

**WE WILL  
ALWAYS REMEMBER  
PREMIER  
CHOU EN-LAI**

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Comrade Chou En-lai, a great proletarian revolutionary of the Chinese people and an outstanding communist fighter.



Premier Chou En-lai discussing a document with Chairman Mao at the 24th Session of the Central People's Government Council, 1953.



Comrade Chou En-lai resolutely rebuffed the vicious attack on our Party by the Soviet revisionist renegade clique and defended Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought when he was in the Soviet Union in November 1964 at the head of the Chinese Party and Government



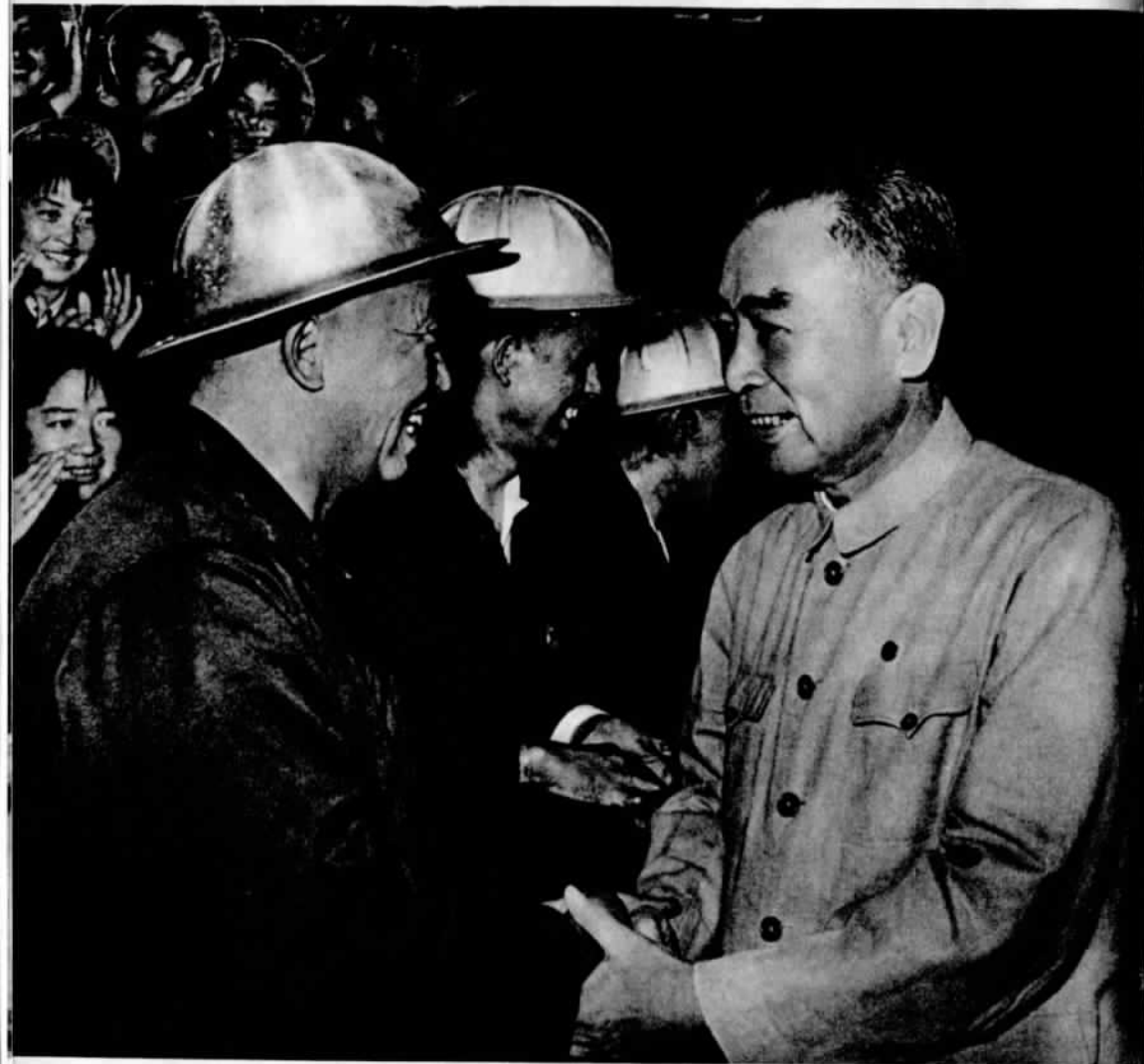
Delegation to celebrations for the 47th anniversary of the October Socialist Revolution. He was given a warm welcome by Chairman Mao, Chairman Chu Teh and the people in Peking on his return from Moscow.





Premier Chou En-lai with friends  
from Asia, Africa and Latin America.

Premier Chou En-lai shaking hands with Wang Chin-hsi, the "Iron Man" of the Taching Oilfield, while receiving representatives of advanced units on the petroleum front in Peking, October 1966.



Premier Chou En-lai and Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien chatting with Comrade Chen Yung-kuei, then secretary of the Party branch of the Tachai Brigade, and other cadres when they visited the brigade in Hsiyang County, Shansi Province in May 1965.

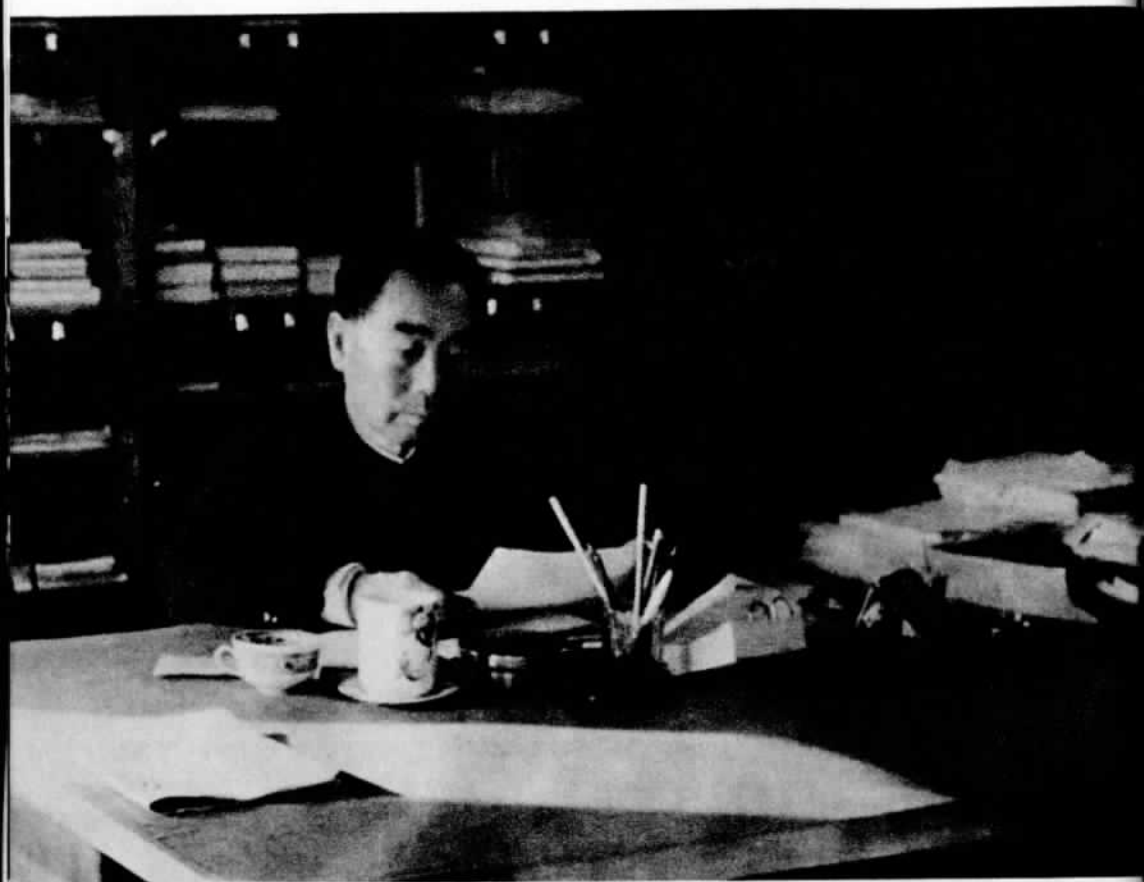




On March 9, 1966, the day after a strong earthquake in the Hsingtai area of Hopei Province, Premier Chou En-lai arrived there to extend warm sympathy to the people on behalf of Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee.

Premier Chou En-lai working at the Ming Tombs Reservoir construction site in Peking.





Premier Chou En-lai at work in his office.

## Publisher's Note

Premier Chou En-lai has left us forever, but really he is still with us.

All across China's vast lands, Premier Chou's image is forever etched in the hearts of the 800 million Chinese people. He and the masses are one.

There are so many articles, poems and songs commemorating Premier Chou. But no articles, however many, no poems or songs, however good, could even begin to describe his deeds during the Chinese revolution and construction or his devotion to the cause of communism. His whole life was one of unswerving struggle dedicated to the achievement of these aspirations.

This is a small selection of articles that appeared in the press to commemorate the first anniversary of Premier Chou's death. Most of them are in slightly abridged form. They can in no way express our boundless love and respect for Premier Chou En-lai.

Commemoration of Premier Chou En-lai's Death  
 By the Chinese People's Daily and Chinese Youth 1

Commemoration of Premier Chou En-lai in the North China Morning  
 News 10

Premier Chou's Achievements in Building the New Socialist China  
 China's History 15

By the Members of the Chinese People's Army (CPA) of the  
 PLA's Political Work and the General People's Revolutionary War 22

White-Yard in Chungking  
 by CHU CHIAO-CHUN 27

Remembrance of My Dear New Village  
 by the Staff of the PLA's Political Work and the General People's Revolutionary War 30

My Dear Premier Chou  
 by the Staff of the PLA's Political Work and the General People's Revolutionary War 35

## Contents

In Commemoration of the First Anniversary of Premier Chou En-lai's Death By the Theoretical Group of the General Office of the State Council	1
Premier Chou's Splendid Deeds During Our Army's Course of Struggle By the Theoretical Group of the Academy of Military Science	23
Premier Chou Creatively Carried Out Chairman Mao's Revolutionary Line in Foreign Affairs By the Theoretical Study Group of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs	36
Brilliant Achievement, Outstanding Contribution — Reminiscences of Premier Chou En-lai at the First Asian-African Conference By the Theoretical Study Group of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs	52
Premier Chou En-lai in Tientsin During His Youth By the Tientsin Museum of History and <i>Tientsin Daily</i> correspondent	58
Reminiscences of Comrade Chou En-lai in the Nanchang Uprising By the Party Branch of the Memorial Hall of the Nanchang "August 1st" Uprising	68
Premier Chou's Achievements in Settling the Sian Incident Will Go Down in History Forever By the Memorial Hall of the Eighth Route Army Office in Sian, the Shensi People's Publishing House and the Shensi People's Broadcasting Station	72
Militant Years in Chungking By Chien Chih-kuang	82
Premier Chou at Meiyuan New Village By the Nanking Museum and the Nanking Cultural Relics Bureau	99
In the Storm and Stress of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution — Reminiscences by the People of Peking By correspondents of Hsinhua News Agency and the <i>Peking Daily</i>	108

Taching the Red Banner Grew Under Premier Chou's Care By the Taching Oilfield Committee of the Chinese Communist Party	120
Premier Chou's Three Visits to Tachai By the Party Branch of the Tachai Production Brigade	131
Remember Premier Chou's Instructions on the Modernization of China's Sciences and Technology By the Chinese Academy of Sciences	141
Through Clouds and Mists — Premier Chou Inspires Us to Make Successful Flights By the General Administration of Civil Aviation of China, Peking Branch of CAAC and an Aviation Unit of the Air Force	148
The Premier Personally Drew the Capital's Blueprint By the Peking Capital Construction Committee	157
Premier Chou Devoted His Life to the People; the People Will Always Remember Him By the Huaian County Committee of the Chinese Communist Party	164
Premier Chou Was of One Heart with the People of Yanan By correspondents of the <i>Kuangming Daily</i>	167
The Tibetan People Cherish the Memory of Premier Chou En-lai By the Tibet Autonomous Regional Committee of the Chinese Communist Party	174
Premier Chou Served the People and They Love Him Forever By the Hsingtai Prefectural Committee of the Chinese Communist Party	181
Premier Chou En-lai Will Always Live in the Hearts of Patriotic Overseas Chinese By a group of returned overseas Chinese in Peking	186
A Great Ordinary Labourer — Premier Chou at the Construction Site of the Ming Tombs Reservoir As told to the <i>Kuangming Daily</i> by comrades who took part in the construction of the Ming Tombs Reservoir with Premier Chou En-lai	192

## In Commemoration of the First Anniversary of Premier Chou En-lai's Death

Comrade Chou En-lai was a fine member of the Chinese Communist Party, a great proletarian revolutionary, an outstanding communist fighter and an eminent and long-tested Party and state leader. Loyal to the Party and the people, he resolutely implemented Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and adhered to the basic principles: **"Practise Marxism, and not revisionism; unite, and don't split; be open and aboveboard, and don't intrigue and conspire."**

In carrying out and defending Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, he faced the enemy valiantly, shunned no difficulty or danger, and would not have hesitated to lay down his life for it. He fought resolutely against opportunist and revisionist lines, took a firm and clear-cut stand and never gave in. He was selfless, open and aboveboard, took the interests of the whole into account and staunchly safeguarded the Party's unity and unification.

Under Chairman Mao's leadership, he fought heroically, worked with devotion and dedicated his entire life to the victory of the Chinese people's cause of liberation and communism. His contributions and meritorious deeds are immortal. He won the heartfelt love and support of the Chinese people and the respect of the people of the world. The esteemed and beloved Premier Chou is a brilliant example for the whole Party, the whole army and the people of all nationalities in our country to follow.

### *Sincere Love and Respect for the Great Leader Chairman Mao*

Premier Chou had profound proletarian feelings for Chairman Mao. From his experience in the revolutionary struggle, he became deeply

aware that Chairman Mao was the great leader of the Chinese people and that Mao Tsetung Thought is the only correct ideology to guide the Chinese revolution to victory. When that revolution was in danger of dying in its infancy in January 1935, Comrade Chou En-lai resolutely backed Chairman Mao at the historic enlarged meeting of the Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee held in Tsunyi, Kweichow Province, and supported his election as the leader of our Party. In 1943 when the rectification movement was going on throughout the whole Party, Comrade Chou En-lai, in the light of the experience of the two-line struggle inside the Party, explicitly told the whole Party: "Comrade Mao Tsetung's orientation is the very orientation of the Chinese Communist Party! Comrade Mao Tsetung's line is the very line of the Chinese Bolsheviks!" In July 1949, on the eve of the founding of the new China, Comrade Chou En-lai once more pointed out: "We must thank Chairman Mao who has correctly applied the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism to the practice of the Chinese revolution, so forming a tremendous force to defeat the powerful enemies of the Chinese revolution. We call on everyone to learn from Comrade Mao Tsetung in integrating revolutionary theory with revolutionary practice."

Premier Chou ardently loved Chairman Mao all his life and diligently studied his works and other Marxist-Leninist writings. He safeguarded Chairman Mao's leadership, defended his revolutionary line, encouraged the people throughout the country to study his works and propagated Mao Tsetung Thought. Premier Chou often joined the cadres and masses in studying Chairman Mao's instructions and in singing the songs *The East Is Red* and *Sailing the Seas Depends on the Helmsman* with himself conducting. Even when he was seriously ill, he asked an attendant to read to him again and again Chairman Mao's latest directives and the two poems (*Reascending Chingkangshan* and *Two Birds: A Dialogue*) published on New Year's Day 1976. He set great store by these two poems and kept them beside his pillow. They were still there at the time of his death.

Premier Chou willingly took on the heavy task of handling the day-to-day work in leading the Party, the government and the army, and did everything he could to lighten Chairman Mao's load. Chairman Mao was thus able to devote more of his time and energy to considering major domestic and international affairs, summing up the experience of the Chinese revolution and the international communist movement and enriching and developing the great theory of Marxism-Leninism. On many occasions the Premier's comrades asked him to pay more attention to getting proper rest. "Chairman Mao is our leader who must ponder

major domestic and international affairs," he would reply. "I must do more of the actual work." Chairman Mao knew that Premier Chou slept very little, so whenever he wanted to see him he told his aide not to wake the Premier up if he had gone to bed. But Premier Chou had issued a strict order to his staff: "Wake me up any time the Chairman wants me!" Once in 1971, when he was already 73, he stayed at the Great Hall of the People and worked three days and nights at a stretch. A leading comrade told him: "The Chairman wants you to take good care of your health." Premier Chou replied: "We must take greater care of the Chairman's health."

Premier Chou always regarded Chairman Mao's health and safety as the guarantee for the victory of our Party's revolutionary cause. In August 1945, Chairman Mao went to Chungking for negotiations with the Kuomintang and stayed in the Eighth Route Army Office there. Premier Chou organized tight security measures, and he himself moved into the room opposite the one occupied by Chairman Mao. At a banquet where many people proposed toasts to Chairman Mao, Premier Chou drank the toasts on Chairman Mao's behalf for fear that Kuomintang agents might have poisoned the drinks. Although the Premier himself had become seriously ill in 1972, he continued to show great concern for Chairman Mao's health; together with the doctors he planned suitable treatment for the Chairman. When the Chairman was being treated, the Premier, ill himself, stood by and attended to his needs.

For decades, Premier Chou showed his loyalty to Chairman Mao in all that he said and did. He had the most profound proletarian sentiments for the Chairman. Similarly, Chairman Mao was very considerate of Premier Chou, demonstrating the profound revolutionary friendship between them. When Premier Chou was on recuperation leave in 1963, Chairman Mao especially made a copy of his poem *Reply to Comrade Kuo Mo-jo — to the tune of "Man Chiang Hung"* in his own handwriting for the Premier to express his regard. After Premier Chou became ill in 1972, Chairman Mao always showed great concern about this and often inquired after the Premier's health. On many occasions he gave directions that attention be paid to medical treatment and nursing, diet and rest, and that the Premier should not overwork. Before the convocation of the Fourth National People's Congress in 1975, Chairman Mao gave special instructions that the shortest possible report on the work of the government be prepared so that, in spite of his illness, Premier Chou could deliver it without a break. The great friendship between Chairman Mao and Premier Chou forged in the prolonged revolutionary struggle

was very moving. Premier Chou was Chairman Mao's long-tested close comrade-in-arms.

### *Firm and Valiant in Fighting the Enemy*

Over the decades of revolutionary struggle, no matter how cruel the reign of White terror, how fierce the armed struggle or how acute the face-to-face negotiations with the enemy, Premier Chou always disregarded personal danger. He was resourceful, brave, firm and had full confidence in victory.

The road of the Chinese revolution has been tortuous. When the revolution encountered difficulties, suffered temporary setbacks or was at a critical juncture, Premier Chou was always full of confidence; he never flinched but fought doggedly on. The year 1927 saw the betrayal of the revolution by Chiang Kai-shek who massacred Communists, workers and peasants and plunged the whole country into a reign of White terror. Premier Chou and other comrades led the famous Nanchang Uprising of August 1, 1927 to save the revolution and in doing so fired the first shot against the Kuomintang reactionaries. Their revolutionary adoption of armed struggle repudiated the Right capitulationist line of Chen Tu-hsiu who then controlled the Party Central Committee. Their decision was also a tremendous contribution to the subsequent founding of the great people's army. After the Tsunyi Meeting, Premier Chou assisted Chairman Mao in organizing the Red Army to break the encirclement, pursuit, obstruction and interception by hundreds of thousands of Chiang Kai-shek's troops and surmount numerous difficulties and dangers to bring the 25,000-li Long March to a triumphant conclusion.

Premier Chou was sent on many occasions by Chairman Mao and the Central Committee into areas under Kuomintang rule to fight the enemy in face-to-face negotiations. He never evaded difficulty and danger or feared brute force, but triumphed over the enemy and successfully carried out his mission. As a result of the influence of our Party's policy for a national united front against Japanese aggression, the Sian Incident took place in December 1936. The situation in Sian at that time was very complicated and going there involved great risks. As our Party's plenipotentiary, however, Comrade Chou En-lai went there, and by resolutely implementing the policy laid down by Chairman Mao, he succeeded in forcing Chiang Kai-shek to stop the civil war and bringing about the peaceful settlement of the incident. He thus helped promote the formation and development of a national united front against Japanese aggression and made contributions of historic significance to the revolution at the

critical moment of decision between survival and extinction of the Chinese nation.

Later, Comrade Chou En-lai, as the representative of the Party Central Committee and Secretary of its South China Bureau, was for a long time stationed in Chungking, seat of the Kuomintang government. There he resolutely carried out Chairman Mao's policy of "persisting in resistance and opposing capitulation," "persisting in unity and opposing a split" and "persisting in progress and opposing retrogression" and the principle of acting independently and combining alliance with struggle in the united front. In spite of constant surveillance by the Kuomintang military and police and with secret agents tailing him everywhere, he conducted himself with complete self-assurance. He worked hard to expand our Party's strength and promote the united-front work, develop the progressive forces, win over the middle forces and combat the die-hard forces.

In January 1941, Chiang Kai-shek suddenly surrounded and attacked the 9,000-odd troops of the New Fourth Army which was moving northward. This act of open perfidy, the Southern Anhwei Incident which shocked the whole country and the world, marked the climax of another anti-Communist onslaught. Breaking through the Kuomintang reactionaries' blockade and obstructions, Premier Chou had two inscriptions he wrote on the occasion published in the *New China Daily* and, at the head of his comrades, took to the streets to distribute the paper. In this way he was able to expose the Kuomintang reactionaries' intrigue of passive resistance against Japanese aggression coupled with active suppression of the Communists. One of the inscriptions Premier Chou wrote was: "Mourn over those who died in the national disaster south of the Yangtze." The other contained 16 Chinese characters which read in effect:

*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?*

In 1946, Chiang Kai-shek, with U.S. imperialist backing, threw several million troops into an offensive against the Liberated Areas and triggered off an all-out civil war. This war would ultimately decide which of the two different destinies and two different futures for China would win out. In the spirit of daring to fight and to win, Premier Chou followed Chairman Mao and used his outstanding military talents in helping Chairman Mao direct the nationwide People's War of Liberation which ended with the great victory of the new-democratic revolution.



As the socialist revolution progressed after the founding of the new China in 1949, the bourgeoisie inside and outside the Party mounted one attack after another against the Party. In 1954, the Kao Kang—Jao Shu-shih anti-Party alliance tried to usurp Party and state power. In 1957, the bourgeois Rightists launched a wild attack against our Party and socialism. At the Eighth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Communist Party of China held in Lushan in 1959, Peng Teh-huai lashed out at the general line, the Great Leap Forward and the people's communes in a bid to seize power. Taking advantage of the three years of temporary economic difficulties (1959-61), Liu Shao-chi did all he could to bring about a capitalist restoration. During the socialist education movement in 1964, Liu Shao-chi pushed a reactionary bourgeois line which was "Left" in form but Right in essence. Under Chairman Mao's leadership, Premier Chou staunchly defended Chairman Mao's revolutionary line against all these attacks from the bourgeoisie. He fought to oppose and prevent revisionism and persevered in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. In 1957, Premier Chou delivered a report on the work of the government to the Fourth Session of the First National People's Congress. He destroyed the reactionary, fallacious arguments of the bourgeois Rightists by bringing the facts on China's great achievements in socialist revolution and construction against them, and went into action against the bourgeoisie like a true proletarian fighter. At the working conference on the "four clean-ups" movement (in politics, economy, ideology and organization, that is, the socialist education movement) in December 1964, Liu Shao-chi put forward his "Taoyuan experience"\* and painted a bleak picture of the new, socialist countryside. At that time, Premier Chou reported on the work of the government to the First Session of the Third National People's Congress in the Great Hall of the People. Dealing specifically with Liu Shao-chi's revisionist trash, the Premier spoke at length on the Party's basic line and

\*In 1963 Chairman Mao called on the whole nation to unfold the socialist education movement both in the cities and in the countryside. Liu Shao-chi sent a work team with his wife as its leader to Taoyuan Production Brigade in Funing County, Hopei Province. Pretending to carry out the movement, she and other members of the work team attacked the cadres and poor and lower-middle peasants who persisted in taking the socialist road and shielded a handful of bad elements in an attempt to bring about a capitalist restoration there. Liu Shao-chi and company praised all this as the "Taoyuan experience" and called for it to be popularized throughout the country.

the excellent situation prevailing. The two meetings and the two lines were diametrically opposed to each other.

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution initiated and led by Chairman Mao himself is a great experience in applying the theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Premier Chou, who was in charge of the day-to-day work of the Party Central Committee, faithfully implemented Chairman Mao's strategic plan and every one of his important instructions; he adhered to the basic principles of "three do's and three don'ts," and struggled continuously against the counter-revolutionary activities of Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and the anti-Party clique of Wang Hung-wen, Chang Chun-chiao, Chiang Ching and Yao Wen-yuan who were all practising revisionism, creating splits and engaging in intrigues and conspiracies and sabotaging the Great Cultural Revolution.

In the early period of the Great Cultural Revolution, Liu Shao-chi pushed a reactionary bourgeois line, turned facts upside down, confused right and wrong and suppressed the revolutionary masses. Closely following Chairman Mao's strategic plan, Premier Chou gave clear-cut support to the Red Guard movement. He personally rehabilitated those Red Guards and other revolutionaries who had been labelled counter-revolutionaries as a result of persecution by Liu Shao-chi's reactionary line; he went to the grass-roots units to read big-character posters and braved the rain to participate in mass meetings. Chairman Mao reviewed Red Guard contingents from all over the country on eight occasions; each time Premier Chou gave personal guidance to the organizational and reception work. He made a series of important speeches propagating the enormous significance of the Great Cultural Revolution, calling on the young revolutionary fighters and the masses to keep firmly to the general orientation of struggle, direct their attack against Liu Shao-chi's bourgeois headquarters and thoroughly repudiate his counter-revolutionary revisionist line.

At the Second Plenary Session of the Ninth Central Committee of the Party in 1970, the Lin Piao anti-Party clique unleashed a surprise attack on the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao in a vain effort to seize Party and state power. Under Chairman Mao's leadership, Premier Chou waged a resolute struggle against Lin Piao and company. Lin Piao had plotted a counter-revolutionary armed coup d'etat in 1971. But when his plot failed, he fled on September 13, betraying the motherland and surrendering to the enemy, and died in a plane crash at Undur Khan in Mongolia. Acting on Chairman Mao's instructions, Premier Chou, with the mettle and wisdom of a proletarian revolutionary, promptly and resolutely handled the "September 13" incident, and thus defended

Chairman Mao, the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

After the Tenth National Party Congress in August 1973, the "gang of four" intensified their schemes to split the Party, frenziedly opposed Chairman Mao and tried in vain to usurp supreme Party and state leadership, change the Party's basic line, subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat and restore capitalism. They regarded Premier Chou who faithfully implemented and defended Chairman Mao's revolutionary line as the biggest obstacle to the realization of their sinister scheme. So they tried by hook or by crook to attack and persecute the Premier, with the intention of overthrowing him and a large number of leading comrades at the central and local levels in the Party, government and army. Premier Chou adhered to principle and waged a sharp struggle against the gang. Acting behind the backs of Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee, the "gang of four" went their own way in the movement to criticize Lin Biao and Confucius, intrigued and conspired and directed their attack against the Premier. In October 1974, they secretly sent Wang Hung-wen to see Chairman Mao, framing charges against Premier Chou and trying to make use of the Second Plenary Session of the Tenth Central Committee of the Party and the Fourth National People's Congress to form their own "cabinet." Chairman Mao immediately denounced this and so the "gang of four's" pipe dream to usurp Party and state power came to naught.

During the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, both the Lin Biao anti-Party clique and the Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao anti-Party clique worked with all their might to "overthrow all," and provoke "all-out civil war." They frantically persecuted revolutionary cadres, incited the masses to fight each other, stirred up struggles by force or coercion, opposed the Party and created confusion in the army, undermined the revolution and disrupted production. Premier Chou firmly implemented Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. He believed the overwhelming majority of cadres to be good or comparatively good, persevered in "helping more people by educating them and narrowing the target of attack" and put into practice the policy of "learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones and curing the sickness to save the patient" with regard to those cadres who had committed mistakes. He often urged cadres at various levels to study Chairman Mao's works conscientiously and raise their consciousness of the two-line struggle. He patiently helped those leading cadres who had made mistakes to realize their mistakes and encouraged them to continue the revolution. As for good cadres who were attacked and persecuted by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," he took various measures to protect them. He repeatedly taught the leading cadres to adopt

a correct attitude towards the Great Cultural Revolution, the masses and themselves. He showed concern for the young cadres, patiently educated them and encouraged them to brave storms and face the world. Premier Chou wished to bring about a grand alliance of mass organizations which were divided into two factions and to establish three-in-one revolutionary committees composed of the old, the middle-aged and the young. And so, day in and day out, he received representatives of mass organizations from different regions and departments, earnestly educated and persuaded them to eliminate bourgeois factionalism, stop "civil war," and unite in a common struggle against the enemy. Premier Chou received representatives of many mass organizations not only once but in some cases as many as 20 or 30 times, often talking with them from dusk till dawn the next day. Sleepless nights and overwork made our good Premier's eyes become bloodshot, made him lose weight, made his hair turn grey; he had taken great pains to ensure that the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution initiated and led by Chairman Mao would bear solid fruits.

Premier Chou faithfully carried out Chairman Mao's series of instructions on deepening the socialist revolution in the superstructure and enthusiastically supported the socialist new phenomena. To ensure that there would be successors to the proletarian revolutionary cause pioneered by the revolutionaries of the older generation, he attached great importance to the selection and training of young cadres. He applied the principle of combining the old, the middle-aged and the young in leading bodies, and showed earnest concern and support for the new-born forces that had come to the fore in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. Premier Chou gave much thought to the revolution in education. In 1961 when the Communist Labour Academy in Kiangsi met setbacks under Liu Shao-chi's revisionist line, Premier Chou told the academy's leading cadres and students' representatives: "Running a new-type school will not be plain sailing because it means a great revolution in the history of education. It's hardly surprising when there is struggle; in fact, it would be inconceivable for there to be no struggle, or for everything to go very smoothly." He urged them to unswervingly carry out Chairman Mao's instructions and run the school well. During the Great Cultural Revolution, Premier Chou stressed again and again the importance of the educational revolution, pointing out: "The transformation of education is an important link in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. Training and educating the younger generation is a matter of far-reaching importance which must not be neglected."

Premier Chou paid great attention to the revolution in literature and art. He frequently urged the literary and art workers to conscientiously study Chairman Mao's *Talks at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art*,

adhere to the orientation of serving the workers, peasants and soldiers and implement the policy of "letting a hundred flowers blossom; weeding through the old to bring forth the new." In 1965 he received members of the Ulanmuchi mobile art troupe of the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region who were on a performance tour and encouraged them: "You've travelled all over the country and kindled the fire for a literature and art imbued with Mao Tsetung Thought. After your tour, you should go back to the pasturelands to serve the workers, peasants and soldiers there." He gave personal guidance to the creation and rehearsal of the music and dance epic, *The East Is Red*. He watched, gave instructions and even personally revised many modern revolutionary theatrical works and films.

Premier Chou also attached great importance to the revolution in medical and health work. To implement Chairman Mao's instructions in this field, particularly the June 26th directive\* on putting the stress of medical and health work on the rural areas, the Premier time and again instructed the health departments to "orientate their work towards the countryside and the masses," and "successfully solve the question of preventing and curing disease among the 700 million peasants." He called on them to make a success of the co-operative medical service, properly combine traditional Chinese medicine with its Western counterpart and create a unified new medicine and pharmacology in China. He encouraged urban medical workers to go to the countryside, instructed health departments to send medical teams to the remote border regions and to areas inhabited by the minority nationalities, and he personally received medical teams to be sent to Tibet, Yunnan, Kansu and other places. He devoted great care to the "barefoot doctors" and their progress. On one occasion when he received representatives of barefoot doctors, he talked with them for eight hours, encouraging them to exert themselves to serve the people.

Premier Chou paid great attention to the revolution on the scientific and technical front. Under his loving care, a perspective plan for developing China's science and technology was mapped out in 1956, which played a tremendous role in transforming the backwardness of China's science and technology and enabling the work in this field to meet the needs of national economic development. He repeatedly stressed the need to combine scientific research with production and application, to

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\*On June 26, 1963 Chairman Mao issued an instruction on medical and health work, in which he seriously criticized the errors of the leadership of the Ministry of Public Health in following the revisionist line, and emphasized that "In medical and health work, put the stress on the rural areas."

develop the applied sciences and at the same time to pay attention to basic theory, for only in this way could China catch up with and surpass advanced world levels. Under Premier Chou's personal guidance, China's most up-to-date techniques, which grew practically out of nothing, have been developed at a high speed by the Chinese people maintaining independence and relying on their own efforts.

Premier Chou issued instructions for physical culture work stating that we must persist in putting proletarian politics in command, adhere to the principle of combining physical culture with productive labour, national defence construction and health work and that we must pay attention to promoting mass sports activities, strengthening the ideological remoulding of physical culture and sports contingents, oppose the purely technical viewpoint and "championitis" and reject the bourgeois attitude in sports. The slogan "Friendship first, competition second" that he put forward in accordance with Mao Tsetung Thought has not only become the guideline for sports competition in China but has exerted great influence abroad; it has played a positive role in enhancing friendship between the people and athletes of different countries.

Premier Chou always considered that uniting with, educating and remoulding the intellectuals was an important task. He often educated and encouraged them to integrate themselves with the workers and peasants and, under the Party's leadership, consciously serve socialism. At a conference on the question of intellectuals convened by the Party Central Committee in 1956, Premier Chou made an important report which played a significant role in promoting the ideological remoulding of intellectuals and mobilizing their enthusiasm for socialism. Premier Chou regarded educated youths going to settle in the countryside as a strategic measure for training worthy successors to the proletarian revolutionary cause. This practice would also help build a new, socialist countryside and narrow the three major differences between worker and peasant, between town and country and between mental and manual labour. He gave meticulous care to the young people. He personally called various discussion meetings among educated youths, listened to their opinions, helped solve their difficulties and showed great concern for their progress.

### *Working Day and Night for Building a Powerful Socialist Country*

Premier Chou devoted his energies night and day to the transformation of the backward, "poor and blank" China into a powerful socialist country.

Chairman Mao formulated a Marxist-Leninist line and a set of principles and policies for socialist construction in China. Premier Chou did meticulous organizational work to put Chairman Mao's line, policies and principles into practice. Since the founding of the new China, all the five-year plans for the development of the national economy were mapped and carried out under Premier Chou's personal guidance and organization. He studied the fundamental task of every plan item by item, the speed of development in production, the scale of capital construction and the key projects. In the First Five-Year Plan, the Party's general line in the transition period\* was implemented, the socialist transformation of agriculture, handicrafts and capitalist industry and commerce was completed in the main and a number of key projects of great importance to the national economy were built, thereby laying the initial foundation for the socialist industrialization of our country. The Second Five-Year Plan was fulfilled well ahead of schedule thanks to the implementation of the ideas expounded by Chairman Mao in his *On the Ten Major Relationships* and the joint efforts of the people of the whole country. During the three years of temporary economic difficulties, Premier Chou worked out under the leadership of Chairman Mao the policy of readjustment, consolidating, filling out and raising standards, and organized the people across the country to overcome the difficulties brought on by the Soviet revisionists' disruptive activities and the interference of Liu Shao-chi's revisionist line as well as by natural disasters, thereby speedily restoring and developing industrial and agricultural production. In the period of the Third and Fourth Five-Year Plans, priority was given to building industries in the interior of the country while continuing to develop those along the coast. This ensured that industry was distributed more towards the interior, which was favourable to preparedness against war and a balanced development of the national economy. In the past 20 years and more, the general line of **going all out, aiming high and achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results in building socialism** and the general policy of **taking agriculture as the foundation and industry as the leading factor** for the development of the national economy, the strategic idea **to be prepared against war, be prepared against natural dis-**

\*The transition period began with the founding of the People's Republic of China and lasted until the basic completion of socialist transformation. The general line and general task of the Chinese Communist Party during the transition period was to bring about the gradual realization of socialist industrialization in the country and of the socialist transformation of agriculture, handicrafts and capitalist industry and commerce over a fairly long period of time.

asters, and do everything for the people — all worked out by Chairman Mao — were put into practice step by step under Premier Chou's direct sponsorship and leadership in state planning and in actual work.

In socialist construction, Premier Chou consistently took class struggle as the key link and carried out in a comprehensive way Chairman Mao's policy of **"grasping revolution, promoting production."** He pushed forward the socialist revolution in both the superstructure and the economic base, using revolution to motivate and promote production and carrying out construction in the course of revolution. He opposed the erroneous tendency of not grasping class struggle and revolution and of not persisting in taking the socialist road. On two occasions, in 1958 and 1970, he handled the issue of vesting units at the lower levels with greater power to run and build certain enterprises\* and the reform of the system of economic management, and he paid attention to bringing into play the initiative of both the central authorities and the various localities. In the meantime, the Premier adopted energetic measures to promote the development of industrial and agricultural production and solved important problems cropping up in actual work. The Lin Biao anti-Party clique and the "gang of four" practised metaphysics and spread all kinds of anti-Marxist fallacies with regard to the relationships between politics and vocational work and between revolution and production. On several occasions, Premier Chou forcefully refuted these fallacies and kept to the dialectical materialist viewpoint of the unity of opposites in political and vocational work and in revolution and production.

In line with Chairman Mao's directive of **maintaining independence and keeping the initiative in our own hands and relying on our own efforts**, Premier Chou consistently stressed the need to launch mass movements and take our own road in developing industry, agriculture, science and technology. The two red banners of Taching and Tachai designated personally by Chairman Mao represent the orientation for the development of China's socialist industry and agriculture. The Premier enthusiastically supported and defended these two red banners and propelled forward the national mass movements of learning from Taching in industry and learning from Tachai in agriculture. On three occasions, Premier Chou inspected the Taching Oilfield and highly praised the Taching oil workers for putting into effect the **Charter of the Anshan Iron and Steel Company\*\***

\*The reference is to the central authorities concerned which exercise direct vertical control over their respective subordinate enterprises, and put them in a strait-jacket, denying the local Party committees' leadership over these enterprises.

\*\*Having summed up the practical experience in China's socialist revolution and socialist construction, Chairman Mao drafted on March 22, 1960 a note on the report submitted to the Party Central Committee by the Anshan City Committee of the

and for carrying out the general line of building socialism with greater, faster, better and more economical results. He said Taching was an example in studying and applying Mao Tsetung Thought and in learning from the People's Liberation Army. In summing up Taching's experience, he affirmed Taching's orientation that the "integration of worker and peasant and of town and country is beneficial to production and facilitates the workers' everyday life." The Premier also endorsed its form of organization which integrates government administration with enterprise management. He said that these were of great significance to the narrowing and gradual elimination of the three major differences. During the Great Cultural Revolution, the "gang of four" tried time and again to pull down the red banner of Taching, but Premier Chou encouraged the oil workers to keep on taking Chairman Mao's philosophical works *On Practice* and *On Contradiction* as their guiding thought in running the enterprise and to hold aloft the red banner forever.\*

Premier Chou went to the Tachai Production Brigade three times and personally summed up its basic experiences: "Adhering to the principle of putting proletarian politics in command and placing Mao Tsetung Thought in the lead, upholding the spirit of self-reliance and hard struggle, and displaying the communist style of loving the country and the collective." Liu Shao-chi vainly tried to pull down the red banner of Tachai in 1964. The Premier personally dispatched a work team to Tachai to support it. During the Great Cultural Revolution, the Lin Piao anti-Party clique and the "gang of four" incited some people to plot to overthrow the good leadership of Tachai's poor and lower-middle peasants and forbade the Tachai people to continue making revolution. In great earnest, Premier Chou told the leading comrades of the Party branch of the Tachai Production Brigade: "They attack you precisely because you are making revolution. You should unite the masses to struggle

Chinese Communist Party, in which he declared: Here emerges the Charter of the Anshan Iron and Steel Company in China, in the Far East. The fundamental principles of the Charter are: keep politics firmly in command; strengthen Party leadership; launch vigorous mass movements; institute the system of worker participation in management and cadre participation in productive labour, reform of irrational and outdated rules and regulations and close co-operation among workers, technicians and cadres; and go full steam ahead with technical innovations and the technical revolution. This is a Marxist line in running enterprises, a fundamental charter to run socialist enterprises well.

\*The builders of Taching Oilfield studied Chairman Mao's *On Practice* and *On Contradiction*, and his other works, applied the stand, viewpoint and method of dialectical materialism and historical materialism to analyse and solve the problems they had come up against in their battle for oil, and successfully opened up Taching Oilfield.

against them!" His words were a great encouragement to Tachai's poor and lower-middle peasants.

Premier Chou firmly implemented Chairman Mao's policy towards the nationalities. He was very much concerned about the training of the communist cadres of minority nationalities and the development of the economic and cultural undertakings in the minority-nationality areas, and he issued many instructions on this question. He constantly educated the cadres of Han nationality to resolutely guard against and overcome Han chauvinism.

He firmly implemented Chairman Mao's policy on the united front. He did a great deal of work to develop the revolutionary united front which is led by the working class and based on the worker-peasant alliance and includes patriotic democratic parties and groups, patriotic personages, patriotic overseas Chinese and compatriots in Hongkong and Macao, so as to unite all the forces that can be united to build socialism. He often explained our Party's policy and the situation at home and abroad to the patriotic democratic parties and groups and patriotic personages of various circles, and consulted with them on the major issues in China's political life. With great patience, he helped them remould their ideology, guided them to accept Communist Party leadership, take the socialist road and make contributions to building a powerful socialist motherland.

Under the leadership of Chairman Mao, Premier Chou worked indefatigably for the building up of our country. His footprints could be found in factories and villages and at many important construction sites from the foot of the Tianshan Mountains in Sinkiang to the eastern seaboard and from northeast China's Sungliao Plain to the banks of the Pearl River in Kwangtung. The harnessing of every big river, the building of every important railway, the construction of every major project, the successful conducting of atomic and hydrogen bomb tests, and the launching of man-made earth satellites are all inseparably linked with our Premier's painstaking efforts. For more than 20 years, and particularly since the start of the Great Cultural Revolution, thanks to the arduous struggle of the entire nation, China has rid herself of the backwardness of being "poor and blank" and has acquired the beginnings of prosperity. Although he was gravely ill, Premier Chou delivered a report on the work of the government to the Fourth National People's Congress in early 1975. In accordance with Chairman Mao's instructions, he proposed to the people of the whole country: Accomplish the comprehensive modernization of agriculture, industry, national defence and science and technology within this century, so that our national economy will advance to the front ranks of the world, and China will be built into a modern powerful socialist

country. We must work hard to achieve this lofty goal which is the common aspiration of China's hundreds of millions of people.

*Supporting World Revolution,  
Opposing Hegemonic Powers*

In international affairs, Premier Chou followed Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and policies in foreign affairs. He always upheld proletarian internationalism and worked to strengthen our unity with the proletariat, the oppressed people and oppressed nations the world over and our unity with all countries subjected to imperialist aggression, subversion, interference, control and bullying so as to form the broadest united front to combat imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism and, in particular, hegemonism by the two superpowers — the Soviet Union and the United States. Premier Chou struggled resolutely against Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and the "gang of four" anti-Party clique who tried their utmost to interfere with and sabotage Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in foreign affairs. Basing himself on Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, Premier Chou took part in formulating China's major foreign policy decisions and carried them out, put forward a whole series of concrete principles and policies for the foreign service, and creatively implemented Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in foreign affairs. He trained a contingent of proletarian diplomatic personnel and initiated and fostered a style of diplomacy for the new China.

In diplomatic work, in accordance with Chairman Mao's instructions Premier Chou always kept the people in mind and placed his hopes on them. He received and met many groups of foreign guests, from state leaders to non-governmental personages, and presided over many diplomatic negotiations. He visited many countries in Asia, Africa and Europe and attended a number of important international conferences. The famous Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence which he initiated on behalf of China were a brilliant victory at the Bandung Conference and have since provided a fine guiding principle for friendship and co-operation between countries. The eight principles of foreign aid from China which he proclaimed during his tour of African countries are widely welcomed and acclaimed by the third world countries. Thanks to his attention and guidance, China has expanded trade relations with countries all over the world according to the principle of equality and mutual benefit, and it has, to the best of its ability, provided aid to fraternal socialist countries and some developing countries. Acting on Chairman Mao's teaching

Never seek hegemony, Premier Chou at all times stood for the equality, of all countries, big and small, and taught diplomatic personnel, other cadres and the masses to learn modestly the strong points of the people of other countries and in international contacts to rid themselves of great-power chauvinism resolutely, thoroughly, wholly and completely.

In international activities, in accordance with Chairman Mao's instructions, Premier Chou firmly opposed the policies of war and aggression of the two hegemonic powers, the Soviet Union and the United States, and always supported and assisted the anti-imperialist, anti-hegemonist struggles of countries and nations subjected to aggression and oppression by the two hegemonic powers. He worked ceaselessly and untiringly to ensure all-round support and assistance for the people of Korea, Viet Nam, Kampuchea and Laos in their struggles against U.S. invaders and for national salvation when they were assailed by U.S. imperialist armed aggression. On behalf of the Chinese Government and people, Premier Chou gave timely and powerful support and help to the struggle of the people of Albania when Soviet social-imperialism was bearing down on their country by blockading and vilifying it; to the struggle of the people of Czechoslovakia when that country was invaded and occupied by Soviet social-imperialism; to the struggle of the Palestinian people and the people of the Middle East when the two hegemonic powers tried to sabotage the Palestinian national-liberation movement and intensified their contention for control of the Middle East; and to the struggle of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America when imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism were suppressing their movements for state independence and national liberation.

In the international communist movement, Premier Chou was a great proletarian internationalist and a staunch fighter against revisionism. He united with and supported Marxist parties and organizations throughout the world in accordance with Chairman Mao's instructions and waged tit-for-tat struggles against the Khrushchov-Brezhnev renegade clique, thus promoting the development of the international communist movement. At the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in 1961, Premier Chou sternly exposed and criticized the criminal action of the Khrushchov renegade clique in openly attacking a fraternal Party and splitting the international communist movement. This greatly raised the morale of the international proletariat and deflated the arrogance of modern revisionism. With great resolve, Premier Chou left for home before the congress ended and was greeted by the great leader Chairman Mao when he landed at Peking Airport.



*Always Maintaining and Developing  
the Party's Fine Style*

Nurtured throughout the protracted revolutionary struggle by Chairman Mao, our Party has developed a fine style of work which entails integrating theory with practice, forging close links with the masses and practising criticism and self-criticism. This style of work found full and comprehensive embodiment in Premier Chou. He always regarded maintaining and developing the Party's fine style as a guarantee for implementing Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and safeguarding the proletarian character of the Party.

Premier Chou consistently upheld integrating theory with practice. Proceeding from the needs of revolutionary struggle, for decades he studied Chairman Mao's works and other Marxist-Leninist writings tirelessly and used the Marxist stand, viewpoint and method to analyse and solve various practical problems correctly. In handling problems, he adhered to the Party's line and policies, strictly abided by materialism, paid attention to investigation and study and presided over fact-finding meetings and forums. Especially in resolving important and complex problems, he came to a decision only after understanding the whole situation as far as possible, listening to different opinions and making numerous analyses and comparisons. He often took the opportunity of receiving cadres and the masses from various localities to acquire knowledge of the real situation and to learn from the masses and from comrades working in various fields. He was good at concentrating the wisdom of the cadres and the masses, summing up practical experience, proposing concrete principles and policies for various kinds of work, and giving guidance to work in all fields and enabling it to advance along Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. By studying revolutionary theory in depth and taking part in the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment in the course of protracted revolutionary struggle, Premier Chou acquired profound knowledge and accumulated rich experience and was quick in grasping the essence of matters and solving all kinds of complex problems in a masterly way.

Premier Chou showed a boundless sense of responsibility in his work. Over the years, he always worked hard, carefully and thoroughly, often to the neglect of his meals or sleep. It was quite common for him to stay up till dawn. When he grew tired or sleepy, he got up and took a walk, wiped his face with a damp towel to refresh himself or applied some cooling balm. A neglected meal was often replaced by a snack in the car. When comrades asked him to take a rest, he replied: "I'm getting old, so I should do more work!" He turned his holidays into his

busiest days. During his illness, he still went on working, reading documents and giving his instructions, handling all manner of problems, and he often received foreign guests and had long talks with them. Even just before his death, he still asked others to tell him about major internal and external affairs. He remarked: "I can still listen. My mind can still work." So Premier Chou fought to his last breath for the Party and the revolution.

Premier Chou maintained close ties with the masses and always paid attention to their study, work and daily life. Wherever a big disaster occurred and the people there were confronted by difficulties, our Premier Chou would bring the solicitude of Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee to them in time. When a strong earthquake struck Hsingtai Prefecture in Hopei Province in 1966, Premier Chou, regardless of the danger of aftershocks, went there the next day to express his sympathies and concern and lead the local people in fighting the earthquake and carrying out relief and rescue work. He promptly summed up Hsingtai's experience and instructed the departments concerned to set up seismological centres immediately for forecasting possible earthquakes. He put forward the principle: "Under the unified leadership of the Party, put the emphasis on precautionary measures. Do a good job in forecasting and taking precautionary measures by combining the efforts of specialists and the masses, using both modern and indigenous methods and relying on the masses." When Premier Chou learnt that the people's livelihood in some places in northern Shensi was still fairly difficult in 1970, he said with a heavy heart: "The people in northern Shensi have nurtured us. Yet life is still hard for some of the people there although the country has been liberated for more than 20 years. It really pains me to hear this." He called a meeting and instructed the Shensi provincial Party committee and the Party committees at various levels in Yenan Prefecture to organize the cadres and the masses to study Chairman Mao's *Message of Reply*\* to the people of Yenan in 1949, to draw up plans and mobilize the people to change the appearance of northern Shensi. He also instructed the Peking municipality to help them set up factories supporting agriculture.

Our Premier Chou was always concerned about the well-being of the masses. If he saw a hot spring during an inspection tour, he invariably asked whether there were bathrooms for the public. Sometimes his driver drove fairly fast, and he often cautioned him to slow down, saying that roads were built for public use and that car drivers should always keep

\*See Mao Tsetung, "Always Keep to the Style of Plain Living and Hard Struggle," *Selected Works*, Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1977, Vol. V, p. 23.

pedestrians and cyclists in mind, too. He was concerned over preventing and treating common and recurrent diseases, occupational diseases and endemic diseases which seriously endanger the people's health and on many occasions instructed health departments to study and solve these problems.

Premier Chou always regarded himself as an ordinary worker in spite of the fact that he was a Party and state leader. He was warm towards comrades and the people and treated them all on an equal footing, whether they were leading cadres or common workers and peasants. When Premier Chou went to make investigations and study in the factories or villages or other grass-roots units, he often worked and ate with the masses and had cordial talks with them. When soldiers on sentry duty saluted him while he was taking a walk, he shook hands with them and said amiably: "Oh, no, don't salute me. We're comrades, aren't we?"

Both in the difficult years of war and in the days after victory, Premier Chou always put strict demands on himself, maintaining the style of being modest and prudent and of hard struggle. He often encouraged himself and others with these words: "One should learn and remould one's ideology as long as one lives." He often said: "I've only done some concrete work under Chairman Mao's leadership. All the credit should go to Chairman Mao." At the request of the people, the county Party committee of his native place in Huaian, Kiangsu Province, proposed several times that his old house be rebuilt. Premier Chou flatly rejected this. In his reply to the county Party committee, he said: Don't let people visit it, and don't ask the people now living there to move out.

Upholding the Party principle and setting an example by his own deeds, Premier Chou put strict demands on responsible members of various departments. He would criticize in sharp words bureaucratic and bourgeois ways in all their manifestations. He did this out of love and concern for the comrades and was never haughty towards them, so they always accepted his criticisms gladly. He always listened intently to opinions differing from his own. If different opinions arose in work, he would ask for further explanations, encouraging the comrades to air their views freely. He was strict towards himself and often voluntarily accepted responsibility on behalf of his subordinates if anything went wrong in their work. Large-minded and brave in making self-criticisms, he often used his past experience to educate cadres and masses. He said: "When you have made a mistake, tell it to anyone you meet. In this way you can receive supervision and help from the comrades and at the same time caution them not to make the same mistake."

Premier Chou lived plainly and was diligent and thrifty; he was a man of integrity and always worked in the public interest. After the founding

of the new China, some comrades suggested erecting a big building for the State Council and even had a model made. Premier Chou firmly turned down the suggestion, saying: "We should carry out Chairman Mao's instruction of building the country through diligence and thrift. I will never allow building a mansion for the State Council during my term of service as premier." The house he lived in was quite old, but he refused to have it rebuilt. He didn't care even if he wore mended clothes. His diet was simple and he often ate corn flour and millet. To save state expenditure, he spent his own money on things which would otherwise be provided for by the state, such as medicine and newspapers for himself and soap for his attendants.

Premier Chou also put strict demands on his relatives. The wife of one of his relatives in Peking worked somewhere else. The organization concerned made arrangements to have her transferred to Peking. When Premier Chou learnt of this, he said: "If you want to bring them together, why should the one who works outside be transferred to Peking and not the other way round?" Educated by the Premier, the couple went to work outside the capital.

#### *"The Internationale Shall Be the Human Race"*

Premier Chou thought constantly about the 800 million people in the country, the early liberation of Taiwan and the reunification of the motherland, the Chinese revolution and the world revolution and the victory of communism. When he was seriously ill, he sang on many occasions "*Let each stand in his place, the Internationale shall be the human race.*" This was a vivid expression of his firm conviction in the triumph of the cause of communism. More than 10 years ago, Premier Chou and his wife Comrade Teng Ying-chao promised that they would not retain their ashes after death. They considered it a revolution to change from burial to cremation and another revolution not to retain the ashes. Premier Chou expressed the wish before his death that his ashes be scattered in the rivers and on the land of our motherland. This was approved by Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee after his death. Premier Chou's revolutionary stand on the handling of his ashes fully expressed his communist spirit of a complete break with old traditions.

Premier Chou's life was one of glorious struggle for the cause of communism and one of continuing the revolution with perseverance. To strive for the victory of the Chinese people's cause of liberation and communism, Premier Chou fought tenaciously, dauntlessly and selflessly

under the leadership of Chairman Mao for more than five decades. Premier Chou's courage, wisdom and hard work are crystallized in the great victories of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. The Chinese people are proud of having the great leader and teacher Chairman Mao and are lucky and happy to have had Premier Chou, the close comrade-in-arms of Chairman Mao. Because of their reactionary class nature, the "gang of four" — a scourge of the nation — hated Premier Chou intensely. They resorted to underhand means, stopping at nothing to attack and persecute the Premier, and tried by every vile means to harass and wear him down. Why did the "gang of four" oppose him so feverishly? Just as Chairman Hua Kuo-feng has pointed out: "Their aim was to overthrow Premier Chou so that they could usurp the supreme leadership of the Party and state." The masses had long seen through the counter-revolutionary schemes of the "gang of four" and hated them bitterly. After Premier Chou's death, the people of the whole country were deeply grieved over the loss of their good Premier and expressed their mourning in various memorial activities. In fear and hate, the "gang of four" undermined, suppressed and even viciously slandered the memorial activities of the masses as a "reactionary trend" and "using the dead to repress the living." They tried to wipe out Premier Chou's brilliant image and negate his great contributions. These perverse actions of the "gang of four" only sparked the people's boundless hatred for them and induced the people to honour Premier Chou's memory all the more. History has proved that whoever goes against the people's will is invariably swept by their iron broom onto the garbage heap of history. The ignominious failure of the "gang of four" once again testifies to this truth.

Although Premier Chou has died, his brilliant image, like the lofty mountains and towering pines, will live forever in the hearts of the Chinese people and the people of the world. His revolutionary spirit will shine like the sun and the moon; his magnificent contributions are immortal.

## Premier Chou's Splendid Deeds During Our Army's Course of Struggle

It was under the wise leadership of Chairman Mao that the Great Chinese People's Liberation Army grew in size and strength, and triumphed over a number of formidable enemies, domestic and foreign, over nearly half a century. Closely associated with these achievements, too, was the shining name of Comrade Chou En-lai. Our army's course of struggle over the decades shows the hard thinking and industrious work done by Premier Chou, who was Chairman Mao's right-hand man in directing us to defeat the enemy.

### I

It is clear from our army's history that Comrade Chou En-lai was one of our Party's first outstanding cadres to take up military work. Under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, the first shot was fired against the Kuomintang reactionaries with the world-famous Nanchang Uprising started on August 1, 1927. This armed revolutionary action was in itself a criticism of Chen Tu-hsiu's Right deviationist line of capitulation. The uprising made an important contribution to the founding of our great people's army. Comrade Chou En-lai was the principal leader of the uprising, while Chu Teh, Ho Lung, Yeh Ting, Liu Po-cheng and other comrades also participated in the leadership.

The Great Revolution of 1924-27 failed first because the Chiang Kai-shek and Wang Ching-wei clique, representing the interests of the big landlords and big bourgeoisie, turned traitor, and at the same time because Chen Tu-hsiu's Right opportunist line in the Party voluntarily surrendered leadership over the revolution, particularly over armed struggle.

Guided by the Marxist-Leninist line represented by Comrade Mao Tsetung, the Party decided to organize an armed uprising in Nanchang, capital of Kiangsi Province, to save the revolution. It entrusted Comrade Chou En-lai with important responsibilities as Secretary of the Front Committee in Nanchang, and he organized and directed the uprising with great revolutionary mettle.

In face of the serious dangers under the White terror, Comrade Chou En-lai arrived in Nanchang on July 27. Working tirelessly day and night, he saw to the successful completion of all the preparations for the uprising which was scheduled for the night of July 30. However, Chen Tu-hsiu was pushing ahead with his Right deviationist line of capitulation. Chang Kuo-tao, a Right opportunist who later betrayed the revolution and joined Chiang Kai-shek's secret police, was dispatched as a "representative of the Party Centre." When he got to Chiuchiang (midway from Wuhan to Nanchang) on July 29 he hastened to send two telegrams to the Front Committee warning them to be "cautious about the uprising" and ruled that implementation of the decision should wait till his arrival in Nanchang. Considering the current situation, Comrade Chou En-lai and other comrades on the Front Committee decided to start the uprising as planned in spite of Chang's warning. Arriving in Nanchang on the morning of July 30, Chang viciously brought up all sorts of "reasons" against the uprising at an emergency meeting of the Front Committee, even declaring that "there must be no uprising without the approval of Chang Fa-kuei" (a Kuomintang warlord). At this critical moment, Comrade Chou En-lai took a resolute stand, sternly refuted Chang Kuo-tao's erroneous arguments, and insisted that the uprising be started as planned: "We'll go ahead with it!" But one day was lost due to Chang's interference. On July 31, Chang demanded a further postponement of the uprising on the pretext that the declaration needed revision. Meanwhile, important ring-leaders of the counter-revolutionary camp, including Wang Ching-wei, Chang Fa-kuei and Chu Pei-teh, were meeting at Mt. Lushan plotting to wipe out the armed forces influenced by our Party and further suppress the revolution, and their troops were closing in on Nanchang to lay siege to the city. In these circumstances, another postponement of the uprising would certainly have dashed all hope for its success. Comrade Chou En-lai promptly detected Chang Kuo-tao's Right opportunism. Turning down his haggling over the declaration, he said indignantly: "I'll fix it!" Persevering in principle, Comrade Chou En-lai and other members on the Front Committee frustrated Chang's scheme to sabotage the uprising.

The uprising started at 2 a.m. on August 1. At the order of the General Headquarters, three rifle-shots were fired from above the city wall, followed by a tremendous wave of shooting all over the town. Taking the enemy unawares at night, the 30,000 insurgents wiped out all the five garrison regiments in five hours and gained control of the whole city. The success of the uprising greatly heightened the morale of the revolutionary people and deflated the arrogance of the imperialists and the Kuomintang reactionaries. Chairman Mao pointed out, "... having learned a bitter lesson from the failure of the revolution, the Party organized the Nanchang Uprising, the Autumn Harvest Uprising and the Canton Uprising, and entered on a new period, the founding of the Red Army. That was the crucial period in which our Party arrived at a thorough understanding of the importance of the army." We shall never forget Comrade Chou En-lai's splendid historic deeds in the Nanchang Uprising.

## II

The Tsunyi Meeting,\* a great historical turning point, was held during the Long March in January 1935. At the meeting, Comrade Chou En-lai firmly sided with Comrade Mao Tsetung's revolutionary line and supported his leadership. The meeting concentrated its attention on correcting the military and organizational mistakes of Wang Ming's "Left" opportunist line, which were of decisive significance at the time, ended the domination of that line, and established the leading position of Comrade Mao Tsetung in the whole Party and the whole army. It also decided that, under Comrade Mao Tsetung's command, Comrade Chou En-lai, Vice-Chairman of the Military Commission of the Party Central Committee, was to continue to take part in organizing and leading the Chinese Workers' and Peasants' Red Army in completing the Long March.

Following the Tsunyi Meeting, the Red Army zigzagged its way through heavy deployments of enemy troops, crossed the Chihshui River four times, forced a crossing of the Chinsha River, and frustrated the encirclements, pursuits, obstructions and interceptions of more than 400,000 Kuomintang troops. In a whole series of fierce battles, Comrade Chou En-lai always stayed by the side of Comrade Mao Tsetung, working night and day to collect information, analyse enemy moves and formulate

\*Enlarged meeting of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party convened in Tsunyi, Kweichow Province, during the Long March of the Chinese Red Army.

proposals to assist in directing the operations of the Red Army. Whenever Comrade Mao Tsetung made a strategic policy decision or laid down a plan for a battle or campaign, he acted with remarkable enthusiasm and ability to organize the Red Army in carrying it out. Our Red Army was thus able to seize the initiative in the war despite the sharp difference between the enemy's strength and our own.

After the Red Army forced its way across the Chinsha River, Lin Piao, Peng Teh-huai and a few other careerist conspirators plotted to usurp Comrade Mao Tsetung's leadership. Lin Piao called Peng Teh-huai on the telephone, "You take over command," trying to make him "general commander at the front," and even demanded, in a letter to the Party Central Committee, the "removal" of Comrade Mao Tsetung who was in charge of the Military Commission. At an enlarged meeting of the Party Central Committee's Political Bureau convened at Huili on May 12, 1935, Comrade Mao Tsetung and the Party Central Committee severely criticized Lin Piao and his associates for their conspiracy. Comrade Chou En-lai took part in the serious struggle against them and exposed their crime, displaying his noble quality as a Marxist who upheld the truth, persevered in principle and was always open and aboveboard.

In June 1935 the First Front Army of the Red Army successfully joined forces with the Fourth Front Army at Maokung in western Szechuan. Chang Kuo-tao, then commanding the Fourth Front Army, opposed the correct decision of Comrade Mao Tsetung and the Party Central Committee to continue marching northward, and insisted on fleeing to Chinghai, Sinkiang or the Szechuan-Sikang border. His anti-Party activities became even more blatant after the Red Army reached Pansi. In a sinister plot he tried to put the Party Central Committee and Comrade Mao Tsetung in jeopardy and seize supreme leadership in the Party and the Red Army by force of arms. In this acute struggle between the two lines, Comrade Chou En-lai, though seriously ill, persevered in his work and personally reprimanded Chang Kuo-tao on several occasions, demonstrating his consistent loyalty to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line.

Under the wise command of Comrade Mao Tsetung who was assisted by Comrade Chou En-lai and other leaders, the Red Army cleared away repeated interference from the "Left" and Right opportunist lines, crossed perilous rivers and stormed key passes. They threw back the attacks of several hundred thousand enemy troops trying to overtake them or obstruct their advance. With unparalleled courage and tenacity, the Red Army scaled perpetually snow-capped mountains, trekked across uninhabitable marshes and triumphantly completed the Long March of 25,000 li, an achievement of great historical significance.

### III

As a great proletarian revolutionary, Comrade Chou En-lai demonstrated great staunchness in fighting the enemy. However ruthless the reign of White terror, however sharp and complicated the struggle in face-to-face negotiations with the enemy, he always disregarded his own safety and acted with resolute courage and calm resourcefulness, fully confident in victory.

In 1936, when Japanese imperialism was extending its aggression against China, Chiang Kai-shek clung to a policy of non-resistance and continued to wage the anti-Communist civil war. On December 12 of that year, he was arrested in Sian by Chang Hsueh-liang and Yang Hu-cheng, patriotic generals of the Kuomintang who were influenced by the Communist Party's call to "stop the civil war and unite against Japan." This was the famous Sian Incident. Pro-Japanese elements of the Kuomintang like Ho Ying-chin moved their troops against Shensi Province to take advantage of the incident and provoke a still larger civil war in concert with the Japanese imperialist invasion. In this critical situation, Comrade Chou En-lai, acting upon the decision of Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee, sped to Sian at the risk of his own life and conducted an extremely arduous struggle. He compelled Chiang Kai-shek to accept the Communist Party's proposal to "stop the civil war and unite against Japan," effected the peaceful settlement of the Sian Incident and promoted the formation and growth of the anti-Japanese national united front. This historic contribution to the revolution came at a crucial moment of life or death for the Chinese nation.

The War of Resistance Against Japan broke out on July 7, 1937, and the Chinese revolution entered a new period. On August 25, 1937 an enlarged meeting of the Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee was convened at Lochuan in northern Shensi, at which Chairman Mao put forward the 10-Point National Salvation Programme and formulated for our Party the principle of "independence and initiative within the united front" and the strategic policy of conducting independent guerrilla war in mountainous areas. After the Lochuan Meeting, Comrade Chou En-lai was entrusted by Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee with the important task of negotiating with Yen Hsi-shan, commander of the Kuomintang's Second War Zone then entrenched in Shansi Province, on the question of the Eighth Route Army passing through that area to the North China front for resistance against Japan. The Japanese invaders had already breached several important passes along the Great Wall, including Juyuehkou and Yenmenkuan, and were attacking Hsinkingou in a straight drive towards Taiyuan, capital of Shansi.

With the ulterior motive of using the Japanese as a tool to annihilate our forces, Yen Hsi-shan demanded that the 129th Division of our Eighth Route Army move to Hsinkou for a frontal interception of the invaders. Seeing through the plot, Comrade Chou En-lai declared, "We will not make, and do not approve of, a frontal attack; we will only conduct guerrilla warfare in the enemy rear in co-ordination with your actions." Thus he defeated Yen's scheme completely. Seeing the utter vulnerability of the Japanese troops' rear areas in Shansi, Comrade Chou En-lai put forward excellent proposals to Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee on the dispositions of the Eighth Route Army, pointing out that it must "pay attention to expanding itself, mobilizing the masses for the war and organizing anti-Japanese guerrilla detachments." His views and suggestions were commended by Chairman Mao. Time and again, Comrade Chou En-lai directed Party organizations and political departments of the divisions and brigades of the Eighth Route Army in North China to "use their own names, openly state their position in mobilizing the masses and expanding the national revolutionary united front movement and be leaders and organizers of the united front." Firmly carrying out Chairman Mao's correct line and policies, Comrade Chou En-lai played an outstanding role in extending our army's new positions behind enemy lines in North China.

In the stirring years of the Anti-Japanese War, Comrade Chou En-lai, as our Party's representative, conducted valiant struggles in Chungking and other places under Kuomintang rule at the risk of his life. He battled against the Kuomintang's counter-revolutionary policy of passive resistance to Japan and active anti-communism and made tremendous contributions to overcoming the danger of capitulation to Japan, checking the adverse anti-Communist current and repulsing the Kuomintang reactionaries' three anti-Communist onslaughts. In January 1941 the Kuomintang reactionaries created the Southern Anhwei Incident, an act of treachery which shocked the world. Comrade Chou En-lai indignantly protested to the Kuomintang, and directed the *New China Daily*, the Party organ in Chungking, to publish the truth about the incident and comments refuting Chiang Kai-shek's reactionary order. As all this was cut by the Kuomintang censors, Comrade Chou En-lai, with burning anger and deep grief, wrote in his own hand and signed the following lines which appeared in the blank spaces of the paper on January 18: "Mourn for those who died in the national disaster south of the Yangtze." And in addition:

*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?*

Disregarding his personal safety, Comrade Chou En-lai led members of the Party delegation and the staff of the *New China Daily* to break through cordons of enemy special agents and distribute that issue of the paper in the streets. Their actions exposed before the world Chiang Kai-shek's anti-Communist, anti-popular scheme to disrupt the resistance and national unity and left the Kuomintang in utter quandary and isolation. With boundless loyalty to the Party and dauntless courage against the enemy, Comrade Chou En-lai worked with perfect calm in the heart of the enemy region and gave his all to the revolutionary cause as he fought for national survival, for the development of our army and for the victory of the Chinese revolution.

#### IV

Following the victory of the Anti-Japanese War, Chiang Kai-shek, who had long been passive in resisting Japan but active in anti-Communism, wanted to plunge China into the bloodbath of another civil war despite the eager wishes of the entire nation for peace and democracy. He started bluffing about "peace," while in fact he was busy disposing his troops for civil war. Chiang sent three telegrams to Chairman Mao, inviting him to come to Chungking for negotiations on "the great issues of unity and national reconstruction." Chairman Mao made a firm decision to expose Chiang's scheme to shift the blame for civil war onto the Communist Party and went to Chungking on August 28, 1945 for talks with the U.S.-backed Kuomintang reactionaries. Comrade Chou En-lai, who accompanied Chairman Mao in the negotiations, worked selflessly and tirelessly with other comrades of the Communist Party delegation to prepare materials and formulate proposals to assist Chairman Mao in the struggle against the reactionaries. He went wherever Chairman Mao did, taking personal charge of his security, for he considered the Chairman's health and security a guarantee for the victory of the Party's revolutionary cause. After a sharp and complicated struggle which lasted 43 days, the Kuomintang was compelled to sign the "October 10th Agreement" with our Party, and Chairman Mao triumphantly returned to Yen-an on October 11. The Chungking negotiations engaged national and world attention. With Chairman Mao's personal leadership and Comrade Chou En-lai's direct participation, the negotiations educated the people, landed Chiang Kai-shek in a still



more passive position and gave our army time to get ready to smash his offensive.

After the conclusion of the "October 10th Agreement," Chiang Kai-shek brought up great numbers of troops to launch massive attacks on our Liberated Areas. Pressed beyond the limits of forbearance, our army fought back resolutely and dealt telling blows to the enemy. Under political and military pressure, the Kuomintang was compelled to sign a "truce agreement" and convene a National Political Consultative Conference. As head of the Communist Party delegation, Comrade Chou En-lai continued the struggle against the Kuomintang at the conference sessions. The Kuomintang reactionaries spread the fallacy that "political democratization must be preceded by the nationalization of troops," trying to use "democracy" as a bait to coax the Communist Party into handing over the armed forces under its leadership. Catering to the enemy's needs and following the adverse revisionist current of "handing over arms" abroad, the Right capitulationists represented by Liu Shao-chi in the Party proposed a so-called "new stage of peace and democracy," and advocated the view that "the main form of struggle in the Chinese revolution must now change from armed struggle to an unarmed, mass and parliamentary one," and that our army should be reorganized as "a part of the regular national army." In a word, they wanted to hand over the people's armed forces and the revolutionary base areas to Chiang Kai-shek in exchange for a few official posts. In this great battle bearing on the future and destiny of the Chinese revolution, Comrade Chou En-lai firmly abided by Chairman Mao's wise decision, **"the arms of the people, every gun and every bullet, must be kept, must not be handed over"** and upheld Chairman Mao's principle of seizing power by armed force. The Communist Party delegation headed by Comrade Chou En-lai pointed out sternly at the Political Consultative Conference that, before the troops could be nationalized, the state must first be democratized, because true nationalization of the troops would not be possible unless the state under the Kuomintang's one-party dictatorship was changed into a democratic state and the warlord troops under Chiang Kai-shek transformed into people's forces. This effectively exposed the enemy scheme and dealt a crushing blow to Liu Shao-chi's Right deviationist line of capitulation.

After the Political Consultative Conference, Comrade Chou En-lai stayed in Chungking and later went to Nanking to continue the struggle against the Kuomintang reactionaries. He effectively exposed Chiang Kai-shek's crimes of tearing up the truce agreement and attacking the Liberated Areas, achieved a steady expansion of the united front against U.S. imperialism and Chiang Kai-shek, and ably accomplished the

tasks entrusted to him by Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee. In late June 1946 Chiang Kai-shek, the autocrat and traitor to the people, launched massive offensives against the Liberated Areas with 1,600,000 troops and unleashed an all-out civil war under the direction of U.S. imperialism. Amid this great battle which would decide between China's two futures and two destinies, Comrade Chou En-lai returned to Yen-an from Nanking in November 1946. With his outstanding military talent, he then assisted Chairman Mao in leading and commanding the nationwide People's Liberation War.

Throughout the War of Liberation, Comrade Chou En-lai followed Chairman Mao's strategic plans and carried them out down to the smallest detail. In March 1947 Kuomintang troops mounted a concentrated attack on the Shensi-Kansu-Ningsia Border Region, the seat of the Party Central Committee. On March 18 Chairman Mao and the Party Centre left Yen-an. In view of the circumstances, the Secretariat of the Party Central Committee had divided itself into two groups: A Working Committee of the Central Committee composed of Chu Teh and other comrades proceeded to the Shansi-Chahar-Hopei Liberated Area to carry out the work entrusted to it by the Central Committee, while Chairman Mao, Comrade Chou En-lai and Comrade Jen Pi-shih remained in the Shensi-Kansu-Ningsia Border Region. As Vice-Chairman of the Revolutionary Military Commission of the Party Central Committee, Comrade Chou En-lai accompanied Chairman Mao in fighting from one place to another in northern Shensi. He provided Chairman Mao with timely information and analyses of the political, economic and military struggles between the enemy and ourselves. He took part in making important strategic decisions and plans for major campaigns, assisted Chairman Mao in directing the operations in the Northwest and other theatres of the Liberation War and shouldered the heavy organizational work in commanding our troops. In July 1947 the People's Liberation Army went over to a strategic country-wide offensive. In December Chairman Mao delivered the report, "The Present Situation and Our Tasks," to a meeting of the Party Central Committee held at Yangchiakou in Michih County, northern Shensi. To implement the Chairman's brilliant instructions, Comrade Chou En-lai personally attended a meeting of senior cadres convened by the Northwest Bureau of the Party Central Committee, at which he delivered the "Report on the War Situation in the Whole Country." Applying Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, he made a penetrating analysis of the national picture of the War of Liberation, giving enlightening views on the great victories of the army and the people in the Liberated Areas, on the struggles waged by the masses in the areas under Chiang

Kai-shek's rule, on the political and military build-up of our army, on its operations and on the progress of the war. He called on our troops in the Northwest to "fight resolutely to the exterior line and carry the war there," and to "break new ground, surmount difficulties and expand ourselves." With full confidence, he pointed out, "So long as we grasp our policies and act according to Chairman Mao's instructions, we will surely be victorious!"

In September 1948 the War of Liberation entered the decisive stage. Comrade Chou En-lai assisted Chairman Mao in leading and directing the three major campaigns, the Liaohsi-Shenyang, Huai-Hai and Peiping-Tientsin Campaigns\* which marked our decisive victory in the war, and subsequently the crossing of the Yangtze by our million-strong troops to destroy the Chiang dynasty. On October 1, 1949 the great People's Republic of China was founded. Under Chairman Mao's direct leadership, Comrade Chou En-lai had made immortal contributions to the great struggle to seize political power by armed force and create socialist New China.

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After the founding of New China, Premier Chou fought dauntlessly and selflessly for the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat, for socialism and for communism to the last hours of his life. Under the leadership of Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee, he shouldered the heavy task of directing the day-to-day affairs of the Party and the state. And he continued to pay attention to the fighting and training, revolutionization and modernization of our army, and gave important directives in this regard.

The U.S. imperialists unleashed their war of aggression against Korea on June 25, 1950 and spread the flames of war to the banks of the Yalu River. At this critical juncture, with the great mettle of a proletarian revolutionary, Chairman Mao issued the call: "Resist U.S. aggression and aid Korea, protect our homes and defend the motherland." Premier Chou firmly supported the decision of Chairman Mao and the Party

\*These were the three greatest campaigns of decisive significance in the Chinese People's War of Liberation. In the campaigns, which lasted four months and 19 days from September 12, 1948 to January 31, 1949, 144 divisions (brigades) of Chiang Kai-shek's regular troops and 29 divisions of his irregular troops, totalling more than 1,540,000 men, were wiped out. The campaigns virtually annihilated the crack troops on which the Kuomintang relied for waging the counter-revolutionary civil war and greatly speeded victory in the War of Liberation throughout the country.

Central Committee and undertook the heavy work of organizing the Chinese People's Volunteers and dispatching them to Korea. He gave explicit instructions and made specific arrangements about everything, from the composition of the Volunteers, the allocation of cadres, armaments and logistic supplies, to ways of putting Chairman Mao's military thinking and tactical principles into practice. On the basis of Chairman Mao's military concepts, he pointed out on September 20 that the War to Resist U.S. Aggression and Aid Korea must be "a protracted war fought through self-reliance" and that, in both campaigns and battles, it would be necessary to concentrate men and fire-power of an overwhelming superiority to encircle and wipe out enemy troops of inferior numbers cut up by our own forces, so as to "whittle down the enemy gradually in the interest of protracted warfare." His correct views were fully endorsed by Chairman Mao.

Throughout the war, acting on Chairman Mao's plans, Premier Chou organized and directed the operations of the Chinese People's Volunteers while at the same time leading the work of economic rehabilitation and construction at home. He went to the command headquarters of the Volunteers to attend meetings, listen to reports and help analyse the situation. He was therefore able to provide a reliable basis for Chairman Mao to formulate his strategic and operational guidelines, and subsequently deployed the troops at the front for action on the basis of the Chairman's instructions. Premier Chou took a personal part in the organization and direction of communications, transport and logistic support. Overcoming a host of difficulties, he saw to a steady supply of manpower and material to the Korean battlefield. New China had only just come into being and had hardly recovered from the wounds of war. With the low industrial-agricultural level left over from Old China, she had to start from scratch in a thousand and one undertakings. In these circumstances, how hard Premier Chou must have worked himself to implement Chairman Mao's strategic plans for winning the war!

Premier Chou firmly carried out Chairman Mao's policies and principles in our army's victorious struggle to defend the territorial land, waters and air of the motherland. He assisted Chairman Mao in directing the people's army to smash the armed intrusions by imperialism, revisionism and reaction and thus demonstrate the might of our army and our nation. This added a new chapter to our army's glorious history.

After the founding of the People's Republic, Premier Chou paid constant attention to the building of our army just as he had done in the war years, so as to ensure our triumphant advance along Chairman Mao's proletarian military line. Concerned about the army's political-ideological building, he taught us in a series of important instructions to educate

our troops in Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, pointing out that the people's army "can achieve its growth only by relying on Mao Tsetung Thought." He often reminded us of the need to strengthen the unity between officers and men, between the army and the government and between the army and the people, and to support the government and love the people. He personally wrote an inscription encouraging the whole army to "learn from Comrade Lei Feng's\* clear-cut class stand on what to hate and what to love, his revolutionary spirit of fitting his actions to his words, his communist style of working selflessly for the public interest, and his proletarian fighting will that defies personal danger." During the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, Comrade Chou En-lai showed great care for the army's tasks of "three supports and two militaries,\*\*" often spending whole nights receiving the personnel engaged in these tasks and giving them many important instructions. He waged unremitting struggles against the Lin Biao anti-Party clique and the "gang of four" which worked against the PLA and tried to throw it into chaos, usurp leadership in it and thus demolish this "Great Wall" protecting the country. Premier Chou resolutely defended Chairman Mao's military thinking and military line, adhered to the correct orientation for the modernization of our national defence, and paid meticulous attention to our army's preparations against war, including its fighting capabilities, training and logistic support, to the building of the navy, the air force and the various arms of the PLA and of its institutes and academies, to the improvement of armaments and the development of sophisticated weapons, and to the growth of the people's militia. He worked day and night to prepare us against surprise attacks by the enemy, for the security of the country and for the sacred cause of liberating Taiwan and reunifying our motherland. Premier Chou was Chairman Mao's capable right-hand man in commanding the whole army in the struggle to defeat the enemies at home and abroad. As a

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\*Comrade Lei Feng was a member of the Chinese Communist Party and a squad leader in the Shenyang Units of the Chinese People's Liberation Army, who died at his post on August 15, 1962 at the age of 22. His life was that of a great communist fighter who persevered in combating and preventing revisionism under the dictatorship of the proletariat and served the people everywhere and all the time. In 1963 Chairman Mao issued the call to the people of the whole country: "Learn from Comrade Lei Feng."

\*\*On the instructions of Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee, the People's Liberation Army took up the tasks of supporting industry, supporting agriculture and supporting the masses of the left, and of exercising military control and conducting political and military training during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

great proletarian statesman and military strategist who firmly implemented Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, he won the sincere love and respect of the commanders and fighters of the whole army, and of the several hundred million people of the country.

## Premier Chou Creatively Carried Out Chairman Mao's Revolutionary Line in Foreign Affairs

Premier Chou was loyal to the Party and the people, loyal to Chairman Mao and his proletarian revolutionary line. Always taking a forthright stand, he fought selflessly, bravely, and consistently over the decades for the victory of the liberation of the Chinese people and of communism — a cause to which he had devoted all his energies throughout his life and rendered immortal services. In the international class struggle, he creatively carried out and staunchly defended Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in foreign affairs, making indelible contributions to the struggle against imperialism, social-imperialism and modern revisionism and for the international cause of communism.

### I

Premier Chou began to take up diplomatic work as early as in the period of the new-democratic revolution. After the victory of the War of Resistance Against Japan, the U.S. imperialists, under the pretext of mediation, helped and encouraged Chiang Kai-shek to launch a full-scale civil war. Shouldering the heavy responsibilities entrusted to him by Chairman Mao and the Central Committee, Premier Chou worked fearlessly under the White terror, waging a sharp, complex, tit-for-tat struggle against the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys, the Kuomintang reactionaries. Time and again he frustrated their schemes and succeeded in exposing the enemy, uniting with friends and arousing the masses. By fulfilling his glorious mission successfully, he had given powerful support to the people's war of liberation.

After the founding of New China, Premier Chou, following Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and policies in foreign affairs, consistently

upheld proletarian internationalism and strengthened China's unity with the proletariat and the oppressed people and nations of the whole world and with all countries subjected to aggression, subversion, interference, control and bullying by imperialists, forming the broadest united front against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, particularly against the hegemonism of the two superpowers, the Soviet Union and the United States. Basing himself on Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and Chairman Mao's scientific thesis on the three worlds, he took part in formulating major foreign policy decisions and advanced a series of specific principles and policies in diplomatic work. Throughout the long years of his international activities, he always acted on Chairman Mao's teachings about bearing the people in mind and placing hopes in them.

In surveying the course of struggle the Chinese people have traversed in fighting the imperialists, revisionists and all other reactionaries, and supporting the revolutionary cause of the world's people, we find that every victorious battle shines with Premier Chou's wisdom and talents. When we look back at how the unity between our Party and other Marxist-Leninist fraternal Parties has been strengthened, how China's relations with other countries developed, and particularly how the friendship between the Chinese people and other peoples of the world has been enhanced, we can also see that each major step forward bears the hallmarks of the Premier's painstaking efforts. In China's various foreign activities, ranging from receiving foreign guests and paying visits abroad, through participating in diplomatic talks and international conferences, to handling political and military relations and carrying out economic and cultural exchanges, Premier Chou's role as a proletarian statesman and diplomat was outstanding.

In diplomatic work, as in all his other revolutionary activities, Premier Chou always studied hard in order to reach a good understanding of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. He worked diligently and selflessly, defying fatigue, hardship and danger. He dared to struggle and was good at waging struggles. In dealing with the enemy, he was alert and brave, calm and resolute, always taking a firm and clear-cut stand. He was warm-hearted, outspoken and modest towards friends whom he treated as equals. His noble revolutionary spirit, his superb diplomatic talents, his rich experience of struggle, his extensive and profound knowledge, and his extraordinary energy — all these won him the love, respect and admiration of the people the world over.

Premier Chou accumulated invaluable experience in the work of foreign affairs for our Party and the country. He trained a revolutionary diplomatic contingent. He created and developed a proletarian style of diplo-

macy for New China. Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in foreign affairs has achieved brilliant successes. The international prestige of our country is higher than ever before and we have friends all over the world. All these are inseparable from Premier Chou whose immense contributions over the decades in the diplomatic field will remain immortal.

## II

Chairman Mao taught us: **"The people who have triumphed in their own revolution should help those still struggling for liberation. This is our internationalist duty."**

Soon after the founding of New China, the U.S. imperialists unleashed a war of aggression against Korea and occupied Taiwan Province, an integral part of China's territory. They acted in the manner of an overlord riding his high horse. At this crucial historical moment, Chairman Mao, with the soaring, bold vision of a great proletarian revolutionary leader, overcame obstacles and opposition from within and outside the Party and the country and resolutely decided to send the Chinese People's Volunteers to fight shoulder to shoulder with the fraternal Korean people in order to **resist U.S. aggression and aid Korea, protect our homes and defend our motherland** and fulfil the Chinese people's bounden internationalist duty. Premier Chou firmly sided with Chairman Mao and went all out to carry out this great decision. He urgently summoned the Indian Ambassador to China late one night and, through the Indian Government, solemnly warned the U.S. Government that New China "cannot supinely tolerate U.S. aggression." He displayed the Chinese people's heroic spirit of defying brute force. Throughout the Korean War, he gave top priority to matters related to the movement to resist U.S. aggression and aid Korea, be they military affairs or negotiations, and handled them personally. Fighting heroically, the Korean and Chinese people defeated the U.S. aggressors and brought U.S. imperialism down from its pedestal, thereby greatly encouraging the militant revolutionary will of the people around the world. At the 1954 Geneva Conference after the armistice in Korea, Premier Chou waged a face-to-face struggle against the warmonger Dulles and won the extensive support of the participating countries, which left the U.S. imperialists very isolated. For more than two decades, and even when he became seriously ill, he paid great attention to building the militant friendship and revolutionary unity cemented in blood between the two Parties, two countries and the two peoples of China and Korea and energetically supported the Korean people in their struggle for the independent and

peaceful reunification of their fatherland and in their socialist construction.

The Chinese people have profound fraternal sentiments for the people of Viet Nam, Kampuchea and Laos; we and they have always helped and supported each other over the long period of revolutionary struggle. Chairman Mao repeatedly pointed out that the Chinese people stood resolutely together with the people of the three Indochinese countries and gave them all-out support in winning complete victory in their war against U.S. aggression and for national salvation. In view of the fact that the U.S. imperialists were expanding the war of aggression in Indochina, Premier Chou pointed out in an interview given to a Pakistani correspondent in April 1966: The Chinese mean what they say. If any country in Asia, Africa or elsewhere meets with aggression by the imperialists, the Chinese Government and people will definitely give it support and help. China is prepared. Should the United States, in consequence, impose a war on her, China will unhesitatingly rise in resistance and fight to the end. Once in China, the United States will not be able to pull out. Once war breaks out, it will have no boundaries. These forceful remarks expressed the determination of the Chinese Government and people not to spare the greatest national sacrifice to support the revolutionary struggle of the Indochinese people. This is China's consistent stand in firmly opposing all imperialist aggression. In his well-known Statement of May 20, 1970, Chairman Mao resolutely supported the revolutionary struggle of the people of Kampuchea and the rest of the world. Premier Chou took the liberation cause of the people of the three Indochinese countries as the Chinese people's own cause. He stated repeatedly that in the joint struggle against U.S. imperialism, the Chinese people would always unite with, fight and win victories together with the people of these three countries. Taking their cause as his own, he thought of everything in his efforts to give powerful support to their just struggles, and in the course of doing so tried every means to surmount a host of difficulties and bring every factor into full play. In the tense days of wanton bombing, mining and blockade by the U.S. imperialists, he personally ordered China's ships and vehicles to get Chinese aid into the hands of the Vietnamese, Kampuchean and Lao people, whatever loss or sacrifice this might entail.

The struggles of the Palestinian and other Arab people against the two superpowers, the Soviet Union and the United States, and against Israeli Zionism constitute an important part of the struggle of the people all over the world against imperialism and hegemonism. Chairman Mao told Arab friends: **"We will always support you."** Premier Chou repeatedly explained to Arab friends the importance of unity against

the enemy and encouraged them to set great store by armed struggle and to persevere in it to the end. For many years, the Chinese Government has consistently supported the Palestinian and other Arab people in their just struggles to restore their national rights and recover their lost territories and given them aid to its utmost capacity. Adhering to principle, it has no contact or relations with the Israeli aggressors.

Premier Chou did an enormous amount of work to promote the cause of unity of the Asian, African and Latin American countries against imperialism and support their revolutionary struggles, making outstanding contributions in these respects.

In accordance with Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and policies in foreign affairs, Premier Chou initiated in 1954 the famous Five Principles (mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence) to guide relations among countries. These principles have since had a profound influence around the world.

In 1955, Premier Chou went to Bandung for the First Asian-African Conference, although he was still recovering from an operation and there was a grave threat to his safety just after U.S.-Chiang secret agents had engineered the blowing up of the airliner *Kashmir Princess*.\* The conference was of great historic significance. It reflected the common aspirations and demand for unity against imperialism of the Asian and African people who constitute more than half the world population. The imperialists at first tried to prevent the conference from being held. Then, after their attempt failed, they tried to prevent the conference from reaching any agreement by doing their utmost to widen the differences among the Asian and African countries and, in particular, to foment discord between China and other Asian and African countries. Premier Chou decided to deal promptly with this situation and made a speech rebutting the imperialists' slanders against New China. He proposed that the Asian and African countries adopt the principle of "seeking common ground while reserving differences" and appealed for the strengthening of unity and the waging of common struggle against the

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\*On April 11, 1955 the *Kashmir Princess*, an Air India International passenger plane chartered by the Chinese delegation to the Asian-African Conference, exploded in mid-air and crashed into the sea on its flight from Hongkong to Indonesia. Staff members of the Chinese and Vietnamese delegations as well as Chinese and foreign press correspondents on board - 11 in all - were killed. Three of the Indian crew narrowly escaped death. This incident was created by U.S.-Chiang secret agents who planned to assassinate the members of the delegation headed by Premier Chou so as to sabotage the conference.

enemy, thus foiling the plots of the imperialists and paving the way for the success of the conference. His largeness of mind and wise far-sightedness won warm praise from the participants. As a result of the common efforts of the participating countries, the conference was a great success. The "Bandung spirit" born at the conference has shown tremendous vitality to this day.

From the Bandung Conference on, the struggles of the Asian, African and Latin American people against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism and to win and defend national independence surged forward. The face of Asia, Africa and Latin America underwent profound changes. In this situation, Premier Chou, accompanied by Vice-Premier Chen Yi, paid a friendly visit in late 1963 and early 1964 to 14 countries in Asia, Africa and Europe — Egypt, Algeria, Morocco, Albania, Tunisia, Guinea, Mali, Ghana, the Sudan, Ethiopia, Somalia, Burma, Pakistan and Sri Lanka. This 72-day visit which covered 54,000 km. was unprecedented in the history of China's foreign relations. It is particularly worth mentioning that there was an attempt on President Kwame Nkrumah's life on the eve of the Ghana visit. Should the visit proceed as planned? Premier Chou said firmly that the greater people's difficulties are, the more we need to go and give them support. For the sake of President Nkrumah's safety, the Premier, not constrained by protocol, proposed that all activities in which President Nkrumah would take part should be held in the presidential residence and he need not go to the airport for the welcome and the send-off.

During his tour abroad, Premier Chou put forward the eight principles guiding China's aid to other countries in line with Chairman Mao's consistent teachings. The spirit of equality and mutual benefit between countries runs through these principles which stress the need to respect the sovereignty of the recipient countries, attach no conditions and ask for no privileges. The aid, it is also stressed, should be aimed at helping these countries embark step by step on the road of self-reliance and independent economic development. These principles embody socialist New China's sincere desire for economic co-operation with the countries of Asia and Africa, and have created a good precedent for a new type of international economic relations which the non-aligned countries and the third world countries want to set up. This is in striking contrast to the plunder and control of other countries by the imperialists and social-imperialists under the signboard of "aid." The 14-country tour helped enhance the friendly relations between China and those countries and promote the unity of the entire third world against imperialism. This has won people's praise ever since.

Premier Chou always investigated personally the questions on bilateral relations between China and her neighbouring countries, and complex boundary questions in particular. He collected first-hand material on the historical development and status quo of the borders concerned. In accordance with Chairman Mao's policy of friendship and good-neighbourliness, he put forward the principle of consultation on an equal footing, mutual understanding and mutual accommodation, and successfully settled the boundary questions with most of our neighbours. This set a good example of handling relations between countries on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. To arrive at a reasonable solution to the Sino-Indian boundary question as well, he revisited New Delhi in 1960 to find common ground and points of proximity between both sides, thus demonstrating the greatest sincerity on China's part. In 1962, China was forced to counterattack in the Sino-Indian border areas in self-defence against the mass intrusion of Indian troops into China. Chairman Mao, looking far ahead and valuing the friendship between the peoples of China and India, decided that the Chinese frontier guards should withdraw from the recovered Chinese territory to the Chinese side of the line of actual control, release all Indian prisoners of war and return all captured weapons. In the course of this struggle, Premier Chou resolutely implemented Chairman Mao's instructions. He sent letters to the government leaders of various countries on the Sino-Indian boundary question and patiently explained the question in detail to friends from many countries, so that they could understand the truth of the matter and appreciate China's consistent, reasonable stand for settling border disputes through negotiations.

### III

Chairman Mao always taught us that it was imperative to unite with all forces that can be united with to form the broadest united front and isolate the enemy as far as possible.

Though the second world countries oppress and exploit those of the third world, they themselves are subjected to oppression, exploitation, control and threats by the two superpowers. Acting on Chairman Mao's strategic ideas, Premier Chou vigorously supported the countries and the people of the second world in their struggle to safeguard their national independence and cement their unity against hegemonism and did an enormous amount of work to establish and expand relations between China and those countries on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence.

Strategically, Europe is the key point of contention between the superpowers for world hegemony. Soviet policy is "making a feint to the east while attacking in the west." To establish its world hegemony, the Soviet Union naturally wants to seize Western Europe. The latter thus faces a grave threat. In meeting guests from Western Europe, Premier Chou repeatedly referred to where their interests or peril lay. He supported West European countries in their efforts to attain strength through unity, to unite against hegemonism and guard against a repetition of the Munich tragedy. The people and far-sighted public figures of Western Europe are now coming to see the aggressive and expansionist features of the Soviet social-imperialists more and more clearly.

Japan is a close neighbour of China. Chairman Mao said: "Japan is a great nation." "The Japanese people have a bright future." Of the guests from various countries visiting China every year since the founding of New China, Japanese friends of all strata are the most numerous. They have played an important role in enhancing friendship between China and Japan and promoting normalization of relations between the two countries. Following Chairman Mao's ideas, Premier Chou consistently attached importance to work regarding Japan. He met a large number of guests from Japan and had conversations with them on many occasions late into the night. He supported the Japanese people in their just struggle to defend their national independence, oppose hegemonism and recover the four northern islands. He pointed out the need to guard against the danger of a revival of militarism in Japan, and at the same time held that Japan should possess the necessary armed forces for self-defence. He advanced the resounding call: "The Chinese and Japanese peoples should live in friendship from generation to generation." As the situation changed, he put forward on many occasions the principles and methods for dealing with relations between the two countries. This ensured the continuous development of friendly contacts between the peoples of China and Japan in the political, economic and cultural fields. In particular, he advanced in 1971 the three principles for normalization of Sino-Japanese relations: The Government of the People's Republic of China is the sole legal government of China; Taiwan is an inalienable part of the territory of the People's Republic of China; and the "Japan-Taiwan treaty" is illegal and invalid and should be abrogated. These principles won popular support in Japan. When Japanese Prime Minister Kakuei Tanaka visited China in 1972, Premier Chou had talks with him. Thus, relations between the two countries were normalized on the basis of the above-mentioned three principles. At Premier Chou's proposal, the Chinese and Japanese sides unanimously agreed to include in their joint statement the article on opposing he-



gemonism; namely, that neither of the two countries should seek hegemony in the Asia-Pacific region and each country is opposed to efforts by any other country or group of countries to establish such hegemony. This conforms with the fundamental interests of the Chinese and Japanese peoples.

#### IV

The two superpowers are the world's biggest international oppressors and exploiters today. The danger of a new world war comes from them, and mainly from Soviet social-imperialism. Acting on Chairman Mao's consistent teachings, Premier Chou resolutely opposed the imperialist and social-imperialist policies of war and aggression, firmly supported the world's revolutionary people in their struggle against imperialism and hegemonism and steadfastly safeguarded China's sovereignty and territorial integrity.

The U.S. imperialists have forcibly occupied Taiwan Province, part of China's sacred territory, and in the past two decades or so, China has waged tit-for-tat struggles against U.S. imperialism on this question, in the movement to resist U.S. aggression and aid Korea, the shelling of Quemoy and Matsu, the indictment of U.S. imperialism at the U.N. Security Council by the Chinese special representative in 1950 and in the Sino-U.S. ambassadorial talks which began on August 1, 1955. On different occasions and in different ways, Premier Chou made strong denunciations of U.S. imperialist aggression and firmly opposed any plot to create "two Chinas," "one China, one Taiwan," and "one China, two governments." He emphasized: The Chinese people are determined to liberate Taiwan, and this is China's internal affair which brooks no foreign interference. Even when he was seriously ill, Premier Chou still bore in mind the great cause of reunifying our motherland.

The Chinese Government stands firm and unshakeable on the principle that the liberation of Taiwan is China's own internal affair. But as far as the disputes between China and the United States resulting from the forcible U.S. occupation of Taiwan are concerned, the Chinese Government has always stood for a settlement through negotiations without resorting to force. During the Bandung Conference, Premier Chou solemnly declared: "The Chinese people are friendly to the American people. The Chinese people do not want to have a war with the United States of America. The Chinese Government is willing to sit down and enter into negotiations with the United States Government."

It was the Premier's initiative that led to the subsequent Sino-U.S. ambassadorial talks.

As early as the 1940s, Chairman Mao taught us: **"We must draw a distinction, firstly, between the people of the United States and their government and, secondly, within the U.S. government between the policy-makers and their subordinates."** In his interview with the American writer Edgar Snow in December 1970, Chairman Mao spoke about **"placing great hopes in the American people."** In the meantime, he indicated that Americans from left, centre and right could come to China and President Nixon might come too if he wished. The following year Chairman Mao personally decided to let a U.S. table-tennis team visit China. Chairman Mao's important statement and wise decision not only promoted Sino-U.S. relations but brought about a profound change in the entire international situation. Premier Chou devoted great efforts to implementing this important strategic policy decision by Chairman Mao. In receiving the U.S. table-tennis team, he said significantly: **"Your current visit to China on invitation has opened the door for friendly contacts between the Chinese and American peoples."**

In the new international situation, the U.S. Government sent Dr. Kissinger to Peking in 1971 and an agreement was reached on President Nixon's visit to China. During that visit in 1972, Premier Chou and President Nixon issued a joint communique. In this special international document, the Chinese side first of all clearly expounded China's consistent principled stand and, at the same time, set forth common points with the other side in the prevailing international situation. This communique constituted a basis for furthering Sino-U.S. relations. In his report at the First Session of the Fourth National People's Congress, Premier Chou pointed out: **"The relations between the two countries will continue to improve so long as the principles of the Sino-American Shanghai Communique are carried out in earnest."**

Premier Chou was a great fighter against revisionism as well as imperialism. The Khrushchov renegade clique obdurately pushed a counter-revolutionary revisionist line after usurping the leadership in the Soviet Union. With the heroic spirit of a proletarian revolutionary, Chairman Mao launched a great struggle in the international communist movement to criticize modern revisionism with the Soviet revisionist renegade clique at the centre. He pointed out that **"the masses of the Soviet people and of Party members and cadres are good, that they desire revolution and that revisionist rule will not last long."** In this great struggle to defend the purity of Marxism-Leninism which affected the destiny of the revolutionary people the world over, Premier Chou took part in every single battle.

At the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in 1956, Khrushchov wilfully attacked Stalin and vilified the dictatorship of the proletariat, thus creating confusion in the international communist movement. This was followed immediately by events in Poland and Hungary. Premier Chou went to Moscow where he criticized the Soviet revisionists to their faces for their great-power chauvinism and gross interference in Polish internal affairs, while panic-stricken by the counter-revolutionary events in Hungary. Defying every danger and hardship, Premier Chou visited Poland and Hungary, giving tremendous encouragement and support to the revolutionary people of both countries who were faced with immense difficulties.

At the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in 1961, Khrushchov openly opposed and attacked the Albanian Party of Labour which persisted in combating revisionism. In this way he created an extremely evil precedent in the international communist movement. Displaying the revolutionary spirit of a great Marxist, Premier Chou stepped forward and condemned the Soviet revisionist leading clique. Then, in great indignation, he left Moscow for home ahead of schedule. He was greeted by Chairman Mao himself at Peking Airport. For many years, Premier Chou attached great importance to, and worked hard to strengthen, the revolutionary friendship and militant unity between the two Parties, two countries and two peoples of China and Albania. He energetically supported and assisted the fraternal Albanian people in their struggle against imperialism and revisionism and their cause of socialist construction.

After Khrushchov's downfall in 1964, Premier Chou went to Moscow to take part in the celebrations of the 47th anniversary of the Great October Revolution. The new Soviet revisionist leaders clung to Khrushchovism without Khrushchov and maliciously attacked Chairman Mao. Premier Chou struck back in defence of Chairman Mao and his revolutionary line by refuting their calumnies on the spot. When Premier Chou returned to the Chinese capital, he was again greeted by Chairman Mao at Peking Airport.

The Brezhnev renegade clique slid farther and farther down the path of betraying Marxism. In 1968, their troops invaded Czechoslovakia and they threatened the independence and sovereignty of other East European countries. At a reception given by the Romanian Ambassador to China on the day after the Soviet invasion, Premier Chou severely condemned the Kremlin's aggression and expansion, and for the first time declared that the Soviet Union had degenerated into social-imperialism and social-fascism. His statement dealt a heavy blow to Soviet

expansionist ambitions and greatly enhanced understanding by the world's revolutionary people of the nature of Soviet revisionism.

In March 1969 when the Soviet revisionist renegade clique deliberately provoked the conflict on our Chenpao Island, our heroic frontier guards rose in counterattack and repulsed the new tsars' invading troops. In September that year, talks between the Premiers of China and the Soviet Union were held at Peking Airport. During the talks Premier Chou reiterated Chairman Mao's policy, saying that the polemics on principle between China and the Soviet Union would continue for a long time but such polemics should not hamper the development of normal relations between the two countries on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. Premier Chou proposed that the two sides should first of all sign an interim agreement on maintaining the status quo on the border, averting armed conflicts and disengaging both sides' armed forces in the disputed areas along the Sino-Soviet border. They should then work towards an overall settlement of the boundary question through negotiations. Premier Chou's proposal was most fair and reasonable and so the two sides were able to reach an understanding on this. In the last few years, the Chinese side has consistently conducted the negotiations in conformity with the understanding reached between the Premiers of the two countries whereas the Soviet side has refused to keep its promises, clinging all the while to its social-imperialist stand.

## V

Chairman Mao taught us: **"In our international relations, we Chinese people should get rid of great-power chauvinism resolutely, thoroughly, wholly and completely."** He also taught us: **"Dig tunnels deep, store grain everywhere, and never seek hegemony."** Premier Chou set a shining example for us in this respect in both his words and deeds. He pointed out: "The history of both China and other countries of the world has proved that the policy of great-power chauvinism is doomed to fail in the end. China is a big country and we must therefore pay special attention to guarding against the mistake of great-power chauvinism. Not only should our generation do so, our future generations should also be educated to do the same so that they will never make such a mistake."

Premier Chou gave equal treatment to visitors from various countries, large and small. He repeatedly stressed that the people of all countries have their own strong points, should learn from each other and sympa-

thize with and support each other in their common struggle. Whenever he met foreign guests, Premier Chou always listened modestly to their opinions; when he gave an account of China's experience, he always stressed that what he said was only for their reference and must be viewed in the light of the actual conditions in their own countries. He never imposed his views on others. Moreover, he asked the visitors not only to see China's good points but also its shortcomings. He always admonished Chinese personnel abroad to abide by the laws and decrees of the countries concerned and respect their customs and habits; if any violation was discovered, he would severely criticize it and correct it in good time; he would ask our diplomatic officials abroad to admit any such mistake to the leaders of the country concerned and sometimes Premier Chou would himself apologize.

The Premier told foreign guests on many occasions that if one day China should turn revisionist and become a superpower, if she too should act the tyrant in the world, the people of the world should expose it, oppose it and work together with the Chinese people to overthrow it. Premier Chou's thoroughgoing proletarian revolutionary spirit has been deeply engraved in the hearts of the people.

## VI

Our diplomatic contingent has been brought up under the guidance of Chairman Mao's teachings and his proletarian revolutionary line, and under Premier Chou's loving care and meticulous training. The overwhelming majority of our comrades in the diplomatic contingent began to take up foreign affairs work only after the founding of New China and it can be said that it was Premier Chou himself who taught them how to handle matters ranging from ideological and organizational building to style and methods of work, and from political line and policies to concrete vocational work.

Premier Chou taught us diplomatic personnel that we should work hard at studying Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and adhere to the three basic principles: **"Practise Marxism, and not revisionism; unite, and don't split; be open and aboveboard, and don't intrigue and conspire."** He told us we should be disseminators of Mao Tsetung Thought and propaganda teams of the Chinese revolution. From the founding of the People's Republic, Premier Chou demanded that we diplomatic personnel take a firm stand, correctly carry out the Party's policies, perfect our professional skill, and strictly observe discipline. He was always strict with himself, pledging that he would "learn, work

and remould himself all his life," and that he would keep on fighting as long as he lived. He often encouraged us to live that way. He continued working when he was ill. He even met many foreign guests in hospital, and his meeting with the Tunisian Prime Minister took place when he could not rise from his sickbed. Premier Chou instructed us that in our contacts with foreigners we should remain modest, prudent and free from arrogance and rashness, treat others as equals and neither humble ourselves nor show disrespect. He exhorted us to be highly conscientious and meticulous in our work, and to strive constantly to improve it.

He urged us to foster a proletarian diplomatic style and reject the vulgar bourgeois style. He required us to carry forward the fine tradition of hard work and plain living, and to oppose extravagance, waste and ostentation. Premier Chou set us a good example by taking the lead in putting into practice all that he required of us.

He set strict demands on diplomatic personnel both politically and vocationally and, at the same time, always encouraged us to work boldly and put forward our opinions courageously; even if mistakes were made, it would be all right provided they were corrected. He was strict in analysing himself, and courageous in taking responsibility and making self-criticism. Premier Chou attached great importance to the application of the principle of the three-in-one combination of the old, middle-aged and young and to training young people and women as diplomatic personnel.

In the heart-stirring days of the momentous Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, Premier Chou had many meetings with us and spent countless sleepless nights leading us in closely following Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and opposing the counter-revolutionary revisionist line of Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and the Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao anti-Party clique. On September 9, 1966, Chairman Mao instructed us that diplomatic cadres should **"start revolutionization, otherwise it will be very dangerous."** Time and again, Premier Chou urged us to conscientiously implement this extremely important instruction of Chairman Mao's.

Premier Chou taught us that we should be diplomatic fighters of the great Mao Tsetung era who keep the interests of our country and those of the people of the world at heart, fear neither difficulty nor sacrifice, dare to make revolution and dare to struggle and dedicate our whole lives to the world revolution. Even when he was critically ill, he sang with full confidence: *"Let each stand in his place! The Internationale shall be the human race."* Premier Chou's great internationalist and communist spirit will inspire us to advance forever.

In China's diplomatic work since liberation, Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in foreign affairs has held the dominant position at all times, but not without interference and sabotage. On the diplomatic front as on the other fronts, Premier Chou faithfully carried out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and waged resolute struggles against the erroneous lines inside the Party.

The essence of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in foreign affairs lies in its fight against imperialism, revisionism and reaction and its support for the people of various countries in their revolutionary struggles. The arch renegade Liu Shao-chi pushed a capitulationist line of being amicable to imperialism, revisionism and reaction and giving little support, in fact no support at all, to the revolutionary struggle of the people of various countries. Premier Chou resolutely resisted Liu Shao-chi's counter-revolutionary revisionist line and defended Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in foreign affairs.

The traitor Lin Piao plotted to usurp Party and state power, betray the motherland and surrender to revisionism and restore capitalism. Flaunting the signboard of revolution during the Great Cultural Revolution, Lin Piao, who hit out in all directions and thus made enemies everywhere in foreign affairs, interfered with and disrupted Chairman Mao's strategic plan and created incidents involving the attacking, smashing and burning of foreign missions in China, which had been unprecedented since the founding of New China. This impaired China's prestige and her normal relations with some countries. Premier Chou waged a resolute struggle against Lin Piao's ultra-Rightist line. He led the diplomatic personnel in repudiating the crimes of Lin Piao and his followers and in liquidating their evil influence.

The Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao anti-Party "gang of four," Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao were all jackals from the same lair. The "gang of four" used every conceivable means to meddle in foreign affairs work in a bid to seize the diplomatic power of the central leading organs so as to realize their ambition to usurp supreme Party and state leadership. In diplomatic activities, they put themselves above Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee and attacked Premier Chou. They tried to push Comrade Hua Kuo-feng aside, put themselves into the limelight and created counter-revolutionary opinion internationally. They worshipped foreign things, fawned upon foreigners, maintained illicit foreign relations, practised national betrayal and capitulationism, and sold out important classified information of the Party and the state. They prevented certain articles criticizing Soviet revisionism from being published. They ob-

structed our country from developing relations with other countries and disrupted her normal foreign economic and cultural exchanges. They looked down upon the third world and flagrantly practised great-power chauvinism. Following Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in foreign affairs, Premier Chou persisted in opposing imperialism, revisionism and hegemonism, and in supporting world revolution. He waged a tit-for-tat struggle against the "gang of four." He firmly opposed Chiang Ching's unauthorized issuing of statements to foreigners and divulging classified Party and state information. He severely criticized the "gang of four" for engaging in metaphysics and great-power chauvinism in relations with foreign countries. He stood for normal cultural and friendly relations with other countries, and was firm in his opinion that, while taking independence and self-reliance as the basic principles, trade with foreign countries should be carried on on an equal footing and to the benefit of both sides, mutually supplying each other's needs.

The "gang of four" practised revisionism, created splits and intrigued and conspired in an attempt to usurp supreme Party and state leadership. Chairman Mao had long perceived their manoeuvres and waged a persistent struggle against them. Closely following Chairman Mao, Premier Chou fought them all the time. Even when he was seriously ill, he talked more than once about the struggle against the "gang of four" with comrades visiting him in the hospital. The "gang of four" had a deep-seated hatred for Premier Chou and used the most underhand means to trump up charges against him. They tried to overthrow the Premier simply because he sincerely loved and respected Chairman Mao and steadfastly implemented and defended Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line as well as his revolutionary line in foreign affairs.

Premier Chou was a genuine revolutionary; the "gang of four" are simply a group of counter-revolutionaries — downright capitulationists and traitors. Now, after the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua has struck them down at one blow and has thus eliminated the obstacles to our advance, Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and his revolutionary line in foreign affairs will certainly shine still more brilliantly.

Our esteemed and beloved Premier Chou En-lai will live forever in the hearts of the Chinese people and the people of the whole world.

## Brilliant Achievement, Outstanding Contribution

### — Reminiscences of Premier Chou at the First Asian-African Conference

The First Asian-African Conference was held by 29 Asian and African countries at Bandung in Indonesia, from April 18 to 24, 1955. It was the first international conference convened by these countries themselves which had longed to take their destiny into their own hands, and the first conference without the participation of any colonialist country. Premier Chou En-lai, as leader of the Chinese delegation, resolutely carried out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in foreign affairs: he advocated unity in the anti-imperialist struggle and upheld the principles of seeking common ground while reserving differences and reaching consensus through consultations. He devoted his whole energy to making a success of the conference and superbly accomplished the noble mission entrusted to him by the Party and people.

### *Defying Danger and Difficulties*

The convocation of the Bandung Conference marked significant changes in Asia and Africa. More and more countries had thrown off or were throwing off the colonialist yoke, and the tide against imperialism and colonialism was steadily rising. The imperialists dreaded this conference and considered it a thorn in their flesh. They were particularly afraid of the attendance of Premier Chou, leader of the delegation of the People's Republic of China. From the very outset they used various intrigues to obstruct and sabotage it, even resorting to assassination by employing U.S.-Chiang secret agents in an attempt to prevent the Chinese delegation from coming to the conference.

On April 11, 1955 the passenger plane *Kashmir Princess*, chartered from Air India International by the Chinese delegation, was blown up while it was flying from Hongkong to Indonesia by a time-bomb planted by U.S.-Chiang secret agents. Eleven people, including staff members of the delegations of China and the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and Chinese and foreign correspondents, were killed. This horrible accident was an act of premeditated murder by the imperialists, whose target was Premier Chou. Fortunately, the Premier had changed his route: he had gone to Rangoon to meet the Burmese, Indian and Egyptian Prime Ministers there. So the imperialists' plot failed.

However, U.S.-Chiang agents kept up their activities in Indonesia throughout the conference. One of Chiang's terrorist organizations plotted disturbances and assassinations. But Premier Chou, disregarding personal safety, frequently went out to take part in various functions and made many contacts with the leaders of the participating countries.

Premier Chou had had an operation before leaving for the conference, and was not yet fully recovered. Nevertheless, he worked day and night, sleeping only two or three hours each night — a total of little more than 10 hours for the seven days of the conference — to ensure the successful progress of the conference. When he was overtired he lay down for a while, then got up to continue his work. Sometimes he was so busy that he had no time for meals.

### *Clearing Obstacles, Seeking Common Ground While Reserving Differences*

The conference opened with great ceremony on April 18. Many delegates expressed the common desire for unity, friendship and opposition to imperialism and colonialism. Having failed to prevent the convocation of the conference, the imperialists tried to sow discord among the delegates by exploiting the differences in their social systems and ideologies and certain mutual misunderstandings resulting from long colonial rule. They hoped that their schemes would stir up endless debates leading to the break-up of the conference. The United States sent a 70-man group of "journalists" to Bandung to spread rumours and exaggerate the differences among the participants. From the start there were two tendencies and two lines within the conference. Some people brought up the questions of "the menace of communism," "subversive activities," freedom of religious belief and so on, actually with China as their target. For a time tension rose at the conference.

Seeing through the imperialists' intrigues, Premier Chou placed confidence in the common desire of the Asian and African people for unity in the anti-imperialist struggle. He remained calm and resolute. Acting on the principles laid down by Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee, he united the great majority of the delegates, repulsed the imperialists' interference and mediated a solution to the differences between some countries, so ensuring the smooth opening of the conference.

China's turn to address the meeting came on April 19. Basing himself on the developments at the conference, the Premier decided on the spot to distribute his main speech in mimeographed form and prepared a supplementary speech refuting imperialist slanders against the new China. When the morning session ended, he stayed in the conference hall and used the short recess to draft his supplementary speech. Page by page as he wrote, it was translated into foreign languages. In the afternoon he addressed the meeting. Premier Chou pointed out: "The Chinese delegation has come here to seek unity and not to quarrel. We Communists do not hide the fact that we believe in communism and consider the socialist system a good system. There is no need at this conference to publicize one's ideology and the political system of one's country, although differences do exist among us." "The Chinese delegation has come here to seek common ground, not to create divergence," the Premier continued. "Is there any basis for seeking common ground among us? Yes, there is. The overwhelming majority of the Asian and African countries and peoples have in modern history suffered and are still suffering from the calamities of colonialism. This is acknowledged by all of us. If we seek common ground in doing away with the sufferings and calamities under colonialism, it will be easy for us to have mutual understanding and respect, mutual sympathy and support, instead of mutual suspicion and fear, mutual exclusion and antagonism."

Premier Chou replied with irrefutable facts and forceful, convincing arguments to the allegations that there was no religious freedom in China and that China engaged in "subversive activities." He extended an invitation to all the delegates to visit China, particularly China's southeastern coastal and border regions, to see things for themselves. He said, "We take cognizance of the fact that there are doubts in the minds of those who do not yet know the truth. . . . We have no bamboo curtain, but some people are spreading a smoke-screen between us." In conclusion, he made an earnest appeal: "Let us, the Asian and African countries, be united and do our utmost to make the Asian-African Conference a success."

Premier Chou's address was well received by all the delegates. The Prime Minister of Burma commented, "Premier Chou's address is a good

reply to those who attack China." Even a delegate who had attacked China had to admit that the address was outstanding and conciliatory and showed a democratic spirit. The principle of "seeking common ground while reserving differences" was finally accepted by the whole conference, laying the foundation for its success and promoting the unity of the Asian and African countries. Premier Chou's address left such a deep impression that 20 years later a foreign minister who had attended the conference reiterated his admiration for it.

### *The Five Principles and the Bandung Spirit*

One of the important items on the agenda of the Bandung Conference was to discuss and formulate common principles for establishing friendly co-operation between the Asian and African countries. Some countries proposed taking the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence as the criteria guiding mutual relations. Premier Chou had first sponsored these principles in 1954; mutual respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty, non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence. And they had been reaffirmed later in the same year in the joint statements of the Prime Ministers of China and India and the Prime Ministers of China and Burma. However, as the participating countries differed in their situation, there was insufficient understanding between them. In particular, some countries, at the instigation of the imperialists, opposed the adoption of the Five Principles for various reasons, including disagreement with the wording and the number of five.

To achieve unanimity, Premier Chou, acting on the principle of seeking common ground while reserving differences, engaged in patient consultations with other delegates on an equal footing and did a great amount of work in explaining his reasons. First of all, he affirmed the necessity of formulating certain principles which should be observed in common and should be mutually binding so that the Asian and African countries would be united in the anti-imperialist struggle. Having stated the Chinese delegation's principled stand towards some countries' objections to the adoption of the Five Principles, the Premier said, "The wording of the Five Principles can be revised, and the number of principles may be increased or reduced; for what we seek is to identify our common aspirations." Collating all the positive factors in the proposals and speeches made by different delegations, Premier Chou presented China's proposal. After repeated consultations, the Ten Principles of the Bandung Conference were adopted. They incorporated all the contents of the Five

Principles of Peaceful Coexistence and were an extension and development of them.

The Asian-African Conference was a significant success. The document it adopted expressed the common desire of the Asian and African countries for unity and co-operation in opposing imperialism and colonialism and winning and safeguarding national independence. It served to promote the development of friendly relations and co-operation between these countries and became their powerful weapon in combating imperialism and hegemonism. The rapid development of national independence movements in Asia and Africa and the unprecedented awakening and growth of the third world in the last two decades have proved the vitality of the Bandung spirit produced by the conference.

### *Better Understanding Through Wide Contacts*

During the conference Premier Chou En-lai took the initiative to establish contacts with the delegates of all other countries, whether they were large or small and whether they had diplomatic relations with China or not. This helped other countries understand China better and laid the foundation for the subsequent establishment of diplomatic relations between some of these countries and China and the further development of friendly relations between China and other nations of Asia and Africa.

During the conference, many participating countries expressed concern about the situation in the Far East, and in the Taiwan area in particular; some were not very clear about China's stand on the Taiwan question. Taking the principle of seeking common ground while reserving differences as his starting point, Premier Chou patiently explained China's principled stand on this question but did not ask for discussion at the conference. Outside the conference he took every opportunity to talk separately with the leaders of many delegations and conferred with those of Burma, Sri Lanka, India, Indonesia, Pakistan, the Philippines and Thailand on this question at a special meeting. He presented the two aspects of the Taiwan question: Taiwan is China's territory. It is China's internal affair when and in what way the Chinese people will liberate Taiwan — an internal affair which brooks no foreign interference. On the other hand, the tension in the Far East, and in the Taiwan area in particular, is caused by the United States' occupation of this Chinese territory, and this constitutes an international issue between China and the United States. The Chinese Government was willing to enter into negotiations with the United States to settle this question, but this should in no way prejudice the Chinese people's exercise of their own sovereignty — their just demand and

action to liberate Taiwan. After the meeting Premier Chou issued a statement in the name of the Chinese delegation: "The Chinese people are friendly to the American people. The Chinese people do not want to have a war with the United States of America. The Chinese Government is willing to sit down and enter into negotiations with the United States Government."

Premier Chou's speech and statement showed his firm position and unequivocal stand and yet, at the same time, were reasonable and convincing. They were well received and supported by the other Asian and African countries, and by world opinion. It was this groundwork that paved the way for the subsequent Sino-U.S. ambassadorial talks.

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In the short period of seven days at the conference Premier Chou's far-sightedness and largeness of mind, his modesty, warmth, equal treatment to all and reasonableness left indelible impressions on all the participants, winning their respect and admiration and making many friends for the new China. One of the delegates praised the Premier, "You have won every fight in which you have taken part, or let yourself take part." "We have established a close relationship with you although we have differences on a number of questions and even some important ones."

Consistently and resolutely carrying out and defending Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in foreign affairs, Premier Chou skilfully applied Chairman Mao's strategy and tactics to practical questions. His outstanding contribution to the Bandung Conference was a good example of this and has remained an excellent education for us to this day. The Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao "gang of four" viciously attacked and slandered Premier Chou, but they were completely unable to negate his great achievements for the Chinese people and the people of the world.



## Comrade Chou En-lai in Tientsin During His Youth

With boundless esteem and our eyes brimming with tears, we visited the exhibition sponsored by the Tientsin Museum of History in memory of Comrade Chou En-lai, a close comrade-in-arms of Chairman Mao, great proletarian revolutionary of the Chinese people and outstanding Communist fighter. The exhibition, a reconstruction of Comrade Chou En-lai's life-long struggle for the Communist cause, was highly educational.

### *In Quest of Truth for Saving the Nation and the People*

In September 1913, the young Comrade Chou En-lai took the entrance examinations for the Nankai Middle School.

At this time, following the failure of the 1911 Revolution, the reins of government had fallen into the hands of the Northern warlord and usurper Yuan Shih-kai. While the imperialist powers were intensifying their aggression against China, feudal warlords, backed respectively by the imperialist powers, maintained separatist rule throughout the country. China was threatened with total subjugation, the Chinese people were in deep waters. Where was China's road to salvation to be found in those dark days?

Progressive people tried to find that road for China. In the first issue of the journal *Ching Yeh* (*Study*) which was on display in the exhibition hall, we saw a chronological record of events written by Comrade Chou En-lai. In February 1914, he and three fellow-students formed a study group to "discuss controversial issues of the time and carry out extracurricular study on various subjects" in search of truth. On March 4, 7 and 10, they invited two dozen fellow-students to a classroom and, after full discussion, decided to organize a society under the name of Ching

Yeh Le Chun Hui (Study and Friendship Society). Comrade Chou En-lai enjoyed high prestige among his schoolmates because of his progressive outlook and his excellent character and scholarship. Everybody was drawn to him. At that time, there were more than 200 students who put in their requests to join the society. They unanimously chose Comrade Chou En-lai to work on the society's charter and elected him one of its leaders. We can see from all this that Comrade Chou En-lai, though only 16, had already begun to take the lead in finding a way out for his country and his people.

At noon on March 14, a meeting was held in the school auditorium under a banner which was inscribed "Inaugural Meeting of Ching Yeh Le Chun Hui." Several hundred people were there to mark its founding day. The celebrations included a performance of the new play *Bell Before Dawn* which spread patriotic propaganda and exposed the rottenness of society. China's daybreak did not come until several decades later, yet the play had already sounded the bell for battle!

Let's look at the "Introductory Note" to the first issue of *Ching Yeh* edited by Comrade Chou En-lai:

"We have entered the 20th century, a competitive era in which China is as weak as it can be. With foreign aggressors pressing hard and the fate of the nation hanging in balance how can we stand idly by, doing nothing to save the country? The rise or fall of the nation is the concern of every citizen."

With these lofty aspirations, Comrade Chou En-lai began his high-school life. When we looked carefully through the many issues of the journal *Ching Yeh* and the weekly *The Nankai School Spirit* of which Comrade Chou En-lai was the chief editor from 1915 to 1916, we could visualize the young revolutionary working hard and applying himself to his studies. Active, warm-hearted and receptive of new ideas, his noble purpose in life is shown in the exuberant vigour of his work. The many commentaries and news reports he wrote for these two publications covered a wide range of subjects from politics, economics, culture, customs and important domestic and international events to ball games. His articles enriched the knowledge of the students and awakened them to their responsibilities. We could see that in his early school years, he was not only studious and well-read, but was already in the habit of leading a vigorous life, studying, working and fighting tirelessly as he did throughout his lifetime. His school records were excellent. He won recognition in several school competitions in mathematics and prose-writing. Outside class hours, he attended all sorts of social activities. As a leading member of the students' union of the school and chairman of Ching Yeh Le Chun Hui, he gave leadership to various students' activ-

ities. He led the academic department in pursuit of knowledge and the classics department in fighting against trends for the revival of outmoded ideologies. As deputy chairman of the debating club, he organized and made public speeches; as propaganda director, he collected and wrote news reports. He was involved in the amateur dramatic troupe and played roles himself. When people passed by the Western Dormitory late in the evening, they would usually see the light on in Room 35 where Comrade Chou En-lai was still bent over the desk, studying, contemplating. . . .

Comrade Chou En-lai valued practice and set great store by the masses. He carried out all kinds of propaganda work to popularize new ideas and ways of saving the nation as he saw them, mobilizing the masses to rise and put China back on her feet.

From 1915 to 1917, Comrade Chou En-lai helped rehearse about a dozen modern dramas and played roles in them himself to expose the evils of the semi-colonial and semi-feudal society and inspire the people with the light of the future. These performances promoted the development of modern drama in China and exerted a great influence on the public.

Comrade Chou En-lai often delivered speeches at public meetings. On June 6, 1915, at a big gathering for raising funds in support of national salvation, he put forward the slogan "Patriots will never eke out a living on foreign loans" to counter imperialist economic aggression and the warlord-comprador class' selling out of the country.

Among the exhibits were three articles written by Comrade Chou En-lai in 1916, where he cogently argued against Confucianism and denounced it as a "fallacy." History serves as a forceful refutation of the attacks made by the "gang of four," especially Chiang Ching, that Premier Chou En-lai was "the biggest Confucianist within the Party."

On June 26, 1917, Comrade Chou En-lai graduated from the Nankai Middle School. At that time, "Chinese progressives went through untold hardships in their quest for truth from the Western countries." "For quite a long time, those who had acquired the new learning felt confident that it would save China. . . ." "The Japanese had been successful in learning from the West, and the Chinese also wished to learn from the Japanese." In October of that year, Comrade Chou En-lai, in pursuit of such ideals, sailed to Japan.

### *During the May 4th Movement*

The outbreak of the May 4th Movement in 1919 came like a clap of thunder. It shook the vast expanse of China out of its centuries-long slumber

and aroused hundreds of millions of people who were oppressed, humiliated and enslaved. They mounted a revolutionary storm against imperialism and feudalism throughout the country.

It was the time when the cherry-blossom was in full bloom in Japan. Comrade Chou En-lai, who was studying there, was too bestirred to remain abroad. He returned to Tientsin by boat and pitched himself right away into the struggles raging in the city.

"Comrade Chou En-lai is back!" Young people, happy to see him again, passed the word from one to another. From that time on, Comrade Chou En-lai took an active part in the fight against imperialism and feudalism in Tientsin, giving leadership to the movement which marked a new stage in China's democratic revolution.

In those stormy days, the May 4th Movement was in full swing in Tientsin as it was in Peking and other parts of the country. In an attempt to extinguish the flames of revolution in Tientsin, the reactionary warlord government called out large numbers of troops and police forces to suppress the masses, beat and arrest the students, and ordered strikers to resume work and re-open shops and stalls.

The Tientsin Students' Union at the head of the student movement was in urgent need of a newspaper to create public opinion, do propaganda work, guide and organize the struggle. They regarded Comrade Chou En-lai as the very man for the post of editor. One day, representatives of the Union called on Comrade Chou En-lai to ask him to head the editorial board of the T.S.U. organ. He gladly agreed. The reason why he had come back, he said, was precisely to take part in the struggle for national salvation; since he was wanted on the editorial board, he would throw himself into the work together with them all.

On July 21, *The Tientsin Students' Union Bulletin*, the militant organ of the T.S.U. was published. It first appeared as a regular, four-page daily which was later changed to a six-page paper put out every three days. Its highest daily circulation reached over 20,000. Apart from Tientsin, it was also distributed in Peking, Shanghai and many other parts of the country. It enjoyed a high prestige among the masses of the people.

Today, 58 years later, when we saw *The Tientsin Students' Union Bulletin*, we were still affected by its expressive language and patriotic appeal.

Comrade Chou En-lai worked day and night to make a good job of running the newspaper. As he was always in the thick of battles during the day, he usually wrote articles and did the editing at night. Sometimes, he went himself to the printing house to do the proof-reading. When Comrade Chou En-lai was intent on his work, oblivious of himself, spies and policemen would skulk around. His safety was seriously threatened.

But Comrade Chou En-lai, defying all danger, fought side by side with the masses for the righteous cause.

At the risk of being harried by the reactionary soldiers and police, he took to the streets and delivered speeches urging boycott of Japanese goods. . . .

He took part in demonstrations, fearlessly confronting the bayonets of the suppressors. . . .

On August 23, 25 student representatives from Peking and Tientsin went to the seat of Hsu Shih-chang's\* government in Peking with their second petition demanding the punishment of Ma Liang, the martial law commander of Shantung Province who had murdered the masses' leaders. The petitioners were all arrested at the Hsin Hua Men gate. Wu Ping-hsiang, chief of the Peking police force, spread the word that he would put to death all the arrested student representatives as a warning to others. Some members of the T.S.U. were aroused. But, cool and unruffled, Comrade Chou En-lai said that this was exactly the time to continue strengthening the patriotic movement and go ahead with their plan, and that it would not help to become alarmed. His firm, calm words flew home and everybody took heart. Comrade Chou En-lai continued that though they were imprisoned, the representatives would be all right if they could hold out. But it was the duty of the T.S.U. to come to their rescue. Consequently, the union sent a delegation to Peking to push their rescue while Comrade Chou En-lai set about putting out an extra number of the *Bulletin*, hawking it in the streets, "Extra! Extra! Fellow countrymen! Tientsin and Peking student representatives on petition have been arrested! All rise in protest! Rescue the representatives!" The news soon spread all over Tientsin. It aroused a storm of indignation among the people who bitterly denounced the traitorous government.

As soon as the delegation of several hundred people from Tientsin arrived in Peking, they were blockaded in Changan Boulevard between Hsin Hua Men and Tien An Men for three days and nights, together with three thousand Peking students, by armed reactionary soldiers and police. At last the leaders of the Tientsin delegation were also arrested. At this critical juncture, Comrade Chou En-lai headed a large body of protestors to Peking to fight the reactionary government. On August 30, under the mighty pressure of the masses, the reactionary authorities released all the arrested student representatives.

During the summer, the struggle became more tense with every passing day. The reactionary authorities, regarding *The Tientsin Students' Union*

\*A politician in the service of the Northern warlord clique. He was elected President in 1918 by the parliament controlled by Tuan Chi-jui.

*Bulletin* as a thorn in their flesh, had all along refused to grant it license and repeatedly threatened to close it down. In spite of all this, Comrade Chou En-lai went ahead with its publication. Yang Yi-teh, the commissioner of police in Tientsin, sent agents to warn the press against printing the newspaper. Comrade Chou En-lai staved off the enemy with great skill, shifting the printing from one shop to another. On September 22, the authorities cracked down on *The Tientsin Students' Union Bulletin* and forced it to close. But revolutionary public opinion could not be stifled. Fifteen days later, on October 7, after persistent efforts, the *Bulletin* resumed publication. Like a knife, it plunged into the enemy's heart; like a firebrand, it kindled the raging flames of the patriotic people's struggle.

### *Awakening and the Awakening Society*

On the afternoon of September 2, a train from Peking was hurtling towards Tientsin. . . .

Although the representatives who had gone with their petition to Peking had regained their freedom, the struggle was becoming crueller and more complicated each day. What was their next move to be?

Inside the coach, Comrade Chou En-lai and seven other young people were discussing the future course of the struggle. As the reactionary government was ruthless and savage, the struggle against it was going to be long and complicated. So they would have to strengthen the unity among the students, both men and women. A young woman suggested a merger of the Tientsin Women's Patriotic Association and the T.S.U. for concerted action. Comrade Chou En-lai supported the idea and further proposed to form the key leaders of the two student organizations into a closely knit and more effective nucleus to lead the struggle. These proposals won unanimous approval. And so the Awakening Society, famous for its role in the May 4th Movement, came into being in Tientsin.

On the afternoon of September 16, two dozen young people, men and women, including Chou En-lai and Teng Ying-chao, held their first meeting in the T.S.U. office at Tsaochangyan. At the meeting, they defined the aims and tasks of the society, as well as its organization and membership qualifications. It was also decided that a vernacular propaganda publication should be launched. At Comrade Chou En-lai's suggestion, it was published under the title of *Awakening* and the organization took the name of the "Awakening Society."

The founding of the Awakening Society marked a new stage in the youth movement of Tientsin. The society was to become the core of leadership and played a vanguard role in later struggles.

On display in the exhibition hall was the first issue of *Awakening* which carried a Proclamation written by Comrade Chou En-lai. It declared:

“... Militarism, the bourgeoisie, party tyrants, bureaucrats, inequality of men and women, outdated thinking, old virtue and ethics... all anachronisms for progress in modern times should be eradicated or reformed.

“We, united as one, are determined to take the road of Awakening and, at the same time we hope that all people will also take it and exert themselves in struggle!”

The introduction of Marxism into China exerted a profound influence on the members of the Awakening Society. They often invited progressive university professors to come to the society to make academic reports. In addition to frequent group discussions and study of new ideological trends throughout the world, meetings were often held to analyse the current situation, and the tactics and tasks in the fight against imperialism and feudalism. All this held great prospects for the Awakening Society.

On October 1, Comrade Chou En-lai joined a delegation of people from seven provinces as the chief representative of the Awakening Society and went for the fourth time to the Presidential Palace in Peking to present a petition in connection with the situation in Shantung Province. They sharply rebuked the officials of the Northern warlord government and held them at bay in front of Hsin Hua Men for a whole day. But later, the reactionary soldiers and policemen resorted to arms and arrested 32 of the representatives.

Comrade Chou En-lai and the Peking Students' Union made a joint decision to hold simultaneous demonstrations in Peking and Tientsin on a still larger scale. On the morning of October 10, a multitude of people from various walks of life in Tientsin assembled on the campus of the Nankai Middle School to protest against imperialist aggression and the bloody suppression of the people by the warlord government. The crowd was about to set out for their street demonstration when the campus was surrounded by several cordons of policemen and “peace preservation” corps. Undaunted, Comrade Teng Ying-chao gave the order: “Charge!” The soldiers and policemen laid about them with rifle butts, but the girl students managed to break through the encirclement and, with the crowd following behind in streaming columns, fought their way to Chintang Bridge to lay siege to the police bureau. A photograph which recorded the episode was on display at the exhibition. It showed us how the masses became awakened in the fierce storm of class struggle.

### *Struggle in the Jail*

Also on display were two books written by Comrade Chou En-lai, *Detention by the Police* and *Days at the Criminal Court*, telling of his unyielding struggle behind bars.

At two o'clock in the afternoon of January 29, 1920, Comrade Chou En-lai led over 1,000 demonstrators to the neighbourhood of Chinkang Bridge to lay siege on the office of the governor of Hopei Province. They demanded that the Association of Various Circles in Tientsin and the T.S.U. which had been closed on January 23 be officially recognized, and that the 24 representatives arrested on the following day be released. Taking fright at the strength of the people's just struggle, Tsao Jui, the governor, had the gate of his office building bolted against the masses and dared not come out to meet them. Regardless of their own safety, Comrade Chou En-lai and three other representatives broke in to argue out the issue. They were arrested too.

The enemy were cunning. They alternated threats with “soft” tactics. By refusing to give them a public hearing or release them, the enemy tried to play for time to dampen their revolutionary enthusiasm and weaken their fighting will. Comrade Chou En-lai fought back courageously and defeated the enemy's plots one after another. The exhibition displayed a rebuttal by Comrade Chou En-lai written in his own hand while he was in prison. With a wealth of hard facts and irrefutable logic, he ruthlessly exposed and struck at the enemy.

One evening, the enemy summoned the arrested representatives to attend a “lecture.” On dispersing, a secret message was slipped around among the “criminals.” Scribbled in pencil, it read: “Remonstrate with the police bureau: What's behind all this — no hearing, no release?” It was written by Comrade Chou En-lai. When police commissioner Yang Yi-teh came to make his rounds of the cells the following day, he was hounded by the captives. “The police bureau imprisons us. Well then, on what charges? Why is there no public hearing?” Unable to justify himself, he stuttered and stammered, and beat a hasty retreat. Arriving at Comrade Chou En-lai's cell, he saw that Chou was absorbed in writing his *Detention by the Police*. He stepped forward and tried to press his point. But he hardly expected that Comrade Chou En-lai had prepared for his arrival and would thrust him a twist of paper. The police commissioner, an illiterate, unrolled the paper and pretended to look over it. “All right, I'll go back to consider the matter.” As soon as he got back to his office, he called his subordinate to read it for him. It contained the same question raised by the other “criminals.” Furious, he howled, “Find the ringleader right away!”

One day, Yang Yi-teh suddenly summoned the imprisoned representatives, in small groups, to the Conference Hall. Each one was given a questionnaire prepared by the bureau's judiciary section. There were 21 questions in the paper that would have to be answered. Questions like who initiated and organized the students' union? Who was the chief editor of *The Tientsin Students' Union Bulletin*? This was a trap laid by the enemy. Comrade Chou En-lai sought the tacit understanding of the other imprisoned representatives to give the unanimous answer: "I don't know." Yang Yi-teh had no choice but to drop his plan. Then he told the judiciary section to hold a separate "interview" with Comrade Chou En-lai. After bogus compliments were paid to the students' patriotism, the question of who was the chief editor of *The Tientsin Students' Union Bulletin* was raised. Comrade Chou En-lai answered that there wasn't one. Then they asked, "Where does the T.S.U. get its funds?" He bluntly replied that they had no right to stick their noses into the union's financial affairs and that he was not obliged to give them an answer.

Early in April, Comrade Chou En-lai and his fellow-prisoners staged a hunger strike to demand that greater freedom be granted and that they be given a public hearing without further delay. The news soon spread throughout the city. The authorities panicked, fearing that it might give rise to general "unrest." So they tried to inveigle the hunger strikers into submission so as to put a stop to their struggle. But it was all to no avail. Just at this point, 24 people including Comrade Teng Ying-chao, who were not imprisoned, found Yang Yi-teh and demanded, "Lock us up, quick! We've come to take the place of our representatives!" Yang frowned. "What! That would never do. You go back first. I'll pass your message directly to the governor." In the end, the authorities were forced to relax their control on the captives and allow them a little fresh air and to visit each other. Meanwhile, Comrade Chou En-lai organized his fellow-prisoners and taught them to study. They held classes on Marx's biography, historical materialism, the history of class struggle, the theory of surplus value from the Marxist economic theories and Marx's *Capital* as well as discussions on politics, academic studies and social problems. . . . All this was recorded in Comrade Chou En-lai's book *Days at the Criminal Court*.

Faced with the firm struggle by the imprisoned representatives, and the support they had from people throughout the country, the authorities were forced to set all of them free on July 17, 1920. Comrade Chou En-lai stepped out on a new stage of his onward march.

### "I Will Stick to My Conviction."

In November 1920, Comrade Chou En-lai and some of the other comrades of the Awakening Society left for France and Germany on a work-study programme.

Comrade Chou En-lai consistently carried out Marxist propaganda among the Chinese students and workers living in Europe. The Tientsin Museum of History has an English copy of the book entitled *The Life and Teaching of Karl Marx* which Comrade Chou En-lai had borrowed from one of his fellow-students in Tientsin. When he returned to China he gave it back to its owner. Comrade Chou En-lai had heavily underlined the following paragraph by Marx:

**"As far as I am concerned, I can't claim to have discovered the existence of classes in modern society or their strife against one another. . . . I have added as a new contribution the following propositions: (1) that the existence of classes is bound up with certain phases of material production; (2) that the class struggle leads necessarily to the Dictatorship of the Proletariat; (3) that this Dictatorship is but the transition to the abolition of all classes and to the creation of a society of [the] free and equal."**

While he was in Europe, he frequently wrote to members of the Awakening Society in Tientsin to spread Marxism. At Comrade Teng Ying-chao's suggestion, the members decided to open a regular column under the title "*Awakening Letter Box*" in the newspaper *The Tientsin New People's Will*, where extracts of the correspondences between the society members were published. The original issues of this paper were on display at the exhibition. In a letter from Comrade Chou En-lai entitled "The 'Reds' of Western Europe," he wrote:

"We have practically agreed on the '-ism' to be followed. Here we will reiterate in all seriousness: We should believe in the principles of communism and the principle of class revolution and proletarian dictatorship!"

In another letter he wrote:

"I will stick to my conviction, and propagate and work for it with great determination."

Comrade Chou En-lai's pledge in his youthful years was fulfilled in practice throughout his lifetime. He was faithful to Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and to the Party and the people. He loved and respected the great leader Chairman Mao with all his heart. He selflessly worked with his whole being to carry out Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, and fought with courage and dedication. His meritorious service for the communist cause and the cause of the Chinese people's liberation is indelible and everlasting. He is loved and respected by the whole Party, the whole army and the people of China and the whole world.

## Reminiscences of Comrade Chou En-lai in the Nanchang Uprising

Comrade Chou En-lai personally led the world-shaking Nanchang Uprising of August 1, 1927. The Northern Expedition had been at its high tide, and the Chinese people's First Great Revolution forging ahead successfully, when in April Chiang Kai-shek and the other Kuomintang reactionaries turned traitor. Betrayed by the Right opportunist line pursued by Chen Tu-hsiu, then the General Secretary of the Chinese Communist Party, the revolution failed. Vast areas north and south of the Yangtze River were shrouded in White terror, with the Kuomintang reactionaries rounding up and slaughtering revolutionaries at will. This was a crippling blow to the revolutionary forces. To save the revolution, Comrade Mao Tsetung propagated and stressed his illustrious idea of defending the revolution by armed force. His idea prevailed and the Chinese Communist Party decided to stage an armed uprising in Nanchang and appointed Comrade Chou En-lai Secretary of the Party's Front Committee to lead the uprising.

Late in July that year Comrade Chou En-lai, with Comrades Ho Lung and Yeh Ting, led their troops (part of the Northern Expeditionary Army) from Wuhan in Hupeh Province to Nanchang in Kiangsi Province. Despite his fatigue from the march and the extremely difficult and dangerous local conditions, Comrade Chou En-lai threw himself at once into the work of preparing for the uprising. Under his leadership, the Front Committee was established in the Kiangsi Hotel on July 27. He called many important meetings there and elsewhere to discuss the plan for the uprising. On July 28 Comrade Chou En-lai went to the Headquarters of the 20th Army commanded by Ho Lung who was not yet a member of the Communist Party. He informed Ho Lung of the plan for the uprising and asked him for his opinions. Ho Lung replied in a firm voice: "Fine, I fully accept the Party's decision. I'll do whatever the Party tells me to." On behalf of the Front Commit-

tee, Comrade Chou En-lai there and then appointed Ho Lung commander-in-chief of the insurgent forces. In view of the pressing situation, the Front Committee scheduled the start of the uprising for July 30.

But while the preparations for the uprising were being made and the plan was going into action, Chang Kuo-tao, the "representative of the Party's Central Committee," arrived in Chiuchiang from Wuhan on July 29 and sent two coded messages to the Front Committee to obstruct the uprising. Then he hurried to Nanchang on the morning of July 30. At the emergency meeting called by the Front Committee he tried every means to prevent the uprising. Comrade Chou En-lai saw through his scheme and led the committee members in waging a resolute, uncompromising struggle against him. He sternly criticized Chang Kuo-tao's capitulationist line and firmly stated that the uprising must not be postponed, let alone stopped, and that our Party should exercise independent leadership over the uprising, never relying on any warlords. The comrades on the Front Committee were unanimous in support of his refutation of Chang Kuo-tao. So the Party's correct decision was upheld, and the time for the uprising set for 2 a.m., August 1. This was a great victory for the Party's correct line over the capitulationist line of Chen Tu-hsiu and Chang Kuo-tao.

Commanded by Comrades Chou En-lai, Chu Teh, Ho Lung, Yeh Ting and Liu Po-cheng, the insurgent troops began their fierce attacks on the enemy at about 2 a.m. on August 1. The violent onslaught struck fear into the hearts of the enemy. At the height of the fighting, Comrade Chou En-lai directed the battle in the school near the cathedral in Cypress Lane, one of the enemy's fortified strongholds. Nowadays, people are still moved by his bravery and his devotion to the revolution when they see the shell pits left on the cathedral wall by the insurgent forces then combating the enemy.

The Nanchang Uprising fired the first shot against the Kuomintang reactionaries and wrote the first glorious page in the history of armed struggle led by our Party on its own. Dealing a heavy blow to the arrogance of the Kuomintang reactionaries, it greatly inspired the masses of the workers and peasants and sowed the seed of continuing the revolution in the hearts of the revolutionary people. It was a fine example of the Chinese Communists and people defying brute force, advancing wave on wave to step into the breach left by the fallen, and determining to carry the revolution through to the end. In 1933 the Workers' and Peasants' Democratic Central Government, presided over by Chairman Mao, made August 1 the anniversary of the founding of the Chinese Workers' and Peasants' Red Army; the date is now marked as the anniversary of the Chinese People's Liberation Army. The historic con-

tribution made by Comrade Chou En-lai in leading the uprising will go down forever in the history of the Chinese people's revolution.

In order to realize their counter-revolutionary aim of usurping Party leadership and state power, the "gang of four" did every evil thing overtly and covertly against Premier Chou and made false accusations against him. The careerist Chiang Ching sent her people several times to Nanchang and other places, on the pretext of writing a drama about the Nanchang Uprising, but in fact to comb through material in order to falsify evidence against Premier Chou. However, the dialectics of history is relentless. Now the evil tricks of the "gang of four" have all been exposed under broad daylight and have become evidence of their counter-revolutionary activities.

After the opening of the August 1st Memorial Hall, it received many leading comrades of the Party and state. We longed for Premier Chou's visit. At last our wish was realized. On September 18, 1961 Premier Chou, accompanied by leaders of the provincial Party committee, came to visit the Memorial Hall. He wore a faded grey uniform and smiled as he walked briskly towards us. He shook hands cordially with every one of us. He toured the site of the uprising and viewed the exhibits carefully. Asked to talk about the Nanchang Uprising, Premier Chou said with a profound feeling of respect for Chairman Mao: "We should publicize the Autumn Harvest Uprising led by Chairman Mao and the revolutionary base he founded in the Chingkang Mountains after the uprising. In those days Chairman Mao was the only one who put forward the idea that revolutionary bases should be established in the countryside. Chairman Mao is wise and great. Without the struggle in the Chingkang Mountains, we would not be what we are today." His proletarian feeling for Chairman Mao was a strong inspiration for us, and his warm words were engraved in our minds forever, as a guideline for the Memorial Hall.

Before the Premier left, we had our photograph taken with him. As the picture was being set up, two young people invited him to stand in the centre of the front line. Instead, he walked to the second line and smiled: "You are successors to our cause and you should be in the front line." We did as he asked, and joyful tears welled up in our eyes. We thought: "Our beloved Premier, you have worked under the leadership of Chairman Mao, with utter devotion night and day for nearly half a century, selflessly dedicating your all to the Chinese and the world revolution. All this has won you the love and respect of the people of China and of the world, and yet you are so modest and unassuming."

On January 8, 1976 our Premier Chou En-lai died. During the days of mourning thousands upon thousands of workers, peasants and soldiers

came to visit the Memorial Hall. Bitterly weeping, they stared at his portrait and his relics displayed in the room where he had worked.

Since then we have received a large number of workers, peasants and soldiers from all parts of our country and foreign friends from all over the world. We are determined to learn from Premier Chou En-lai's noble revolutionary qualities and continue propagating and defending Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line forever.



## Premier Chou's Achievements in Settling the Sian Incident Will Go Down in History Forever

It has been 40 years since the Sian Incident. Forty years ago, Comrade Chou En-lai came to Sian, faithfully implementing Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, and made indefinable, outstanding contributions in bringing about the peaceful settlement of the incident and promoting the establishment and development of the anti-Japanese national united front.

### *Shouldering a Heavy Task for the Sake of the Country and the People*

On December 12, 1936, Chiang Kai-shek, the ring-leader of anti-communism and national betrayal, was captured while he was in Sian making preparations for the "suppression of the Communists." He was taken prisoner by two patriotic Kuomintang forces, the Northeastern Army, commanded by Chang Hsueh-liang, and the 17th Route Army (also called the Northwestern Army), commanded by Yang Hu-cheng. They were unwilling to fight Chiang's civil war for him, advocating instead resistance against Japan. This was the Sian Incident, which shocked China and the world.

The incident took place under the influence of the Red Army and the anti-Japanese mass movement in the Northeastern and Northwestern Armies who were willing to put into practice the policy of the anti-Japanese national united front advocated by Chairman Mao and who asked Chiang Kai-shek to form an alliance with the Communists to resist Japan. At that time, Chiang Kai-shek insisted on civil war, repressed the resistance

against Japan, suppressed the patriots and massacred the young people who were anti-Japanese. Patriotism was penalized while treason was rewarded; Communists and progressives were kept in jails everywhere. This excited ungovernable public indignation and made Chiang Kai-shek a universally condemned and thoroughly discredited person in the eyes of the people. When the news of his arrest spread, the people of the whole country applauded.

The situation in China suddenly became very tense after the capture of Chiang Kai-shek by Chang and Yang. The pro-Japanese group within the Kuomintang ruling clique headed by Ho Ying-chin tried to use the incident as an excuse to attack Sian in order to overthrow Chiang Kai-shek, take over his position and sell out completely to the Japanese imperialists. Total civil war was imminent, and it was a critical moment of life and death for China. Having made a correct analysis of the situation, Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee resolutely opposed a new round of civil war and stood for a peaceful settlement of the Sian Incident, holding the view that if Chiang Kai-shek agreed to stop the civil war and join efforts to resist Japan, he would be released. At the invitation of Chang and Yang, Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee sent a delegation to Sian headed by Comrade Chou En-lai, then Vice-Chairman of the Party Military Commission, and whose members included Yeh Chien-ying. Comrade Chou En-lai was then rather thin and weak because he had been ill several times during the Long March and had overtired himself with work. However, he left Paoan immediately (now Chih-tan County in Shensi Province) where the Party Central Committee headquarters was located, with Comrade Yeh Chien-ying and the others to carry out the important mission which the Party and the people had assigned him. Disregarding the heavy snow, piercing cold and the rugged, hilly roads of the North Shensi Plateau, he rushed by horse to Yen-an, covering 100 kilometres in two days. He arrived in Sian on December 16 aboard a special plane sent by Chang Hsueh-liang. He expounded the Party's principles and policies to Chang, gave a penetrating analysis of the domestic and international situation, and explained in a convincing way the various questions raised by the latter. Comrade Chou En-lai's work brought about a rapid development of the mass movement in the northeastern provinces to resist Japan and save the nation, and helped form the anti-Japanese national united front in all parts of China. This constituted an important victory for Chairman Mao's revolutionary line resolutely carried out by Comrade Chou En-lai defying difficulties and perils.

When Chang and Yang captured Chiang Kai-shek, they had no definite idea how to dispose of him. Their high-ranking officers argued with each other about the matter without reaching any conclusion. So, after arriving in Sian, Comrades Chou En-lai and Yeh Chien-ying and the others lost no time in plunging into the intense struggles. They had to make every effort to mobilize all positive factors in the struggles to resist Japan and save China. In accordance with the principles and policies formulated by Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee, they expressed full approval for the action taken by Chang and Yang. They also explained the internal and external situation to them, pointing out the various factors — the mounting indignation against Japan among the people of the whole country, the splits of the patriotic forces from within the Kuomintang and the conflicts between the Japanese attempt at the exclusive domination of China and the interests of Britain and the United States in China — that would make it possible to force Chiang Kai-shek, representing those British and American interests, to resist Japan. Convinced by Comrade Chou En-lai's incisive analysis and patient persuasion, Chang and Yang could not help expressing their approval: "It's admirable indeed when the Chinese Communists proceed from the interests of the country, not going into old feuds among the parties and groups." Then they accepted the Communist Party's proposal for the peaceful settlement of the incident and became confident that they would be able to force Chiang to resist Japan. Comrade Chou En-lai also consulted with them about how to win over people of all walks of life, and together they made the military arrangements to repulse the Kuomintang pro-Japanese group's "punitive expedition" against Sian.

The ideological confusion among Chang's and Yang's troops reflected the confusion in society as a whole. Comrade Chou, therefore, had to pay close attention to the constantly changing situation and make prompt decisions on any question when he had to, so that he could form various ideas into the single principle of resistance to Japan and national salvation. After several days' hard work his voice was hoarse and his eyes bloodshot. But despite all this, he went among the officers under Yang's command to reason things out with them when he learned that they had made a strong demand to put Chiang Kai-shek to death and had even tried to create disturbances while they argued: "It's not up to the Communist Party to handle this matter; Chiang Kai-shek is not to be released as one pleases." At that moment, many people were anxious about Comrade Chou's safety, but he said: "Don't worry about that. These officers

are acting out of patriotism as they all know Chiang Kai-shek is a bandit by nature. Such popular feelings are understandable. I can reason with them about it and get them to see the point." He went out by himself into the midst of these officers, each in full battle rig. When one of them cried out, "There will be serious consequences if we don't put Chiang Kai-shek to death." Comrade Chou replied: "That's easy. One word will do if you order the death of Chiang." There followed a silence. Then he began to lead them gradually towards more effective action and pointed out that the arrest of Chiang Kai-shek was different from either the arrest of Kerensky in the October Revolution or the capture of Napoleon at Waterloo. The arrest of Kerensky meant victory for the revolution, while the capture of Napoleon was a tragedy of military defeat. Chiang's capture, however, did not mean that he had lost the actual strength of his forces. And, under the strong pressure of the nationwide demand to resist Japan, Britain and the United States also stood for the peaceful settlement of the incident. If we proceeded from the interests of the nation, we could, and indeed, had to compel Chiang to resist Japan and establish the anti-Japanese national united front in all parts of China. Comrade Chou En-lai's patient, long-term explanation and incisive analysis seemed to help these officers to clear away the heavy fog and see the serene sky. Then the impatient officer nodded his approval: "As far as hatred is concerned, the Communist Party hates the Kuomintang most. So many Communists were killed by the Kuomintang in the 10 years of civil war, not to mention other times. It's really a huge debt in blood! Nevertheless, the Communist Party takes the interests of the nation to heart and selflessly returns good for evil. I can only express my respect and admiration for it." Saying this, he rose to his feet and gave a military salute to Comrade Chou En-lai.

While exerting himself to win over the officers in the higher ranks, Comrade Chou En-lai also talked to Chang's and Yang's junior officers to help them to resolve the doubts and fears in their minds. Someone there asked: "What if Chiang Kai-shek should break his word? And what if he should strike back in revenge?" Comrade Chou En-lai never failed to give patient explanations to their questions. He said: Don't be afraid about Chiang breaking his word. If he agrees with us today and changes his mind tomorrow, he would only be lifting a rock to drop it on his own feet or making his true nature known to the people of the whole country. And don't worry about him seeking revenge. When the Northeastern Army, the Northwestern Army and the Red Army unite as one to resist Japan and promote the establishment and development of the anti-Japanese national united front all over China, and when the

people grow in strength, Chiang Kai-shek will no longer be able to take revenge, even if he wants to.

During that period, Comrade Chou En-lai often got together with Comrade Yeh Chien-ying and the others to study the current state of affairs. He made constant efforts to do work among the people of all walks of life, attending their meetings and making reports on the current situation in order to unite all the anti-Japanese forces around the Party for a common struggle to save the nation. On one occasion he called a mass meeting in the yard of a middle school and explained the Party's principles there in a simple and explicit way. The yard was filled for his lecture, and some people had to stand on the walls or climb up in the trees. His vigorous speech, which showed wider vision and penetrating insight, was frequently punctuated by cheers. Even the patriotic members of the Kuomintang attending the meeting were deeply moved. All this helped bring about a fresh upsurge against Japan in the ancient city of Sian.

### *Sticking to Principle, Struggling Tit-for-Tat*

In the Sian Incident, the warlords, traitors, Trotskyites and other reactionaries acted like the dregs of society coming to the surface when they tried to interfere and disrupt the peaceful settlement of the incident in order to reap some profit from it. Calling themselves "leftists," the Trotskyites shouted the slogans of "fighting the way out through Tungkuang" and "killing Chiang Kai-shek," and went on the rampage, sowing dissension among the masses. Comrade Chou En-lai went once to Yang Hucheng's house and happened to see Chang Mu-tao and some other Trotskyites there. He angrily denounced these scoundrels and unmasked their renegade faces in public before they even had a chance to start a conversation. Utterly routed, the renegades had to sneak away.

At that time, Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee made all the military preparations necessary to ensure victory in the negotiations for the peaceful settlement of the Sian Incident. The Party Central Committee headquarters was moved from Paoan to Yen-an. They ordered the main force of the Red Army to march to the Weipei area (north of the Weiho River in Shensi Province) and the area around Sian to prevent Ho Ying-chin's troops from entering Shensi through Tungkuang and provoking civil war. Immediately after the 25th Corps of the Red Army arrived in Hsienyang near Sian from Kansu, Comrade Chou En-lai went there to greet them and report to them the developments of the peaceful settlement of the Sian Incident, and at the same time, instructed them to

advance towards Shangchou (present-day Shanghsien County in Shensi Province) to protect Sian and attack the Japanese invaders. Seeing the Red Army soldiers' thin uniforms, he lost no time in getting cotton-padded overcoats and having them delivered to Shangchou along with weapons and ammunition. The Red Army's action supported the Northeastern Army and the Northwestern Army and their use of military strength helped promote the success of the negotiation.

Comrade Chou En-lai waged a face-to-face struggle against Chiang Kai-shek, the most die-hard ring-leader who was bent on opposing communism and betraying the nation. This struggle, which Comrade Chou En-lai carried out on just grounds, to the people's advantage and with restraint, put Chiang, a reactionary paper tiger, in an embarrassing situation. When Chiang Kai-shek first learned of Chou En-lai's arrival in Sian, he presented a pitiful sight, almost scared to death. On the night of December 24, Comrade Chou En-lai met Chiang Kai-shek. When Chiang saw Chou En-lai, his face turned pale with fear, his head hung down uneasily. Then Comrade Chou En-lai sternly pointed out to him: You've gone against Sun Yat-sen's will, betrayed the revolution, and have been fighting a civil war for the last 10 years and thus have brought great disasters on the Chinese nation. The national crisis is now extremely serious. There will be no national survival without resistance to Japan; there will be no national salvation without unity. Insisting on civil war only means hastening national subjugation. If you keep the whole situation in mind, fight the Japanese invaders and practise political democracy as soon as possible, our Party will let you off for your past misdeeds and the two generals Chang and Yang will surely set you free; if not, then you will be branded as a traitor through the ages.

Through hard efforts and resolute struggles by Comrade Chou En-lai and his delegation, Chiang Kai-shek was forced to agree to abandon the reactionary policy of "internal pacification before resistance to foreign invasion" and accept Chang-Yang's demand to stop the civil war and unite to resist Japan. But when Chiang Kai-shek did not affix his signature to the agreement on resistance to Japan, some people were uneasy about it. Comrade Chou En-lai explained to them on this point that there should be tactics in the struggle. Chiang's signature might simply be a kind of formality. One had to know how far to go and where to stop. After he had dispelled the doubts and fears in their minds, the people all said with joy: "Now the whole country will unite to resist Japan, and that's enough to vex the Japanese and the pro-Japanese group to death." Then Comrade Chou expressed his approval: You're right. We should do whatever the Japanese imperialists and the traitors do not want us to do. We shouldn't do whatever they want us to do. Only in this

way can we run affairs well. Chiang Kai-shek was set free the next day, after he had stated his agreement to unite against Japan.

When Chiang Kai-shek was leaving Sian, Chang Hsueh-liang went to accompany him to Nanking without consulting Comrade Chou En-lai about the matter. When he heard about this, Comrade Chou hurried to the airfield to prevent Chang from going, only to find that the plane with Chiang and Chang on board had already taken off. Immediately after his arrival in Nanking, Chang Hsueh-liang was detained by the perfidious Chiang Kai-shek. This was followed by sharp conflicts in the Northeastern Army. At the instigation of the Trotskyites and the traitors, a high-ranking officer in the army who had been struggling hard for the unity against Japan was murdered, and the charges of murder were brought against the Communist Party. When Comrade Chou learned of the murder he went immediately with all the members of the Party delegation, regardless of his own safety, to the Northeastern Army, to express their sympathy and condolences to the members of the officer's family. In the meantime, they explained to the Northeastern Army that there must be a struggle to realize the unity against Japan, and that while the road of struggle was tortuous, the future was bright. As a result of the delegation's actions, our Party's solemn stand was demonstrated and the enemy's scheme exposed. Besides, the overwhelming majority of the officers and men of the Northeastern Army became united and a handful of them isolated. This served to consolidate and develop the positive achievements in the Sian Incident.

### *Loyal and Energetic in the Cause of the Revolution*

During the peaceful settlement of the Sian Incident, Comrade Chou En-lai distinguished himself as a proletarian revolutionary with a firm proletarian standpoint, revolutionary mettle, a flexible method of struggle and remarkable organizational skill. Those who came into contact with Comrade Chou En-lai found in him the embodiment of the wider vision and penetrating insight possessed by a Chinese Communist and came to know that the Chinese Communist Party was the mainstay of the Chinese people. They also saw that the Chinese Communists never failed to remain resourceful and brave, firm and steadfast in their style of revolution at a time when the situation was charged with turmoil or when there was some imminent danger. During his stay in the ancient city of Sian, people would tell each other: "Chou En-lai is in Sian!" They expressed respect for and trust in him and depicted him as a great

proletarian hero. Comrade Chou En-lai came from among the people and remained one with them at all times. He was so noble and great, yet unassuming and approachable at the same time. A journalist wrote at that time: "Mr. Chou En-lai looked thin, wearing a cotton uniform with an ordinary soldier's leather belt around his waist, his beard black and his eyes clear and bright. If he was standing silent amidst the soldiers, making no speech or argument, people would never recognize him as a great man in China." Comrade Chou En-lai often said to his comrades: We are in Sian to put the correct principles formulated by Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee into practice. So long as we stick to principles, we'll be able to steer through tempestuous storms and past the hidden dangerous reefs and successfully attain the goal of unity against Japan.

Comrade Chou En-lai spent over 60 days and nights in Sian in the peaceful settlement of the incident. What an extraordinary period that was! He went out very early every morning and came back very late. He and Comrade Yeh Chien-ying and the other members of the delegation went by separate routes to the anti-Japanese groups, the government institutions, to the army units or schools to attend their meetings and make speeches or pay personal visits. There they exposed the pro-Japanese groups' conspiracies which meant letting wolves into the house, and at the same time they propagated our Party's correct principles. At night he would listen to reports in the delegation's residence, study situations and work out counter-measures, while sending telegrams to Chairman Mao and the Central Committee to report on his work and ask for instructions. Comrade Chou En-lai, a man of outstanding ability, overcame so many difficulties and hardships facing him, successfully turning danger into safety. He lost weight at the time, but he never kept himself in mind. After the setting up of the Red Army liaison office (later renamed the Eighth Route Army office) in Sian, he moved there from the guest house provided by Chang and Yang. The room he lived in covered only nine square metres and in it there was a bed, a desk and a chair, with no space left for more than one person to move about. There he lived, ate and did morning exercises with his comrades, enjoying no special treatment different from the others. The only difference was that when other comrades took rest at night, he was still at work by lamplight.

At the liaison office, whenever he had spare time, he would call people together to study Marxism-Leninism and the directives of Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee and to discuss the situation and the tasks assigned to them, so as to guide them in doing their work well.

He also asked the responsible members of the office to organize those comrades with less schooling to study cultural subjects. When he met a comrade there, he would cordially ask him his native place, his age and his family background. He always had his comrades' daily life and safety at heart. When a comrade did not come back on time at night, he would send some people out to find him.

He showed so much concern for his comrades but gave little care to his own life. He often worked very late in the night and enjoyed only a short sleep without getting undressed. When his comrades urged him to have a good rest, he would say: "I'm here to work, not to rest." Sometimes, exhausted from over-working, he would fall asleep in his chair. Seeing that, the comrades on duty would go quietly to cover him with more clothes. But they wouldn't wake him and ask him to sleep in bed, because they knew that when he woke up he would not go to bed but turn to his work again.

Almost a constant stream of patriotic youths visited the liaison office; they asked to join the Red Army and they all received warm welcome there. One day, some Kuomintang soldiers came to the office with their rifles and they too requested to join the Red Army. When he heard about this, Comrade Chou En-lai told the office staff that they must reject these soldiers' demands, but that they should be careful not to adopt a rigid attitude towards them. Later, he told his comrades: Be on guard against the enemy's conspiracies. If we welcome those Kuomintang soldiers, the enemy will slander us by saying that we are disrupting the Kuomintang army and falsely accuse us of sabotaging the unity against Japan. He also said: Don't regard it as a trifling matter. It can affect the general situation.

Forty years have elapsed, and with the lapse of time the great historic significance of the Sian Incident and its peaceful settlement has been more clearly recognized by the people. Just as Chairman Mao pointed out: "The Kuomintang authorities were forced to abandon their policy of civil war and to acknowledge the demands of the people. The peaceful settlement of the Sian Incident became the turning point; under the new circumstances internal co-operation took shape and the nation-wide War of Resistance Against Japan began." As a result, Chairman Mao and our Party enjoyed higher prestige than ever before and won the support and trust of the people all over the country. Moreover, Chairman Mao's revolutionary line found its way ever deeper into the hearts of the people. Comrade Chou En-lai's achievements in the peaceful settlement of the Sian Incident will go down in history forever.

### *Honour the Memory of Premier Chou and Carry On His Unfinished Cause*

Premier Chou En-lai, the great proletarian revolutionary, lived and fought for many years in Shensi Province, and stayed in Sian or passed there on the way a dozen times and more, leaving lasting impressions of his tours in Shensi's mountains and rivers. After liberation, Premier Chou gave many important instructions on the work in Shensi and the reconstruction of Yen-an, keeping in mind the situation in the province as a whole, from administrative policies to people's clothing, food, shelter and means of travel there. When he arrived in Yen-an he said he had come home and that he would come again in the future to see its new look. In 1973, when the news of Premier Chou's coming to Sian spread, the entire population of the city came out, all eager to see him. The people of Yen-an will never forget Premier Chou's kindly face, his modest and sincere attitude, his unassuming manner and his high level of principle combined with flexibility shown in a great proletarian revolutionary. Premier Chou is a brilliant example for us always to follow.

## Militant Years in Chungking

During the War of Resistance Against Japan, Premier Chou En-lai battled in Chungking — the war-time seat of the Kuomintang government. This period formed a prominent part in his life of vigorous revolutionary activity. He stayed in the tiger's den in spite of personal danger to carry through the Party's policy of the anti-Japanese national united front. Courageous, tactful, calm and resolute, he displayed the magnificent spirit of a proletarian revolutionary. To those of us who worked under him during that period, our memories of him as a militant fighter are still unjaded by the passing of time. Whenever we recall those years of work in Chungking, Premier Chou's glorious image stirs us deeply, encouraging us to fight on and continue the revolution.

### I

Chairman Mao pointed out that **"the united front, armed struggle and Party building are the Chinese Communist Party's three 'magic weapons' . . . for defeating the enemy in the Chinese revolution."** Fighting in Chungking, Comrade Chou En-lai made it possible for the united front to be ever more broadly based. He set a brilliant example in carrying out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line.

The peaceful settlement of the Sian Incident compelled Chiang Kai-shek to accept the proposal to end the civil war and fight in alliance with the Chinese Communist Party against Japan. This led to the formation and growth of the anti-Japanese national united front. After the outbreak of the War of Resistance Against Japan, Chairman Mao sent Comrade Chou En-lai to the Kuomintang areas as the representative of the Party's Central Committee to undertake united front work there and also as Secretary of the Party's South China Bureau to guide the Party's underground work in the Kuomintang areas. After the fall of Wuhan, the Japanese imperialists intensified their moves to induce

the Kuomintang to capitulate, and the true nature of the Kuomintang reactionaries, who were passive in resisting Japan and active in opposing the Communist Party and the people, became more and more obvious. Reactionary orders and decrees, such as the "Measures for Dealing with the Problem of Alien Parties" and "Measures for Restricting the Activities of Alien Parties," were issued one after another. Before long, the Kuomintang reactionaries sparked off the first anti-Communist onslaught.

When the Japanese aggressors began to advance on Wuhan late in October 1938, the Kuomintang panicked and hastily retreated in defeat. Comrades Chou En-lai and Yeh Chien-ying were among the last to leave the city and reached Chungking in December via Changsha. In Chungking, the centre of the Kuomintang reactionary rule, the struggle was extremely acute and the situation extraordinarily complex. Premier Chou, who consistently and steadfastly implemented Chairman Mao's policy of maintaining independence and initiative in the united front and persisting in resistance, unity and progress, developed the progressive forces, won over the middle forces and opposed the die-hard forces. Courageously and unremittingly he waged struggles against the Kuomintang on just grounds, to our advantage and with restraint. In those days, "the Chou Residence" at Tseugchiayen, the Eighth Route Army office at Hungyen and the *New China Daily* office at Hualungchiao, all in Chungking, became centres of attention among the people in the Kuomintang areas, because it was through these places that Chairman Mao's and the Party Central Committee's voice was relayed, enabling the people to see through the dense surrounding fog that obscured the bright prospect of victory.

Comrade Chou En-lai personally took charge of the *New China Daily* to defeat the Kuomintang's blockade and distortion of news so that the mass of the people should know what the Party stood for, its principles and policies. He said, "The *New China Daily* is the Party's standard in the Kuomintang areas for persisting in resistance, unity and progress. It should play its role as the mouthpiece of the people in the 'Great Rear Area.' It should be courageous enough to speak out the truth and should be good at speaking it out." He was busy all day long, attending important Party and non-Party conferences, keeping in close contact with the people, holding talks with patriotic-democratic personages, the progressives from cultural circles, journalists and people of other walks of life, and engaging personally in foreign affairs activities. When he came back late at night, he would read the editorials and important news items that were to appear in the newspaper. He often wrote editorials or articles himself, continually exposing the dark rule

of the Kuomintang, publicizing the merits of the Eighth Route Army and the New Fourth Army in the war, and mobilizing the masses in their millions in the Kuomintang areas to rise and join in the struggle.

Comrade Chou En-lai played an active role in progressive cultural work. In the early stage of the War of Resistance, the Chinese Communist Party was invited by the Kuomintang to take part in the work of the Political Department of the Military Council. Comrade Chou En-lai joined the leading body of the department and Comrade Kuo Mo-jo was appointed director of its Third Bureau. Guided by Comrade Chou En-lai, the bureau united large numbers of progressive cultural workers, and with the active participation of leading patriots in the cultural, educational and press circles and the progressive people at large, conducted extensive patriotic and anti-Japanese cultural activities. Drama troupes and propaganda teams were organized and toured far and wide to publicize the Communist Party's stand for resisting Japanese aggression and opposing the Kuomintang's capitulationism. The Third Bureau also promoted the publication of progressive books including Marxist-Leninist theoretical works such as the *Capital* in three volumes, Lenin's *Selected Works* and some of Stalin's works, as well as Chairman Mao's *On Protracted War* and his essays on the rectification movement, including *Reform Our Study*. Many periodicals disseminating progressive ideas also saw the light in Chungking, Kweilin and Kunming. All this led to an unprecedented cultural upsurge in the Kuomintang areas.

In developing the progressive forces, Comrade Chou En-lai paid particular attention to the workers, students and women. He instructed Party cadres working in the Kuomintang areas "to make friends, learn diligently and undertake careful investigation and analysis," stressing close ties with workers, office employees and young people in general. He directed the Youth Committee of the South China Bureau, which published the journal *War-Time Youth*, that the magazine, besides dealing with political issues and organizing young people to study Marxist-Leninist theory, should also concern itself with their everyday life. With inflation mounting in the Kuomintang areas at that time, even those students who received government grants did not have enough to eat or wear, and when they fell ill they had no money to see a doctor. Life was thus extremely hard for them. *War-Time Youth* exposed the corruption prevailing among the Kuomintang educational authorities and their crimes in persecuting young people, and voiced support for the youth. Comrade Chou En-lai also paid attention to the work of the National Students' Union and the National Women's Federation, contending with the Kuomintang and the Three People's Principles Youth League to win the younger generation over to the side of the Party.

He continually sent many progressive young men and women to the anti-Japanese base areas behind enemy lines.

Comrade Chou En-lai enjoyed immense prestige among the mass of the people in the Kuomintang areas, who were eager to see him or to hear his speeches. In September 1940, the German, Italian and Japanese fascists seemed to be overwhelming on the international scene. Britain, after the debacle at Dunkirk, tried to appease Japan by closing the Burma Road. The United States held talks with Japan in both Tokyo and Washington, vainly hoping to come to terms with Japan by concluding a Far Eastern "Munich Agreement" at China's expense. With diminished financial aid from Britain and the United States, and with imports cut off, prices in China soared. The Kuomintang reactionary government, which always relied on its foreign masters, wavered more than ever before and became more nakedly anti-Communist. What would happen next in the international situation? Would China's unity in the War of Resistance be disrupted? Could China's war efforts be sustained? These questions weighed heavy on people's minds. They wanted to find out the correct answers. It was then that Comrade Chou En-lai delivered his famous speech *The International Situation and China's War of Resistance* at a public meeting sponsored by the China Vocational Education Association. News of the meeting set the whole mountain city of Chungking astir. Workers, students, servicemen, office staff and government workers, men and women from all parts of the city, began to pour into the Experimental Theatre in the downtown area. The theatre was packed to capacity long before the meeting was scheduled to begin. A last-minute change was made to move the meeting to the playground of the Pashu Primary School at Changchia Garden so that a larger audience could be accommodated. A huge crowd of several thousand people came to the meeting which, although it was held under the prying eyes of the Kuomintang soldiers and policemen, proceeded in perfect order. The audience was held spellbound. In a powerful, resounding voice, Comrade Chou En-lai made a penetrating analysis of the international situation at that time and the prospects of China's War of Resistance. He said that the war between the imperialists had become drawn-out and extended in scope. Although we must not fail to make use of every change in the international situation to the advantage of China's War of Resistance, we must cherish no illusions about any imperialist aid. The War of Resistance must be won mainly by our own effort through hard struggle. So long as we persisted in unity and fought the war to the end, victory would certainly be ours. He said: "To fight the war, all we need are men, money, food and ammunition, which are the most basic requirements.



So long as we have minimum means of subsistence, we can fight the war to the very end." He pointed out that the United States' monetary aid to China was paid for by China's export of tungsten. This money should be used for the war effort, and not for enhancing the dollar deposits of the four big families of Chiang, Soong, Kung and Chen\* in American banks. Throughout the speech, which lasted for nearly four hours, Comrade Chou En-lai was brimful of militant spirit. The brilliant ideas which Chairman Mao had expounded in his *On Prolonged War* ran through the whole speech in which he also mercilessly exposed the Kuomintang's corruption and incompetence, and its shameful ways of gaining selfish ends in the name of fighting the Japanese. His speech was infused with a sense of righteousness and national pride, and his confidence in victory. It greatly lifted the spirit of the audience, who punctuated it with rounds of thunderous applause. His speech dispelled the momentary mood of pessimism and despair among people of various strata and the democratic parties, who regained their confidence in bringing the war to a successful end. Many foreign correspondents who covered the meeting immediately sent dispatches so that strong repercussions ensued abroad as well.

Comrade Chou En-lai did much to win over the middle forces. In 1939 the Kuomintang openly adopted a reactionary policy of being passive in resisting Japan and active in opposing the Communist Party, and what few rights the anti-Japanese political parties and progressive forces had won at the beginning of the war were nullified. In answer to the Communist Party's call to the Kuomintang to practise democracy and with Comrade Chou En-lai's influence and encouragement, democratic personages in the People's Political Council like Shen Chun-ju, Tsou Tao-fen and Huang Yen-pei organized the Society of Comrades for Uniting to Build the Country as a political force and struggled against the Kuomintang reactionaries side by side with the Communist Party. Comrade Chou En-lai also worked to unite with and win over the overseas Chinese and the regional forces of southwest China. When Tan Kah-kee, a well-known patriotic overseas Chinese, returned to China, Comrade Chou En-lai suggested that he take a trip to Yen-an. He went and was received by Chairman Mao. Judging from his own experience there, he praised Yen-an as the only clean and honest spot in China. His talk created a great stir in Chungking and among the overseas Chinese. Democratic personages like Chang Lan and Hsien Ying of the southwest region put their houses at our disposal. Hsien Ying's Teyuan Garden,

\* This refers to the four big monopoly capitalist groups of Chiang Kai-shek, T.V. Soong, H.H.Kung and Chen Li-fu.

for example, became a place where Comrade Chou En-lai received people from various circles.

Comrade Chou En-lai also did a tremendous amount of work among people of the upper level of the Kuomintang and won some of them over. For example, Feng Yu-hsiang, a famous Kuomintang figure who was at loggerheads with Chiang Kai-shek, became a friend of the Communist Party. It was through such diligent work that Comrade Chou En-lai pointed out the direction of struggle for the democratic parties. By supporting the group within the Kuomintang favouring resistance against Japan, he isolated to the greatest possible extent the die-hard forces represented by Chiang Kai-shek.

## II

The Southern Anhwei Incident that occurred in January 1941 shocked the people both at home and abroad. It marked the second anti-Communist onslaught staged by the Kuomintang reactionaries. The danger of capitulation and split was greater than ever. Confronted by this reactionary counter-current, the Party Central Committee and Chairman Mao adopted a policy of "doing unto them as they do unto us," stick for stick and carrot for carrot," which was "the revolutionary dual policy." Acting on the directives of Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee, Comrade Chou En-lai led the Party organizations in the Kuomintang areas in waging a heroic struggle and counter-attack.

While over 9,000 men of our New Fourth Army were marching under orders to the north of the Yangtze River, the treacherous Kuomintang reactionaries suddenly encircled them and attacked them at Moulin in Chinghsien County, southern Anhwei Province. The commanders and fighters of the New Fourth Army fought back bitterly for seven days and nights. Greatly outnumbered, and their ammunition and food exhausted, only 1,000 of them broke away. Most of the rest fought to the last, and Comrade Yeh Ting, Commander of the New Fourth Army, was wounded and taken prisoner. Our radio on the third floor of the Eighth Route Army office in Chungking picked up the SOS message transmitted from the besieged New Fourth Army headquarters on the day the incident took place. Comrade Chou En-lai was furiously indignant. He brought up the case repeatedly with the Kuomintang and lodged strong protests. Later, our radio links with the New Fourth Army headquarters became less frequent and eventually broke off completely. On January 17, Chiang Kai-shek brazenly issued a counter-revolutionary statement slandering the New Fourth Army as "mutineers"

and ordering the cancellation of its designation. Comrade Chou En-lai was enraged. He telephoned Ho Ying-chin, Kuomintang General Chief of Staff. "What you have done," he said sharply, "can only make our friends sad and our enemies happy. You have done what the Japanese invaders wanted to, but could not do. Ho Ying-chin, you are a traitor to the Chinese nation and you will be remembered as such for generations to come." Then he angrily slammed down the telephone. Between January 4 and 17, he often stayed up all night and dealt with the incident with calm determination.

He instructed the *New China Daily* to write a full account and a commentary of the Southern Anhwei Incident to expose the atrocities of the Kuomintang reactionaries and defy Chiang Kai-shek's reactionary order. When both the story and the commentary were suppressed by the Kuomintang press censor, Comrade Chou En-lai, with anger and a heavy heart, wrote and signed two inscriptions which the paper published in facsimile on 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 lines expressed deep mourning for the commanders and fighters who had died for the country and solemnly condemned the counter-revolutionary crimes of the Kuomintang. They laid bare before the whole country and the whole world Chiang Kai-shek's plot against the Communist Party and the people and against the war effort and unity, placing the Kuomintang in an extremely disconcerted and isolated position.

Chiang Kai-shek tried to make the Communist Party's representatives to the People's Political Council attend the Council meeting so that he could create an illusion of peace and unity. On February 15, the seven Communist members put forward "twelve demands" and made their fulfilment a prerequisite for attending. After mediation by the democratic parties, Comrades Tung Pi-wu and Teng Ying-chao, who were members of the Council then in Chungking, proposed a new set of "twelve demands" for a temporary settlement, which included cessation of anti-Communist military attacks, recognition of the legal status of the various political parties and groups, reinstatement of Yeh Ting in his military post, and release of all personnel of the New Fourth Army under detention. The Kuomintang rejected the demands. The Party rightly boycotted the People's Political Council and thus exposed Chiang Kai-shek's reactionary features in faking unity but really aiming at split.

Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee countered the counter-revolutionary order of Chiang Kai-shek by appointing Comrade Chen Yi as Acting Commander of the New Fourth Army. The Eighth Route Army and the New Fourth Army dealt head-on blows at the Kuomintang troops who invaded the Liberated Areas. The mass of the people and the democratic parties all sympathized with our Party, and the Kuomintang was condemned by world public opinion. In short, as a result of our Party's waging a tit-for-tat struggle, the Kuomintang's second anti-Communist onslaught ended in defeat.

A long-tested proletarian revolutionary, Comrade Chou En-lai foresaw that although the Kuomintang did not dare to push the relations between the two parties to a total split at that time, we must make every preparation for the worst. In accordance with the policy laid down by the Party Central Committee for the Kuomintang areas: **to have well-selected cadres working underground for a long period, to accumulate strength and bide our time**, Comrade Chou En-lai transferred some of the comrades working in the South China Bureau, the Eighth Route Army office in Chungking and the *New China Daily* to Hongkong to set up a new base and strengthen the struggle against the Kuomintang. He also helped democratic personages, writers and scholars to go there. He personally took a hand in making the arrangements for the transfer and for their safe arrival. In Hongkong, these Party members and non-Party people launched the *Huashang Daily* and other progressive periodicals, and some public figures formed the Federation of Democratic Political Groups, creating another centre for democracy and progressive culture. Here, they wrote and expressed their political views, and exposed the Kuomintang's plot to start a civil war and pave the way for capitulation. They exerted great influence on world public opinion and on overseas Chinese.

After our Party and army had repulsed the second anti-Communist onslaught, Chairman Mao pointed out: "The recent struggle points to a decline in the standing of the Kuomintang and a rise in that of the Communist Party" and "the Kuomintang will never relax its policy of oppression of our Party and other progressives or its anti-Communist propaganda in the areas under its rule; therefore our Party must heighten its vigilance." He also emphatically pointed out that "the erroneous estimate that a final split between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party has either already occurred or is about to occur, together with the many incorrect views arising therefrom" must be rejected. While stressing the necessity to prepare for the worst, it was important to strive for a better possibility and turn it into a reality. Comrade Chou En-lai steadfastly followed Chairman Mao's instructions, directed the Party's

forces both in the Kuomintang areas and overseas to make the best use of every opportunity and obtained outstanding results in the struggle to turn this better possibility into a reality.

After the Southern Anhwei Incident the Kuomintang continually intensified its fascist rule and, taking advantage of the dissolution of the Third International, whipped up yet another anti-Communist upsurge. Nevertheless, our Party's united front work developed in depth, first and foremost, in the cultural and intellectual circles. With the Kuomintang employing a high-handed policy, our activities were subject to more restrictions. But under Comrade Chou En-lai's leadership, our Party adopted more flexible and varied forms. For example, we held memorial meetings for Lu Hsun and Tsou Tao-fen, where we kept in touch and united with people in the cultural field. Writers participating in the progressive literary movement in the Kuomintang areas studied Chairman Mao's writings on literature and art and carried forward the militant traditions of revolutionary literature. They produced many works which exposed the reactionary Kuomintang rule and inspired the people to fight, and were particularly active in the field of drama. Comrade Kuo Mo-jo wrote several historical plays, which were highly popular. One of these plays, *Chu Yuan*,\* by denouncing the dark rule in the State of Chu 2,000 years ago, voiced the wrath of the millions under the Kuomintang reactionary regime. Although *Chu Yuan* was a historical play and the objects of denouncement were the ancients, the accusing fingers were pointed at Chiang Kai-shek, autocrat and traitor of the people. After seeing the play, Comrade Chou En-lai wrote a review of it himself. Reading between the lines, this piece of dramatic criticism was actually a political essay, pungent and lively. It was in this way that the Kuomintang reactionaries were denounced and people expressed their indignation on and off the stage, inside and outside the theatre. With the progressive literary and art movement surging forward, more and more people came under its influence. The situation was highly favourable for exposing the dark rule of the Kuomintang and for educating the masses and inspiring them to struggle for the continuation of the War of Resistance and for democracy.

During this period, with Comrade Chou En-lai working to win them over, people of the national industrial and commercial circles\*\* also moved closer to our Party. Economic conditions were worsening day

\* Kuo Mo-jo, *Chu Yuan*, Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1953.

\*\* They belong to the national bourgeoisie -- the section of the bourgeoisie which has little or no connection with imperialism, as distinguished from that section of the bourgeoisie which is closely dependent on imperialism and is comprador in character, that is, the big bourgeoisie or bureaucrat-capitalists.

by day in the Kuomintang areas. The contradictions between the four big families — Chiang, Soong, Kung and Chen — and the national bourgeoisie also grew more and more acute. Through currency inflation and their control over purchasing and marketing, these four families intensified their plunder of the masses and tyrannized the middle and petty bourgeoisie. Comrade Chou En-lai did a great deal of work to win over the national businessmen. Once during a discussion with them, he cited the amount of foreign exchange pocketed by the four families from exporting pig bristles, tung oil and raw silk from the Kuomintang areas. As the control of foreign exchange was in the hands of the Kuomintang, the exporters were paid in "fabi," the phoney legal tender. As a result of inflation and other factors, the exporters suffered heavy losses. The truth about the plunder by the four big families was thus brought to light. The people attending the discussion were amazed. They said, "These figures are most convincing! We have been in the export and import business for so many years, and still we couldn't make head or tail of them. We never expected Mr. Chou, a political leader, to have so much expertise in the realm of economics. We are deeply impressed!" At that time, the journal of the Chungking Chamber of Commerce, the *Commercial Daily* was anti-Communist. However, by taking advantage of the contradictions between the Kuomintang and the business and industrial circles of Chungking and other cities in south-west China, we were able to use this paper as an instrument to expose Kuomintang inflation and corruption. We encouraged them to fight for a raise in the government purchasing prices of export items such as pig bristles, in the processing fees for government-controlled cotton, cotton yarn and cotton piece-goods and in the shipping rates. The *New China Daily* supported these demands by way of public opinion and forced the reactionary government to make certain concessions. Between 1944 and 1945, almost every day, there were business representatives who handed in petitions, held press conferences or presented demands. The Kuomintang was in an awkward predicament. The national bourgeoisie, who had been seething with anger all along but had never dared express it, now broke out into open struggle against the Kuomintang and gained some advantages. So they too began to come into contact with the Communist Party. Comrade Chou En-lai said, "In 1941 only people in the cultural and educational fields leaned towards us, now in 1945 the national bourgeoisie is doing the same thing." Our united front was expanding and the influence of the Party was spreading wider and wider.

In 1944, the Japanese invaders launched an all-out offensive along the Peiping-Hankow, Kwangchow-Hankow and Hengyang-Kweilin

railways. The Kuomintang armies fled in panic. When the Japanese vanguard reached Tushan in Kweichow Province, the Kuomintang government was on the verge of collapse, and the people, clearly aware of the Kuomintang's utter corruption and incompetence, pinned their hopes on the Communist Party. It was at this time that the student movement in Kunming, Yunnan Province, burst into activity and that the mass movement in Chungking also gained fresh momentum, especially after the memorial meeting for Hu Shih-ho. Hu was a worker in the Chungking Power Company who was shot dead while trying to prevent a secret agent from diverting electricity. The *New China Daily* called on the working class and people from all walks of life to rise up and express their opposition to the high-handedness of the secret police. Public opinion was aroused and a massive public funeral was held. Public pressure was such that the Kuomintang was forced to execute Hu's murderer. This victory in struggle strengthened the unity of the masses, educated the middle-of-the-roaders and dealt a telling blow to the die-hard clique. Our Party's prestige in the Kuomintang areas soared.

In short, our Party's influence continued to spread in the Kuomintang areas during the War of Resistance in spite of the three severe anti-Communist onslaughts. There the Party, in unity with the people and the democratic parties, engaged in political struggles which not only fitted in with the armed struggle in the Liberated Areas, but rallied a significant force for the decisive struggle after the victory of the anti-Japanese war. All this was the result of Comrade Chou En-lai's faithful, complete, and correct implementation of Chairman Mao's policy of the national united front in the anti-Japanese war.

The many foreign commentators were right in their impressions of Comrade Chou En-lai at that time. He was the representative sent by the Communist Party not merely to the Kuomintang areas, but to the entire outside world. The American and British ambassadors in Chungking on their own initiative paid calls on the delegation of the Chinese Communist Party. After the outbreak of the Pacific War, Westerners visited Chungking in ever greater numbers. Among them were leaders from the upper stratum of the ruling class, such as Vice-President Wallace of the United States, Wendell Wilkie, the leader of the Republican Party, and President Roosevelt's advisor to Chiang Kai-shek, Owen Lattimore. Among the visitors were also liberals sympathetic towards progressive forces, government officials, journalists, professors and professional military men. Comrade Chou En-lai had wide-ranging talks with them, including supporters of the Kuomintang, and worked hard to influence them or win them over so as to help them gain a closer knowledge of

the situation in China through understanding the realities. Many foreigners became convinced that the armed forces and the Liberated Areas under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party formed the core of China's strength in the war against Japan.

John Service, an American diplomat then stationed in Chungking, wrote in an article about Comrade Chou En-lai: "He was, of course, trying to move us toward his (and his Party's) views of China and the world — things that he believed in deeply and sincerely. But it was an effort that depended on calm reason, clear statements couched in moderate terms, a broad knowledge of history and the world, and an astonishing grasp of fact and detail. One was to be persuaded (or educated), but not overwhelmed or scorned for disagreeing."

Comrade Chou En-lai correctly represented our Party's standpoint with outstanding energy and ability and influenced and convinced many people. That was why he succeeded in rallying a great many foreign friends into an international united front against the common enemy. This contributed greatly to the isolation of the U.S.-Chiang clique after the victory of the War of Resistance and to the wealth of New China's experience in diplomatic work.

### III

On August 15, 1945, imperialist Japan announced her unconditional surrender. Final victory in the war had been won.

The people of China had experienced eight bitter years of war and longed for peace, democracy and unity throughout the nation. But Chiang Kai-shek wanted to grab the fruits of victory and continue his fascist one-party dictatorship. But he was wary of public opinion and needed time to prepare for a civil war. He resorted, therefore, to political trickery by inviting Chairman Mao to come to Chungking for peace talks. Chiang Kai-shek did not expect Chairman Mao to come to Chungking and was simply using the invitation as a smokescreen so that he could shift the blame for obstructing peace on the Chinese Communist Party.

Chairman Mao saw through this plot of Chiang's. Despite personal dangers, he flew to Chungking with Comrade Chou En-lai on August 28 to conduct negotiations with the Kuomintang. He did so in order to win peace and, in the course of negotiations, to unite and educate the masses by exposing the true intentions of U.S. imperialism and Chiang Kai-shek who were preparing to sabotage peace and provoke civil war. Chairman Mao's great decision and his revolutionary spirit stirred the

whole nation. The elated people in Chungking eagerly passed on the news of his arrival from mouth to mouth and regarded it as symbolizing the "dawn of a democratic China."

The talks lasted 43 days during which Comrade Chou En-lai worked tirelessly day and night. He followed Chairman Mao's general policy and represented our Party in the negotiations.

The Kuomintang reactionaries were not prepared for the talks. They did not have any propositions to make, and were quite at a loss what to do when confronted with the programmes for peace, democracy and national reconstruction put forward by our Party. They merely sent Wang Shih-chieh, Chang Chun and a few other representatives to hold perfunctory talks which would lead nowhere, so as to detain Chairman Mao in Chungking.

However, with a view to arriving at an agreement through negotiation and spreading our Party's influence, Chairman Mao, together with Comrade Chou En-lai, met people from all walks of life and held frequent discussions with them as well as with members of the democratic parties and groups. At these gatherings they were informed of how the negotiations were proceeding, which showed that the failure to reach an agreement was due to the Kuomintang's unwillingness to relinquish its one-party dictatorship in favour of a democratic coalition government, and its attempt to liquidate the Communist-led people's army and the Liberated Areas under the pretext of "unifying the military command and government administration." These meetings were also suitable occasions to make known our Party's genuine efforts in conducting the peace talks and to gather opinions from all circles. In this way, a great many people were won over, the people's democratic united front was broadened and the Kuomintang reactionaries were brought under the glare of public opinion. Comrade Chou En-lai held many press conferences which further mobilized progressive public opinion at home and abroad.

While the peace talks lingered on, the people and army of the Liberated Area at Shangtang, Shansi Province, repulsed an attack by Chiang Kai-shek's troops. This victory, combined with the strong nationwide opposition to civil war, the powerful popular demand for peace and democracy and the world's progressive public opinion, eventually forced Chiang Kai-shek to give up his delaying tactics in the negotiations. On October 10, 1945, the "Summary of Conversations Between the Representatives of the Kuomintang and the Communist Party," also known as the "October 10th Agreement," was signed. In this document, the Kuomintang had to feign acceptance of the basic policy of peace and national reconstruction put forward by the Communist Party, and agree

to bring their "political tutelage" to a speedy conclusion by convening a political consultative conference. The talks thus yielded results, and Chairman Mao returned to Yen-an in triumph.

While Chairman Mao was in Chungking, Comrade Chou En-lai never left his side so that he could look after the Chairman's safety. He gave personal attention to Chairman Mao's living conditions and the security measures down to the last detail, and repeatedly told us, "Every move, every action of the Chairman, every matter in his hands affects the Party's cause and the interests of the Chinese people as a whole." So he enjoined us to pay special attention to the Chairman's security. The Premier even talked to the Kuomintang gendarmes and chauffeurs on duty at the Party's Chungking headquarters to ensure Chairman Mao's safety during his stay in the city.

While Chairman Mao was in Chungking, he was deeply impressed by the masses in the Kuomintang areas for their support of the Communist Party and their warm affection for its Chairman, their firm stand for peace and democracy, and their political enthusiasm in opposing civil war and dictatorship. This was indicated in Chairman Mao's report *On the Chungking Negotiations*: "When in Chungking, I had a profound sense of the warm support given us by the broad masses of the people. They are dissatisfied with the Kuomintang government and place their hopes on us. I also met many foreigners, including Americans, who sympathize with us. The broad masses of the people in foreign countries are dissatisfied with the reactionary forces in China and sympathize with the Chinese people's forces. They also disapprove of Chiang Kai-shek's policies. We have many friends in all parts of the country and of the world; we are not isolated. Those who oppose civil war in China and stand for peace and democracy include not only the people in our Liberated Areas but also the masses in the Great Rear Area and throughout the world." This analysis shows clearly that our Party had taken hold of the hearts of the people, it is also a proper assessment of Comrade Chou En-lai's outstanding accomplishments in Chungking in carrying out the policy of the anti-Japanese national united front.

After the conclusion of the "October 10th Agreement," Comrade Chou En-lai carried on the fight against civil war and continued to press for the convocation of the Political Consultative Conference.

Both during and after the Chungking negotiations, the Kuomintang armed forces not only refused to put any restraint on attacking the Liberated Areas. In fact the attacks were intensified. The progressive mass organizations in the Kuomintang areas came to see more and more clearly, with our Party's help and influence, the true face of the reactionary clique. They rose in ever greater numbers to the struggle. People

of various circles in Chungking set up an anti-civil-war association and called on the workers, students and merchants and all taxpayers to strike, to quit study in schools, to close their shops and to refuse to pay taxes in order to voice their opposition to a civil war and prevent it. This movement spread to all the large cities controlled by the Kuomintang and won popular support. The "December 1st Massacre," when several people were killed in Kunming, heightened the public anger against Chiang Kai-shek's dictatorship, his policy of selling out the country and provoking a civil war. The mass patriotic movement reached a new high.

The Communist Party delegation headed by Comrade Chou En-lai continued to struggle and to exert pressure on the Kuomintang so that Chiang Kai-shek was forced to sign a cease-fire agreement on January 10, 1946 and convene the Political Consultative Conference.

The contention at this conference focused on the questions of armed forces and political power which had not been solved in the "October 10th Agreement." The struggle was quite complex and sharp. The Kuomintang vainly attempted to eliminate the people's armed forces through the false promise that the democratization of political life would follow the nationalization of troops. Some middle-of-the-roaders who naively thought of setting up a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie in China expressed the "hope" that "the Communist Party make some concessions on the military issues and the Kuomintang, on the political issues." Comrade Chou En-lai went straight to the heart of the matter by stating that the Kuomintang's smug calculations in putting "nationalization of the troops first and the democratization of political life next" was simply another way of saying, "You hand over the troops, then I'll give you democracy," so that it might eliminate the people's army. He pointed out that the order of the two propositions should be reversed. The Communist Party of China would never allow the people's armed forces to be integrated in the army of a nation under the Kuomintang's fascist one-party dictatorship. Without a people's armed force, there would never be a people's democracy. If the Kuomintang were to eliminate the people's army, it would swoop down on the people and eliminate the people's democracy. Therefore, Comrade Chou En-lai said, we must follow the instruction in Chairman Mao's *On Coalition Government* to solve the question of the nationalization of troops: "The moment a new-democratic coalition government comes into being in China, the Liberated Areas of China will hand their armed forces over to it. But all the Kuomintang armed forces will have to be handed over to it at the same time." Comrade Chou En-lai's words exposed the intrigues of the Kuomintang and criticized certain middle-of-the-roaders for their naivety.

During this period, Comrade Chou En-lai attended countless meetings and exchanged opinions with people from all walks of life by day and held briefing conferences and analysed the situation together with his comrades by night to decide on their course of action. He said to them, "You come from different spheres of life — the army, the localities or schools. So your views all represent certain sections of the people. What you say will enlighten us and help us to see things in their entirety." He encouraged them to speak their minds freely and they discussed the issues in all seriousness. After such meetings, he would personally prepare and draft reports to be sent to Chairman Mao and the Central Committee.

Because the decisions at the Political Consultative Conference were not favourable to the Kuomintang's fascist one-party dictatorship, the KMT reactionaries had undermined it at the very outset. Long before the close of the conference, they instigated an incident at Tsangpai Hall\* where their agents insulted the delegates who were giving speeches there. Their soldiers and police illegally searched the residences of the PCC representatives. After the close of the conference, they brought about another incident at Chiaochangkou Square in Chungking on February 10 when a rally was being held to mark the successful completion of the PCC.\*\* They injured 60 people in all, including Kuo Mo-jo and Li Kung-pu, who presided over the rally, and reporters. The Kuomintang brazenly tore up the PCC resolutions and launched a despicable attack on the Communist Party and the democratic forces led by it. At the same time, with the encouragement of U.S. imperialism, Chiang Kai-shek broke the cease-fire order and started an all-out civil war. In spite of all this, Comrade Chou En-lai stayed in the Kuomintang areas, ignoring his personal safety, to unite the various democratic forces in an unrelenting struggle against the reactionaries. Then the Kuomintang began to dispense with the pretence of peace negotiations. Its troops attacked and occupied Changchiakou, a strategic city in the north, unilaterally convened the so-called "National Assembly" and opened an all-out attack on the Liberated Areas. It was only then that he left for Yenan. However, in the larger cities throughout the Kuomintang areas, people from various strata, with workers and students in the lead, rose to protest against hunger, civil war and persecution. Under the leadership of the Communist Party, the movement spread like wildfire, gaining in strength and scope. The revolutionary united front, func-

\* The regular meeting place of people from all walks of life to promote the PCC.

\*\* The rally was attended by people from more than 20 popular organizations representing various circles. The assaults were made by KMT secret agents planted in the audience.

tioning like a second front in the backyard of the Kuomintang, contributed greatly to the victory of the War of Liberation. The Kuomintang reactionaries were drowned in the ocean of the people's democratic revolution.

Comrade Chou En-lai worked for eight years in Chungking to implement the anti-Japanese national united front policy put forward by Chairman Mao. It did not matter how sharp the struggles or how complex the negotiations were, he was always courageous and tactful. He displayed the greatest resolve and ability in struggling against the enemy and achieved great victories. Chairman Mao praised him highly for the work he did in Chungking—for his loyalty to the Party, his courage before the enemy and the efforts he tirelessly devoted to his work. When we think of his militant years during this period, we will remember forever his noble character, his firm revolutionary spirit and his style of leadership characterized by modesty, prudence, plain living, hard struggle, exemplary conduct and his patience and seriousness as a teacher.

## Premier Chou at Meiyuan New Village

It was from No. 30, Meiyuan New Village, Nanking that Comrade Chou En-lai led the delegation of the Chinese Communist Party in negotiations with the U.S.-Chiang reactionaries lasting 10 months and four days, from May 1946 to March 1947. In this fight he carried out the historical mission entrusted to him by Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee.

Today, we are stirred by the sight of each flower and tree in the courtyard and each article used by the Premier. The heroic battles he fought here flash back to our minds.

### *Struggling Tit for Tat*

In May 1946, after Comrade Chou En-lai flew to Nanking, he had his photograph taken with Comrade Tung Pi-wu, deputy head of the Delegation of the Communist Party, in the courtyard of No. 30 Meiyuan New Village. Two towering cypresses bathed in early summer sunlight flank the grape-vine in front of the house. Their bearing, resolute and yet relaxed, as they stand under the tree, makes it hard for us to believe that within 100 metres' radius the Kuomintang had set up more than 10 spy stations such as the joint command post of the Bureau of Investigation and Statistics of the Central Executive Committee and the Bureau of Investigation and Statistics of the National Military Council, the interrogation room of the Special Criminal Court and the "residence" of the head of the Nanking Police Department. From the front, back and both sides the enemy kept a strict watch on our delegation. Their secret agents' motor-bikes, jeeps and cars were parked in the nearby streets or lanes, ready to trail our delegates whenever they went out. And spies disguised as pedlars, cobblers, fortune-tellers, pedicab-men and news-boys roamed the neighbourhood day and night. To quote the



words of Comrade Kuo Mo-jo who was a frequent visitor there in those days. "Eyes, eyes, wolfish eyes seemed to be everywhere." But Comrades Chou En-lai and Tung Pi-wu remained as serene as the towering cypress trees in the courtyard, cool, courageous and resourceful in this head-on confrontation with the enemy. They added a small two-storey building inside the walled courtyard and had the walls raised so that the enemy could not see in. Whenever the delegation held a meeting they drew the curtains and placed a radio on the steps outside, turning it on full to newscasts from Yenan so that the enemy could not overhear what they were saying.

At that time, to help Chiang Kai-shek launch a civil war against the people, the U.S. imperialists were using planes and warships to transport large numbers of Kuomintang troops to various fronts to fight the people's army. Comrade Chou En-lai, through the delegation's spokesmen or other channels such as press conferences or newspaper articles, exposed with irrefutable facts the aggressive plot of the U.S. imperialists who were interfering in China's internal affairs in the name of "mediation." Meanwhile, he waged a relentless struggle against George C. Marshall in face-to-face negotiations. After being repeatedly rebuffed, Marshall could only turn up his thumb and say that General Chou En-lai was certainly one of the best diplomats he had encountered.

In the room that was used by the communications group of the Chinese Communist Party delegation, the big BC 610 radio transmitter with which the delegation kept in touch with Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee is displayed. This second-floor room has windows on both sides. The Kuomintang spies set up a station nearby to monitor our transmissions, but failed to decipher our coded messages. Finally, at their wits' end, they started jamming our wireless signals in order to cut off our communications. Led by Comrade Chou En-lai, our radio operators thought of various ways to overcome their interference. Under his direction, a secret transmitter was installed in a closet. And in case the enemy should cut the power supply, they used a diesel generator. So, our delegation's contact with the Party Central Committee in Yenan remained uninterrupted. Comrade Chou En-lai's dauntless, persistent fighting spirit in the enemy's lair was a great inspiration to the whole delegation.

### *A Selfless Worker*

Still standing in Comrade Chou En-lai's office on the ground floor are the desk and swivel chair which he used, and on the desk are the brushes,

ink-stone, bronze ink-box, *New China Daily*, map of China and stationery of the Communist Party delegation. A prominent feature of the room is the bookcase behind the door packed with Chairman Mao's and other Marxist-Leninist works.

In 1942, when Chairman Mao launched the great Party rectification movement in Yenan, Comrade Chou En-lai personally led the comrades of the Party Central Committee's South China Bureau and the *New China Daily* in Chungking in studying Chairman Mao's article *Reform Our Study* and in a rectification movement there too. Later, he brought along the copy of the article, with his signature on the cover, to Nanking. It is now among the books in the bookcase. On one wall hangs a photograph of Comrade Chou En-lai hard at work in his office late one night in June 1946, taken by his secretary. It reminds us of the many sleepless nights he spent in those arduous days.

Comrade Chou En-lai always worked very hard and against time. During the day, in addition to negotiations with the Kuomintang delegates, he received visitors from the revolutionary masses, journalists, democratic personages and foreign friends to whom he exposed the plots of the U.S.-Chiang reactionaries bent on expanding the civil war, and explained the correct stand of our Communist Party. In this way he did a lot of work to extend and consolidate the united front. At night he had to hear reports from the delegation's public information group, foreign affairs group and military affairs group, analyse problems and personally draft telegrams to Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee to report on his work or ask for instructions. During intervals, he studied Marxist works and Chairman Mao's writings. Though he worked until late every night, before going to bed he often reminded the comrades working by his side, "Seizing time means victory. Getting out ahead with the news, we'll have the initiative. If Chairman Mao or the Party Central Committee sends any important instructions or if urgent telegrams come from other parts of the county, wake me up at once. We mustn't have any delay."

Because of the Kuomintang's economic blockade our Party was extremely short of money. Comrade Chou En-lai always kept in mind Chairman Mao's instruction of "**saving every copper for the war effort, for the revolutionary cause.**" He lived very frugally and ate the plainest food. Sometimes he had no time to come back for meals and simply went to a small eating-house for a snack. His comrades warned him, "Those places are neither safe nor clean. You'd better not go there." "It doesn't matter," he would laugh. "Here, in Nanking, Chiang Kai-shek daren't murder me yet. And as for hygiene, I'll be on my guard."

Comrade Chou En-lai's bedroom was very simply furnished. There were only two single beds of coir matting, a small chest of drawers and a coat-stand. The cotton quilt folded on the bed was given to him by the delegation in 1946. When we went to Peking to collect it in 1964, he was still using it — he had used it for more than 18 years. The leather suitcase on the chest of drawers was already worn white in places. This was where he kept his clothes. It had accompanied him from Yen-an in 1936 through more than a decade of fighting in many parts of the country until he finally took it to Peking.

The sight of the topce on the coat-stand thrilled us. On August 28, 1945, accompanied by Comrade Chou En-lai, Chairman Mao flew from Yen-an to Chungking, regardless of personal danger, to thoroughly expose the counter-revolutionary dual tactics of the U.S.-Chiang reactionaries. Before they boarded the plane, Comrade Chou En-lai gave the Chairman his own topce to wear to protect him from the blazing sun. As these thoughts flashed through our minds, we seemed to hear the stirring strains of *The East Is Red* and see the red sun rising from the eastern horizon to light up our great motherland.

As the negotiations proceeded, the struggle became sharper and Comrade Chou En-lai worked even harder, often working the whole night through without stopping to rest. The rest of the delegation began to worry about his health. At one Party branch meeting they urged him to take proper rest and pay more attention to his health. "I rest quite enough," he answered with a smile. The Party branch meeting passed a resolution enjoining him not to stay up after midnight. Comrade Chou En-lai was very touched by their concern, but in view of the tense situation he told them gravely: "Our delegation is entrusted by the Party Central Committee, Chairman Mao and the people of the whole country with the important mission of negotiation. This is a life-and-death issue for our whole nation. Compared with this crucial task, what does my health matter?" His words moved everyone to tears. Indeed, our beloved Premier never spared himself. He worked tirelessly and uncomplainingly for the Party with no thought of his own comfort.

At that time Comrade Teng Ying-chao, who was a member of the delegation, was in charge of women's work and she often went out to attend women's meetings. But her main job was to assist Comrade Chou En-lai. When the negotiations reached the most critical stage, the two of them took it in turns to be on duty and handle important business. In that enemy stronghold under a reign of terror, she defied all dangers and hardships. She set all thought of self aside to share thick and thin with Comrade Chou En-lai, battling shoulder to shoulder

with him, working indefatigably for the Party and making a big contribution to the women's liberation movement in China.

But busy as they were and fierce as was the struggle, Comrades Chou En-lai and Teng Ying-chao often made time to go to Yuhuatai in Nanking to pay homage to those who had died there for the revolution. Each time they brought back some of the coloured pebbles from Yuhuatai and put them in a bowl on the table in the delegation's reception room, to educate their comrades in the revolutionary tradition. More than once Comrade Teng Ying-chao said, "The sight of these pebbles always reminds me of the countless martyrs of the Chinese revolution." Comrade Kuo Mo-jo was deeply touched by this. In his book *Glimpses of Nanking* he wrote: "The tranquillity, brightness, solidity and selflessness of these Yuhuatai pebbles seemed to symbolize the spirit of our hosts."

### *Warm Concern About His Comrades' Safety*

The headquarters of the Chinese Communist Party Delegation was, as we have said, surrounded by Kuomintang spies. Whenever members of the delegation went out on foot or by car, they were instantly shadowed. Their lives were in constant danger.

Comrade Chou En-lai, utterly fearless, risked his own life to lead his comrades to fight on. Concerned as they all were about his safety, he was even more concerned about theirs. He always warned those going out to be on their guard, sometimes even working out the best route for them, not setting his mind at rest until they returned safe and sound.

Upstairs, above Comrade Chou En-lai's office and bedroom, was the office of the delegation's secretariat handling confidential matters. Comrade Chou En-lai made them work upstairs for the sake of security.

The comrades in the secretariat were very concerned about Comrade Chou En-lai's safety. But to fight for the cause of the Party and to ensure his comrades' safety Comrade Chou En-lai completely ignored the dangers to himself. The secretariat's three small offices in the attic had such low ceilings that you could touch them by putting up a hand. During the summer they were sweltering, and the few small windows had to be kept covered day and night with red and black curtains as they were under constant watch by the Kuomintang spies. In spite of these bad conditions, the comrades of the secretariat worked tenaciously day and night. Comrade Chou En-lai was so concerned about their health that he often went upstairs to see them. Grasping the sweat-soaked youngsters' hands, he told them fondly, "The confidential work you're doing is the

lifeline linking us with the Central Committee and our comrades at lower levels. We've put you upstairs so that you can work here safely. Downstairs I'm your door-keeper standing guard for you. You can work with easy minds for the cause of the Party." He set three requirements for them: secrecy, accuracy and speed. They carried out these instructions to the letter and fulfilled with flying colours all the tasks entrusted to them by the Party.

### *Victory Belongs to the People*

As we entered the reception room in No. 30 Meiyuan New Village, the row of armchairs reminded us of how Comrade Chou En-lai would sit there discussing state affairs with friends from different walks of life. We recalled his eager, kindly expression and the profundity of all he said. . . . This was no ordinary reception room.

Outside the window of Comrade Chou En-lai's bedroom there was a grape-vine. The Communist Party delegation arrived in Nanking in summer when the leafy vines provided excellent shade. Sometimes Comrade Chou En-lai sat under the trellis with visitors explaining Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and policies as well as our Party's firm stand in striving to stop the civil war and secure peace and democracy.

At that time, while negotiating with our Party, the Chiang Kai-shek clique were relying on U.S. aid to transport over one million troops to the front to fight a civil war. They attacked our Central Plains Liberated Area in June 1946, and the next month invaded the Kiangsu-Anhwei Border Region. This made many democratic personages doubt whether our Party could beat back the attack. They began to worry about the future of the peace negotiations. Comrade Chou En-lai conveyed to them his full confidence in our Party's victory. Citing the famous concept formulated by Chairman Mao that "all reactionaries are paper tigers," he pointed out that the Kuomintang reactionaries looked formidable but were really weak, that their perfidious attack on us and their tearing up of the agreement they had signed had unmasked their vicious features and isolated them completely, and that their military "superiority" was temporary. With dauntless optimism Comrade Chou En-lai assured the visitors, "We are resolved to negotiate with the Kuomintang reactionaries and to struggle with them to achieve peace. If they force us to fight, we are confident that we shall win. The final victory will undoubtedly belong to the people."

Less than two months after the Chinese Communist Party delegation arrived in Nanking, the Kuomintang reactionaries staged the notorious

Hsiakuan Incident.\* Comrade Chou En-lai heard of it at two in the morning. He went at once to the hospital to see the wounded representatives and clasped their hands, assuring them: "You will not have shed your blood in vain!" Many at the scene were deeply moved by his words.

In this way, Comrade Chou En-lai fought day and night for peace, endeavouring to build up the revolutionary united front. His painstaking efforts led a great many people to understand the situation, discard their illusions about Chiang Kai-shek, endorse our Party's proposals and join the revolutionary ranks.

Comrade Chou En-lai had foreseen that the Kuomintang would tear up the truce agreement once they had completed their disposition of troops with the support of U.S. imperialism and that the negotiations would break down. Once, in analysing the situation in No. 17 Meiyuan, he said, "We'll go back to Yenan very soon. But we'll be back — that's certain. How shall we come back? In my estimation, there are two possibilities. First, we may be invited back. That's to say, after the KMT have suffered a devastating defeat at the front they may invite us back for further negotiations. Or, we may fight our way back. And the second possibility is the more likely."

On November 15, 1946 the Kuomintang reactionaries brazenly violated the resolution of the Political Consultative Conference and unilaterally convened "The National Assembly" under their exclusive control. The very next day, Comrade Chou En-lai held a press conference at the meeting room of the Chinese Communist Party delegation in No. 17 Meiyuan. So many Chinese and foreign newsmen attended the conference that the room could not hold them all, and some had to stand in the doorway, outside the windows or even in the courtyard. Standing in front of a map of China, Comrade Chou En-lai pointed at the positions of the opposing forces with his right hand and exposed the crimes of Chiang Kai-shek in launching a counter-revolutionary civil war and an all-round offensive against the Liberated Areas. Then he reiterated our Party's stand to unite with the people of the whole country to realize real peace. He solemnly announced, "We, the Chinese Communist Party, resolutely boycott the so-called National Assembly controlled exclusively by the Kuomintang reactionaries."

\* On June 23, 1946, in Shanghai, 100,000 people demonstrated against civil war and the U.S. imperialist interference in China's internal affairs. Ma Hsu-jun and other representatives were sent to Nanking to present a peace petition to the KMT government. When they arrived at Hsiakuan Railway Station in Nanking, they were beaten up by KMT thugs.

One reporter asked, "What will the Communist Party do if the National Assembly passes a resolution to fight against you?"

Comrade Chou En-lai laughed. "What difference would that make?" he answered. "We've been fighting for a long time. . . . Before the anti-Japanese war there was civil war for 10 years, and during that war of resistance there was friction between us for eight years. Since the victory in the anti-Japanese war there's been a year of conflict. We've been through all this but we're still serving the people. Provided we rely on the people, we shall certainly find a way out in this country of ours." After a pause he added, "If you're worried for us, I can tell you frankly: Don't worry."

The newsmen who had been feeling tense now laughed, infected by Comrade Chou En-lai's superb confidence based on his penetrating insight into the future.

"We rely entirely on our own efforts," Comrade Chou En-lai went on. "For instance, when we return to Yenan this time, if we want to eat we must take part in production. We must support ourselves. So long as we remain servants of the people, we'll always have work to do and food to eat; we'll always have fresh vitality and new hope." He ended with certainty: "We will surely come back to Nanking!"

In protest against the Kuomintang sabotage of the peace talks, Comrade Chou En-lai returned to Yenan on November 19, 1946. His statements at the press conference were promptly published by the *Liberation Daily* and *New China Daily* and served as a great encouragement to the people of the whole country.

As Comrade Chou En-lai had predicted, the Kuomintang reactionaries finally tore up the Truce Agreement and the October 10th Agreement they had signed with their own hands. On February 27, 1947 they ordered all staff members of the Communist Party delegation stationed in Shanghai, Chungking and Nanking to withdraw. On March 7, 1947 when Comrade Tung Pi-wu left Nanking, representatives from all walks of life came to see him off. Chang Chih-chung, a member of the Kuomintang delegation in the negotiations, said to him, "I've come to see you off." Comrade Tung Pi-wu promptly answered: "In a couple of years we'll be going to Peking. Then we'll come to meet you and you will be one of our guests." Just before boarding the plane, Comrade Tung Pi-wu said meaningfully to all who had come to farewell him: "It won't be long before we meet again."

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What Comrades Chou En-lai and Tung Pi-wu had predicted in Meiyuan New Village very soon came true. Led by Chairman Mao and the

Chinese Communist Party, the Chinese People's Liberation Army together with the Chinese people wiped out eight million troops of the Chiang Kai-shek gang and drove out the U.S. imperialist aggressors, thus liberating our country, and established a socialist new China.

Since the founding of New China, the magnificent revolutionary struggle waged by Premier Chou at Meiyuan New Village has never ceased to inspire the Chinese people in their vigorous advance along the great road of socialist revolution and socialist construction.

Our beloved Premier Chou has not left us. His integrity, revolutionary vitality and confidence in victory, as well as his voice and smiling face will forever remain in our minds. The glorious image of this loyal son of the Party and the people, who fought tenaciously and selflessly his whole life for the Chinese people's liberation and the cause of communism, will live on in our hearts just like the two towering cypress trees in the courtyard of No. 30 Meiyuan New Village, evergreen from generation to generation.

## In the Storm and Stress of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution

— Reminiscences by the People of Peking

Premier Chou En-lai was a close and long-tested comrade-in-arms of Chairman Mao. For decades, he loved and respected Chairman Mao, remained loyal to Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, resolutely defended Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and selflessly devoted his whole life and all his energy to the cause of communism and the liberation of the Chinese people.

During the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the Premier worked loyally day and night, fought fearlessly and heroically in helping Chairman Mao to organize and direct this great political revolution, frustrating with a firm hand the interference and sabotage attempted by the two bourgeois headquarters of Liu Shao-chi and Lin Biao and by the "gang of four." His contribution to the victory of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution will last forever.

### I

In the summer of 1966 Chairman Mao personally set ablaze the flames of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. Workers, peasants, soldiers and revolutionary youths rose in their hundreds of millions to rebel against the counter-revolutionary revisionist line of Liu Shao-chi. Following Chairman Mao's instructions, Premier Chou took the lead in going deep among the masses, placed himself in the very front of this great revolution and fought staunchly against the bourgeois headquarters of that traitor, hidden agent and scab Liu Shao-chi.

For several days running in the latter half of July 1966, Premier Chou appeared at four in the morning at the Peking No. 2 Institute of Foreign

Languages to read the big-character posters there. Although he had been working through the night, he read the posters intently and carefully and frequently took copies of some back with him to study. Some teachers, students, staff and workers at the institute who had risen early discovered Premier Chou, and the word was out. People came from all over the place and thronged around him. He told them, "I'm here because Chairman Mao told us to investigate and study. I've come to read your posters, learn from you, back you in making revolution and report back to Chairman Mao."

Later, Premier Chou went back to the institute twice to take part in the mass debates. Each time he arrived early, took a small stool and sat down amidst the others. He listened attentively to everything that was said and then precisely and clearly expounded the tasks Chairman Mao had personally laid down for the Cultural Revolution.

Chairman Mao's call soon aroused the people of the entire country. Liu Shao-chi, who sensed disaster for himself, hastily dished up a bourgeois reactionary line to oppose Chairman Mao's call and suppress the masses just when the movement was getting under way (in June and July). On August 5, 1966, Chairman Mao wrote *Bombard the Headquarters (My Big-Character Poster)* and thoroughly exposed Liu Shao-chi's scheme. Tsinghua University at that time was a major battleground between the proletarian headquarters headed by Chairman Mao and the bourgeois headquarters under Liu Shao-chi. Liu Shao-chi sent a work team under his wife's command to the university to push the bourgeois reactionary line and unleash a White terror. Several hundred teachers and students were labelled "counter-revolutionaries." Liu Shao-chi tried to hold his position there and get the work team's "experience" in Tsinghua applied elsewhere so as to douse the fiery Cultural Revolution then sweeping the whole country.

At this critical point, Premier Chou went to Tsinghua University as Chairman Mao had directed and led the teachers, students, staff and workers there in an intense struggle against the bourgeois reactionary line of Liu Shao-chi. From July 30 to August 22, Premier Chou received representatives of the teachers, students, staff and workers and members of the work team on more than 20 occasions, and visited the university four times to hold discussions and take part in mass rallies. Premier Chou himself rehabilitated the teachers and students who had been branded "counter-revolutionaries" under the bourgeois reactionary line of Liu Shao-chi and declared in no uncertain terms, "I have come to stir up the socialist wind, to light the fire of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. Together, let's hold aloft the torch of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution!"

A mammoth rally was scheduled at Tsinghua University on the evening of August 22 to criticize the bourgeois reactionary line. It had been raining all day and when Premier Chou phoned in the evening to ask how things were going, the comrade responsible for the arrangements, with the Premier's health in mind, asked if the meeting could be put off to another day because of the rain. The Premier asked if the crowd had started coming yet. When he was told they were already arriving for the meeting, he answered: "Rain or wind, I'll be with you right away." It was pouring when he got there. Dressed as usual in his worn grey tunic, he had no raincoat or umbrella. He sloshed through the ankle-deep muddy water and, amidst thunderous applause, took his seat on the hastily put-up platform which was not made to be a shelter against the rain. Premier Chou took his seat on a wet stool. The rain trickled off his hair and soaked him. Autumn was replacing summer and even young people began shivering. But there was Premier Chou, nearing 70, sitting in the rain. It was extremely moving. The 100,000 people filling the sports field began chanting: "An umbrella for the Premier! An umbrella for the Premier!" Smiling, Premier Chou replied: Haven't you given me a Red Guard armband? 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. He called on everyone to study, get a good grasp of and apply the *Decision of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party Concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (The 16-Point Decision)*\* adopted on August 8, 1966, firmly keep to the general orientation of the struggle and slam those Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road. The meeting ended with Premier Chou leading everybody in singing *Sailing the Seas Depends on the Helmsman*. The meeting was a tremendous success under Premier Chou's personal attention. The criminal plot hatched by Liu Shao-chi in Tsinghua University to sabotage the Cultural Revolution was smashed.

The Premier's fierce-browed attitude towards capitalist-roaders in the Party and class enemies of every stripe, his principled stand of resolutely exposing them and his superb fighting skill in defeating them are indelibly

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\*This programme was drawn up under the personal direction of Chairman Mao. It laid down the principles and policies for the Cultural Revolution, stressed the necessity to have faith in the masses, rely on them and mobilize them to participate in this revolution. It pointed out that obstruction to the Cultural Revolution came from Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road.

engraved in the minds of the cadres and people of the Institute of Metrology.

In August and September 1966, Premier Chou met leading members of the movement in the institute three times and twice attended their "Mass Meeting to Bombard the Headquarters." The name of the meeting was given by Premier Chou. At the meeting, he pointed out that great storms were not to be feared and that according to Chairman Mao's teachings it is amid great storms that human society progresses. He called upon the comrades to persevere in carrying the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution through to the end. He explained in detail that the main target of the movement was Party persons in authority who were taking the capitalist road, and he guided the cadres and masses to sweep aside all interference and direct their attack against the bourgeois headquarters of Liu Shao-chi.

Amid the storm and stress of the Cultural Revolution, the great Red Guard movement sprang up. Chairman Mao warmly backed this revolutionary creation and on eight different occasions over the short period of a few months he reviewed more than 10 million Red Guards from all over the country. When the millions of youthful Red Guards poured in waves into Peking, they found clothing, food, accommodation, transport and medical facilities available. Premier Chou had seen to that, for he cherished these youngsters. When Chairman Mao invited some Red Guards to move into and live in Chungnanhai, where he and Premier Chou worked and lived, Premier Chou went in person to visit each and every room. Every time Chairman Mao reviewed the Red Guards, Premier Chou was there to oversee the arrangements so that this tremendous historic event was a complete success. In guiding the young revolutionaries to take the proletarian revolutionary path, Premier Chou met group after group of Red Guards, talked with them long into the night, extolled their revolutionary spirit of daring to think, to speak out and to act, encouraged them to carry the Cultural Revolution through to the end and, drawing on his own revolutionary experience covering several decades, urged them to conscientiously study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and always advance valiantly along Chairman Mao's revolutionary line.

## II

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution soon surged across the whole country. The Lin Piao anti-Party clique and the "gang of four," harbouring ulterior motives, did their utmost to undermine Chairman Mao's

strategic plan. Chairman Mao had given the instruction that when there is a debate, "it should be conducted by reasoning, not by coercion or force," and issued the call: "Proletarian revolutionaries, unite." But they tried in a thousand and one ways to incite bourgeois factionalism and created splits within the ranks of revolutionaries. "You should attack by reasoning but use force in self-defence," they cried. They started beating, smashing and looting and provoked an "all-round civil war," all aimed at confusing the class alignment and taking advantage of the resulting disorder to seize Party and state power. Open and aboveboard, dauntless and selfless, Premier Chou struggled resolutely against them and courageously defended Chairman Mao's revolutionary line.

In early 1967, taking advantage of the differences among the masses over the question of seizing power, Chiang Ching and Chen Po-ta instigated one group to fight against another. Because of this evil trend, the different groupings at Peking Hotel started heated debates among themselves. One evening, Premier Chou went to the hotel and, sitting on the steps leading to the banquet hall, carefully listened to the opinions of both sides. He admonished them: You should act resolutely in accordance with Chairman Mao's teachings and seek major common ground while retaining minor differences. You should make more self-criticisms and never do things which will grieve our own people and gladden the enemy. You should unite on the basis of Mao Tsetung Thought and direct your attack at the common enemy. Premier Chou's words greatly enlightened the two mass groupings which soon formed a revolutionary alliance.

Wherever Premier Chou went those days, he implemented Chairman Mao's instruction on forming a revolutionary alliance. While accompanying foreign guests on a visit to the Peking No. 3 Cotton Mill on October 2, 1967, Premier Chou solicitously asked whether the different groupings in the mill had formed a revolutionary alliance. The workers and staff told the Premier that they had united, but the influence of bourgeois factionalism still existed and that some people were trying to grab positions in the leading body, which of course impeded the fulfilment of the state production quota. Having heard this, Premier Chou patiently explained to them Chairman Mao's teaching in his *On Coalition Government*: "Conscientious practice of self-criticism is still another hallmark distinguishing our Party from all other political parties." He encouraged them: "You are workers in Peking where Chairman Mao lives. The working class listens most attentively to Chairman Mao's words. You should be the model in establishing a revolutionary alliance and become more united ideologically." Premier Chou's words warmed

the hearts of the workers and the staff. They made conscientious self-criticisms to wipe out bourgeois factionalism, consolidated the revolutionary alliance and swiftly formed a three-in-one revolutionary committee of old, middle-aged and young cadres.

In firmly implementing Chairman Mao's instruction, Premier Chou once told the crew members of the *Mao Tsetung Locomotive* under the Peking Railway Bureau to propagate Mao Tsetung Thought, the revolutionary alliance and the policy of grasping revolution and promoting production by their exemplary action. Following Premier Chou's instructions, the crew members did active propaganda work all along the railway lines and greatly helped promote the smooth functioning of railway transportation.

In Peking, Premier Chou received countless delegations of contending groupings from different parts of the country and resolved important problems in the various provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions, neglecting his meals and sleep. As the Premier often missed meals, those working by his side served him corn flour porridge in a cup as "tea." It was not uncommon for the Premier to have a snack in his car instead of a regular meal.

Once, the "gang of four" incited some people to argue with Premier Chou round the clock, denying him any rest. Firmly holding to his principled stand, he heroically waged a tit-for-tat struggle against them. All night, he explained Chairman Mao's instruction on establishing a revolutionary alliance. When he lost his voice, he asked a nurse to spray his throat and continued to work for the unity of the two different mass groupings. His effort proved to be a powerful impetus to the formation of revolutionary alliances in all parts of the country.

Chairman Mao consistently taught us that we must make a clear distinction between ourselves and the enemy and unite more than 95 per cent of the masses and the cadres, that is, the more the better. The "gang of four" worked hand in glove with the Lin Piao anti-Party clique. They hated the people and the masses of cadres, deliberately treating comrades as enemies, and vice versa. They made false accusations against veteran revolutionaries who had been Chairman Mao's faithful followers in the war years, and shouted themselves hoarse: "Down with the whole lot." In this way, the "gang of four" hoped to fish in troubled waters and usurp supreme leadership in the Party and state. Premier Chou hated the enemies, loved the people and was warm towards comrades: he was rock-firm in repulsing this counter-revolutionary current.

Comrade Chen Yi, then the Foreign Minister, was a staunch supporter of Chairman Mao. He had an iron will, was firm, aboveboard and straightforward — a veteran proletarian revolutionary who had made



important contributions to the Party. But during the Cultural Revolution the Lin Piao anti-Party clique and the "gang of four" fanned up an evil wind to overthrow him. In view of their criminal activities, Chairman Mao personally intervened and pointed out that Chen Yi was a good comrade. Resolutely implementing Chairman Mao's instruction, Premier Chou took a clear-cut stand in protecting him.

In 1967, Lin Piao, Chen Po-ta, Chiang Ching and their stooges in the foreign affairs departments dished out a time-table for action: "Turmoil in July, chaos in August and seizure of power in September." The plot against Comrade Chen Yi intensified for a time. On August 11, they instigated a handful of people to convene a mass meeting to criticize him. Violating the instruction which Premier Chou had given on behalf of the Party Central Committee concerning the meeting, they launched a surprise attack and shouted "Down with Chen Yi!", and displayed a streamer with the same slogan. They even tried to taunt Comrade Chen Yi who was seated on the rostrum. On this matter of principle, Premier Chou firmly stood his ground. He walked out in protest to expose the enemy and educate those who had been hoodwinked, and ordered the guards to protect and escort Comrade Chen Yi from the meeting hall.

Not reconciled to their failure, Lin Piao, Chen Po-ta, Chiang Ching and their gang fell back on another scheme. On August 26, they sent a small group to engage in exhausting talks with Premier Chou, preventing the Premier from eating or resting for 18 successive hours. These rough-necks even threatened to intercept Comrade Chen Yi's car and storm into the Great Hall of the People to seize and struggle against him. The Premier indignantly replied: "If you dare try to intercept his car, I'll step forward to stop you. If you want to seize Comrade Chen Yi, I'll be at the Great Hall of the People and you'll have to step over my body to get him!" With Premier Chou remaining steadfast and unyielding in the storm, the scheme of Lin Piao, Chen Po-ta and Chiang Ching to overthrow Comrade Chen Yi came a cropper.

When Comrade Chen Yi died in January 1972, Chairman Mao attended the memorial service with deep feeling for a lost comrade-in-arms. Chairman Mao's presence at the service was a powerful rebuff and eloquent criticism of the counter-revolutionary crimes of the Lin Piao anti-Party clique and the Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao "gang of four"; it also demonstrated his support for Premier Chou's protection of Comrade Chen Yi.

With boundless love for the people, Premier Chou waged a resolute struggle against the "gang of four" who, like the Kuomintang reactionaries, suppressed the masses.

Shih Chuan-hsiang, a night-soil collector and a well-known national model worker from Peking, had led a miserable life in the old society. He fled from his native village in Shantung to Peking, a beggar all the way. Later, he lived by collecting night soil. He was ruthlessly bullied and exploited by the landlords and capitalists. It was Chairman Mao and the Chinese Communist Party who saved him from the abyss of misery. Cherishing deep love for Chairman Mao, Shih Chuan-hsiang did excellent work at his modest job and was elected a Deputy to the Third National People's Congress. Even a worker like him who had been among the most downtrodden and had deep hatred for the old society could not escape Chiang Ching's persecution. Shortly after the Cultural Revolution began, she labelled him a "scab," a "night-soil despot" and a "counter-revolutionary." Her reason was that he had once shaken hands and had a photo taken with Liu Shao-chi. Later he was driven back to his native village in Shantung, severely harmed and humiliated body and soul. He suffered from a nervous breakdown, but when his mind was clear, he expressed the conviction that Chairman Mao's revolutionary line would ultimately triumph. He repeatedly said: "I'm no scab! Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee will surely right this wrong for me."

The day Shih Chuan-hsiang looked forward to finally came. On August 20, 1973, when Premier Chou was listening to a work report by the secretary of the Party committee of the Peking Municipal Bureau of Public Services, he anxiously asked about Shih Chuan-hsiang. When the Premier learned how Shih was being persecuted, he was indignant. "Is the purpose of the Cultural Revolution to overthrow a night-soil collector?" he asked. Then he immediately instructed the Party secretary to bring Shih Chuan-hsiang back on behalf of the Party organization, apologize to him, make it known publicly that he had been wronged and give him medical treatment. In accordance with Premier Chou's instruction, a leading cadre of the bureau went to Shih's home in Shantung. Warmly holding Shih Chuan-hsiang's hands, he told Shih that Chairman Mao and Premier Chou were very concerned about his health and had given instructions to welcome him back. Shih, who had lost his power of speech, was deeply moved and tears of joy rolled down his cheeks. Those present at the scene could not help shouting: "Long live Chairman Mao!" The "gang of four" persecuted the people mercilessly and the feelings of the people were against them, but Premier Chou loved the people dearly and he will live in their hearts forever.

Kuo Lan-ying, a very popular singer, is the daughter of a farm labourer before liberation. Tempered in the Great Proletarian Cultural Rev-

olution, she had made great progress ideologically and politically. Yet the "gang of four" and their close followers in the literary and art circles trumped up charges to label her a "counter-revolutionary" because, as they said, "she's not one of us." She was not allowed to go home for a long time. When Premier Chou learned from a document the injustice done to her, he wrote the instruction: If what this document says is true, she should be exonerated and rehabilitated immediately. Kuo Lan-ying was thus liberated as a result of Premier Chou's personal attention. One day, to remind her family of the bitter old days, she took them to an open field to dig wild herbs and made them into the kind of meal a hired labourer's family would have eaten before liberation. She said that she would never forget her past sufferings at the hands of the exploiting classes and would forever follow Chairman Mao in making revolution. In early 1976 when she learned that the Premier was seriously ill, she sang several songs to the best of her ability and tape-recorded them, thinking of sending them to the Premier. But it was too late, Premier Chou had died. When the sad news reached her, she was stricken with grief. Our good Premier could no longer enjoy the singing of this daughter of a hired labourer! During recent performances to praise Chairman Hua and denounce the "gang of four," she sang the northern Shensi folk song *Embroider a Golden Banner* for worker-peasant-soldier audiences. The first part of the song is for Chairman Mao, the second for Commander-in-Chief Chu Teh and the third for the Premier. The audiences were in tears when she sang: "The good Premier of the people has given his all for the revolution, we love you deeply." The singing and the tears both show how the people cherish the memory of Premier Chou and how deeply they hate the "gang of four."

### III

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution has enabled socialist innovations to bloom throughout the country. They have thrived thanks to Premier Chou's effort and care.

Always concerned about the people's health, Premier Chou paid close attention to the revolution in medical and health work. In the Cultural Revolution, he received cadres and other personnel working in this field on more than 70 occasions, explaining to them the great significance of Chairman Mao's instruction: "In medical and health work, put the stress on the rural areas." He called on medical workers to follow Chairman Mao's instruction, go to the rural areas to serve the poor

and lower-middle peasants, help them organize a co-operative medical service and train barefoot doctors. He told them they should combine traditional Chinese medicine with Western medicine and do a good job in propagating birth control and ensuring health care for women and children. In June 1967, he organized the first Peking medical team to go to the western parts of Kansu Province. Before the team set out, the Premier personally gave it instructions and set forth the concrete tasks including such details as helping the local poor and lower-middle peasants to reconstruct their ovens, wells, latrines and barns. On May 20, 1971, when he learned that 16 medical workers from Peking had volunteered to work in Tibet's Ari Prefecture where conditions were the hardest, and were leaving that day, he asked them to postpone their departure. He received them the next day in the Great Hall of the People. On meeting these medical workers tempered in the Cultural Revolution, the Premier was really pleased. He applauded their revolutionary initiative and praised their revolutionary spirit of fearing neither hardship nor death. He said: "I admire your spirit. It is really great that there are six women comrades among you! Are you all physically fit for the task?" He encouraged them to wholeheartedly serve the former serfs who had become masters of their land.

One day at the beginning of 1975, the Premier had just had an operation and was still in pain. As the doctors and nurses were bandaging him, he summoned the responsible cadre from the Jihnan Hospital to come near the operating-table and said in a feeble voice: "Do you know the conditions of the tin-mine workers in Yunnan who've got lung cancer? You should send doctors to study their cases and treat them. You'd better go at once." Looking at the Premier's wan face, the comrade was very sad and hardly knew what to say. Then he sobbed, "I know, I'll go right away, please don't speak any more... do have a good rest..." Here was our good Premier! Even when he was in critical condition, he never considered himself, but kept the 800 million people in his heart.

The "gang of four," accustomed to fishing for reputation by deceiving the public, shamelessly styled themselves as "representatives" of the new emerging things and "standard-bearers of the revolution in literature and art." The truth is that they were pickpockets who stole the fruits of the revolution in literature and art, and vicious persecutors of the revolutionary literary and art workers. It was Premier Chou who really worked with utter devotion for the revolution in literature and art. For years he earnestly enjoined writers and artists to conscientiously study Chairman Mao's *Talks at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art* and firmly keep to the orientation of making literature and art

serve the workers, peasants and soldiers. He urged them to temper themselves and remould their ideology in the countryside and army units. On many occasions he received actors and actresses and told them to portray heroes and heroines and at the same time learn from them so as to link the presentation of a revolutionary play to remoulding their own world outlook. He not only paid attention to training the up-and-coming, but also kept the veteran actors and actresses in mind, zealously protecting the revolutionary literary and art workers who had served the people well and encouraging them to contribute their bit to the revolution in literature and art. He also personally gave concrete directions to the presentation of many revolutionary theatrical works and helped in continuously improving and perfecting them. But Chiang Ching, one of the "gang of four," killed all the literary and art works Premier Chou had affirmed or directed, and she unscrupulously opposed all matters in literary and art circles that Premier Chou had personally handled. In this field, Premier Chou waged a long and tenacious struggle against the "gang of four" and won the wholehearted love and respect of the masses of revolutionary literary and art workers.

Premier Chou shouldered extremely heavy tasks during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. He attended to Party and state affairs, worked selflessly and often neglected meals and sleep. His aides and other comrades who had worked with him saw for themselves that Premier Chou often slept only two or three hours a day, working from dawn to dusk and right through the night till next morning. For the people's cause, he ate "grass" but gave "milk" and "blood," as Lu Hsun said of himself and all other revolutionaries. His enduring vigour, will-power, extraordinary resolve, bravery and militancy moved everyone. A responsible comrade once told him: "The Chairman asks you to look after your health." He replied: "The Chairman's health is more important." Premier Chou never flinched or stopped advancing but continued working indefatigably even when he was seriously ill.

But the "gang of four" used every vile means to persecute this great proletarian revolutionary who never retreated and who worked tirelessly in the interests of the people of China and of the world. They saw in Premier Chou the biggest obstacle to their attempt to usurp the supreme leadership of the Party and the state. Right at the start of the Cultural Revolution they teamed up with the Lin Biao anti-Party clique and misrepresented this great political revolution as "a struggle between the new cultural revolution group and the old government" and treacherously directed their attack at the Premier. At every stage of the Cultural Revolution the gang fabricated charges and used every conceivable trick to smear and attack him. However, all the attacks and smears could

in no way distort his glowing character. They only served to expose the "gang of four" as a bad lot, a pinch of muddy sand washed down the river of history.

During the days when the Premier was in critical condition, recitations and music were heard from his sick room. He had the attendants read for him time and again the two odes by Chairman Mao published on New Year's Day 1976: *Reascending Ching Kangshan — to the tune of Shui Tiao Keh Tou* and *Two Birds: A Dialogue — to the tune of Nien Nu Chiao*. He also told the comrades to play for him the record *The Internationale*, saying: I am convinced that communism will prevail all over the world. Even in his last days, Premier Chou, with the lofty feelings and militancy of a communist fighter, sang in a weak voice: "Let each stand in his place, the Internationale shall be the human race." His singing expressed his magnificent spirit and the ringing message that the old world will perish; it calls on us to greet with open arms the splendid future of the Chinese revolution and the world revolution!

Time will pass and be forgotten, but the magnificent contributions of Premier Chou to the cause of the proletarian revolution will shine forever.

The Premier never really left us; he will last with the mountains and rivers of our motherland and live in our hearts forever. He towers like a magnificent monument in the hearts of the people. His resplendent image will always inspire us with determination to inherit Chairman Mao's behests, follow Chairman Hua's leadership, safeguard and develop the splendid achievements of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and carry the proletarian revolutionary cause initiated by Chairman Mao through to the end.

## Taching the Red Banner Grew Under Premier Chou's Care

*Premier Chou Nurtured Taching  
with Mao Tsetung Thought*

*Millions of stars in the sky overhead,  
Hundreds of campfires on the grassland beneath.  
We oil workers aspire to the Communist Party,  
Our fond thoughts dwell upon Peking.*

We Taching workers shall always remember that it was Chairman Mao who approved of the battle to open up the oilfield and later commended Taching as the red banner in China's industry. Nor shall we forget that it was Premier Chou who planned the battle, sometimes directing it in person; he worked day and night, attentive to Taching's needs so that it might thrive and develop. This red banner now bears the lustre of Mao Tsetung Thought; the Premier's devoted care has borne fruit.

As life grows in the sun, so Taching grew as Premier Chou nurtured it with Mao Tsetung Thought. Even before the battle for oil was started, the Premier saw that it would be long and hard. We still remember how he made a special trip to Harbin to meet the leading members of the provincial Party committee and the Ministry of Petroleum Industry. He pointed out that Mao Tsetung Thought should be our guide in the coming battle. All sorts of problems would crop up, he said, and we should apply the stand, viewpoint and method of dialectical materialism to analyse and solve them. Thus the Premier showed us the guiding principle for the battle, and by his brilliant example, taught us at the outset to grasp this matter of paramount importance, for it would decide the outcome of the battle and the future of the oilfield.

With tremendous revolutionary drive, Premier Chou led us in opening up China's own way of developing industry by fully implementing the

Charter of the Anshan Iron and Steel Company,\* integrating the theory, line, principles and policies systematically laid down by Chairman Mao for running socialist enterprises with actual practice at the Taching Oilfield. In 1964, Chairman Mao issued the call to the whole country: "In industry, learn from Taching." Promptly following Chairman Mao's strategy, Premier Chou strongly recommended the basic experience of Taching at a meeting of the Third National People's Congress. He said: The Taching Oilfield is a paragon for the study and application of Mao Tsetung Thought, for learning from the People's Liberation Army and applying its experience in political work. Taching has persisted in the principles of combining centralized leadership with mass movements, matching high revolutionary spirit with a disciplined scientific approach, promoting technical innovations and building the country through diligence and thrift; it has fully met the requirements for achieving greater, faster, better, and more economical results set forth in the general line for building socialism.

Premier Chou's three trips to Taching have left us lasting memories. On June 21, 1962, the Premier first visited the oilfield together with Comrades Teng Ying-chao and Yu Chiu-li. The second visit was on June 19 the following year when he and Vice-Premier Chen Yi came with guests from Korea. Then, on May 3 and 4, 1966, he paid his third visit with Vice-Premier Li Fu-chun and a group of Albanian guests. Each time he came, he brought us the warm regards of Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee and propagated Mao Tsetung Thought with great enthusiasm.

Applying Chairman Mao's teaching: "Never forget class struggle," the Premier stressed again and again during his inspection tours that we should grasp class struggle and see to it that the proletarian ideas in our minds overcome the bourgeois ideas. He gave us an inspiring lesson late at night, just after he had arrived on his third visit. In a low adobe at the oilfield, we Party committee members were asked to report on our work. The Premier listened, and now and then put in instructive remarks, stressing the importance of class struggle. "Yes," he said. "We could hardly move ahead without struggle. If we gave up class struggle, we might as well get rid of our political instructors. Our Party would then degenerate into a 'party of the entire people,' and our state, a 'state of the whole people.' \*\*\* The Premier was eager that the workers, staff and

\*see note on p. 13.

\*\*The Central Committee of the Communist Party of China pointed out in its Proposal Concerning the General Line of the International Communist Movement dated June 14, 1963 that it is most absurd in theory and extremely harmful in practice to substitute the "state of the whole people" for the state of the dictatorship of the pro-

their families should continue to revolutionize their thinking. "Taching can't live by itself," he said. "It is part and parcel of the entire society." He warned us to guard against the corruptive bourgeois influence on the people in Taching and not to become complacent under any circumstances. His words strengthened our will to persist in class struggle as the key to success and fight resolutely against the bourgeoisie and revisionism to win still greater victory.

The construction of the oilfield area broke away from the conventional design of an "oil city" — a residential and welfare community far from the oilfield to which the city was attached. Built in line with Chairman Mao's teaching of combining industry and farming, Taching consists of many worker-peasant towns, each of which has a business centre and a number of residential quarters in the neighbourhood with farmlands lying in between. The women were organized in farming and side-line production. Premier Chou was full of praise for this fresh approach to building a new socialist mining area. He summed up its construction principle: "Combine industry with farming, and the city with the countryside, facilitate production and make daily life convenient." When he visited Taching on May 3, 1966, the Premier made careful investigations to find out how far we had succeeded in applying this principle. He chatted in the maize fields with the women from Bumper Harvest Town. Shaking their muddy hands, he asked them where they had come from, how long they had been in Taching, and when they had taken up farming there. He was delighted to learn that they had come from practically all over the country, and encouraged them with Chairman Mao's words: "We hail from all corners of the country and have joined together for a common revolutionary objective." The Premier asked the women how much land they had seeded. Then squatting down, he unearthed some seeds with his fingers to see how deep they had been planted and how they were spaced. The Premier's interest was evident throughout his tour. He visited the mills, stores, schools, clinics, service trades and so on in the centre of the town, and dropped in at some workers' homes. He instructed us to adhere to the principle of combining industry with farming, town with countryside and thereby narrow the differences step by step between worker and peasant, city and countryside, and manual and mental labour. The differences would last for quite a period of time, he said, but they must be narrowed, not widened. Before he left, Premier Chou boosted all our spirits by conducting the group singing of *Sailing*

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letariat and the "party of the entire people" for the vanguard party of the proletariat. This substitution is a great historical retrogression which makes any transition to communism impossible and helps only to restore capitalism.

*the Seas Depends on the Helmsman and The Taching Workers' Families Make Revolution.*

Wherever he went in Taching, the Premier encouraged us to uphold the principles of "hard struggle," "maintaining independence and keeping the initiative in our own hands and relying on our own efforts," and "building the country through diligence and thrift." He urged us to achieve greater, faster, better and more economical results in building the oilfield, strive to surpass the world's advanced standards and win honour for our great socialist motherland. On his third trip, Premier Chou visited the heroic Drilling Team 1202 which was vying with Drilling Team 1205 once headed by Comrade Wang Chin-hsi, the "Iron Man," to break the 50,000-metre annual drilling record of the "Meritorious Drilling Team" in U.S.S.R. The Premier commended the workers for their bold attempt to outstrip the world's records. The motor was rumbling on as he mounted the platform to watch and learn in detail how the equipment functioned, the mud splashing onto his clothes. Turning to the leading comrade at his side, the Premier said, "Tell these two teams that once they hit the 50,000-metre target, the State Council will commend them and give them political recognition." Leaving the team, he clasped Comrade Wang Chin-hsi's hands and said, "Be sure to send me a telegram once you two teams break the record, I'll report the good news to Chairman Mao on your behalf." The Premier spoke the minds of the Taching workers and his words inspired them. Both teams created an annual record of 100,000 metres that year and their accomplishment was reported to Chairman Mao.

At the oil refinery, Premier Chou was particularly pleased to see the up-to-date equipment designed and made by China's working class. He urged the workers to study technique, master their skills and manage this modern enterprise well — all this for the revolutionary cause. In the sewing and mending factory, he spent quite some time scrutinizing a quilted work-jacket with the lining pieced together from 160 patches of used cloth. "Well done!" he said to the workers. "Keep to this spirit of hard work."

The Premier gave Taching high credit for "wholeheartedly relying on the working class" in formulating new rules and regulations, improving the existing ones, and managing the socialist enterprise well. On his first visit to Taching, all the workers and office staff were being called upon to sum up experience and help systematize the responsibilities of each job into rules which were posted on the walls. "Did you formulate them yourselves?" the Premier inquired while reading them. "All native products" was the reply. "Excellent," he said, "well done!"

Once, on a visit to a water-injection station, the Premier found the workers meticulously abiding by the rules of operation. Laboratory workers were making a thorough analysis of the water quality while monitors concentrated on the meters showing the water pressure. He looked very satisfied. "You're all doing important jobs," he said. Over the past decade, keeping his instructions in mind, the workers at Taching have carried out the rules to the letter, not budging an inch when the "gang of four" vilified rational rules and regulations as a means of "controlling, curbing and suppressing" the workers.

### *Premier Chou Supported Us at Every Critical Moment*

In the acute struggles between the two classes, the two roads and the two political lines, during which Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and the Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao anti-Party "gang of four" tried in succession to dislodge the Red Banner of Taching, Premier Chou always took a clear-cut stand, supporting and encouraging the Taching workers to hold high this red banner designated by Chairman Mao.

In the early sixties, China faced temporary economic difficulties. The imperialists, social-imperialists and reactionaries abroad stirred up anti-Chinese feelings and effected an economic blockade on China. At home, Liu Shao-chi and his followers raised a hue and cry to hold back the socialist revolution and construction, and among other things, they called for the closing down of the oilfield, saying that the battle for oil at Taching was a "riot," a "mess," and was "anything but building an industry." Had they managed by their slanders to suppress the vigorous mass movement at Taching, China would have had to continue living on imported oil, and be throttled by the imperialists and social-imperialists. It was a moment of decision. Should we carry on the battle or give up? Should we go our own way in building industry or trail behind foreign powers? It was then that Premier Chou made his first inspection tour to Taching. He commended our work, approved our experience, looked after our needs, and encouraged us to surmount all obstacles and persist in the battle to make China self-sufficient in oil.

During the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, Lin Piao and the "gang of four" whipped up another round of counter-revolutionary vituperation against Taching. Under the reactionary slogan "suspect all and overthrow all," they organized a campaign against Taching. They denied all its basic experience, vainly attempting to destroy Taching as a political banner, crush it organizationally, and create confusion ideologically.

Acting on their counter-revolutionary strategy to "knock down the standard bearer before destroying the banner itself," they plotted against the model workers in the oilfield as represented by the "Iron Man," Comrade Wang Chin-hsi. In December 1966, Chang Chun-chiao viciously slandered this vanguard fighter of the working class as "a man with vested interests" who was "behaving badly" and "had ceased to be a revolutionary" and so, "he was working towards his own doom." Chiang Ching too looked upon Taching as a constant source of annoyance. She wickedly branded the leading cadres in the battle for oil as "sinister go-getters," and vainly attempted to go on removing all the leaders at lower levels. This was their criminal plan to tear down the red banner altogether. At that crucial moment, on behalf of Chairman Mao, Premier Chou took a clear-cut stand. During January 1967, at various meetings, he cited Taching seven times. "Taching, this red banner erected by Chairman Mao, shall stand." His solemn, equitable words pinpointed the treachery of Lin Piao and the "gang of four."

We shall never forget what happened on January 8, 1967. Premier Chou received Comrade Wang Chin-hsi and delegates of workers and office staff from the nation's oil industries at the Peking Workers' Gymnasium. The Premier said to them genially, "Taching was fostered by Chairman Mao as a red banner, and we should defend and care for it." Then he continued in a sharper tone, "But why is it that some people are dead against this red banner, and are so keen to knock down the 'Iron Man,' Comrade Wang Chin-hsi? There's a plot in it, a plot to destroy the red banner Chairman Mao commended." He enumerated the reasons for Taching's success. "How did we win the battle for oil? First, we had invincible Mao Tsetung Thought. We relied on Chairman Mao's two philosophical essays: *On Practice* and *On Contradiction* as our guide in making the start. Secondly, we relied on workers and office staff who worked with might and main as never before. Thirdly, we had all-out support across the country, that is, support from the Party, the government, the army and the people. But can we win with these three conditions only? Impossible! If we had no leader, or no leading body to organize the battle, it would be like fighting a war without a commander." His clear reasoning and firm support were a deadly blow to Lin Piao and the "gang of four." "I've been to Taching three times," Premier Chou recalled, "and each time I was greatly inspired by what I learned. At that time, no factory or mine had achieved what Taching had done. That was why our great leader Chairman Mao pointed out that besides learning from the People's Liberation Army, we should learn from Taching and also from Tachai. They're the ones who really understand and apply Mao Tsetung Thought."

At one of the sessions of the Party's Ninth National Congress in 1969, Premier Chou ushered Comrade Wang Chin-hsi up to meet Chairman Mao. Photographers were there to record the scene as the great leader warmly shook hands with Comrade Wang while the Premier looked on. In early March the following year, the Premier received a letter from Comrade Wang Chin-hsi reporting to him the struggles between the two classes, the two roads and the two political lines going on in Taching. The letter said that some people were attacking the battle for oil as a "waste of money and labour power"; some held that the hard-working spirit has "outlived its usefulness"; others slandered Chairman Mao's May 7th Directive,\* saying that to take part in both industry and agriculture was to "neglect one's own trade." After reading the letter, the Premier immediately sent for Comrade Wang Chin-hsi to report in person. He talked the matter over with Wang and assured him, "Now I know what's happening there." He directed the Taching people to restudy and apply *On Practice* and *On Contradiction*, the two essentials which had given them the strength to start from scratch. This was to counter the slander and attack by Lin Piao and the "gang of four" on Taching. Thus, guided by Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee, and with Premier Chou's care and support, the Taching workers overcame the interference of the revisionist line, withstood the counter-revolutionary trend against Taching and frustrated the destructive attempts by class enemies. They stood up to the severest tests and kept to the two essential philosophical essays as their guide in running the oilfield. The red banner shone ever brighter.

But the struggle did not end there. In the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, the "gang of four" anti-Party clique, disregarding Chairman Mao's directive, again extended their sinister influence to Taching. In Peking, through a political seminar, they taught some of the participants their counter-revolutionary tactics. Once these people got back to their local districts, they were to serve the "gang of four" from below, a plan known as "sending tigers back to the hills." One of the "hills" was Taching where a new attempt was made to create chaos and discredit it as a red banner. One member of the seminar was from Taching. Returning as an overlord, he split the rank and file, formed his own clique, and started sowing dissension and causing trouble. He

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\*On May 7, 1966, Chairman Mao pointed out: "While mainly engaging in industrial activity, workers should also study military affairs and politics and raise their educational level. They, too, should carry out the socialist education movement and criticize and repudiate the bourgeoisie. Where conditions permit, they should also engage in agriculture and side-occupations, just as people do in the Taching Oilfield."

accused Taching of being "consistently an instrument of the revisionist line" and created a new uproar against it. Again, it was our Premier who firmly upheld Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. At the Tenth National Party Congress and the Fourth National People's Congress, Premier Chou, on behalf of the Party Central Committee, reiterated Chairman Mao's call, "In industry, learn from Taching." His words inspired the workers of Taching to struggle resolutely against the revisionist line. Once again we overcame the interference and obstruction from the "gang of four," defended the Taching banner, and safeguarded and carried forward the achievements of the Cultural Revolution.

### *Premier Chou Will Always Live in Our Hearts*

Premier Chou En-lai met tens of thousands of workers, cadres and their families in the 29 grass-roots units he inspected during his visits. He shook hands and chatted with many of them and said again and again, "We should learn from the Taching workers." He was close to the people, modest, prudent, easy to approach, and hard-working, insisting on plain living and wholeheartedly serving the interests of the people. His brilliant image will always live in our hearts.

Just as Taching and Peking are connected by oil pipes, so the Premier's heart and ours, closely linked, beat as one. During his tours, the Premier inquired in detail how the workers studied, worked and lived. At the oil wells, he encouraged young workers to study Marxism and Mao Tsetung Thought hard, and learn in earnest from the veteran workers. While visiting the drilling teams, he went up the platform to enjoy the panorama of the magnificent oilfield, sharing with us the joy of success. At the oil tanks, he helped clean the pump with a rag like one of us. At the worker-peasant towns, he visited homes, sat on the *kang* and chatted with the workers' families. The Premier was always in high spirits, always eager to see more. On several occasions the comrades accompanying him reminded him it was about time to leave, but the Premier said, "Well, let's walk on further, I want to see more. We don't come often." When it was suggested that the tour might have been too tiring for a man of his age, the Premier retorted, "Age? That's exactly why I should work harder for the Party!"

Premier Chou showed us every concern and care, supporting and encouraging us like a close friend. In August 1970 when Comrade Wang Chin-hsi was hospitalized in Peking, the Premier took a personal interest in the case. The doctors were instructed to give every medical attention and regularly informed him of the patient's condition. On



the night of November 15, Comrade Wang Chin-hsi's life hung by a thread. When the news reached the Premier, he left his meeting at once and rushed to the sickroom in the hospital where he listened to the doctors' report on the measures they were taking. Despite all their efforts, Wang Chin-hsi died. Deeply grieved, Premier Chou personally supervised the arrangements to be made following Wang's death. He talked with each member of Wang Chin-hsi's family and with his close comrades from Taching, urging them to turn their grief into strength and carry on the revolutionary spirit of Comrade Wang Chin-hsi. When he learned that Wang's wife needed medical care, he entrusted her to a leading comrade of the hospital. The Premier's considerateness moved everyone present to tears.

Once at a water-injection station, the Premier saw some workers doing rush repairs on a pump. He went over to shake hands with them. One of them was just about to rub his greasy hand on his overall when the Premier grasped it. Leaving the pump room, the Premier came to a dugout, and when he learned it was still occupied he decided to drop in. But one of the comrades tried to stop him, saying the ceiling was too low. He replied, "If people live in there, I don't see why I shouldn't enter." The dugout, no more than six feet high, had been built in the early pioneering days. The Premier looked around inside and spoke highly of the workers' spirit of self-reliance and hard struggle. "It's crude enough, but things will turn for the better," he said assuredly.

On another occasion, the Premier visited a workshop where used cotton was being flicked to make it fluffy again. Down floated in the air as he walked in. He chatted with the women workers, and learned that one of them was from Hsingtai in Hopei Province. "That's where the earthquake took place," said the Premier. "How are your folks there?" "They're all right now," said the woman. "Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee took good care of us. We were granted relief, and the government helped us build new homes." The Premier nodded, reassured.

Premier Chou was concerned about the political development of us workers and considered our cultural activities and the creations of our amateur artists very important. Some of the workers' families had organized themselves into an amateur dramatic troupe. When they visited Peking on the eve of National Day in 1966, the Premier received them three times and watched their performance, a realistic play reflecting their revolutionary life. When the Premier last visited Taching, he came to a place where the workers were laying oil pipes. The wall-newspaper there caught his attention. Reading over a verse written by a worker-poet, he said to a reporter, "Why not copy it down? You could hardly

find a better one." Then turning to the comrades accompanying him, he asked, "Can you recite it? Listen to me:

*No experts? We can put our heads together.  
No experience? We can learn from practice.  
In difficulty, we study the Chairman's 'Selected Works.'  
We have the strength to level mountains and empty the seas."*

The Premier's exact recitation was an object lesson to everybody present.

It was especially moving to see the Premier making so few allowances for himself while doing so much for the Party and the people. His suit was almost worn out in some parts. His shoes looked old, and his enamel mug was chipped. On his last trip, we planned to serve him better food and allow him enough time for rest, now that he was getting on in years and long hours of work were wearing him down. But we hardly expected that the Premier had made it a rule, on the very day of his arrival, to have some coarse grain for each meal and no wine. He checked the menu himself. At lunch time that day, we had sorghum, beans and maize porridge for staple food, and a dish of mixed vegetables — cabbages, potatoes and turnips. The Premier was delighted. "Your sorghum tastes good," he said. "May I have a second serving, please?" But our cooks were eager to serve the sweet cakes and other delicacies they had prepared specially for him. Their proposal was rejected. We were deeply touched as we watched the Premier sharing our food just like one of us.

To us people in Taching Oilfield, May 3 and 4, 1966 were memorable, happy days. The Premier worked throughout the whole of the first day. At nightfall he came to the simply furnished meeting room and spent an unusual night with workers, cadres and their families. He listened to their reports and gave many directives on how to revolutionize our thinking and build up the oilfield. The meeting ended at half past one in the morning but he showed no sign of fatigue. Briskly he went to examine the models of the oilfield's construction projects and the renovated equipment on display, and then listened to reports on the development plan. At 10 minutes past two, the Premier returned to his office to resume work. The lamp on his desk went out at three. But he was up again at five in the morning. When the serviceman came in to clean the room, he found the bed neatly made and the desk spick and span. The Premier had begun another busy day at the crack of dawn.

Indeed, our respected and beloved Premier Chou had constantly cared for Taching with all his heart. All his life, he served the Party and the

people untiringly, fought valiantly to carry out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, and rendered immortal service to the revolutionary cause in China and the world. He was truly the Chinese people's good Premier.

By the Party Branch of the  
Tachai Production Brigade

## Premier Chou's Three Visits to Tachai

### *The Premier's Concern and Support for Tachai*

The roots of our pines on Tiger Head Hill interlace, and Premier Chou's heart was linked with the hearts of us Tachai people. He showed unfailing concern for us. He loved, supported and encouraged us.

In 1964 Chairman Mao issued the great call to the whole country: "In agriculture, learn from Tachai." The Premier, who best understood Chairman Mao's instructions and was the most resolute in carrying them out, summed up our basic experience. He said: "Tachai stuck to the principle of putting proletarian politics in command and taking Mao Tsetung Thought as their guide. The whole country should follow their example of self-reliance and hard struggle and their communist style of loving the country and the collective."

On May 21, 1965 Premier Chou came to Tachai for the first time with Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien and some distinguished guests from Albania. Then on April 9, 1967 he and Vice-Premier Chen Yi brought us guests from Viet Nam. The third time, on April 23, 1973, he and Comrades Teng Ying-chao and Lin Chia-mei accompanied guests from Mexico on their visit to Tachai.

On his first visit Premier Chou looked over our newly constructed cave-dwellings and new houses with tiled roofs. As he walked along with Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien, he commented that though there weren't very many of us in Tachai we had certainly done a big job — changed the face of the countryside. On his second visit he noticed that we had done more to transform Tachai and said, "How fast Tachai has changed. It's so different now from the last time we were here." He seemed even happier on his third visit and told Comrade Chen Yung-kuei, "I can hardly believe my eyes, Yung-kuei. You've changed Tachai out of all recognition. You people and your young folk have done very well." Instead of taking a car, Premier Chou strode up Tiger Head Hill. Standing by the People-and-Army Pool, he pointed out to our foreign guests the

seven gullies and eight ridges of the hill as well as the various constructions in Tachai that had changed it into a completely new village. He spoke at such length that Comrade Teng Ying-chao remarked with a smile, "See, the Premier's become a guide to Tachai."

"This is my third visit to Tachai," Premier Chou quipped. "I should know something about it. If I say anything wrong I hope Comrade Yung-kuei will correct me."

Why is it that the bright red banner of Tachai never loses its splendour? This is only because the banner was set up by Chairman Mao himself and because Premier Chou meticulously nurtured it with Mao Tsetung Thought and his own painstaking efforts.

When the Premier first came here we had an exhibition room by a big willow tree. It consisted of four sections: basic facts, class struggle, production through struggle and scientific experimentation. Premier Chou examined the exhibits in great detail and asked many questions. Having seen the contrasting models of the new village and the old, the graphic presentation of Tachai's history and Chen Yung-kuei's family history, he commended the exhibition, saying that although it was on a small scale it was most educational. On display were the old clothes and bedding used by Comrades Liang Pien-liang, Niu Kuo-tung and Shih Kuei-lin in the old days as well as a basket carried by one of them when begging from door to door. Picking up a wooden pillow used by three generations of Niu Kuo-tung's family, Premier Chou told the photographer to take pictures of all these exhibits to help educate young people in other parts of the country.

At Ephedra Gully, Premier Chou praised us for keeping a small section of the old gully unaltered with the signboards "Educational Field" and "Educational Gully," contrasting the new with the old to help our young people understand our revolutionary tradition. He suggested changing the name to "Gully to Educate the Young" and adding Chairman Mao's instructions on self-reliance and hard struggle so that our young people would bear in mind the struggles we had had to build up our village, and would work hard themselves and never forget their origin. Premier Chou also pointed to a rocky gully nearby channelled out by the rain and asked Kuo Feng-lien, secretary of the Tachai Party branch, "Tell me, Little Kuo, which is stronger, water or man?"

"Man," she answered.

"I think water is the stronger," the Premier challenged her. "See what a deep groove water has made in that boulder."

"But it took the rain thousands of years to form that gully. So man is much more powerful," she retorted. "Hasn't Tachai rebuilt the whole of Wolves' Den Gully so that now more grain is grown for the people?"

"Right," the Premier said with delight. "Young people should understand this. Chairman Mao has told us, 'Of all things in the world, people are the most precious.'"

After going over Wolves' Den Gully, Premier Chou praised the Tachai people for their three battles against nature there. Then he questioned Feng-lien again, "Do you study Chairman Mao's works, Little Kuo?" Feng-lien assured him that she did. "When you've done something to your credit," asked the Premier, "do you remember Chairman Mao's teachings on what to do?" Feng-lien answered by quoting the saying: Modesty helps one to make progress whereas pride makes one fall behind. Premier Chou was satisfied and told her earnestly: "That's right. You have to go on making progress."

At supper that evening, the Premier cut a steamed cornbread bun and some potatoes into two halves giving one portion to Feng-lien and keeping the other for himself. "I've not had a meal like this for some time," he said significantly. "This is food for revolutionaries. In the war years we didn't often eat as well as this." By reminding Feng-lien of our revolutionary traditions Premier Chou showed the love and concern of our older generation of revolutionaries for younger comrades. Before leaving, he urged our Party branch repeatedly to be modest and prudent, guard against arrogance and impatience, be democratic and always consult the people. He told us to train our younger generations to be true revolutionaries, to safeguard our red banner and our socialist motherland, and to advance holding high the great red banner of Mao Tsetung Thought.

### *Premier Chou Took Thought for Us in Every Way*

The Tachai people are especially attached to Premier Chou. We miss him and hold him in great respect. How could it be otherwise?

In spring when we start sowing we remember Premier Chou's instructions to use good seeds and cultivate our own good strains. When we spread fertilizer we remember how on Changnao Slope he picked up a handful of compost and said cheerfully, "Your native method of composting is very good. We should apply more natural fertilizer." When we take our tools to the fields, we remember how the Premier encouraged us to improve our farm implements and set machines to work for us. Premier Chou took an interest in the proportion of various crops we grew, our afforestation, animal husbandry as well as our various side-lines, and even in our family planning. . . . He gave thought to every conceivable aspect

of our growing collective economy. In fact he took thought for us in every way.

On his first visit, Premier Chou showed great interest in how we had built our terraced fields. After listening to the guide's introduction, he asked Chen Yung-kuei to tell him how Tachai remodelled Wolves' Den Gully. As he walked along the gully, he wanted to know whether our embankments were strong enough to withstand a flood as big as the one in 1963. He suggested we dig more drainage ditches and some small drainage ponds to contain flood waters. On his third visit to Tachai, Comrade Teng Ying-chao proposed after lunch to go and see Wolves' Den Gully. The Premier promptly approved, telling her that unless she saw it she could not rightly say she'd been to Tachai. Comrade Teng Ying-chao went specially to see the gully.

Premier Chou was very concerned about irrigation and water conservancy in Tachai. Before 1965 we had a small pump-house beside our well. The Premier wanted to know the depth and capacity of the well and the horse-power of the diesel pump. Comrade Chen Yung-kuei answered all his questions and told him that there was enough water for drinking with a little surplus for compost piles. Premier Chou advised us to find a more abundant source of water to take care of irrigation. He asked, "What will you do if it doesn't rain? What if there's a drought three years running? That happened before in Chinese history. You must try to solve the question of water supply thoroughly."

Premier Chou was also very interested in our afforestation. The first time he came he noticed a small wood on the hillside opposite us and asked whose it was. Comrade Chia Cheng-jang said that it belonged to Wuchiaping Brigade. How fine it would be if all our hills were wooded like that, said the Premier. He told us, "Plant more trees and develop forestry. Fruit trees, nut trees, trees for timber — plant them all." He also encouraged us to turn our wild dates into sweet ones by grafting. When he came on his third visit he was delighted to find that green trees covered our Tiger Head Hill and our date-trees were now bearing sweet fruit.

With the interests of the whole nation in mind, Premier Chou loved Tachai and wanted to make it a success to set an example for the rest of the nation. It was he who brought the loving care of Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee to hundreds of millions of peasants. We can never forget the Premier's concern for Hsiyang, for central Shansi, for the whole province and for the whole of China. When he came in 1973 and found a member of the central Shansi Party committee here, the Premier said to him, "Here in Hsiyang when there is a big drought, the people counter it by working hard. Now I want to challenge you.

You must learn from Hsiyang. Are you people brave enough?" The comrade from central Shansi said that they were confident they could do it. Premier Chou said, "I'm putting pressure on you because pressure's needed to get things done. We're all under pressure." On Tiger Head Hill Premier Chou looked at the hills and fields around, noting the change in Wuchiaping and Chinshihpo, then asked Comrade Chen Yung-kuei how long it had taken to change Wuchiaping.

"Five years," said Chen Yung-kuei.

"Why was it backward before?" asked the Premier. "It had better land and more water than Tachai. What it lacked was strong leadership."

"Now, it's practically the same as Tachai. If we in Tachai don't look out, it may surpass us," Chen Yung-kuei said.

Premier Chou was elated to hear this. "Practically the same?" he said. "If it surpasses Tachai I'll be very pleased. I'd like very much to see many other brigades surpass you. Then you'd strive to catch up with them. If the whole country becomes like Tachai, that'll be great."

When we heard this we couldn't help thinking how far-sighted the Premier was. He thought of everything. Our Premier had charge of great affairs of state and concerned himself with the struggle on the international front, yet in spite of his heavy responsibilities he made time to come to our village and inquire about everything relating to our revolutionary work, our farming, forestry and animal husbandry. He thought of everything, not only for our generation but for the next generation too. He planned everything carefully for us and he took such a far-sighted view. Premier Chou was really close to our peasants' hearts.

### *Premier Chou Was Just Like One of Us*

Premier Chou had immense concern and feeling for the masses. His eagerness to be near the masses, the genuine affinity between him and the poor and lower-middle peasants, left a deep impression which is still fresh in our minds. His three visits to Tachai were short ones, but in the limited time at his disposal he chatted cordially with a number of old people, gave kindly advice to many young ones and sang gaily with the children. Premier Chou laughed and talked so informally with us and took such an interest in all our concerns, he made us feel completely at home and happy to have him with us.

Sixty-three-year-old Niu Kuo-tung, former poor peasant, recalled: "I remember clearly Premier Chou's third visit. I was standing in the third row of the people lined up outside the village to welcome our guests headed by President Echeverria of Mexico. Premier Chou spotted me at

once. He stretched out his hand to me across the people in front and told me that he remembered me. Later that morning as I was raking manure with Chia Cheng-lu on a sunny slope, Premier Chou returned with the guests from a tour of the village. He asked after my health and wanted to know my age. Then he introduced us to the Mexican President. We were all so stirred that tears filled our eyes. I could hardly say a word. I said to myself, 'You worked as a hired hand for over 20 years in the old society. In those days what official would know you? Even a village head of the reactionary regime wouldn't lift his eyes to look at you, to say nothing of a prime minister or even a magistrate.' But our Premier Chou, a statesman renowned throughout the world, remembered me. What great fortune was mine!"

Our young Party branch secretary Kuo Feng-lien will never forget the happy occasions when Premier Chou visited her home. She said: "Premier Chou came to see my grandmother the very first time he came to Tachai. I shouted into granny's ear that here was our Premier Chou come all the way from Peking to see her. Granny asked how many days the journey had taken him and how long he was staying. The Premier smiled. 'I came by plane,' he said. 'It took only a few hours. I've so much work to do at home I can't stay long. Got to be back today.' When the Premier learned that my granny had ruined her health working as a servant in landlord households in the old society, he told me to take good care of her and see to it that she had a happy old age. On his third visit to Tachai, the Premier came to see us again. He asked granny if she remembered his last two visits. Of course she did. The Premier said: 'Feng-lien was not married the other times.' Just then I came in bringing some steamed cornbread which I offered him, and granny remarked that those bought from the stores could never be as good as home-cooking. The Premier burst out laughing so heartily that everyone joined in. Before he left the Premier took granny's hand and told her that when he had time he'd come to visit her again. After that, my granny could talk about nothing else. 'Premier Chou isn't a bit like an official,' she said. 'He wants to know all about us. He's just like one of us!'"

Chia Cheng-fu, leader of the forestry section, talked happily about the Premier's visit. "He came to our house on his third visit to Tachai," he said. "As he cracked the sunflower seeds we served him, he asked us: 'How big is your family? How many rooms have you?' He examined the photographs on the wall and pointing to my mother, wanted to know who she was and whether she was still living. When he learned that she was in the next cave-house, he insisted on going over to see her. He asked after her health and wanted to know her age. Mother told him she was 86 and that, with Chairman Mao and the Communist Party lead-

ing us, life was good and she'd like to live for another couple of years. 'Yes, do that and live well,' said the Premier. 'Our working people should enjoy their old age.'"

The Premier was good to the aged and very concerned over the development of the younger generation. In our exhibition hall he talked affably to the young narrators; on the irrigation construction site he sang revolutionary songs with the PLA soldiers; in our guest-house he asked the girl attendants about conditions at the grass-roots.

We still remember vividly the happy time Premier Chou spent with our Tachai children in 1973. That day the kindergarten children put on a performance for the Mexican guests. First they performed the dance *Seeking Friends*, then announced that they were going to sing *The East Is Red*. The Premier walked over to stand in front of the children and conduct their singing. As the strains of "*The east is red, the sun rises. . .*" floated out, rhythmic clapping synchronized with the vigorous swinging of the Premier's hands. We were all moved beyond words.

When Premier Chou came to Tachai on his third visit, he was already 75. But he was full of vitality, and looked younger than his age. Premier Chou often educated our cadres with a quotation from Chairman Mao: "**We should maintain the same vigour, the same revolutionary enthusiasm and the same daring death-defying spirit we displayed in the years of revolutionary war, and carry on our revolutionary work to the end.**" Premier Chou himself was a splendid model in doing so. He never stopped fighting throughout his lifetime, devoting himself entirely to the revolutionary cause. He really was a good Premier of the people.

### *If We All Worked in the Same Spirit as Premier Chou, How Much Could Be Done!*

If we add up all the time we Tachai people spent with our Premier, it comes to less than 20 hours. But in this little time, his words and deeds set us a splendid example.

Premier Chou always worked tirelessly and conscientiously. On his first visit to Tachai, he came by helicopter and it was a tiring journey. But after only a short rest, his party made the round of Tiger Head Hill. The sun was fiery and the day sultry. We had straw hats ready for our guests but Premier Chou refused to wear one. He accompanied the foreign guests the whole way, which meant walking about four kilometres. It was enough to tire a much younger man but our Premier strode with a spring in his step. And straight after our return from Wolves' Den Gully he went to see our exhibition. "You must be tired after the long walk,

Premier Chou," said Comrade Chen Yung-kuei. The Premier only smiled. "We've seen only a third of Tachai, I'm afraid," he said. "Too bad my time here is so short." Premier Chou felt that he could not see enough of Tachai and we felt that we couldn't hear enough of his instructions.

Premier Chou came to Tachai on his second visit with Vice-Premier Chen Yi when the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution was deepening. We noticed that his hair was turning white because he worked so hard for the revolution. However, he was as vigorous as before and when Comrade Chen Yung-kuei tried to take his arm going uphill, he would not have it. "The Tachai spirit is self-reliance and hard struggle," he told us. "Your brigade members carry heavy loads uphill every day. I want to tour Tachai in the Tachai spirit. I'll walk up without help."

When Premier Chou came the last time he was already ill but none of us realized that. On his return from touring our terraced fields, he made the foreign guests rest but he himself conferred with Comrade Chen Yung-kuei and all the members of the Tachai Party branch committee. The time after lunch was left free for the visitors to rest before their departure. Premier Chou, however, seized this chance to talk to the comrades of the Party committees of Shansi Province and Central Shansi Prefecture, giving them important instructions. He arrived in Tachai at 8:30 in the morning and left at 4:10. Throughout the busy day he had not a single moment's rest. We poor and lower-middle peasants were very moved but our hearts bled to see the Premier not sparing himself. We all felt that if everyone worked in the same spirit as the Premier, what a lot could be done. Yet that scoundrel Wang Hung-wen, a member of the despicable "gang of four," went to Chairman Mao by plane to slander Premier Chou. Those devils are more poisonous than vipers.

Premier Chou lived very simply, accepting no privileges. His contributions to the state were tremendous, but he cut down his own requirements to the very minimum. Every time he came he insisted that we must not entertain him extravagantly or give the people any extra trouble. Before his first visit, the Premier sent word from Peking that he would eat our standard Tachai fare — steamed cornbread and millet gruel. We followed his instructions and prepared only four dishes and a soup made of Tachai produce. Premier Chou ate the cornbread and millet gruel with relish, saying how good they all tasted. On his second visit, Premier Chou and Vice-Premier Chen Yi ate in the home of a commune member and found the cornbread and flapjacks most appetizing. We were particularly touched when Premier Chou wrapped up in his handkerchief half a cornbread which he couldn't finish, saying that he would take

it back to eat. He also took some flapjacks away, announcing that these were for some leading comrades of the Party Central Committee. The third time Premier Chou came he was wearing a plain grey suit. An attendant handed him a hot towel and he hurriedly wiped his face. When the attendant offered to rinse out the towel so that he could wipe his face again, the Premier said: "That'll do. We must economize on water here. In a mountainous area every drop of water is precious." All that day, the Premier took good care of our foreign guests with no thought for himself. In the middle of their tour of Tiger Head Hill, the guests decided to take cars. The Premier saw them into sedans then followed behind in a jeep.

On all three of his visits Premier Chou insisted that we should not disturb the people or affect their farm work in any way. He loved every tree and plant of Tachai. In 1973 when we reached the Rear Gully, the Premier saw some of his group striding through a wheat field. "Don't cut through the field," he called out. "The shoots are growing so well, don't trample them." When we came back, the Premier asked Comrade Chia Cheng-jang whether the wheat had been damaged, only setting his mind at rest after Comrade Chia assured him no harm had been done.

Premier Chou was rich in experience and had extensive knowledge, having been through long periods of revolutionary struggles. But with us peasants he was just a simple, modest person. Once a foreign guest, after hearing the Premier describe how our Tachai fields had been built, complimented him, "You're not only a diplomat and statesman but an agronomist as well." Premier Chou shook his head. "No, no, I'm a layman here. I've come to Tachai to learn from them. I'm a student and they are my teachers."

In April 1973 when Premier Chou came for his last visit to Tachai, he gave us many valuable instructions. Then he said wistfully: "In 10 years' time there'll be even greater changes here. Too bad that I'm getting old. There's no chance of my coming again."

"Oh, there is," said Comrade Chen Yung-kuei. "Please come again in five years to see the new changes in Tachai and Hsiyang." Comrade Chen Yung-kuei made the request in all earnest on behalf of the poor and lower-middle peasants of Tachai, being unaware as we were that the Premier was already suffering from cancer.

When the time of departure drew near all the members of our Party branch committee went over to say goodbye to the Premier. He shook hands with us one by one. Do please come and visit Tachai again when you have time, we begged, and he promised so long as his health held out to do so. When Premier Chou saw us to the door, he waved and said:

"Till we meet again." But that was the last time we saw our beloved Premier.

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Premier Chou died on January 8, 1976. When the dreadful news came, happy Tachai Village was suddenly filled with anguish. Everyone, old and young, was weeping.

Comrades, said members of the Party branch committee, choking back sobs, let's wipe our tears and think hard. Of the instructions the Premier gave us how many have we carried out? What have we left undone? How can we improve on the work already done? How can we carry out those unfulfilled tasks?

At the time of the Premier's death, the "gang of four" wouldn't let the masses mourn him. Instead they stepped up their attack on him. They also tried to cut down the red banner of Tachai. Chiang Ching stormed into Tachai and accused us of "arrogance," "political backwardness" and "listening to the revisionists." We were furious but could only fume inwardly. The more the "gang of four" opposed Premier Chou the more we thought of him and longed for him. The harder that gang tried to pull down our Tachai red banner, a banner raised by Chairman Mao and safeguarded by Premier Chou, the more firmly we resolved to hold it high.

Here in Tachai, Premier Chou's portrait hangs in every household and his goodness is remembered in every heart. The passing of time cannot blur the memories we have of our beloved Premier. The slanders of the "gang of four" cannot sully the splendour of his image in our hearts.

Now that the "four pests" have been eradicated, how happy everyone is. With the "gang of four" overthrown, China's future is bright. May our beloved Premier Chou rest in peace! With Chairman Hua, a successor selected by Chairman Mao himself, at the helm, our country will surely thrive. We are determined to carry out the grand plan to modernize our agriculture, industry, national defence and science and technology which, on Chairman Mao's instructions, the Premier put forward at the Fourth National People's Congress. We are fully confident that this can be done.

## Remember Premier Chou's Instructions on the Modernization of China's Sciences and Technology

As we commemorate the first anniversary of Premier Chou En-lai's death and deepen the exposure and criticism of the "gang of four," our thoughts turn to the late Premier who faithfully adhered to and carried out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in the field of science and technology as in all other fields. After the founding of New China he concerned himself all the time with the country's scientific and technological work. He himself led the revolution in this field, waging struggles against the counter-revolutionary revisionist lines of Liu Shao-chi and Lin Biao and repulsing the obstruction and sabotage of the "gang of four." He made great, inerasable achievements in constantly leading us in our scientific and technological advances — the launching of earth satellites, the underground explosion of nuclear bombs, the building of ocean-going ships, the erection of large bridges across formerly impassable rivers, the hybridization of rice plants, the popularization of acupuncture anaesthesia, the synthesis of crystalline bovine insulin, the forecasting of earthquakes, etc. — each and every success bearing the marks of Premier Chou's close concern and tireless encouragement in those unforgettable days when he guided us in modernizing our sciences and technology.

*Develop Major Projects,  
Catch Up with the Advanced*

In order to put into practice the Party's basic line in the historical period of socialism as formulated by Chairman Mao and further consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat, Premier Chou always paid close attention to modernization in China's socialist construction. At the Fourth



National People's Congress in 1975, acting on Chairman Mao's instructions, he proclaimed to the world China's grand goal, "to accomplish the comprehensive modernization of agriculture, industry, national defence and science and technology before the end of the century, so that our national economy will be advancing in the world's front ranks." This gave expression to the deep-seated wish of the country's 800 million people, and in turn fired them with tremendous enthusiasm.

In his call for modernization in science, the Premier taught us to take class struggle as the key link and work out long-term plans to be carried out step by step. He took personal charge of drawing up two long-term plans for scientific-technological development, writing a brilliant chapter in China's history of advance in this field.

In 1956, when China had won decisive success in the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production, Chairman Mao pointed out at the Supreme State Conference: "The Chinese people should have a great and far-reaching plan and strive to change China's economic and scientific and cultural backwardness within several decades and enable it rapidly to reach advanced world levels." It was upon this instruction that Premier Chou took personal charge of drawing up the 12-year (1956-67) plan for scientific and technological development. Such a long-term comprehensive plan was perhaps the first of its kind in the world. It showed that under the superior socialist system sciences and technology can be developed in a planned way, embodying the principle that sciences and technology should closely serve socialist revolution and construction. And through the planning, Party leadership in scientific and technological work was further strengthened. In drawing up the plan, the Premier, though busy with other work, listened on many occasions to reports, giving specific instructions and deciding on the policy of "developing major projects and catching up with the advanced." Fifty-seven major tasks were selected. He decisively took urgent measures to develop more quickly new atomic energy, jet, transistor, computer, electronics and automation technology. Many a night he discussed and studied with us the measures to be taken, such as transference of the needed personnel from different parts of the country to set up the required research institutes, sending students abroad to study, down to the provision of the needed premises. He directed the work in all its aspects, as if he were commanding a military campaign. Under his solicitous care, this grand plan was accelerated during the Great Leap Forward of 1958 and basically accomplished ahead of schedule in 1962, making it possible for China to set up a number of important scientific research institutes and form her own forces in this field. From a backward — almost blank — state, our sciences and technology rapidly

caught up with other countries, and with the adoption of urgent measures in some new techniques, a group of new industrial branches took shape.

In 1960, when China was going through the difficult period of serious natural disasters, the Soviet revisionists perfidiously tore up their contracts with China and withdrew their experts in an attempt to strangle our sciences and technology once and for all. Confronted with their sabotage and the interference of Liu Shao-chi's revisionist line, Premier Chou En-lai, with the boldness of a proletarian revolutionary, resolutely decided to draw up China's second long-term plan for scientific and technological development, i.e., the 10-year (1963-72) plan for the development of science and technology. Implementing the principles of **maintaining independence and keeping the initiative in our own hands and relying on our own efforts** in developing science and technology, he formulated plans for the research and testing of atomic and hydrogen bombs and the manufacture of man-made satellites as well as research and application of the latest techniques in agriculture, industry and other fields. A bright prospect of great victory was thus envisaged in that difficult period.

In the process the Premier several times made reports, received technical personnel taking part in planning and encouraged them to unite as one to overcome difficulties and win success. Like a spring breeze, his solicitous instructions warmed the hearts of the scientists, inspiring them all — cadres and workers — to triumph over the chill waves of revisionism. In 1963 Chairman Mao heard the report on the 10-year plan for the country's scientific and technological development and gave important instructions. A new stage began in the modernization of China's sciences and technology. And now thanks to the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, further advances have been made in this field. These two long-term plans enabled China to take two firm strides in modernizing her sciences and technology, which were important contributions to consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and augmenting the material base of socialism.

### *Strengthen Basic Theoretical Research, Do Away with Shortsightedness*

New China's sciences and technology started from a very weak foundation, almost from scratch. As many scientific and technological problems in industry, agriculture and the building of national defence urgently need to be solved, the immediate task was to develop applied science. But a controversy arose among the scientists as to whether it was neces-

sary to devote any effort to developing basic sciences and theoretical research. Back in 1956, while stressing the study of applied science on a big scale, Premier Chou criticized the tendency then prevailing in China of neglecting theoretical study and pointed out with great foresight: "In order to raise the level of our sciences systematically, we must do away with shortsightedness. . . . If we do not pay more attention to the long-term need and theoretical work, we shall make a big mistake. Without theoretical research in science as a foundation, it would be impossible to achieve radical improvement or renovation in technology." Premier Chou gave the specific instruction to add to the 12-year plan a programme for the study of basic sciences and increase the existing staff. Consequently, theoretical study made considerable advance. During the Cultural Revolution the Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao "gang of four," on the pretext of criticizing the "three divorces" (from practice, from production and from the masses), seriously damaged the revolution on the scientific-technological front and sabotaged basic scientific work and theoretical research. As a result, many scientists did not dare do any theoretical study, and this in turn slowed down the development of applied science.

Strengthening the study of basic sciences and theory, therefore, became an urgent task in developing China's sciences and technology and surpassing the world's advanced levels. In the face of the adverse trend of opposing theoretical research whipped up by the "gang of four," Premier Chou defended Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and repeatedly encouraged the masses to rise and counter this trend. He solicitously told us: "The Academy of Sciences should raise the level of scientific research while establishing extensive contacts with practical work — carry out basic research and raise practice to a proper theoretical level." Stressing again and again the importance of strengthening the work of basic sciences and theoretical research, he said, "This matter must not be delayed any longer. . . . We must earnestly put it into effect and not treat it as a transitory thing." About the work of the Cosmic Ray Laboratory alone, he gave such instructions on five occasions despite his heavy workload. He told the Yunnan provincial Party committee members concerned to pay attention to the work of that Laboratory situated on a mountain top in Yunnan and look after the well-being of the comrades there. Even when he was confined to his sick-bed, he looked over and approved a plan for high-energy physics research. His instructions exposed the deadly aim of the "gang of four" in sabotaging scientific and technological work, pointed to a crucial weak link in our present work and in the scientific-technological field and expressed a long-entertained view of the scientists. They stimulate the enthusiasm

of those engaged in basic theoretical research and inspire them to work harder and faster for the modernization of sciences and technology.

### *Mobilize Millions for Scientific Advance*

The modernization of science and technology in our country is a task to be taken up by the masses in their millions. It will not do to rely on a small number of people. Premier Chou pointed out that it was necessary to mobilize the masses in a movement for scientific advance. In guiding the work of scientific and technological modernization, the Premier organized this mass mobilization brilliantly.

He always attached great importance to and showed deep concern for the activities of the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers in scientific experimentation. In 1958 during the Great Leap Forward he inspected many factories and villages, enthusiastically encouraged the workers and peasants to follow Chairman Mao's instruction: "**Do away with all fetishes and superstitions and emancipate the mind,**" and to launch a vigorous movement for technological innovation and revolution and for scientific farming. During the Cultural Revolution, he advocated "mass observation and precaution, and the combination of the professional and mass effort" in coping with earthquakes and supported the surging mass movements for scientific experimentation in all branches of industry and agriculture. In his last days he still attended to letters from scientists and technicians and was concerned about the popularization of science.

Setting an example by his own words and deeds, Premier Chou always carried out in the best way the Party's correct policy of uniting, educating and remoulding the intellectuals in the scientific field, mobilizing all positive factors and uniting all the forces that can be united. Many old scientists clearly recall the first national conference of representatives of workers in natural sciences held in August 1960 at the Huai Jen Hall, at which the Premier encouraged the participants to "serve the people and strive to turn China from an agricultural into an industrial country and build it into an independent, democratic, peaceful, united, prosperous and strong country." His enjoinder was so earnest, his smile so sincere and his handshake so warm that no patriotic scientific worker can ever forget that occasion.

Many middle-aged scientists still keep their notes on the report Premier Chou made on behalf of the Central Committee at the conference on the question of intellectuals called by the Party Central Committee on January 14, 1956 as well as their thoughts inspired by it at the time.

Twenty years have passed. As we re-read his report, we find how heart-warming and correct it is! He said, "If during the revolution we needed to enlist intellectuals, for the work of construction we need them even more." "To unite them is not only necessary but also fully possible"; but as for "those who come from the old society, they have to be helped to remould themselves." To provide conditions for the scientific and technological personnel to learn Chairman Mao's and other Marxist-Leninist works well and concentrate on their scientific research so as to become both Red and expert, Premier Chou specifically instructed the State Council to issue a notice about making proper arrangements for apportioning their time between work and political study.

Unforgettable to many scientists was the occasion in the early spring of 1962 when the Premier made a special trip to Kwangchow to attend the national conference on science and technology. There he made another report on the question of intellectuals. Citing his own experience, he talked about the importance and correct way for an intellectual to remould ideology. His talk shone throughout with the brilliance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. It became a strong motive force for comrades on the scientific-technological front to get united, withstand adverse tendencies, overcome difficulties and march on victoriously through self-reliance and hard work for the strength and prosperity of the motherland.

When younger scientists recall the Premier's expectations of them and his advice, they will cherish his memory all the more. During the Cultural Revolution he was entrusted by Chairman Mao with the task of looking after the movement in the Chinese Academy of Sciences and the former State Science Commission. Though busier than ever, he took up much of his valuable time receiving representatives of these two organizations on a number of occasions and told them to study conscientiously Chairman Mao's and other Marxist-Leninist works, take class struggle as the key link and unite to criticize revisionism. He gave guidance in using the historical materialist viewpoint to correctly assess the scientific and technological work in the 17 years since the founding of the People's Republic, recognizing that in the main it had advanced along Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. He encouraged the scientists to follow Chairman Mao's teaching to go to the factories and countryside, go among the masses, integrate themselves closely with the workers and peasants and transform the subjective world while transforming the objective — "live, learn and remould oneself to old age." He advised them to put proletarian politics in command of their expertise and make great efforts in scientific research. While recalling the Premier's concern, warm help and strict demands, they sincerely missed him and

could not suppress their deep hatred for the "gang of four" who persecuted cadres and scientific-technological workers and slandered and wanted to dismiss the intellectuals as the "stinking ninth category."\* If the "four evils" were not eliminated, the Party, the country and the people would have no peace, and China's modernization of sciences and technology could never be realized.

Our wise leader Chairman Hua Kuo-feng, carrying out Chairman Mao's behests, dispersed the dark clouds over the country and ferreted out the "gang of four," saving the revolution and the Party and bringing a new look to our scientific and technological work as well. Premier Chou's glorious services and achievements, his instructions and speeches, his writings and actions concerning science and technology will always inspire us to go forward and overcome all difficulties on our road of modernization. He has not departed from us. He will live forever in our hearts and he will keep fighting on together with us.

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\*The "gang of four" listed the intellectuals as the ninth category coming after the landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements, Rightists, renegades, enemy agents and capitalist-roaders. This was a great slander and insult.

## Through Clouds and Mists

### — Premier Chou Inspires Us to Make Successful Flights

How we, members of the General Administration and Peking Branch of CAAC and fighters of an aviation unit of the Air Force, who had flown with Premier Chou over mountains and rivers of our motherland as well as dozens of countries of the world, cherish his dear memory! The earnest advice of our beloved and esteemed Premier is still ringing in our ears. His kind smiling face is constantly flashing back to us. We will always remember him.

### *Boundless Loyalty to Chairman Mao*

Premier Chou, the tried and trusted comrade-in-arms of Chairman Mao, was a shining example of intense loyalty to the Chairman and resolute implementation of his revolutionary line. Whatever the Premier did and said embodied ardent love for Chairman Mao and boundless loyalty to his revolutionary line.

In early November 1964, entrusted by Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee, Premier Chou, as head of the Chinese Party and Government Delegation, flew to Moscow. In the days when the dark clouds of revisionism were pressing low, Premier Chou said seriously to the crew: "Don't cherish any illusions. You must make ready to fly back at a moment's notice and in all sorts of weather." In Moscow one of the Soviet revisionist leaders had the audacity to attack Chairman Mao at a banquet. Flying into a fury, Premier Chou rebuffed him loud and clear, dauntlessly defending Chairman Mao. Having won a significant victory in the confrontation with the Soviet revisionists, he

flew home the next day ahead of schedule. When we saw Chairman Mao come in person to the airport in the bitter cold to greet the Premier returning in triumph, the importance of this struggle further sank into our minds. It was really a heart-warming sight to see the great concern the Chairman showed for the Premier and the Premier's devoted love for the Chairman.

In November 1966, Chairman Mao was to receive Red Guards and revolutionary masses from all over the country at the airport. The day before, Premier Chou came to the airport to assign tasks and lay out the route for Chairman Mao's car. To guarantee the Chairman's security, to save his time and to ensure a smooth ride, the Premier had made detailed arrangements including where the car should turn the corner, which part of the road needed further levelling and where sentry posts were to be positioned. And he had made a careful inspection of every place the Chairman's car was to go.

The summer of 1967 saw Chairman Mao on his inspection tour of north, central-south and east China. Taking this opportunity, the Lin Piao anti-Party clique and the "gang of four," in an attempt to sabotage Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, incited bourgeois factionalism and provoked violent conflicts. They also tried to break into the Chairman's residence, thus jeopardizing his safety. At this critical juncture, it was the Premier himself who took guards from Peking to protect the Chairman. As soon as he boarded a plane, he called a meeting to learn about how the Cultural Revolution was progressing in the place he was flying to. And after getting off, he again took personal charge of arranging a special plane for the Chairman. He also took care of the details of the Chairman's flight, so that he could safely fly to Shanghai in time. Premier Chou's high sense of responsibility for Chairman Mao's security reminded us of what he had said when he accompanied Chairman Mao to Chungking for negotiations with the Kuomintang in 1945: "Every move, every action of the Chairman affects the Party's cause and the interests of the Chinese people as a whole. We must ensure his absolute safety." This was exactly what the Premier had been doing ever since.

### *Great Concern for the Building of Civil Aviation*

As is well known, there was almost no civil aviation in China to speak of before liberation. After liberation, Chairman Mao showed great concern for its development and issued a series of important instructions, throwing light on the direction of that development. Premier Chou

followed Chairman Mao's instructions and always showed great concern for our civil aviation which was still young. "Chung Kuo Ming Hang" (CAAC), the four glittering characters which were inscribed personally by the Premier greatly inspired us. In 1957, when CAAC had just started operating, we were faced with a lot of difficulties because of our lack of experience. That year, Premier Chou instructed us to "put safety first, improve service and ensure successful flights." A good summing up of its basic task and socialist nature, these words served as our guiding principle. But the Lin Piao anti-Party clique tried by hook and by crook to sabotage our work, even going so far as to criticize the principle of "safety first." Premier Chou waged a sharp struggle against them. In one of his instructions, he pointed out: "How can we not put safety first since we are flying every day? 'Putting politics first' belongs to another category. Politics must be in command of vocational work. You can't confuse things belonging to different categories." Thus he dealt a hard blow to the anti-Party clique. Premier Chou often told us as well to pay attention to the safety measures of the international air-lines and to sum up experience. Thanks to his loving care and concrete instructions we have come to see more clearly the great political significance of ensuring safety and satisfactorily fulfilled various important tasks. Internationally, CAAC enjoys a fairly high reputation for safety. The credit goes to Chairman Mao and to Premier Chou who dedicated so much of his time and energy to our work.

Premier Chou was also concerned with CAAC's overseas flights. In the first half of 1965 Premier Chou gave an instruction: "Only by opening international air-routes can CAAC open up new vistas." Whenever we met with difficulties Premier Chou always taught us: "You have to see the importance of your work. You should have great aspirations and win honour for Chairman Mao and our motherland." He was anxious for us to become more experienced and therefore more confident of flying abroad. Before long the Premier wanted us, the CAAC crew, to fly him and his delegation to some Asian and African countries for a friendly tour. He told us: "Be confident. I'm here to get experience, too." We were greatly inspired by his words. It was the Chairman who rescued us from a life of poverty in the old days and later trained us as pilots. Today, Premier Chou placed great trust in us and would fly with us out into the world. What honour and what happiness! Thus we began our unforgettable journey.

A host of unexpected problems arose, such as the equatorial convergent line when we flew over the Sudan. Owing to a change in the wind, the plane bumped and jerked like a wild horse and was hard to control. We were worried about the safety of the Premier and the

other leading comrades. But our Premier, quite unruffled, said: "It's all right. I have trust in you." His firm, strong voice gave us new strength. We overcame one difficulty after another and successfully completed our first flight to Africa. When Premier Chou had concluded his visit and we were flying homeward over the Pamirs, a red sun rose slowly from the east over the snow-capped mountains. At the magnificent sight, the Premier suggested we sing *The East Is Red* in chorus. We all gathered round him. Premier Chou set the tune and conducted the singing. When the song was over, he said: "Great is the Chairman. We should love him devotedly. . . . As long as we live, we should study Chairman Mao's instructions and act on them. . . . In flying you depend on Mao Tsetung Thought. The truth holds for every walk of life. Only Mao Tsetung Thought can nourish us individuals." Premier Chou's deep love for Chairman Mao was an inspiring example.

Since the Great Cultural Revolution more and more countries had established diplomatic relations and many wanted to have aerial communication with us. The Premier told us that this was an excellent situation brought about by Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in foreign affairs. He asked us "to make a good study of politics and the Party's policies and become Red and expert," in order to meet the needs arising from this situation and to fly farther to more countries. In 1974, the ailing Premier was still constantly concerned with opening new international air-routes. In one of his instructions he inquired: "Are we ready to start some new international air-routes in the latter half of the year? Can we ensure traffic to both sides so that there will be no trouble in aerial navigation, communications, weather forecasting, controlling, taking off and landing, so that there will be no problems with airports, supply, maintenance, transport, food, lodging and safety? If conditions are still not ripe, we must speed up preparations." These years, spurred on by the Premier's spirit of daring to make revolution, we have overcome all sorts of difficulties and flown to more and more countries. Now CAAC has flown over four continents, as far as South America's Venezuela in the east, Africa's Mozambique in the south, Senegal in the west and Iceland in the north. Every time we fly over Africa or the Arctic Ocean, every time we span the Pacific or Atlantic, or climb over the Pamirs, our minds are filled with fresh emotions. Our first flight to Africa flashed back to our minds as if the Premier were again boarding our plane and singing *The East Is Red* together with us.

Premier Chou often taught us to carry out Chairman Mao's teachings about ridding ourselves of great-power chauvinism, and to be modest and prudent. He himself set us a good example. In diplomatic activities, whenever on a tour abroad or at a reception at home, the Premier

was invariably warm towards our friends from other countries, and he was especially hearty and showed greater concern towards those from the third world. Once the Premier was going on a visit to Tanzania. On the same plane was a third secretary from the Tanzanian embassy in Peking who sat in the fore cabin. At meal-time the stewardess as usual started serving from the back of the plane. When she came to the Premier's seat, he asked: "Have you served the foreign guest yet?" When he was told they usually served from the back to the front of the plane, he said: "We should serve foreign guests before we serve our own comrades. It should be so whenever we have foreign passengers aboard." How considerate and meticulous our Premier was in his work! Another time a second secretary from an African embassy took the same plane with Premier Chou. The stewardess served drinking water to the Premier before she attended the African friend. The Premier at once reminded her, "You should serve the foreign friend first. Don't give me priority. Great-power chauvinism must be done away with." A man of great integrity and immense breadth of mind, Premier Chou has won high prestige both in China and in the world.

### *Utter Devotion to the Revolution*

We Air Force fighters began flying Premier Chou's special plane in the early 50s. In about 100 flights, never once did we fly him to a sanatorium; during flights over hundreds of thousands of kilometres, never once did we see him waste any time. Premier Chou often said to us, "Time is precious. We all must make time to work more. . . . We are getting old. There won't be much time left for us to work for the Party. We must work against time."

In 1959, Chairman Mao presided over the historically significant Eighth Plenary Session of the Eighth Party Central Committee, at which the frenzied attack of the Peng Teh-huai anti-Party clique was smashed. In the fierce two-line struggle, Premier Chou unswervingly took Chairman Mao's side, working day and night to defend Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. The night before he took a plane to attend the meeting in Lushan, the Premier didn't sleep a wink and his eyes were bloodshot. Yet he continued reading documents on the plane. When he was too sleepy to go on, he just splashed some cold water over his face. In this way he worked until the plane landed.

In June 1965, when the Premier was on a tour of some Asian and African countries, he worked on a full agenda, often working days and nights on end without taking a rest. During the 23 hours of his home-bound

journey, the Premier never rested a moment. Guards, secretaries and stewardesses took turns to persuade him to have a rest, but he always declined. Yet for the crew, the Premier showed great concern, asking them to make scientific use of their time and take turns to rest. One stewardess said, "Premier, we won't rest if you don't." The Premier smiled, "All right, then, I'll take a rest." Everybody was overjoyed to hear this. The pilot adjusted the glide rate to the very minimum so that the Premier could sleep a bit more. But in less than two hours the Premier was up and at his work again. Seeing all this really made our hearts bleed. Later, on his journey to the planned Second Afro-Asian Conference, the Premier didn't stop reading documents for a minute though the crew had all seen his fatigue and bloodshot eyes as soon as he boarded the plane. The doctor again and again asked him to have a break, but he wouldn't hear of it. Later the doctor said: "Premier, let me wash your eyes before you resume your reading." The Premier answered apologetically: "Too much trouble for you, Doctor. Well, give me a wash of the eyes, then." After the treatment, the doctor asked him to have a rest with his eyes closed. Then the Premier called his secretary over to read the documents to him. After a while he said: "You may go and have a rest now. I can manage to read for myself." The Premier's great spirit of selflessness will forever remain in our minds.

Most unforgettable was February 1967 when Premier Chou accompanied some foreign guests on a visit to Sandstone Hollow. After the helicopter landed in the village, the crew found an emergency oxygen bottle aboard. They were just wondering who it was for when an attendant came with a bottle of medicine in her hand. She told them that both the medicine and the oxygen bottle were for the Premier who was not enjoying very good health then. Shen Lung-fu, the radio operator, was troubled: "Why should the Premier have come with the foreign guests if he is not well?" He ran out and looked into the distance, only to find Premier Chou briskly conducting people singing *Sailing the Seas Depends on the Helmsman*. The scene immediately brought tears to Shen's eyes. This was how Premier Chou spent his life's energy for the revolutionary cause, without giving a single thought to himself.

### *Sharing Feelings with the Masses*

Premier Chou and the masses were closely linked. He had the 800 million Chinese people at heart and never thought of himself.

The Premier never failed to show his loving care to every crew member. He knew many comrades and their families well, even how old their children were. One stewardess had had a difficult childbirth. As soon as the Premier learned this, he sent his personal regards to her. When he saw a crew member asleep, the Premier would gingerly ask someone to cover the sleeping comrade with a blanket. Once when the Premier had boarded the plane he came up to the cockpit to greet and shake hands with the crew. At that moment, Kuang Tsu-ping, a mechanic, was just bending over some instruments preparing the plane for take-off. Having shaken hands with all the other comrades, Premier Chou stood behind Kuang patiently waiting, with a signal to the others not to interrupt him. Only when Kuang had finished his work and turned about, did he find the Premier standing behind. He blurted out, "I'm sorry, Premier. I didn't know you were waiting for me." The Premier smiled, "I hope I haven't caused you any trouble in your work." Premier Chou always had us in his heart, and we in turn cherished great respect and deep love for him. Once, on a flight to Hangchow, a stewardess thought that since the local kumquat was a special produce, the Premier would certainly like it. She managed to get some to take aboard the plane. Seeing the fruit the Premier said: "The kumquat is a rarity. How did you get these? Help yourselves, everybody." But none of us touched them. Getting off the plane, the Premier said to the stewardess: "I leave it to you to distribute them among the comrades." The crew said since they were rare, it'd be better to leave them for the Premier, and so the kumquats were taken aboard again. When he saw them again, the Premier asked: "Why didn't you give them to the comrades?" "I did," said the stewardess, "and one for each." "Share it with the comrades when there is something delicious," the Premier said. "Don't keep it for me alone."

In 1965 Premier Chou was on a visit to Africa. When the plane was approaching a mountain pass on the Northwest highland, the Premier drafted a message to greet the commanders and fighters posted at the Air Force navigation station on the mountain and asked the crew to send it when the plane flew over the border. Premier Chou said: "These comrades must be having a rough time working at such a high altitude. They have done very well." This touching episode has since remained in our minds.

The Premier was so kind to us crew members that we all felt free to talk with him. Little Li, the barber working at the airport, told the Premier he wanted to be transferred into the city. The Premier time and again persuaded him to put his heart into his work, telling him about the importance of a barber's job. Every time he set foot in the barber's,

he would say: "Little Li, here I am to trouble you again." Then he asked: "Do you still feel restless?" When he knew Li was determined to stay on in his job and do his work well, he said gladly: "That's good." Once in 1967 the Premier brought two boxes of Chairman Mao badges for the comrades working in the restaurant. Not seeing Little Li, the Premier left a message: "Leave two for Li." Some time later when the Premier came to the airport again, he went out of his way to see Li, and his first question was: "Have you got the badges I sent you?" "Yes, thank you," Li said. Premier Chou encouraged him: "We should love our great leader Chairman Mao, study his works well and serve the people whole-heartedly." These two treasured Chairman Mao badges, Li has taken good care of till this day. He said: "In the old society who would treat us barbers as equals? Today our Premier Chou cared for me in such a moving way. How can I not cherish his memory!"

Premier Chou worked hard and had great integrity. He was the very embodiment of the noble virtues of a proletarian revolutionary. Whether aboard a plane or in the waiting room, he never asked for special privilege. Every time he took the plane he would have with him that old leather suit-case of his which had been in his service a dozen years and which had worn white in many places. The quilt he brought with him was also an old one which he had used for more than a decade. During the three years of temporary economic difficulties (1959-61), Premier Chou showed us how to economize, taking neither food nor tea served on the plane, at a time when the Soviet revisionists were putting pressure on us and at a time of natural calamities.

At other times, the Premier took simple meals on the plane: only two ordinary dishes, a few slices of bread and a bowl of green lentil gruel. He was also plainly dressed. On one flight abroad the chief mechanic saw a well-worn pale brown hat hanging outside the Premier's cabin. He thought this looked bad and was thinking of putting it in a less conspicuous place. But as he took it down he saw the character "Chou" written on the inside. Amazed, he wondered whether the hat was Premier Chou's. Just then the Premier's secretary came up and told him that it was the Premier's hat and that he had worn it for many years. Deeply moved, the mechanic couldn't take his eyes off the hat a long time. Finally, he put it back in its place.

Wherever the Premier dined, he never forgot to remind his secretary to pay and would not rest at ease until he saw the receipt.

December 23, 1974 is a day we shall never forget, when we were entrusted with the honourable task of flying the Premier to Changsha for a report to Chairman Mao. We had heard that Premier Chou was



seriously ill from overwork. But as we learned that we would again fly a special plane for him, we couldn't help beaming from ear to ear, thinking that meant he had got better now. On his arrival at the airport, Premier Chou greeted and shook hands with the comrades as usual. When he was asked how he was, he said: "As for illness, you've got to fight it." Then he went on, smiling, "It's a year since I last took a plane. I've been bed-ridden in hospital for eight months and am now better." Premier Chou was full of revolutionary optimism. But the crew found his face haggard and his hair grey. There were obviously more pigmentation patches on his face and he walked with some difficulty. We knew that regardless of his illness, our Premier was working staunchly for the Party and the people. And even in this state of health, he asked us in detail during his flight how the movement to criticize Lin Biao and Confucius was going on in the Air Force, how we did in our training, and about the deployment and equipment of our units. On December 27, 1974, we flew the Premier back to Peking. The plane landed after 9 o'clock in the evening. Although it was already late, and despite his fatigue after the long journey, the Premier, leaning on his secretary, insisted on going to the crew's cabin to shake hands with everyone. Holding his slightly quivering hand, with hot tears welling up into their eyes, the comrades looked at him and said: "Premier, take good care of yourself." The Premier ran his eyes over every one of us and smiled: "Thank you. You flew well and smoothly. I'd like to take your plane next time I fly."

Ever since December 27, 1974 when we said goodbye to Premier Chou, we had been looking forward to the day when he would be well again, when we would again fly him on an inspection tour of our country's beautiful land, to have heart-to-heart talks with the masses. We had been looking forward to the day when we would fly him on visits to friendly countries, to promote revolutionary friendship. The stewardesses carefully preserved the cup and lamp used by the Premier on the plane, expecting him to take another sip of our green tea and to read and work under the lamp. How were we to know then that the flight on December 27, 1974 would be his last one, and it would be the last time we ever saw him.

**"The lonely moon goddess spreads her ample sleeves  
To dance for these loyal souls in infinite space."**

Premier Chou, we will remember you forever.

## The Premier Personally Drew the Capital's Blueprint

The magnificent, stately Great Hall of the People, the towering Peking Hotel, the imposing Capital Gymnasium, the petrochemical area with its numerous towers and refineries, the beautiful Peihai Bridge and many other buildings are today scattered throughout the capital, making it even more beautiful than before. The architects and workers who took part in their construction cannot help feeling pained whenever they think of Premier Chou who worked day and night to realize these projects. With deep feeling, they all said: "The blueprint for the capital was drawn personally by the Premier. The scale of projects, their disposition, the principles in planning and the way to change Peking from a consumers' into a producers' city were all worked out under Premier Chou's specific instructions. He had done his utmost for the Chinese and world revolution and in building the capital as well."

### I

There have been two different ideologies since liberation on the way construction in the capital should develop, and the struggle between them has been acute. Were we to put politics in command and launch vigorous mass movements, or were we just to grasp technical expertise and rely only on a small number of experts? Were we to build the country through hard work and thrift, or to indulge in extravagance and waste? Were we to follow the principle of making the past serve the present, adapting foreign things to China, and weeding through the old to bring forth the new, or were we to make a fetish of foreign things, revive the outmoded and travel the path of national nihilism? Were we to use our manpower and resources intensively or apply them on many projects at the same time? These were all major questions of principle,

and on these questions, Premier Chou always stood firmly on the side of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and enjoined the workers, cadres and technicians to follow Chairman Mao's teachings and do a good job in Peking's capital construction.

The construction of the Great Hall of the People is a brilliant example of how the Premier faithfully followed Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. In the course of designing, some of the technical staff could not correctly appraise the relation between innovation and retention. Some architects thought that everything foreign was excellent and wanted merely to copy Western styles. Some were blinded by China's ancient architecture and insisted that the Great Hall should have wide-spreading roofs like those of ancient Chinese architecture. Still others thought there was nothing good in either Western or Chinese architecture and refused to draw any useful ideas from either. Once Premier Chou had fully understood the situation, he repeatedly encouraged the technicians to break with superstition, and dare to think, act and create. He specifically pointed out: "We should turn to our advantage the best from the past and present Chinese and foreign architecture in form and artistic styling." He told them not to be bound by outmoded architectural patterns but work hard to create new forms expressing the characteristics of the socialist era. He also pointed out that the designers should insist on practicality, economy and beauty, and take effective steps to guarantee quality and safety. In order to turn everybody's enthusiasm to good account and arrive at a consensus of opinion on an ideal design, Premier Chou called many meetings of leading cadres, architects and engineers between the end of 1958 and the beginning of 1959. He encouraged them to discuss and debate over the issues in the spirit of "letting a hundred flowers bloom, a hundred schools of thought contend" so as to learn from each other and overcome one's deficiencies by benefiting from the strong points of others. After the meetings, he often sought out the experts who had held different views, offered them helpful advice and patiently asked for their opinions on the plan. Thanks to his correct guidance, the wisdom of both the architects and the rank and file was fully exploited, and the whole work of designing progressed in the spirit of letting the past serve the present, making foreign things serve our own purpose and weeding through the old to bring forth the new.

Even in Yenan, Chairman Mao had already stated that once the revolution had been won, we must build a great auditorium that would be able to seat 10,000 people at one time. The leaders of the Party and the masses would then be able to sit down together and discuss the affairs of the nation. Premier Chou never forgot Chairman Mao's aspiration. When the decision to build the Great Hall was made, he pointed out that it must

include such an auditorium. But when it came to drawing up the plans for it, the experts were caught in a dilemma. It would have to have 10 times the capacity of a regular auditorium. If the problem of size was not properly handled, the audience would be awed by its enormous spaciousness. The experts had many opinions on how to solve this contradiction. Some thought that it should be built like an opera house, with balconies and boxes. Others wanted to lower the height of the ceiling. One plan after another was submitted, but each one was marred by quite a few problems. No one was satisfied. At one meeting, once he had grasped the situation, the Premier dwelled at length on the political significance of the auditorium. He emphasized that we are a socialist country and that the people are the masters. He pointed out that in our architectural designing, between man and things, our main consideration was the former while the latter were only intended to serve the former. This hall had to be constructed in such a way that the people would enjoy using it, feeling that they were the masters of the building. In order to resolve the problem of balance between man and the building, Premier Chou introduced the concept of harmony between the sky and the sea. He asked, "When you are standing by the seashore and looking towards the horizon, the sea does not seem so distant, the skies do not seem so high and people do not look minute. Why is this?" As he was talking, he sketched in pencil an irregular oval-shaped ceiling, suggesting that they take advantage of such an optical illusion. His words were an eye-opener which won the admiration of all the experienced architects. They had been to the seashore many times but had never related the experience to architectural designs. The interior structure of the auditorium is now an architectural expression of the Premier's concept of "merging the skies with the sea." The ceiling is a huge dome, integrating with the walls in a smooth oval joint so that people do not feel dwarfed and lost in space. Three circular banks of lights, about 500 in all, are recessed into the ceiling. When they are all lit up, it is as if the skies are full of stars. The centre of the ceiling is dominated by a five-pointed red star nestling in a huge golden sunflower. The entire auditorium, from its construction to its interior decoration and colour scheme, creates an atmosphere of simplicity, brightness and grace.

## II

Premier Chou often inspected the construction sites in the capital, in spite of his heavy schedule of Party and state affairs, domestic and international, to make sure that the work was going well. This enabled

him to gain first-hand knowledge and provide on-the-spot leadership. Premier Chou left his mark on countless projects. We will never forget the efforts he spent in finding the correct location for the Capital Gymnasium. He made a special trip to the top of the broadcasting building to command a bird's-eye view of the location before giving his instructions. When we were renovating Tien An Men he listened to our report, then took the model of the gate apart and re-assembled it. He asked one question after another until everything was crystal clear. Then there was the time when he took part in the construction of the Ming Tombs Reservoir, joining the workers there in pulling a handcart. He took personal charge of mobilizing manpower and material for the construction of the Miyun Reservoir. We can never forget that despite illness, he personally investigated and approved the plans of renovating the Pei-hai Bridge. Even while he was travelling abroad, he still thought of the construction projects in the capital.

We will always remember how he ignored his age and ill-health to determine building-height limits within the city proper. He climbed tall buildings or walked the streets to make surveys. On the morning of November 2, 1973, Premier Chou was returning from the airport after seeing off a foreign guest. Without taking any rest, he came to the construction site of the Peking Hotel. At that time, the structural frame of the building had already reached the 16th storey. To get up or down, one had to use the open freight elevator outside the building. The ride was rather rugged for a man of his age. But to gain first-hand knowledge, he ignored his personal safety and wanted to go up. Everyone earnestly begged him not to but he insisted. All the cadres and workers there were deeply touched. The young elevator operators Wang and Chang, determined to ensure the safety of the beloved Premier of China's 800 million people, took great care to offer a smooth ride. The car went up as far as the 14th storey. Then he had to pick his way through the numerous wooden props of concrete molds, along narrow corridors littered with bricks and over the boards on the scaffolding to reach the roof of the 16th storey. From there he inspected the construction site. He used a pair of field-glasses to view all the tall buildings within the city. Then he invited the responsible cadres and the technicians and engineers to the Great Hall of the People where they all went up to the roof to inspect from the distance the Peking Hotel construction site and the city's other tall buildings. He hurriedly took a bowl of noodles for lunch and then, full of spirit, said, "Let's go to Hsihua Gate to take a look from there." Winter was beginning and the icy wind whipped in over the city. His top-coat was thin, and he was not wearing a hat, but he climbed to the top of the gate. Standing in the weeds on top, he again made a

survey. After these inspections and careful research, he gave specific instructions concerning the height of the Peking Hotel and that of other buildings in the city. Thus he laid down a correct guiding principle in the construction of the great socialist capital.

### III

Besides industrial projects and constructions that were politically significant, the Premier was very concerned about the housing programmes and service facilities for the inhabitants of Peking, bringing the warmth of Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee to countless homes. In 1959, when we were involved in 10 great construction projects, manpower and materials were very tight. He issued an instruction that attention must also be paid to resolving the housing problem. He pointed out that not enough housing projects were planned for Peking that year, and so an extra floor space of 200,000 square metres had to be completed in eight months even if it meant postponing the construction of the Science and Technology Museum and the Arts Palace. He said many times that new office-blocks should be accompanied by adequate living quarters and stores and that we must not just put up office buildings and factories without providing homes for those who work there. When the huge Tien An Men Square was being built and more than 1,000 homes had to be pulled down, he instructed us several times to take care of the housing problem of the residents involved. The departments concerned accordingly earmarked 30 million yuan especially to relocate these households. After the Great Hall of the People was built, he had these former residents invited to the Hall to tour the building and see a film in its great auditorium.

Premier Chou was very concerned about the housing condition of the construction workers. He often asked them where their families lived and whether or not they had workers' dormitories. He stressed time and again that we should orient all capital construction primarily to the needs of the workers, peasants and soldiers, who constitute the majority of the people. But there were those who had a special liking for little courtyards all to themselves. Criticizing them he said, "These courtyards, though small, should accommodate several families. If one family occupies a separate courtyard, where are we going to find so many courtyards?"

He always bore in mind the interests of the masses but was also concerned about every individual worker. Every time a large project was undertaken, he would have temporary dormitories built close to the site

for the service and working personnel. He would ask if the drivers had a place to rest. He even went into such details as to advise that sofas should not be so heavy since the service staff would easily get tired moving them and that plumbing systems should be so designed as to make the job of maintenance workers easier.

Our Premier set great store by the health and welfare of the coming generations. Starting in 1970, he issued about a dozen detailed instructions for the protection of Peking's environment and repeatedly told us to "pay close attention to the people's health," "think of the coming generations," "refrain from doing anything which will harm our descendants," and "turn the capital into a clean city." In March 1973, when he was already seriously ill, he climbed to the platform on the White Dagoba of Peihai Park to make a personal inspection of the city's measures in suppressing smog and dust.

#### IV

Premier Chou was a model of the proletarian living style and was firmly opposed to the bourgeois living style. After liberation, he directed us to build many big buildings, highways and bridges or to repair or refurbish old ones, but he himself lived in a simple and plain old house which he would not allow us to renovate. He had thoughts only for the Chinese revolution, the world revolution and the labouring people but never for himself. After the completion of the 10 great projects in the capital, and after many workers had moved into new apartments, it was discovered that the pillars in his house had already rotted and that the walls needed re-plastering. The floors were damp and the window frames showed seams which had to be pasted over with slips of used newspaper during the winter and if he wanted fresh air, he would roll up the paper on another old-styled paper window. The maintenance staff all felt unhappy over the condition of his house and repeatedly asked for permission to repair it. But Premier Chou would not approve. Later, when he was travelling abroad, they seized the opportunity to get permission from his secretary. Everyone knew that Premier Chou lived a simple and plain life and so they only made the most necessary repairs. But even so, the secretary was criticized by the Premier who felt that the renovations were more than necessary. The main beam in his garage had already cracked and the repair workers suggested that they put in a new roof. But he refused. He said that our country was not well off, and if they would just put up a few props, the garage might last for a couple of years more. So instead of giving it a new roof, they used iron sheeting to wrap the

cracked beam and two posts to support it. The small auditorium of the State Council had a tall ceiling and the ventilation was poor. Since it was also the conference room of Premier Chou and the ministers, some people gave the order that it be renovated. When the roof, the windows and doors were being removed, the Premier discovered this. He asked, "Who gave the order? The room was perfectly satisfactory! This is far better than the caves in Yenan. No more renovations!" Then he added, "As long as I am the Premier, there will be no renovations to this auditorium." The repair workers followed his wishes and made no drastic changes.

We the capital's construction workers will always remember the Premier. When we think of the time that he spent with us; when we think of his kind attention and his instructions shining with the radiance of Mao Tsetung Thought; when we think of his voice and laughter brimming with revolutionary vigour; when we think of his revolutionary spirit of working tirelessly all his life — we feel that he has not really left us. We will always remember him, blueprint in hand, walking towards the construction site, energetically climbing the half-finished buildings and mapping out new plans. We still seem to see him smiling and shaking the hands of the construction workers, and conveying to them the warm regards of Chairman Mao . . . . His glorious image will always live in our hearts and forever encourage us to advance boldly.

## Premier Chou Devoted His Life to the People, the People Will Always Remember Him

Premier Chou En-lai's death deeply saddened the people. At that time, people from all parts of the country streamed to Premier Chou's birthplace, Huaian County in Kiangsu Province, more than 60,000 mourners arriving every day to express their grief. Tears of sorrow fell in the mourning hall. A retired worker from Shanghai who had joined the Peking-Hankow Railway February 7th Strike in 1923 made a special trip to Huaian to mourn. It was with profound feeling that he said: "Premier Chou devoted his life to the people; we will always remember him." Though the "gang of four" fiercely attacked Premier Chou, people were never deterred from expressing their grief, showing that people's hearts cannot be deceived, their will cannot be bent.

Premier Chou En-lai was born in Huaian County and grew up there. Soon after its liberation, he asked his relatives living in the house where he was born not to mention the fact. As for those who did come to visit, they should be persuaded to go to Shaoshan to pay their respects at Chairman Mao's birthplace. Still there were people who came to Huaian and asked to see the house. Premier Chou learned of this and said to his relatives: "Better tear the house down and then people can't visit it." In 1958, and again in 1960, when Premier Chou received the leading members of the county Party committee in Peking, he instructed them repeatedly that the house should be torn down and not restored as a commemorative site, as Chairman Mao's birthplace had been. Comrade Teng Ying-chao earnestly and sincerely urged the leading comrades of the county Party committee to carry out the Premier's request. The committee called a special meeting to discuss the matter and also reported it to the provincial Party committee. We did not have the Premier's old residence dismantled. The people loved him too much for that. On four occasions in November and December 1973, a comrade from the State Council General Office transmitted Premier Chou's directive by

telephone: 1. No visitors to the birthplace; 2. People living in the house must not be asked to move; 3. No repairs should be made on the house.

Premier Chou's request that people go to Shaoshan and pay their respects at Chairman Mao's birthplace expressed his profound revolutionary feelings for Chairman Mao. It reminds us of past days and nights when Premier Chou studied Mao Tsetung Thought conscientiously, carried it out seriously and defended it bravely in the ChingKang Mountains, on the Long March and in the cave-dwellings in Yen-an, and later, by the electric light at Chungnanhai in Peking. We recall, too, stirring scenes of him leading the revolutionary masses in enthusiastically singing *The East Is Red* and *Sailing the Seas Depends on the Helmsman*.

In 1958, Premier Chou received us for the first time. Beaming broadly, he walked up to greet us and firmly clasped our hands, introducing us humorously to his comrades: "These are my native officials." We sat down in that relaxed and happy atmosphere and reported to Premier Chou on our work. He was overjoyed when he learned that industrial and farm production in Huaian County had developed by leaps and bounds. He listened attentively and took notes, time and again putting down his pen to inquire in greater detail. He told us about the excellent situation in the country as a whole and acquainted us with the good experience of different places. When we told him that we were short of raw materials for developing local industry and hoped that he could help us solve the problem, Premier Chou said amiably: "You must rely on your own efforts, follow Chairman Mao's teachings, take agriculture as the foundation and develop local industry step by step on the basis of substantial increases in farm output." Premier Chou also instructed us first of all to set up iron and wood farm tool plants, then consider other industries. Later on, in a letter to the leading comrades of the Kiangsu provincial Party committee, he mentioned our request for raw materials and commented, "Of course, I can't give my approval."

In 1960, the county Party committee leaders went to Peking and met Premier Chou. They told him that the county had gathered a good harvest on its 100,000 mu of cotton and that they intended to set up a textile mill. China's national economy was in a period of temporary difficulty at that time, and Premier Chou both inspired and educated us when he said: "You are planting cotton, but if you want to set up a textile mill now, the mills in Shanghai will be short of raw material." So Premier Chou taught us that the county should give priority to the interests of the whole country.

While we were talking with Premier Chou we were deeply impressed by his remarkable proletarian revolutionary character. He was concerned for Huaian's people and for the county's reconstruction, and was

overjoyed to see the changes that took place there after liberation. He loved Huaian, but cherished the whole country more, never granting any special favour to his native county.

Premier Chou always set strict demands on his relatives, teaching them to uphold the principle of proletarian Party spirit and refrain from enjoying privileges under any circumstances. One of the Premier's nephews had studied in Peking, where he took up a post after graduation. During his 10 years' stay in the capital, he followed Premier Chou's wishes strictly and never revealed that they were related, so that only when he was admitted into the Communist Party did people learn of it. In 1961, when he married, his unit arranged for his wife to be transferred from Huaian to Peking. They happened to mention this to Premier Chou, who observed, "If an arrangement has to be made to get husband and wife together, why must the wife be transferred to Peking rather than the other way round?" Premier Chou persuaded the couple that they should go back to Huaian to work.

Premier Chou was very strict with himself, an outstanding example in observing Party discipline. In 1962 when we went to Peking to attend a meeting, we took some of the local specialty — fried crisps — for Premier Chou to taste. He promptly returned the gift along with a copy of the State Council document on the banning of such favours. He also wrote a note on the document, asking leading comrades on the Kiangsu provincial Party committee, the Huaiyin prefectural Party committee and the Huaian county Party committee to study it conscientiously and follow it to the letter.

How forthright and noble Premier Chou's spirit was! His every word and deed bespoke his proletarian Party spirit. He will always remain a shining example for us all.

## Premier Chou Was of One Heart with the People of Yen-an

Whenever people enter Vice-Chairman Chou En-lai's simple cave-dwelling in the Date Garden in Yen-an and see on the desk in his office the works by Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Chairman Mao which he had studied conscientiously, and each of which bears his name on its cover, their memories are stirred. In the hard days of war, Vice-Chairman Chou burnt much midnight oil in the persistent study of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. The sky over China was then inky dark, but there seemed to be a bright, unquenchable light in Vice-Chairman Chou's heart. Then, after long, arduous struggles, the dawn of liberation finally broke over China in all its glory.

In front of Chairman Mao's former residence at the foot of Phoenix Hill there is a picture of Vice-Chairman Chou reporting to Chairman Mao. It was taken at the time when Comrade Chou En-lai came back to Yen-an after he had brought about the peaceful settlement of the "Sian Incident." The picture is testimony of his faithful execution of Chairman Mao's strategy at that crucial moment and his lasting contribution to the Chinese revolution. Nearly 30 years later, Premier Chou re-visited Yen-an. When he saw the picture, he said modestly to the foreign guests he was accompanying: "I was a greenhorn at that time." These simple words expressed his unswerving dedication to Chairman Mao over the years. During the tour with the guests, Premier Chou always praised Chairman Mao for his proletarian revolutionary line and his immense contributions to the Chinese revolution and the world revolution. As for the Premier's own revolutionary experience in Yen-an, he would agree neither to opening his former residence to visitors nor to putting up any more pictures of him. He attributed the entire victory to Chairman Mao and invincible Mao Tsetung Thought.

Every veteran guerrilla in the small town of Chenwutung in Ansai County can tell in detail about the mass meeting that was held there to celebrate our army's victories in northern Shensi back in 1947, and

recount how Premier Chou fought alongside Chairman Mao. May 14 of that year marked a brilliant page in the history of China's liberation war. After withdrawing from Yen-an on March 19, our army won successive victories in the battles of Chinghuapien, Yangmaho and Panlung-chen in northern Shensi, all within two months. On the day of the meeting, Chenwutung was thronged with people. The celebrations which were held in front of Mawang Temple were frequently punctuated by songs and slogans. At dusk, more than 20 buglers sounded a march. The whole audience was astir when Vice-Chairman Chou mounted the rostrum. Hand-clapping and the shouting of slogans burst out like peals of thunder. Waving his hand, Vice-Chairman Chou extended his regards to the audience and joined the applause. At this moment of victory, people recalled the inspiring speech he had delivered at the mobilization meeting of more than 10,000 people of the Shensi-Kansu-Ningsia Border Region on March 8 before the evacuation of Yen-an. He had declared: "Under the direct leadership of Chairman Mao and Commander-in-Chief Chu, we will certainly win." Vice-Chairman Chou's prediction was realized in only two months. Comrade Chang Han-wu, then secretary of the Yen-an city Party committee and now vice-chairman of the local prefectural revolutionary committee, recalled that it was at this meeting that Vice-Chairman Chou announced the great news that Chairman Mao and the Party Centre were still in northern Shensi — news that brought happiness and fresh vigour to the people and army-men throughout the Border Region. They were all stout fighters against the Chiang Kai-shek—Hu Tsung-nan bandit troops, but when they heard this news, their eyes filled with tears of joy.

Comrade Chou En-lai was always loyal to Chairman Mao and held high the great banner of Mao Tsetung Thought in the tit-for-tat struggle of negotiations with ruthless but crafty enemies or as a commander on the battlefield. At the Seventh National Congress of the Communist Party of China, Comrade Chou En-lai, beaming with the joy of victory, reviewed the path which our Party had travelled. He said: "The most important factor is that we depend on the wisdom of Comrade Mao Tsetung as the leader of our Party." He called on the comrades of the whole Party, "Let's unite, hold high the banner of Comrade Mao Tsetung and advance in victory!"

Premier Chou sets for hundreds of millions of people a brilliant example of loyalty to our great leader Chairman Mao Tsetung.

The older generation in Yen-an will never forget the time when Vice-Chairman Chou was there, sharing weal and woe with the Border Region people. A popular song goes as follows:

*Spinning-wheels whirl on and on,  
Sending out reels of cotton yarn.  
Be organized in thousands strong  
To fight the blockade and break it down. . . .*

This enthusiastic labour song brings back memories to many people. Yang Pu-hao, a veteran labour hero of the Shensi-Kansu-Ningsia Border Region, explained with profound feelings the fiery days of the big production campaign in the Border Region in 1943. At that time, in response to Chairman Mao's call, "Ample food and clothing by working with our own hands," the army-men and civilians mounted a stirring campaign to smash Chiang Kai-shek's blockade on the region. Immediately after returning to Yen-an from Chungking, Vice-Chairman Chou took the lead in responding to Chairman Mao's call even though he had been wounded in his arm. He found as much time as he could to learn how to spin yarn with the spinning-wheel sent as a gift by Comrade Wang Chen.

On March 1, a spinning contest participated in by both army-men and civilians was held on the open ground in front of the small auditorium where the Secretariat of the Party Central Committee was housed. More than 200 spinning-wheels were lined up. Everyone was in high spirits. As Vice-Chairman Chou, accompanied by Comrade Jen Pi-shih, appeared among the crowd, he said good-humouredly, "We've come to join the contest too. Let's learn from each other!" Vice-Chairman Chou's words and his modesty enlivened everyone. At the signal to start, the wheels began to whirl. Soon the spindles were heavy with long, thin strands of yarn bulging like turnips. When the contest ended, Vice-Chairman Chou smiled: "What a pleasure to take part in labour! What joy to overcome difficulties!" Yang Pu-hao, who had been watching Vice-Chairman Chou spinning, announced, "Vice-Chairman Chou did well. He rates as one of the yarn-spinning heroes." The Border Region's agricultural exhibition displayed the first-grade yarn spun by Vice-Chairman Chou and Comrade Jen Pi-shih, and the story about the Vice-Chairman taking part in the spinning contest spread throughout the region. As the old man recalled this, tears welled up in his eyes.

Throughout the arduous days of fighting in northern Shensi, Vice-Chairman Chou fought side by side with Chairman Mao and participated in both the over-all command of the nationwide liberation war and the battles which wiped out the Chiang Kai-shek—Hu Tsung-nan bandit troops in the Border Region. At Wangchiawan Village, the shade of a willow on the bank of the Shuangyang River was where Vice-



Chairman Chou gave a talk to the local people on the current situation. On this historical spot, the older people now educate the younger ones by recounting Chairman Mao's and Vice-Chairman Chou's great revolutionary experiences. Kao Chang-pin, Party Secretary of the Wangchiawan Brigade often takes the young people to the former residences of Chairman Mao and Vice-Chairman Chou and recounts to them the stories told by the veterans. In front of the cooking-stove in Vice-Chairman Chou's former residence, he tells them: "When Premier Chou was fighting here in northern Shensi, conditions were very difficult. This cooking-stove was also his desk. There was no bench then and the Vice-Chairman would use a block of wood to sit on. A small oil lamp on the stove stayed alight all night and Vice-Chairman Chou selflessly worked on and on..." He also tells the young people: "Chairman Mao and Vice-Chairman Chou worked day and night for the people and the revolution, sharing weal and woe with the masses. Like everybody else, they lived on wild herbs, black beans and elm leaves. At that time, Chiang Kai-shek deployed 230,000 troops to surround and attack the Shensi-Kansu-Ningsia Border Region. Shifting from one place to another, Chairman Mao and Vice-Chairman Chou invariably gave prior consideration to the safety of the people, letting them leave first, while they themselves were among the last to withdraw. The masses firmly supported Chairman Mao and Vice-Chairman Chou, always remembering their love and concern for the people. We from Wangchiawan were educated by Chairman Mao, and that's why we followed the Party's lead from the bottom of our hearts. All the young people in the village enthusiastically joined the army, and the villagers automatically withheld from the enemy any information harmful to the Party. We merely did what we should for the liberation war, but Premier Chou kept us in mind. In 1970 he again praised us for our modest contribution."

Ever since the beloved Premier Chou left the Shensi-Kansu-Ningsia Border Region, the people of Yen-an often thought of him and were eager to welcome him back to see for himself how Chairman Mao's telegram of October 26, 1949\* and his personal attention inspired the people of Yen-an to great efforts to speed up the rebuilding of Yen-an.

At long last, on June 9, 1973, Premier Chou accompanied a group of foreign guests to Yen-an. Moved by the sight of the familiar but different-looking hills, valleys and streets, and mingling with the plain native folks overjoyed by his presence, Premier Chou said, "We're home again!"

\*See Mao Tsetung, "Always Keep to the Style of Plain Living and Hard Struggle," *Selected Works*, Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1977, Vol. V, p. 23.

Everything there — the cave-dwellings, the Yen-an River... brought the past back to the Premier. This is the place where Chairman Mao lived and worked for more than 13 years. Here is the cradle of the Chinese revolution.

Premier Chou always kept Yen-an and its people in mind. During the visit, wherever he went he mingled with the crowds. Old men with wrinkled faces and the typical white towel fashioned into a knot above the forehead were moved to tears of joy as they met Premier Chou. Red-scarved Young Pioneers, the girls with their hair in braids, smiled radiantly when they saw him. Laughter and applause greeted him everywhere. Premier Chou was close to the hearts of the people of Yen-an.

While he was visiting there, instead of staying in the state guest house, he decided to live in the former Border Region Government liaison department, now a city-owned hostel. His strict demands on himself as a leader of the Party and the state affected the service personnel deeply. Shih Hung-mei, one of the attendants in the hostel, recalled that when Premier Chou was staying there, he refused to sleep on a spring bed with a satin quilt, but used a wooden bed and a plain cloth quilt. He still maintained the excellent style of hard-working and plain-living that had become traditional in the war years.

Instead of eating rice and flour he had millet and coarse cereals. Tuo Hsiao-chin, an attendant in the hostel's canteen, recalled: "Premier Chou was of one heart with the people of Yen-an. He only wanted a few simple dishes for each meal. He loved to have Yen-an's ordinary plain food, and had a good appetite for Yen-an's steamed millet and buckwheat cakes. He never forgot the millet of Yen-an, and often said to his comrades: We grew on Yen-an's millet."

He was interested in the folk-songs of northern Shensi. Kuo Jung, a guide in a museum, reminisced how she had sung the northern Shensi folk-song *Spinning Yarn* for Premier Chou and his foreign guests. She said: "Premier Chou loved these songs. That day, when I was narrating the joint army-civilian production campaign of 1943 in the Border Region, I started singing *Spinning Yarn* at the top of my voice. Premier Chou was all smiles as he listened; he was delighted and clapped his hands to the rhythm of the song. Then he asked to hear the *Song of the Guerrillas*."

He loved Yen-an's *yangko* dance. When Premier Chou and his guests were re-visiting Yangchialing where Chairman Mao had lived, and where the peasants used to perform *yangko* dances when they paid their New-Year calls on Chairman Mao, Li Hsiu-mei, another museum guide, performed a scene from the *yangko* dance drama, *Brother and Sister Open Up Wasteland*. This was a great pleasure for the Premier, who said:

I took this drama to Chungking to have it performed. Premier Chou gave warm approval to the outstanding works since the time of the Yen-an forum on literature and art. His warm interest in these works was a tremendous encouragement to all writers and artists.

He paid personal attention to the rebuilding of Yen-an. The leaders of the Yen-an Prefectural Revolutionary Committee told us: "Premier Chou asked us over lunch if we could bring about a new, general improvement in our farming in three years, and double the grain output in five years. We said we were determined to do it. Premier Chou was very happy with our pledge and asked an attendant to fetch wine so that we could drink to the bright prospect. Premier Chou's warm encouragement kindled a fire in the heart of every one of us."

Today, as the sons and daughters of Yen-an view the pagoda standing majestically on Pagoda Hill, they remember how Premier Chou climbed it in 1973.

That day after lunch, Premier Chou did not rest but went full of spirit straight to the top of the hill. From there he viewed the town, and the Yenho River meandering eastward. Recalling the years of war against Chiang Kai-shek—Hu Tsung-nan bandit troops, he remarked with deep satisfaction, "Changed! Everything has changed!"

Premier Chou stood beside the pagoda in front of a red board on which a quotation from Chairman Mao was inscribed, and gazed at it for some time in silence. Then he read aloud Chairman Mao's *Telegram of Reply*. In the telegram Chairman Mao wished the people of Yen-an "**speedy recovery from the wounds of war and progress in your economic and cultural construction.**" Then Premier Chou remarked in all earnestness that in the last 24 years the wounds of war had been healed, but the economy and culture were not developing quickly enough, that there were still problems. . . .

Next day, as Premier Chou was leaving Yen-an, he urged the people there to learn from Tachai and build terraced fields, to go at it with a will, and work hard. "When the job is done, I'll surely come to see you again!" he said.

Premier Chou's visit to Yen-an in 1973 and his inspiring words to the people there remain fresh in their memories to this day. The Premier had all along kept the people of Yen-an in mind, thinking of their livelihood, and of the improvement of their hills and rivers. He personally attended to the city's long-range reconstruction programme, even going into such details as pig-raising and manure-collection. He spared no effort in making Yen-an an advanced socialist region resplendent with Mao Tsetung Thought.

In the years following Premier Chou's visit, the people of Yen-an, working with the hope and strength generated by his words, went all out, criticizing capitalist tendencies while building socialism with might and main. They were well on the way of building a socialist new Yen-an, eagerly looking forward to welcoming Premier Chou to a brand new city. But Premier Chou was never to return.

The people of Yen-an will cherish the memory of Premier Chou forever. They have turned their deep sorrow into tremendous strength. The heroic people of Wangchiawan are working hard to implement Chairman Mao's directive in his *Telegram of Reply* of 1949 and Premier Chou's instructions. They have linked the Yunpan and Lungwang mountains to build the Futien ("Reply Telegram") Reservoir; they have tunnelled Mount Taikao and rechannelled the Shuangyang River; they have created man-made plains in Wangchiawan where the hills are high and stony and the gullies deep.

The people of Chih-tan County are working hard and proving themselves worthy to be natives of the home county of the people's hero, Liu Chih-tan.\* Vigorous and resolute, they make a success of every task they undertake, achieving big progress in three successive years. Premier Chou called to "double grain output in five years," they accomplished it in three and became one of the nation's advanced counties in learning from Tachai.

The people at Date Garden in Yen-an are working hard. With the same spirit of the war years when they followed Chairman Mao's lead in production campaigns as well as in battles with Chiang Kai-shek—Hu Tsung-nan bandit troops, today they are digging irrigation canals, building embankments, filling in gullies and reclaiming fields to put farming on a new footing.

Now that an excellent situation is prevailing in China after the smashing of the "gang of four" anti-Party clique, and with the leadership of the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua, the heroic people of Yen-an are determined to follow the glorious revolutionary tradition, carry out Chairman Mao's behests and Premier Chou's wishes, and deepen and broaden the movement to learn from Tachai and popularize Tachai-type counties. They are re-arranging Yen-an's mountains and rivers and making still greater contributions to the revolution!

\*Liu Chih-tan, organizer and leader of the Communist Party and the Red Army in northern Shensi during the Second Revolutionary Civil War (1927-36). In 1936, he fell in battle while resisting the Kuomintang forces who were attempting to prevent the Red Army from fighting the Japanese aggressors.

## The Tibetan People Cherish the Memory of Premier Chou

We will never forget Premier Chou En-lai's concern for the Tibetan people. At every important historical moment in the events in Tibet—the peaceful liberation, the suppression of the rebellion, the Democratic Reform, and finally the socialist revolution—he always steadfastly carried out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and policies on minority nationalities. Premier Chou had given very valuable instructions, personally dealt with a series of important problems and played a model role in implementing Chairman Mao's directives. The old Tibet, a hell on earth under feudal serfdom, has leaped centuries to become a prosperous and happy socialist society. To these great historical changes Premier Chou made indelible contributions.

We will never forget his historical achievements in the peaceful liberation of Tibet which unified China's mainland, and promoted the unity between the Han and Tibetan nationalities. The reactionary central governments throughout China's history had imposed policies of national oppression and division, and over the last 100 years, the imperialists sowed discord among the various nationalities. Consequently, there was deep-rooted distrust among the Hans, Tibetans and the other minority nationalities before liberation, and divisions existed for a long time even among the Tibetan people themselves. The reactionary ruling clique enslaved the people and was subservient to foreign imperialism, so that the political, economic and cultural development of the Tibetan people was in a state of stagnation and decline over a long period. The people suffered in the dark, poor and backward hell of the old society. Soon after the five-star red flag was raised in Tien An Men Square, Chairman Mao and Commander-in-Chief Chu Teh called on all the patriots in Tibet to join their efforts for the liberation of Tibet and the unity of the Han and Tibetan nationalities. They knew that the Tibetan people aspire to become members of the unified, rich, strong new China

in which all nationalities are equal. Acting resolutely on Chairman Mao's instructions, Comrade Chou En-lai, then Premier of the Government Administration Council, waged an arduous struggle for unifying the mainland and for the emancipation of the Tibetan people. In 1951 he presided over the negotiations between the Central People's Government and the Tibetan local government, through which an agreement on the peaceful liberation of Tibet was signed. As a result, the forces of imperialist aggression were driven out of Tibet, China's territory was unified, her sovereignty restored, and Tibet returned to the embrace of the motherland. In the spirit of the Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence, the Chinese Government and the Indian Government signed in 1954 the Agreement on Trade and Intercourse Between the Tibet Region of China and India. After that, the Indian Government withdrew its military escorts which had been stationed in Tibet and approved the handing over of all its postal, telegraph and public telephone services together with their equipment in Tibet to China. In 1955, Premier Chou presided over the Seventh Meeting of the Plenary Session of the State Council specially convened to solve the Tibet question. This was a very important meeting in the history of Tibet. Stressing the importance of national unity, Premier Chou worked patiently and painstakingly to educate those present at the meeting, and successfully solved the historical disputes between the former local Tibetan government and the Kampo Lija.\* The session approved a decision on the setting up of the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region. This further strengthened the great unity of the various strata of the Tibetan people under the patriotic, anti-imperialist banner. All these were epoch-making events in the history of the Tibetan nationality and of the relations between the different nationalities in our country.

Chairman Mao issued many brilliant directives on the question of Tibet which have enriched and developed the Marxist theory on nationality. Premier Chou persevered in applying Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought in handling the questions on nationalities. Chairman Mao said: "We should all work hard to further strengthen and consolidate the unity of all nationalities in our country, the unity between the Han and the Tibetan nationalities and the unity of the Tibetan nationality itself, in a joint effort to build our great motherland." Premier Chou always paid attention to the unity between the Han and the Tibetan nationalities. In the past the extremely reactionary, dark, cruel and barbarous feudal serfdom reduced the vast Tibetan plateau to dire pover-

\*The former local Tibetan government was then headed by the Dalai, and Kampo Lija, an administering body functioning from Shigatse, was headed by the Panchen.

ty and desolation, and the million serfs struggled with hunger and death all year round. Although Tibet's vast area of 1,200,000 square kilometres is rich in natural resources, Tibet had no industry in the past — it could not even produce a screw or a box of matches. After the peaceful liberation of Tibet in 1951, Premier Chou immediately asked the Government Administration Council to provide funds and send technicians to help Tibet with its economic construction and cultural development. He showed great solicitude for everything concerning Tibet, from the construction of the world-famous Szechuan-Tibet, Chinghai-Tibet and Sinkiang-Tibet highways, civil aviation, electric power stations and various kinds of factories, to the building of gravel-paved roads, dykes and houses for the people. Premier Chou repeatedly stressed that the Hans working in Tibet should consider Tibet as their own home, understand the conditions there, unite with the Tibetan people, work hard and fight against the enemy together. And he pointed out earnestly: We must unite! So long as we unite, we can concentrate all our strength. More than once he asked the Han comrades working in Tibet to learn the Tibetan language and the Tibetan comrades to learn the Han language so that they would become one and co-operate well. Once during an interview, he asked the leaders of the Tibet region about their ages and said: Since you'll be staying there for a long time, how can you work if you don't know the Tibetan language? Those of you who are under 50 should know Tibetan well, and those over 50 should learn it too. Deeply impressed by Premier Chou's teachings, they soon started a learning campaign.

Thousands of cadres of the Tibetan and other minority nationalities who grew up in the revolutionary struggle in Tibet especially cherish the memory of Premier Chou En-lai. The former down-trodden serfs have now become the staff of the leading organs at various levels. Their progress is inseparable from Premier Chou's concern.

Chairman Mao said: "Without a large number of communist cadres of minority nationalities, it would be impossible to solve the national problem thoroughly and to isolate the minority nationality reactionaries completely." As early as his days in Yen-an, Premier Chou paid many visits to the special class for minority-nationality students in the Party School under the C.P.C. Central Committee to give instructions. He encouraged them to study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tseung Thought conscientiously and become the first batch of backbone cadres for the minority areas. On the eve of the peaceful liberation of Tibet, although his workload was very heavy, Premier Chou gave lectures to the nationality research class run by the Nationalities Affairs Commission. After the establishment of the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region,

Premier Chou applied Chairman Mao's teachings in helping the committee members understand fully the importance of training minority-nationality cadres. He pointed out: You must train minority-nationality cadres. You must train a large number of Tibetan cadres. The work of the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region could be done well only by relying on cadres of local nationalities. Time and again, Premier Chou also urged the Han and Tibetan comrades to learn from each other, and stressed the need to give Tibetan cadres a free hand to do the work and to give full scope to their enthusiasm. Many representatives of the workers, peasants and soldiers saw Premier Chou and listened to his advice. Premier Chou had deep class feelings for and placed high hopes on the emancipated serfs. He said: The emancipated serfs have the deepest class feelings for Chairman Mao. But due to the long years of oppression, it's not easy for them to stand up. Only when they are armed with Mao Tseung Thought will they be sure of themselves and keep up their fighting spirit. However, it takes time and practice. At the beginning, they may meet with difficulties, but it doesn't matter. They should be given a free rein. The number of cadres of the Tibetan and other minority nationalities should be increased so that they account for 70 per cent of the total number of cadres in Tibet. Inspired by Chairman Mao's teachings and Premier Chou's specific instructions, they began to train their own cadres. The former serfs who had been condemned by the three Tibetan manorial lords (the reactionary local governments, the nobles and the monasteries) as "wretches who did not even have the ability to take care of their own *tsamba* (roasted barley flour) bags," are now serving as the leading members from the grass-roots units to the highest levels of the autonomous region, running their own affairs as masters of the new Tibet. Cadres of the Tibetan and other minority nationalities now account for 61 per cent of the total number of cadres in Tibet, 46 per cent from the county level up, and 50 per cent of the secretaries of the autonomous region Party committee.

There are certain episodes we can never forget. One early spring morning in 1956, Premier Chou inspected the Central Institute for Nationalities in Peking. When he entered Building No. 9, the Tibetan boys' dormitory, he shook hands with the students and asked them if they were adapted to the climate, to the way of life in Peking, and whether they were homesick. He also asked them how many Han characters they had learned, and whether they had difficulties in their daily life. When he heard that some of the Tibetan students were ill, he called on them one by one. He felt a patient's coat and asked if he felt cold and he patted his bedding to see whether it was thick enough. He then in-

structed the leaders of the institute on the spot that the Tibetan people had suffered more than other minority people under the evil rule of serfdom, so that greater attention should be paid to them and efforts be made to help them study politics as well as acquire general knowledge, and to provide them with more clothing and bedding. Those who were in convalescence should be sent to better sanatoriums. After the inspection, he instructed the institute's language department to offer a three-year post-graduate course in Tibetan language. Good graduates should be chosen to study Tibetan grammar, classics, archives and historical documents, so that they could inherit the legacy of Tibet and so that proletarian experts could be trained. The Tibetan language course was soon set up, and a great number of specialists were trained who are now working in the fields of historical research, education and translation, and are making contributions to the development of the Tibetan culture.

When the revolution in Tibet entered a new historical era in the tempestuous year of 1959, Premier Chou showed deeper concern for the revolutionary cause in Tibet. In those fiery days when the rebellion of the reactionary clique of the Tibetan upper strata was being put down and the Democratic Reform was being carried out, Premier Chou sat by the telephone to wait for the victorious news from the Tibetan Plateau, or to transmit Chairman Mao's strategic plans. When the Democratic Reform was about to spread all over Tibet, Premier Chou talked with the leading members of Tibet for a long time on May 12, 1959. He asked in detail about the property holding of various classes, explained the specific policies of the Democratic Reform (including policies towards religion) and helped some leaders of the upper strata solve the question of class stand. This talk played a tremendous role in promoting the Democratic Reform Movement in Tibet. During the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, Premier Chou, disregarding his sleep and meals, received 16 times the leaders of the armed forces in Tibet, local government leaders and the representatives from the grass-roots level. On August 28, 1968 he personally read the Central Authorities' Decision on the Establishment of the Revolutionary Committee of the Tibet Autonomous Region on which Chairman Mao had written: "Act accordingly."

After Tibet started the socialist revolution, Premier Chou repeatedly stressed and carried out Chairman Mao's policy of **doing all work prudently and steadily** in Tibet and paid close attention to production and construction and the people's life.

During the three years of temporary difficulties in our national economy (1959-61), Premier Chou asserted that the people all over the country

would rather put up with more difficulties than have supplies for the army-men and people in Tibet reduced, and instructed that no lowering of the standard of living there was permitted. When the Tibet Autonomous Region was set up in 1965, Premier Chou gave the order that every county should be supplied with a car and some pressure cookers, every district and township with transistor radios adapted to high-altitude plateau and every frontier station with sufficient amounts of the necessary equipment. This was a concrete illustration of Chairman Mao's and the Party Central Committee's constant attention to the people in the frontier areas.

In the autumn of 1966, some emancipated serfs went to Peking as the representatives of the minority nationalities from Tibet to take part in the National Day celebrations. They lived in the State Council apartments at Premier Chou's invitation. At night Premier Chou himself made the rounds of their rooms to see whether they were sleeping well. They felt perfectly at home living with Premier Chou. He told them that they should follow Chairman Mao's revolutionary line closely, do what Chairman Mao said, launch a mass movement to learn from Tachai in agriculture and firmly take the socialist road. He advised them that they should link the development of production with politics, increase production, develop the economy and improve the people's living conditions.

He often demanded the leading cadres to have a thorough knowledge of things in Tibet and he himself set a brilliant example for them. In August 1968, Premier Chou received some members of the Tibet Study Class in Peking. Warmly shaking hands with the emancipated serfs, he asked them about the life of the Tibetan people, about their food and clothes. He asked them if they drank *chingke* barley wine and whether there was enough yak butter. They answered: "Instead of empty stomachs, tattered clothes and no fixed abode — as it was in the old society — we now have enough *tsamba* and yak butter, decent clothes and our own homes. Apart from that, we could drink *chingke* wine on New Year's Day and other festivals. Compared with the old days, we are now in paradise. But there are some who still have difficulties, for we have little to start with and have just set out on the socialist road. At this, Premier Chou was the first to applaud them, saying frankly: "I'm deeply impressed by your honest talk. Thank you very much. In the future I hope you will often report to the Party Central Committee on the needs of the Tibetan people. The Party Central Committee will help you and has the ability to do so."

In particular, we'll never forget that even when he was bed-ridden Premier Chou still had in mind the socialist revolution and socialist

construction in Tibet and the ex-erfs of Tibet and other minority nationalities.

On the evening of September 10, 1975, Comrade Hua Kuo-feng, who headed a delegation on behalf of Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee to attend the celebrations of the 10th anniversary of the founding of the Tibet Autonomous Region, conveyed Premier Chou's last instructions on Tibet and his deep concern for the Tibetan people to the leaders of the Party, army and local government of the Tibet Autonomous Region.

With deep proletarian feeling Comrade Hua Kuo-feng told the comrades: Before leaving for Tibet, we went to see Premier Chou at midnight to ask for his instructions. He asked us to bring you two copies of the film *Breed Bees to Promote Agriculture*, but told us not to mention that these were sent by him. Then he outlined Premier Chou's directives: The comrades who work in Tibet have done a good job in recent years under hard conditions. When you arrive in Tibet you should encourage them. It is necessary to pay attention to training minority-nationality cadres. Although those working in Tibet did give due consideration to this question, they shouldn't be conceited, for this is a very important question in the work of the minority areas. They should concern themselves not only with the number of cadres but also their quality. Those comrades who really understand Marxism-Leninism Mao Tsetung Thought should be promoted. A leading body should be composed of the old, the middle-aged and the young, for each have their own characteristics. It must act resolutely according to Mao Tsetung Thought, be united and filled with militant spirit and, above all, dare to act. Only with such a leading body can work be done well. In line with Chairman Mao's teaching, no militia headquarters of any kind should be established. In short, a good job can be done in the minority-nationality areas only by successfully carrying out the policies on nationalities, training cadres, uniting the people, developing production and construction and improving the living conditions.

After Comrade Hua Kuo-feng finished relaying the directives, our hearts went out over countless mountains and rivers to Peking. The esteemed and beloved Premier Chou devoted all his life to the revolution of China and the world. He worked so hard every day that at last he had to enter the hospital, where he struggled valiantly against his illness. Even then, in the middle of the night, Premier Chou still had the Tibetan people at heart. He was really a good Premier of the people of all nationalities in China.

By the Hsingtai Prefectural Committee  
of the Chinese Communist Party

## Premier Chou Served the People and They Love Him Forever

In March 1966, two strong earthquakes occurred in Hsingtai Prefecture and caused grave loss of life and property. While the aftershocks were still active, Premier Chou En-lai led inspection teams to the prefecture on three occasions, bringing with him the boundless concern of Chairman Mao and the invincible Mao Tsetung Thought, which increased our courage and strength to overcome difficulties.

We shall never forget it: on the second night after the strong tremors Premier Chou arrived in the stricken region. He had got off the train at a small station and went straight to the centre of the quake area. As soon as he got out of his jeep, he listened to the reports by the comrades in charge of the prefecture and county Party committees and transmitted the instructions of Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee. Wherever he inspected, the first words he said to the cadres and masses were: Comrades, you have been struck by a disaster. Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee are deeply concerned about you, and Chairman Mao has sent me to see you. His greetings were full of feelings, his care greater than the parents', and these brought warmth to the hearts of the masses of the stricken area and those of the 4.6 million people of the whole prefecture.

"Chairman Mao has sent Premier Chou to see us!" Wherever the people heard the inspiring news, their faces lit up. When Premier Chou appeared in front of them, they were moved to tears, shouting, "Long live Chairman Mao!" Premier Chou enthusiastically propagated Mao Tsetung Thought everywhere — at report meetings, in talks, or in visiting the villages and the makeshift hospitals. He gave instructions that a combined command be set up, comprising leading members of the Party committee, the local government and army units, to strengthen the leadership of the communes and brigades and the political and ideological work. He called on the cadres of all levels to put Mao Tsetung

Thought in command in fighting against class enemies and the disaster. He urged the commune members to study Mao Tsetung Thought, and especially to study the essay *The Foolish Old Man Who Removed the Mountains* so as to encourage themselves, men and women, old and young, to overcome the difficulties. Premier Chou told us time and again that we should unite and help each other, for unity meant strength. He explained that it was just like fighting a battle, when a company suffered casualties, another one should at once come to its support. He reminded us that we, the Chinese people, have a lofty spirit. As the Foolish Old Man could remove the mountains, we would certainly overcome the difficulties before us. "To rely on our own efforts, work with stamina and diligence, expand production and rebuild our homes" was the guiding principle personally put forward by Premier Chou, which shines bright with the light of Mao Tsetung Thought, reflects the proletarian unyielding spirit of building a new world and expresses the will of the afflicted people. In order to arm everybody with the invincible Mao Tsetung Thought, Premier Chou instructed the army relief-work units to organize Mao Tsetung Thought Propaganda Teams with thousands of members and called on the teams to go among the afflicted people organizing them and doing propaganda work.

In response, the groups studying Chairman Mao's works mushroomed, from the towns to the countryside, from institutions to schools and from the busy anti-quake and relief-work headquarters to the simple, temporary homes. Everywhere people gathered together earnestly studying Chairman Mao's works.

We shall never forget the inspiring scenes of Premier Chou inspecting the commune members in their sheds and the patients in temporary wards. On April 1, Premier Chou came to Tungwang People's Commune in Ningchin County. When the news spread to the wards, there was great excitement among the patients. Premier Chou's arrival moved them to tears. How they longed to clasp his warm hand! But they could not get up as they were seriously injured. Premier Chou walked from one bed to the next and time and again bent to extend his regards and shake hands with them.

The poor peasant Ho Chuan-sheng, whose family had worked for landlords as long-term labourers for three generations in the past, had a fractured pelvis. Premier Chou came to his side and squatted down to clasp Ho's hands. He touched the bed-quilt to see if it could keep in the warmth and carefully lifted the coverlet to check on Ho's injury. Ho was so moved that warm tears streamed down and he could not utter a word for a long time. Finally he said gratefully: "Ah, Premier Chou, our dear Liberation Army has saved me. You are busy with

state affairs all day long, yet you have come here to see us. How grateful we are to you for your care." Premier Chou replied: We are all servants of the people. The Liberation Army are people's soldiers and should serve the people. So should I. Then Premier Chou comforted him and told him to be patient; he was to get well, and if he could not be cured there he would be sent to larger hospitals in Ningchin or Shihchiachuang. One by one, Premier Chou comforted all the 140 patients there.

At Paichiachai Brigade in Lungyao County, Premier Chou toured the villages, stepping on the broken bricks and tiles and passing through what remained of the walls. Whenever he met someone he would ask about his family. He even asked the people whether they had pots, bowls, ladles and spoons and whether they could manage to cook. Premier Chou also instructed the cadres to help those elderly people and small children who had no one to take care of them. That day, when he saw a little girl standing at the gate of a collapsed house, Premier Chou quickly walked up, lifted her in his arms and asked: Where is your father, and your mother? He put her down only when he learned that her parents were still alive. At Hochiachai People's Commune in Chulu County, Premier Chou made a speech from the trailer of a lorry. The wind that afternoon was blowing hard and Premier Chou spoke to the people facing the wind so that the audience should not suffer from it. When he spoke of the guiding principle of "relying on our own efforts, working with stamina and diligence, expanding production and rebuilding our homes," the people repeated it phrase by phrase. The meeting rang with slogans and the people got excited and started to push forward. Premier Chou said with concern: Please don't push, mind the children! Those simple words moved the hearts of the thousands of peasants present.

Premier Chou was not only greatly concerned about the well-being of the afflicted people, but also about the local production and construction. At Tungwang People's Commune, on his way to see the patients in a hospital, he passed through a wheat field, where the winter wheat was just beginning to turn green. He told those with him to take care not to tread on the shoots of wheat and to tell the same thing to those who were coming behind. At the entrance to Paichiachai Village he saw a well and asked if the water was bitter or sweet. When he was told that it was bitter, he told us that we should drill wells for sweet water and try to turn the alkaline land into fertile soil. He repeatedly instructed us to have our new houses built lower and spaced wider apart. He told us to study house-structures to discover which could best resist earthquakes, do experiments on it and rebuild our houses on the basis



of our research. He emphasized in particular that after experiencing the disaster, we should rely even more on the collective force not only to develop production but to rebuild our homes as well. He told us that the cadres, the Party and Youth League members, the poor and lower-middle peasants and especially the Party branches should take the lead in developing production. He gave the instruction that the scientists should display originality and try their best to conquer the problems in science, so that they could summarize the laws governing the earthquake and fight against the disaster. Premier Chou also said that this earthquake had provided us with the perfect opportunity to study the tremors and that we should take advantage of this to carry out a full investigation into how to overcome disaster, so that we could gain some benefit from the harm. He told us that we should have the confidence to do what our predecessors could not do, make records of the experience in overcoming the disaster and pass them on to future generations. How profoundly our Premier had considered our interests and those of our future generations!

Premier Chou was modest, prudent and unassuming. He was also a hard-working and plain-living man who worked with selflessness. When he was with us, we felt warm and without constraint. Wherever Premier Chou went, he would always listen to views with a receptive mind, and instructed us to consult with the masses, the poor and lower-middle peasants and the workers, for we were serving the people. He told us that we should let them make comments on whatever we had done to see whether we were correct or not. We remember that April 1 when Premier Chou had talks with over 70 representatives of cadres and commune members in the tent at the village of Hochiachai Brigade. Premier Chou inquired in detail about the effects of the quake, the damage, our production and living conditions. He took many things into consideration and even asked whether the wheat was watered enough for it to start sprouting and whether we had enough seeds for spring sowing. That day the wind was blowing hard, whipping up clouds of dust and making the sides of the tent rise and fall. The water in our bowls was soon covered with dust. Premier Chou took a coarse bowl of water, gently blew away the dust and drank. By two o'clock in the afternoon, we had asked him several times to have lunch, but he refused, saying there was no hurry and that we should not make trouble for the people as they were in difficulty after the disaster. That day Premier Chou did not have a bite of food from five in the morning till nine in the evening, and he worked non-stop for 16 hours inspecting Tungwang and Keng-chuangchiao in Ningchin County, Hochiachai in Chulu County and the city of Hsingtai. Premier Chou never wearied or gave way to fatigue.

That night his helicopter landed at the parade-ground before the army barracks in the suburbs of Hsingtai. How eager we were to invite Premier Chou, who served the people day and night, to have a rich supper. Many of us earnestly asked him to have supper in the city, but again he refused, saying: No need. Dinner with the soldiers in the barracks will be fine. There, all he had was some ordinary unleavened pancakes and quick-fried cabbage. The cadres and soldiers were deeply moved when they saw their Premier eating the same simple food as they did.

Premier Chou was still deeply concerned for the afflicted people after his departure. He received representatives of the prefecture many times and gave them important directions. In 1972 Premier Chou asked Comrade Teng Ying-chao to listen to the reports made by the representatives from Hsingtai and to instruct them to develop further the mass movement "In agriculture, learn from Tachai." He also told them to study the typical experience of the advanced units and popularize it so that better results could be achieved on a larger scale. This was a great inspiration for us in our work. Under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and the constant, close attention of Premier Chou, the people of Hsingtai reaped a good harvest in the very year of disaster. Within three years we had rebuilt our area with large expanses of Tachai-type fields on the uneven land and rows of new houses where the ruins had been. Now, the afflicted area has gradually been transformed with woods, fields, roads, canals and reservoirs. Everywhere we look, we see a prosperous, revolutionary scene, with the over-all development of farming, forestry, animal husbandry, side-occupations and fishery. All this has come from the brilliant leadership of Chairman Mao and the close attention of Premier Chou.

Premier Chou served the people and they will love him forever. He will always live in our hearts.

## Premier Chou Will Always Live in the Hearts of Patriotic Overseas Chinese

We the returned overseas Chinese, who have been received many times by Premier Chou, can relate many moving stories about his deeds. No matter who, from white-haired old men to healthy youngsters, our hearts are pained and tears fill our eyes whenever we think of him. Words cannot express our feelings for him.

In the spring of 1951, an overseas Chinese who had been persecuted by imperialists returned to Peking. He reported on the persecution of the overseas Chinese at a meeting called by the Government Administration Council. The work of re-building China was just starting, and the War to Resist U.S. Aggression and Aid Korea was at a critical stage. A thousand and one important matters were calling. But in spite of his heavy burdens, it was Premier Chou who came to preside over the meeting. He showed the utmost concern for the plight of his compatriots overseas. His eyes were full of spirit and his smile was warm and kindly. At once this returned overseas Chinese was attracted to him. Premier Chou listened carefully and patiently to the report and at the end made a speech which summarized everything that had been said. His speech impressed everyone with the scope of his knowledge and his grasp of facts. He showed his familiarity with the situation of the overseas Chinese and displayed his deep love and concern for them. Later, under the leadership of the Central Committee and Premier Chou, the government allotted funds to resolve the question of overseas Chinese who found it impossible to take up residence abroad. The funds were used to set up a series of state farms to enable them to have a place to settle down. Others were assigned work according to their specialities. So they were able to contribute to the motherland's socialist revolution and construction. We could not help comparing this with the sorrowful scenes of the persecution suffered by the overseas Chinese when China was weak under corrupt and reactionary governments. When one of the Ching emperors heard that overseas Chinese were cruelly massacred

by colonialists abroad, he insisted, "These disloyal subjects have forsaken the homes of their ancestors and have gone abroad to make money. The court refuses to take any interest in them." The reactionary government of the Kuomintang treated overseas Chinese likewise. They only knew how to take advantage of us and extort money from us. They brought disaster and ruin to us. It was during those years that we were nicknamed "orphans abroad." We who have been so named have seen with our own eyes on our return the anxiety and concern that Premier Chou has shown to us. How can we not be moved by the warmth of our motherland?

Premier Chou followed Chairman Mao's instructions and paid meticulous attention to the question of dual citizenship of overseas Chinese. In 1954 he clearly pointed out at the First Plenum of the First National People's Congress that the question of citizenship of overseas Chinese had never been resolved under the former reactionary governments. This had created many difficulties for them, and periodically caused friction with the countries directly involved. He solemnly proclaimed that China was prepared to resolve this question. In 1955 and 1956 when visiting Indonesia, Burma and other countries, he clearly explained China's attitude towards this question: The Chinese Government does not approve of dual citizenship. It approves of overseas Chinese voluntarily acquiring local citizenship and becoming citizens of the country of residence. He hoped that they would contribute to the countries where they lived and strengthen the ties of friendship between the peoples of China and those countries. In 1956 at a reception given by overseas Chinese in Burma, Premier Chou said that some compatriots had already been living there for generations and had acquired the citizenship of the place of residence. They were now Burmese citizens. Was this a good thing? Yes. Premier Chou also made a very moving analogy: it is as if a daughter or son gets married and goes to live in the family of his or her spouse; the two families are still relatives. He continued: This adds one more person to the ranks of the country of residence, and to China adds one more relative. What could be wrong with that? He earnestly encouraged us by saying: Those who voluntarily retain their Chinese citizenship should abide by their status as residents, be good residents, law-abiding and model Chinese residents. Premier Chou said on many other occasions that those who had voluntarily retained their Chinese citizenship would receive protection from the Chinese Government in their legitimate interests and rights. Overseas Chinese and foreigners of Chinese ancestry all considered that his statements were both reasonable and justified and met the interests of overseas Chinese. In this way, China clearly stated that she treats all nations, large

and small, equally. China's policy is clear and upright. It suits the actual conditions and the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. Since then, through Premier Chou's efforts and his concern, China has resolved the question of dual citizenship through negotiations with many countries.

Premier Chou repeatedly encouraged us to learn the local language and associate with the local people. We should learn from each other and strengthen the ties of friendship. He told us: The higher the motherland's international position, the more the compatriots should be modest. He often used Chairman Mao's teachings to instruct us not to be arrogant and fall into the mistake of big-nation chauvinism. He also gave guidance to Chinese businessmen that they should engage only in legitimate business practices. They should not take unfair advantage or make unfair profits, and so let down our friends and relatives. This was in full keeping with the internationalist spirit and kept in mind the long-term interests of overseas Chinese. Even now, it is still stamped on the masses of overseas Chinese.

Premier Chou encouraged us to consolidate and expand the unity of patriots. He said at a reception which we gave in Bandung: We must separate elements of Chiang Kai-shek's gang and those compatriots who have been fooled by them. We should guard against the few agents sent by Chiang Kai-shek. But as far as the small number of compatriots who have been fooled by them are concerned, we should not relegate them into the "Chiang Kai-shek gang." We should not be suspicious of them. We should patiently convince them that Chiang Kai-shek has no future. Those who have been fooled will slowly come to realize this fact too. Premier Chou hoped that the overseas Chinese could do more, break through the barriers, consolidate and expand the unity of us compatriots. Patriots are all of one family and we do not make a distinction between early- and late-comers.

Premier Chou believed in the overseas Chinese and he also trusted those who returned. With regard to the "overseas connections" of those who returned, he always analysed each case separately and took the correct attitude. He emphasized again and again that there must be no discrimination against returnees. Full of warmth, he showed political concern for us. In 1949, on behalf of the Party's Central Committee, he invited an old returnee to participate in the preparatory meetings for the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference. This old returned Chinese declined at first out of modesty. Premier Chou said to him: Overseas Chinese have a tradition of patriotism. Your numbers are not small either. You should have a representative to take part in the discussion about the reconstruction of the country! The old

returnee said that he did not understand standard Chinese very well. He was afraid that there would be language difficulties at the discussions. Premier Chou said that although the dialects were different, the problem could be solved by using translators. The most important thing was that everyone's heart was the same. For example, we and Chiang Kai-shek speak the same language but our hearts are not the same. That was why many years of negotiations always came to nought. We and the people of the world are separated by many different languages but we all have the same goal. Therefore our hearts are linked as one. As a result, we can discuss and consult on everything under the sun. Premier Chou's words deeply moved this old returned Chinese.

He was deeply concerned about the regular correspondence between returned Chinese or families of overseas Chinese and their relatives abroad. Some overseas Chinese had, for various reasons, had their contacts with their relatives in China broken for many years. In January 1971, Premier Chou personally approved the establishment of an office for overseas Chinese inquiries. This office helped them find and re-establish contact with their relatives.

In 1955, he ignored threats to his own safety and took part in the Bandung Conference. When he arrived safely in Djakarta, the local overseas Chinese gave him a rousing and joyous welcome. Calm, composed and confident, he went about among the crowds that had gathered to welcome him. He shook their hands and talked and laughed with them. This brought back to people's minds the hazardous time when he braved the battlefield or the long years when he stood in the wolf's den during the Kounintang rule and engaged the enemy in a relentless head-on struggle. We were so deeply impressed by his resoluteness, bravery and quick mind, that we could not stop praising him. The patriotic overseas Chinese arranged for him to have a spacious and comfortable house at his disposal. But he let the leader of a fraternal country use it instead. He himself lived in a more simple residence. His actions, his concern for the representatives of a fraternal country once again taught the masses of overseas Chinese the spirit of internationalism.

His earnest, warm and down-to-earth style left a lasting impression on us. One day, he received several outstanding athletes. He started talking to one of them who had returned from overseas. He inquired as to when and from where she had returned. He asked if she still maintained contacts with her overseas relatives, and if any of her family still had difficulties abroad. Another time, a returned doctor was invited to eat at his home. During the picture-taking session, everyone wanted the Premier to stand in front. He said: Today you are my guests. Your work is also very difficult, therefore you should stand in front and

I will stand behind. This spirit of treating others as equals has remained in the doctor's heart. During his illness, the Premier saw several old returned Chinese at various times. He always asked about their health and suggested that they pay attention to their rest. He showed great concern for their well-being.

He always listened with the greatest of patience to others' suggestions. Even when he criticized people, they gladly accepted his views because he always has ample reason for making the criticisms and because of his persuasiveness, frankness and earnestness. Just after liberation, an old overseas Chinese went to visit the northeast provinces. He saw some things that he did not think were normal so he wrote a letter to Premier Chou expressing his opinions. After Premier Chou received the letter, he sought out this person for a talk. First of all, he established the fact that this overseas Chinese had raised the suggestion with a view to helping the country. Then he analysed the background and causes of the problem. The Premier clearly stated that the solution would require a period of time. This fully satisfied and convinced the old overseas Chinese.

Premier Chou served the people wholeheartedly. He did not know the meaning of fatigue in his work and worked tirelessly and selflessly. When he visited Indonesia, Burma and other countries, he always got through large amounts of work in a short period of time — holding discussions with the leaders of the host countries, attending meetings, receiving overseas Chinese, giving speeches, holding press conferences and so on. These all required preparation beforehand. Many of us saw his daily agenda. We were amazed at his energy, at the fact that he never seemed to rest. We all guessed that once he boarded his plane he could rest, but the staff members who accompanied him said that on the plane he read and approved documents, studied material or consulted with the comrades about work. On one occasion, he looked for a returned overseas doctor at two in the morning in order to know about a comrade's illness and the treatment he was receiving. He discussed with the doctor the question of the development of China's medical science and encouraged him to undertake medical research, to bring into play the special characteristics of Chinese traditional medicine and also to absorb the successes of the medical science of other countries. He encouraged him to scale the peaks of medical science. Staff members working in the office in charge of overseas Chinese affairs saw that he not only read and approved their documents, but also made conscientious corrections of the contents and carefully corrected the wording. Such meticulous care and spirit deeply moved the comrades who wrote these drafts. In 1950, Mr. Tan Kah-kee spoke to reporters of the *Nan Chiau*

*Jit Pao* in Singapore: Premier Chou is a diligent and conscientious worker of extraordinary stamina. It is as if he is tireless. He is like a "man of steel." From then on, this nickname became well known among the overseas Chinese.

Premier Chou devoted all his efforts to the future of the revolution and the affairs of the country. In spite of his heavy burden of work, he still had time and showed concern for the former "orphans abroad." But we will never see him again. How can this not arouse the deep grief of overseas Chinese everywhere?

From New York to Tokyo, from Paris to Manila, many people of Chinese origin came to pay their respects on his death. Supporting the old and carrying the young, they formed queue after queue to enter the memorial halls in embassies and other offices. Many were unable to control their tears. After the mourning ceremonies were over, people still gathered at the entrances and for a long time would not leave voluntarily. The Taiwan compatriots living in America sent a telegram which read: "Forever engraved on our minds are Premier Chou's words: Taiwan will be liberated. The motherland will be reunified." Countless stories and examples clearly show that Premier Chou will always live in the hearts of patriotic overseas Chinese.

As told to the *Kuungming Daily*  
by comrades who took part in the  
construction of the Ming Tombs  
Reservoir with Premier Chou En-lai

## A Great Ordinary Labourer

— Premier Chou at the Construction  
Site of the Ming Tombs Reservoir

Chairman Mao has written: **Communists must have the proletarian thorough-going revolutionary spirit; they neither seek fame or gain nor fear hardship or death; they are completely dedicated to the revolution and the people, serving the people of China and the world wholeheartedly; they are boundlessly loyal to the revolution and toil body and soul for the people.** Premier Chou was a glorious model in putting Chairman Mao's teachings into practice. He was an outstanding example of a person who staunchly continued the revolution all his life. He was Chairman Mao's close and time-tested comrade-in-arms.

Summer 1958. Guided by Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, the entire nation plunged into the stirring times of the Great Leap Forward.

On May 25, the sun was shining brightly in a clear sky. Chairman Mao and Comrades Chou En-lai and Chu Teh, along with other leading members of the Party Central Committee, came to the construction site at the Ming Tombs Reservoir which was working round the clock. Chairman Mao wore a straw hat and cloth shoes and carried a spade in his hands. He took part in the work with everyone else. His clothes, like everyone else's, were drenched with sweat. When the great construction corps of a hundred thousand people learned that Chairman Mao was on the site, they clapped and shouted out with emotion and fire: "Long live Chairman Mao! Long long life!" Their roars sounded like thunders sending echoes through the valleys.

The entire construction site was seething with activity, reflecting the scenes throughout the country. Chairman Mao led the way and hundreds of thousands of cadres went to take part in collective productive labour

and persisted in it. Hundreds of millions of people joined in the upsurge of the earth-shaking Great Leap Forward.

Premier Chou was the leader in resolutely following Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. Shortly after Chairman Mao had worked at the Ming Tombs Reservoir site, Premier Chou led the heads of the Central Committee departments and government ministries — about 500 people in all — to go there. They worked, lived, ate and studied together with the builders for more than one week. They were veteran comrades who had followed Chairman Mao fighting north and south and braving countless dangers over the long road of revolution. Today they were sweating freely in order to build socialism. In the course of history, when was such a "labour" battalion ever seen before!

When the Premier came to the construction site, he had only a bodyguard with him. There were no other accompanying personnel. Just before he left, his staff members suggested that he take along a doctor, since his health was not as good as it used to be as a result of the hard life during long years of war and the amount of energy he had expended day and night for the cause of the Party and the nation. A doctor could take care of him. But no matter what, Premier Chou would not agree. He said: "When I get to the site, I should not have any special privileges. Workers, peasants, soldiers and cadres are also taking part. Do they get sick? It seems obvious that I'll get healthier after a stint of labour. Even if there is some slight sickness, I should be like everyone else and ask the doctors at the site to look after me!" When he arrived at the site, he asked about the schedule for work and rest and about the regulations. He told his bodyguard: "While we are here, we must do everything according to the regulations."

On the first day, comrades from the construction headquarters came to assign work tasks. They also mentioned the points that needed attention while they worked. When they saw that Premier Chou and the other comrades had come to work, they all got a bit nervous. But just as the words "We wish to welcome the leaders. . . ." were coming out of their mouths, Premier Chou's smile stopped them. Warmly, he said to them: "There are no leaders here, no Premier, no Ministers, no Directors. Here everyone is an ordinary labourer." Just then, Comrade Wang Chen, who was sitting by his side, interrupted: "Now you are the leaders. We are all under your command." These warm, kindly words by Premier Chou and the other leading comrades and their down-to-earth style immediately eased the nervousness of the construction site cadres.

The roof of the room he lived in was so low that you had to bend down to enter. It was only 10 square metres in area, and inside were two

narrow benches on which was a wooden board for a bed. He had only the most common bedding. The paint on his three-drawer desk and two wooden seats was already peeling. There was no other furniture. He was like everyone else and worked eight hours a day. He was always on time and never left early. While working, he had one meal at the site like the others. He also lined up for his unleavened pancakes or steamed cornbread and then he would eat with everyone else sitting on the bare ground. This, along with salted vegetables and boiled water, made up his diet. He chatted with the others over his meal and ate with a hearty appetite. After work, he had dinner in the large canteen and then would wash in the large public showers. He had no special privileges. The only thing special was that while everyone else rested, the light in his window still burned brightly.

It got later and later. Eleven o'clock, twelve o'clock, and at times one or two in the morning, and he was still bent over the desk poring over books and signing documents. The bodyguard was worried that Premier Chou was not taking care of himself and begged him to rest. The Premier always smiled and said: "At home, there are a lot of interruptions. The main thing here is to work. I should make use of my time to study a little more and read a little more."

Whenever we looked at the light in Premier Chou's window, our hearts were raised and we were deeply moved. How fortunate our people were to have such a good, selfless Premier! We felt joy and happiness beyond words. Today as we think back to those days and remember our Premier, tears blur our eyes. His fearlessness and selflessness, his devotion to duty throughout his militant life will always give us great strength on our march forward.

He led by example and demanded that all the leading comrades taking part should work hard to do a good job of manual labour, make ideological progress and, at the same time, improve their constitution. His instructions were that the entire group of leading comrades, apart from labouring for eight hours, must also follow a strict schedule of political study and take part in group discussions. Everyone combined work and study. They wrote many big-character posters and exchanged impressions and experiences. Some of the big-character posters said that leading cadres taking part in collective labour should be institutionalized; that, to develop the excellent traditions of the Party, they should frequently return to the masses to be re-tempered and stop themselves growing rusty. Some of the posters also invented rhymes to summarize the experience in pushing handcarts:

*To make sure that the cart does not overturn,  
Keep your legs straight and do not bend the waist)  
To prevent the cart from tipping to one side,  
You must struggle between the two lines.  
Correctness depends entirely on how you hold it.  
It will not do to waver between the left and the right.*

This poster compared pushing carts with their work as leaders. It pointed out that the most important thing was to apply Chairman Mao's correct line to handle all sorts of contradictions. Under Premier Chou's command, these several hundred leading comrades who had experienced the long struggles of revolution plunged wholeheartedly into the labour at the Ming Tombs Reservoir.

Their sleeping quarters were about four kilometres from the worksite. Every day, at the sound of a whistle, they all lined up in an ordered group with other construction workers and marched to work behind a red flag without giving the slightest heed to who was Premier, Vice-Premier or Minister. At times Premier Chou mixed with the group, at times he held the flag. He strode with strong, firm steps, leading the group forward. Whenever they met young construction workers on the way, the youngsters would call out to provoke a friendly response: "Old heroes' unit! Sing a song!" Their unit would counter from afar: "Youngsters, give us a song!" Merry laughter and amusement would break out and their enthusiastic singing would begin to fill the air. The comradeship of these young and old people as they mixed together was inspiring, the warmth and kindness made many a heart beat faster.

That summer, nature seemed to be in competition with the fiery political atmosphere. The sky was cloudless every day, the sun beat down and the air was stifling hot. The work that the Premier and the others were doing was to prepare stones and rocks for the reservoir. They ignored the heat-blisters they got from handling the sun-baked rocks. Joking among themselves, they nicknamed the large rocks "watermelons" and the smaller ones "musk melons." As they lined up into a long file and carried the rocks, they would chant "Hey! Here comes a big watermelon!" or "Here comes a small melon!" Countless numbers of stones passed through their hands and soon formed a small mountain.

One day after supper, Premier Chou called a meeting. He tried to persuade those whose health was not too good or who were rather old that they should stay at home and rest. Before he had finished speaking, Minister of Public Health Li Teh-chuan stood up and said: "Premier, I don't agree. You won't let us go to work but why do you go?" She

was speaking what was on everyone's mind. In those fiery days, everyone followed Premier Chou's example. No one left the battleground.

Premier Chou was already 60 years old then and the average age of those leading comrades working there was over 45. But once they started work, they were all like youngsters, full of energy and strength. Once, while the Premier was transporting materials, his hand was gashed by a stone and started to bleed. Everyone pleaded with him to take a rest and to have it bandaged. He smiled, "As we always say, I won't leave the front lines for a light wound!" and resumed his work without having it bandaged. The comrades' hearts ached for him and they begged him to wear gloves to prevent any more gashes. He refused. On the construction site, some comrades transported materials by hand, some filled baskets, others carried baskets, while still others pushed or pulled carts. The Premier tried his hand at everything and was always conscientious in his work.

This image of him pulling the cart on the construction site will always be stamped into our hearts. Our Premier worked then with his jacket unbuttoned and his face covered in sweat. His steps were firm, steady and quick as his hands gripped the single-wheeled handcart, pushing it along the wooden plank path no more than a foot wide. But we saw that he could not straighten his right arm and he seemed to be having difficulty. We had seen in many photos and movies that his right arm was crooked and often placed in front of his chest but we did not know why. At that time, many of the older comrades who were familiar with him told us that during the campaigns with Chairman Mao to advance the revolution, he had suffered a riding accident. Because medical care then was not so good, the results of the treatments were not perfect. So, even after so many years our Premier did not have the full use of his arm. When we learned how the injury had been caused, we lifted our heads again to gaze at the glorious image of him working on the construction site. Our hearts were even more filled with boundless respect and love for him.



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