irrigated than at liberation. The 1975 grain harvest was 8.5 times more, three times more than pre-cultural revolution figures.

The amount of work spent in clearing away the sand and stones for the foundations was usually five to ten times more than it took to construct the reservoirs or canals themselves. The people, toughened in the cultural revolution and set on going the socialist way, tackled each job with great drive. Many projects, though gigantic, progressed rapidly.

Chinta county on the edge of the Badan Jiryn Desert was so dry that it had never grown enough grain for itself. In 1971 the county Party committee planned a 30-million-cubic-meter reservoir and the entire county mobilized to build it. It was completed in little more than a year.

The Yuanyangchih Reservoir in the same county now has a capacity of 80 million cubic meters. It was reconstructed from a far smaller pre-liberation reservoir. In 1943 the Kuomintang reactionaries had proposed a 12-million-cubic-meter reservoir and used it to line their pockets. The people were ordered to contribute grain, money and labor. It took four years and 1.5 million workdays to finish it. Before long the earth dam crumbled and the little water left was monopolized by landlords and rich peasants.

"We used to pretend to oversleep and not go to work because we knew that the poor people would never benefit from the reservoir," Ho Chi-sheng, who worked as a conscript on that project, said. He is now head of the county water conservation bureau. "Now it's different. We poor peasants have become masters of the country. When word came out that the reservoir was to be enlarged, people rushed to brigade headquarters to sign up for the job. You should have seen the drive people showed at work—inexhaustible like the water from the springs."

Scientists of Minchin county's sand-control experimental station taking readings.
The two reservoirs, dubbed "mother and son", are irrigating all of the county's 17,300 hectares of land. Grain production doubled in five years. A 3,500-kw. power station between the reservoirs is now supplying electricity to farms and factories.

Since ancient times Changyeh county in the middle of the Corridor had been called "water country beyond the Great Wall". Situated on the upper reaches of the Heiho River the region is covered with springs. Attempts to divert water for irrigation began in the Han dynasty (206 B.C.-A.D. 220) and canals were first built during the Tang dynasty (618-907).

Before liberation neglect of regular dredging caused frequent shifting of the riverbed and erosion was serious. In 1958 the people's republic built a large pivotal water-control works at the junction of several tributaries of the Heiho River. Over 50 rundown A canal serving the Hsintun commune in Changyeh county. channels were reconstructed into 13 new trunk canals. The large Yingko Canal built during the Tang dynasty had fallen into a deplorable state, its dyke crumbling at many places. It was practically dry in the summer. Autumn floods breached the dyke and submerged villages and large tracts of land. Dredging and reconstruction done during the cultural revolution doubled its diversion capacity so that 4,700 hectares of land belonging to four communes were brought under irrigation.

Subterranean water, especially in places at high altitudes and far from rivers, has also been put to use for the first time in history. A movement by communes and brigades to sink wells to supplement state undertakings began in 1971 and spread quickly. This expanded areas irrigated from wells in both farming and pastoral regions.

Controlling Sand

"A village in the morning becomes sand in the evening/ When the wind rises, our homes disappear" was the way an ancient poem described the perils of sandstorms in the Kansu Corridor. Before liberation the Tyngeri and Badan Jiryn deserts north of the Corridor had been swallowing up farmland at the rate of ten meters every year. Crumbled walls and field ridges can still be seen in Minchin, Chinta and Tunhuang counties.

Large-scale efforts to control the sand began in 1950, mainly through growing plants and trees to fix the shifting sand, in some cases diverting water to wash it away. So far 82,700 hectares of sandy wastes have been transformed into farmland this way.

Minchin county is surrounded by the desert on three sides. In the one hundred years before liberation, sand had covered 6,000 villages and 17,300 hectares of fields. Almost all parts of the county had been twice buried. Twice people had to move to new sites. Thousands became homeless and many families were broken up.

The Minchin of today is a great oasis protected by rows of green belts. Wheat stretches endlessly in long orderly fields. During the cultural revolution the people, besides planting trees to protect themselves against sandstorms, turned on a real offensive against the desert. Two hundred forest farms were set up in the desert in an effort to turn sand dunes into fields.

The Mingshan brigade in Tunhuang county is a farm unit that has waged arduous but successful wars on the sand. Tunhuang is the site of the world-famous caves containing centuries of art treasures. Until 1964 the brigade lived on state loans and grain. Some people thought they could never grow enough food to support themselves and considered moving to other places. That year Chairman Mao called on the nation's peasants to learn from the Tachai farm brigade of Shansi province. Tachai's example of transforming barren mountains into fine terraced fields showed them that with a determination like the Foolish Old Man* and their own hard work...

*The character in an old Chinese fable who set out to remove two mountains blocking the way from his house by dint of hard work.
A good harvest at the Chaoyang brigade in Anhsi county.

they too could transform nature and make it yield more food.

Sand attacked Mingshan mainly through three passes. They picked the most formidable one, a stretch of rolling sand, split open a very high ridge and dug a channel through it to divert water. At first it was an unequal race: the new channel quickly filled up with sand. Never giving up, the people repeated the digging four times, finally hitting upon an idea that worked. They lined a section with branches as soon as it was dug, then immediately diverted water and planted trees. It was successful and resulted in the county’s first patch of forest. In eight years the people cut open seven sand ridges, removed 80 big dunes and countless small ones, planted 33 shelter belts totaling 70 kilometers and 33 hectares of sand-fixing forests. This gave them 40 hectares of fields on which grain, cotton and fruit trees now thrive.

Improving Soil

The backing up of subterranean water had been a cause of heavy alkali content in the soil on the lower reaches of the Corridor’s rivers. Over the centuries the working people had worked out various methods of controlling it. Using the ancient experience after liberation, the people dug countless drainage ditches to lower the watertable, turned up the soil every year to expose and remove the alkali, mixed it with sand, flooded it to wash away the alkali, spread layers of green grass over it and grew alkali-resistant crops to absorb it. They were thus able to improve 47,300 hectares of fields.

In Kaotai county in mid-Corridor, 9,300 of its 13,000 hectares of fields were alkaline. Yields had always been low. In the movement to learn from Tachai, the Party committee mobilized the entire county to improve the soil. In three years the people dug 278 drainage ditches totaling 420 km. so that 4,650 hectares of alkaline land became stable and high yield fields. Another 4,650 hectares have also been vastly improved. All yielded 4.9 tons per hectare in 1975, putting Kaotai on the road to prosperity for the first time.

The Chaoyang brigade in Anhsi county at the western end of the Corridor had been plagued by both sandstorms and alkali. In 1968 the brigade Party branch proposed a ten-year plan to transform its alkaline fields and mechanize its farming. Work moved more quickly after the North China Conference of Agricultural Work in 1970. To show that even the worst alkaline land could be improved the Party branch experimented on 0.18 hectare of wasteland. First they removed three feet of alkaline soil, then they turned up the clay underneath, spread a layer of straw over it, a layer of phosphorous fertilizer, a layer of artemesia grass, a layer of sand and finally a foot of new soil. Everybody pitched in to water it, apply fertilizer and sow vegetable seeds. Ten days later the field was a carpet of green shoots.

The quick transformation on this small plot opened up visions of large tracts of a new kind of land. The people of Chaoyang brigade went to work with determination and by 1973, after five winters, completed many important items in their ten-year plan.

The spirit of aiming high and going all out to achieve the aim is enabling the people of the Kansu Corridor to get consistent high yields from their ancient soil.

CORRECTION

In the February-March 1977 issue of China Reconstructs on page 27, in column 3, line 13, cm. should read mm.
The Salt Lakes of Chinghai Province

JEN MIN-HUA

Salt pans at Tsaka.

If you drive on the roads of the Chinghai Plateau, strange white expanses often meet your eye. They are not areas of ice nor snow but salt lakes embedded in the highland, shining under the sunlight.

Chinghai province is famous for these. There are more than 100. Tsaka, Koko, Tsarhan and Kondai, the best known, are generally called "the big four" of Chinghai. Most of the salt lakes lie in the Tsaidam Basin in the province's northwest. The world tsaidam means "salt marsh" in the Mongolian.

lian language. In some of these areas people don't buy salt, they just dig it up from the ground.

Tsarhan Nor (nor means "lake"), over 5,500 square kilometers in size, lies in the southeast of the Tsaidam Basin. It is the largest salt lake in China and contains enough salt deposits to supply the whole world for more than 1,000 years. It was not discovered until 1953 when the Chinghai-Tibet highway was being built. Finding the soil extremely hard, workers cleared the soil away and came to brine water full of salt crystals. The salt layer averages 15 meters thick.

Tsaka Nor, 105 sq. km. in area, is in the eastern part of the basin. Its salt reserve is more than 440 million tons, consisting of a layer seven to eight meters thick. Because of the high concentration of salt in the water itself, additional salt can be extracted every few years.

Koko Nor lies west of Tsaka Nor, separated from it by a belt of green grassland. About 175 sq. km. in size, it has rich deposits of salt in thick, pure white layers.

Kondai Nor in the north of the basin is famous for its even-grain, pure quality salt.

Salt lakes evolved over the eons from fresh water lakes, products of a long evolutionary process. Being in the last stages of this process, they are also called "the old lakes". In ancient times the Tsaidam Basin was a vast inland sea. Water feeding into the lake from surrounding areas carried salts which gradually accumulated in higher concentration. Later, numerous mountain-building movements caused the basin to rise. The mountains became higher and prevented moisture from entering the basin. As the climate began to dry, water flowing into the lake was gradually reduced, the lake became smaller from evaporation and the salt concentration rose. After thousands of years, the salts in the lake became supersaturated, forming deposits on the bottom and along its shores. The easily soluble elements such as potassium and magnesium remaining in a liquid state are also important sources.

Some of the salt lakes in Chinghai have already dried up and become salt flats. Their salt layer is thick, hard and flat, serving as good motor roads and airstrips. Factories and houses have also been built on them. The famous highway linking the north and south shores of Tsarhan Nor was built on the salt crust. It is over 30 kilometers long and is called "100,000-foot salt bridge". The roadbed is level and made entirely of salt slabs fused together with brine.

Some of Chinghai's salt lakes are so large that they look boundless. Rimmied with gleaming white strips of rock salt, from the air they look like lakes with silver bracelets. Along the shores and in the shallow water, there are rock salt, gypsum, saltpeter and camallite crystalizations.

There are many underground salt layers in the Tsaidam Basin. Fantastically shaped and colored salt crystals are found along lake shores and in underground deposits. They are green, white, red, blue and black, and snowflake, pearl or needle-shaped and transparent crystal salt. People visiting the lakes like to look for strange crystals.

The water in the salt lakes of Chinghai contains salts other than sodium chloride, our ordinary table salt. There are chloride, bromide and sulfate salts of boron, potassium and magnesium. The sodium chloride salt produced in Chinghai is generally 95 percent pure. Kondai Nor has the highest percentage — more than 99 percent.

These lakes not only provide table salt but supply important raw materials to the country's chemical, metallurgical, electronic, pharma-
ON THE TEN MAJOR RELATIONSHIPS

MAO TSETUNG

April 25, 1956

Bearing in mind lessons drawn from the experience of the Soviet Union, Comrade Mao Tsetung summed up China's experience in this speech to an enlarged meeting of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party. He expounded ten major relationships in socialist revolution and construction and set forth the basic ideas about a general line for building socialism with greater, faster, better and more economical results, which was suited to the conditions of our country.

In Chinese, English, French, Spanish, German, Russian, Japanese, Italian, Arabic, Portuguese, Persian, Indonesian, Bengali, Korean, Vietnamese, Swahili, Thai and Esperanto.

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State-run salt plants have been set up around the lakes. Light railways have been built on the lakes themselves to make transporting salt easier. In old China, the workers extracted the salt by standing all day in the salt water in their bare feet, using crowbars to pry open the hardpan and break up the salt layer. They took the salt out bit by bit with small iron ladles. Today the state provides all kinds of safety equipment and labor is given many types of welfare.

After liberation, especially after the cultural revolution, the workers at Tsaka Nor, the earliest lake to be exploited, made salt extractors they designed to fit the special characteristics of the lake. They have entirely mechanized salt extraction, greatly raising productivity.

After the highway was built on Tsarhan Nor, the biggest lake, a large potassium fertilizer plant was built in 1958. Its wall, shops and warehouses are made of salt blocks. This plant has made increasingly great contributions to socialist construction. Housing, stores, schools, banks, and post offices have also risen— a new city seething with activity on the vast, once slumbering salt lake.
Lesson 2

More on Pronunciation

1. In Lesson 1 we learned about tones and the pronunciation of some letters in the Chinese phonetic alphabet which differ from those in English: j, q, z, c, s, zh, ch, sh and r. Try them in these sentences.

我吃饭。
Wǒ chī fàn. (I eat.)

他睡觉。
Tā shuì jiào. (He sleeps.)

我从农村来。
Wǒ cóng nóngečün lái. (I come from the countryside.)

2. Pronunciation of the letter i. In the Chinese phonetic alphabet the letter i has two common pronunciations:

(1). Usually it is pronounced [i], equivalent to "ee" in English, as in sheep and deep.

xuéxi 学习 (study)
chūntiān 春天 (spring)
shuǐjiào 睡觉 (sleep)
jí 急 (urgent)

(2). After some initial consonants i becomes the voiced prolongation of the consonant. These are z, c, s, r, zh, ch, sh.

Hánzi 汉字 (Chinese character)
shēngcái 生词 (new word)
sì 四 (four)
xīngqīrì 星期日 (Sunday)

3. The letters b, d and g. Pronunciation of these is not like the usual English pronunciation as in "bell", "day" and "gale". Note the English words "spell", "stay" and "skate". The pronunciation of b, d and g in the Chinese phonetic alphabet is similar to the p, t and k in these words. They are pronounced without movement of the vocal cords and unaspirated (not followed by a puff of air as these letters sometimes are in English).

4. Aspirated and unaspirated sounds. B, d, g and some other letters have both aspirated and unaspirated sounds. When you make an aspirated sound, a piece of paper placed before your mouth will move; when the same sound is unaspirated it will not move. In English a letter may be aspirated or unaspirated according to its relation to the surrounding letters. In Chinese an aspirated or unaspirated sound creates two different words. In the examples below, the unaspirated sound makes bā (remember: pronounced like the p in "spell") different in meaning from the aspirated pào. It is as though there were two p's in Chinese, aspirated and unaspirated, but the unaspirated one is written as a b. Practice the following pairs of aspirated and unaspirated words.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aspirated</th>
<th>Unaspirated</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pào (run)</td>
<td>bā (having eaten one's fill)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tīng 听 (listen)</td>
<td>dīng 丁 (nail)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kàn 看 (look)</td>
<td>gān 干 (do)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qī 七 (seven)</td>
<td>jī 鸡 (chicken)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cuò 错 (wrong)</td>
<td>zuò 坐 (sit)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chí 吃 (eat)</td>
<td>zhī 织 (knit or weave)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For Advanced Students:

Useful Sentences — II

41. 他什么时候来?
Tā shénhǎi shènhou lái?
42. 他八点一刻来。
Tā bā diǎn yī kè lái.
43. 我今天上午（中午、下午）
Wǒ jīntiān shàngwǔ (zhōngwǔ, xiàwǔ)
在 家。
zài jiā.
45. 到公园去怎么走？
Dào gōngyuán qu zěnme zǒu?
46. 搭三路汽车到终点站。
Zhāo sān lù qì chē dào zhào diànzhàn, xià chē shì gōngyuán.
47. 附近有邮局（饭馆，图书馆）。
Fùjìn yǒu yóu jú (fànguǎn, tàolǐxiàng) ma?
48. 出了大楼往西走几步，过
Chū le dà lóu wǎng xī zǒu bǐ , guò
街就是邮局。
jiē jiù shì yóu jú.
49. 我寄一封信。
Wǒ jià yī tiě xìn.
50. 我要打一个电话（长途
Wǒ yào dǎ yī gè diànhuò (chángtú
diànhuò).}
51. 我应该付多少钱？
Wǒ yǐnggāi fù shuāngyī shào qián?
52. 请给我一顶出租汽车。
Qǐng gěi wǒ yī dǐng chūzū qì chē.
53. 我的电话是×××××××。
Wǒ de diànhuò shì ×××××××.
54. 他会说中国话。
Tā hui shuō Zhōngguó huà.
55. 我听不懂你的话。
Wǒ tīng bù dòng nǐ de huà.
56. 我去买肥皂（毛巾、牙刷、
Wǒ qù mǎi fěizào (míngōu, yáshuā,
yá, niúfú).}
57. 我的衣裳坏了。
Wǒ de yīshang huà le.
58. 你应该送去修理。
Nǐ yīnggāi qù shì xíng liǎo.
59. 头晕（发烧，咳嗽，拉
Tóu yūn (shāfāo, kēqăn, lā
tóu).}
60. 你感到身体不好吗？
Nǐ dǎo le shēnqū bù hǎo ma?
61. 我们今天晚上去看京剧。
Wǒmen jīntiān wǎngshàng qù kàn jījù
( kàn diànhuà, tīng yīn yuè, kàn
yǐn yǔ yǔ yǔ, kàn
yū yǔ yǔ yǔ).}
62. 音乐会七点开始。
Yīnle huì qī diǎn kāishǐ.
63. 我们没有票。
Wǒmen méiyǒu piào.
64. 我头发长，需要理发。
Wǒ tóufa cháng le, xūyào lí fár.
65. 我是坐火车（飞机、汽车）
Wǒ shì zuò huǒchē (fēijī, qìchē, 
liú) de.
66. 我的钥匙（眼镜，烟盒）丢了。
Wǒ de yàoshì (yǎn jīng, yānhé) di le.
67. 请帮我找一找。
Qǐng bāng wǒ zhǎo yī zhǎo.
68. 今天天气很好。
Jīntiān tiān qì hěn hǎo.
69. 到达了。
Guó fēng le.
70. 下雨了（雨伞）。
Xià yǔ (yǔsǎn) le.
71. 出太阳了。
Chū tài yáng le.
72. 昨天是星期六。
zuótiān shì xīngqī liù.
73. 今天几号？
Jīntiān jǐ hào?
74. 明天是星期几。
Míngtiān shì xīngqī jǐ?
75. 现在几点钟？
Xiànzǎi jǐ diǎn zhòng?
76. 桌上放着茶杯（钢笔，
Zhuō shàng fàngzhe chábēi (gāngbǐ,
zhōngshǐ, dānshǐjì).
77. 屋子里有两把椅子（一把
Wū lǐ zì yǒu liǎng bǎ yǐzi (yī bǎ
zhōngshǐ, dānshǐjì).
78. 钱。
qián.
79. 报纸（杂志，书）在书架上。
Báozhǐ (zhìzōu, shū) zài shūjià shàng.
80. 本地的小麦是金黄色的。
Bǐdì de xiǎowài shì jīnhūàngsè de.
81. 那座水库是文化大革命
Nàzuò shuǐkū shì wénhuà dà gémíng
zhōng xiūzhū de.
82. 这个工厂生产了一种
Zhègè gōngfá shēngchǎn yī zhǒng
zhōng fēngchāng chēngyīng hái yì zhǒng
zhēng fēngchāng chēngyīng hǎi yì zhǒng
cóng lǎnjué de.
83. 这位领导几乎每天都
Zhèwèi lǐngdǎo jī hū tóu dì yǐn
duō hě duō biàn dòng.
84. 他们克服了很多困难。
Tāmén kèfú le hěduō nánkùn.
85. 他们在 solve great challenges.
Tāmén qǐdú le hě duō nánkùn.
86. 他们取得了很大成就。
Tāmén qǐdú le hě duō nánkùn.
87. 他们取得了很大成就。
Tāmén qǐdú le hě duō nánkùn.

Translation

41. When will he come?
42. He will come at quarter past eight.
43. I am home this morning (at noon, this afternoon).
44. Please where is the lounge (dining room, reading room, shop, toilet)?
45. How do I get to the park?
46. Take No. 3 bus to the last stop, and the park is right there.
47. Is there a post office (hotel, library) nearby?
48. After you leave the building, walk a few steps west. The post office is right across the street.
49. I want to mail a letter.
50. I want to send a telegram (to make a long-distance telephone call).
51. How much should I pay?
52. Please call a taxi for me.
53. My telephone number is —.