

# PEKING REVIEW

1

January 1, 1977

## ON THE TEN MAJOR RELATIONSHIPS

Mao Tsetung

April 25, 1956

## Important Speech by Chairman Hua Kuo-feng

## Advance From Victory to Victory

— 1977 New Year's Day editorial by "Renmin Ribao,"  
"Hongqi" and "Jiefangjun Bao"

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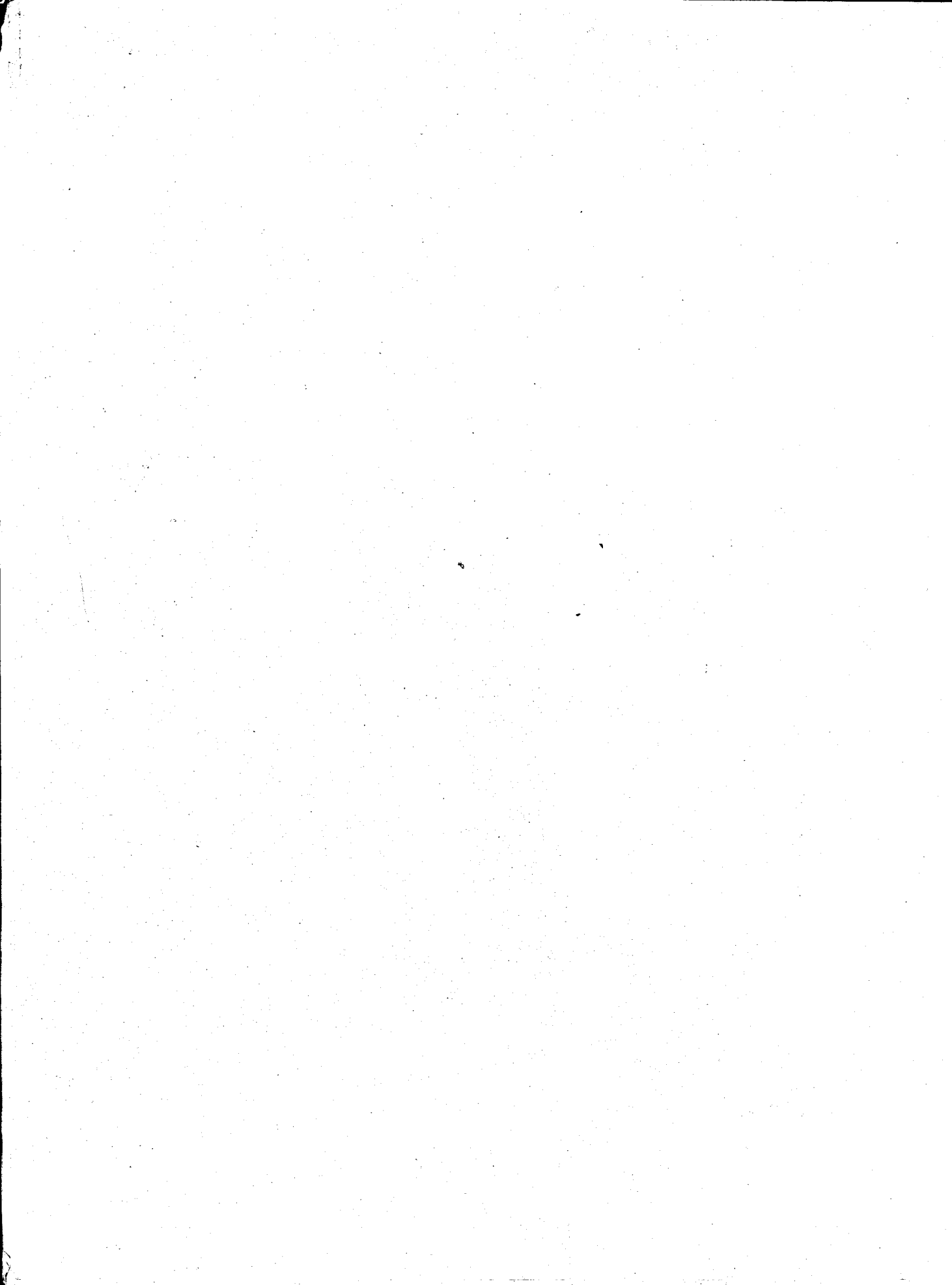
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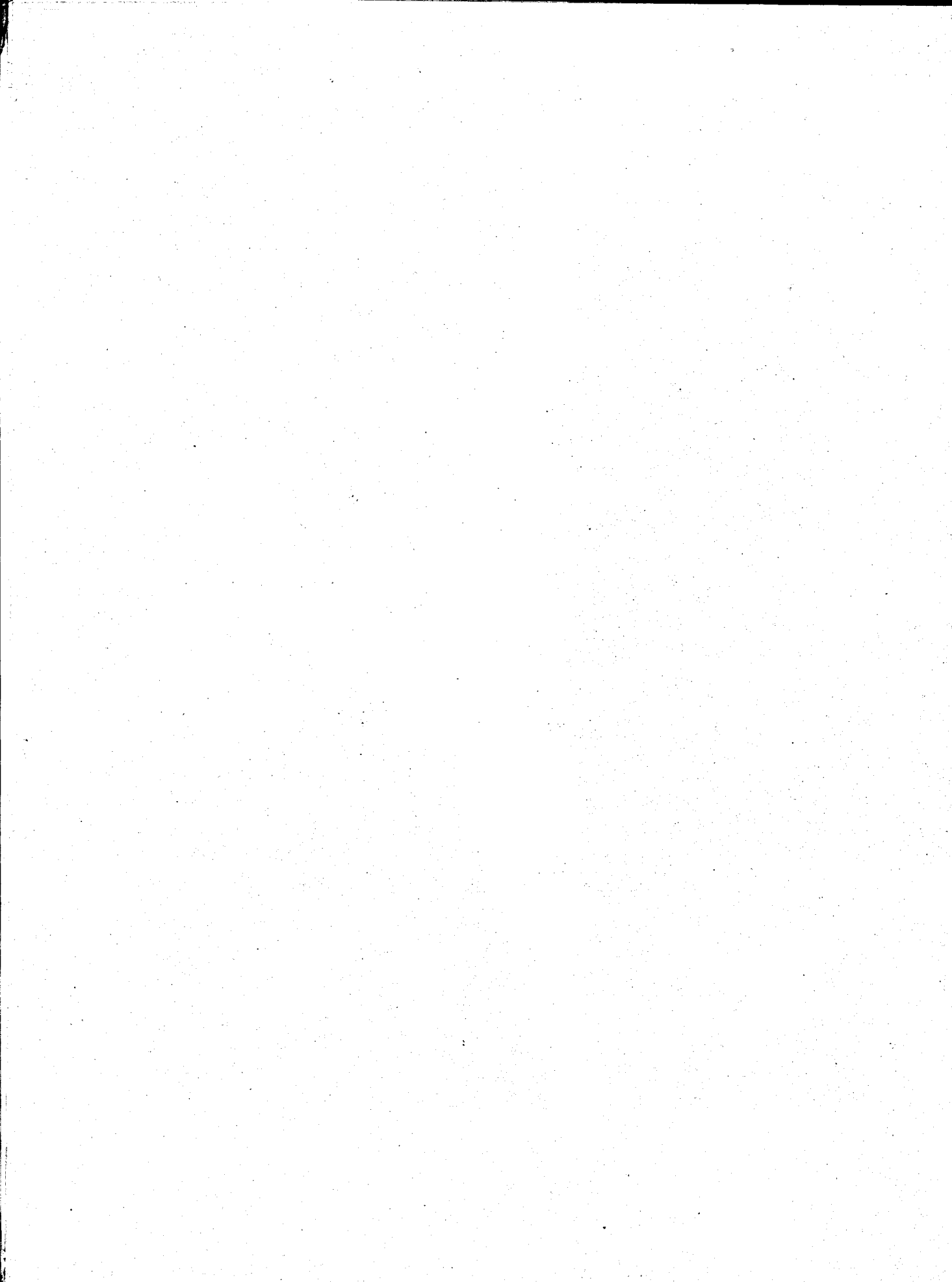
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## Eighty-Third Anniversary of Chairman Mao Tsetung's Birthday Marked

DECEMBER 26, 1976 was the 83rd anniversary of the birthday of our great leader and teacher Chairman Mao Tsetung. *Renmin Ribao* and all the other Peking papers gave top frontpage prominence to a huge picture of Chairman Mao that day. Chairman Mao's brilliant work *On the Ten Major Relationships* (April 25, 1956) and photos showing his revolutionary activities were also printed in every paper.

Also published in *Renmin Ribao* the same day were two poems written by Comrade Chu Teh in February 1976: *Happy to Read Two Poems by Chairman Mao*. An accompanying editor's note said: "Comrade Chu Teh's two poems brim over with high esteem and warm love for the great leader Chairman Mao and show revolutionary pride and confidence in the victory of the cause of communism. After they had been published in issues No. 2 and No. 3 of the journal *Poetry* in 1976, Comrade Teng Ying-chao recommended them to *Renmin Ribao* for publication. But, the reactionary literary scoundrel Yao Wen-yuan in the 'gang of four' who controlled the mass media, truculently

rejected the suggestion. This fully revealed the deep-seated hatred this bunch of anti-Party elements had for the veteran proletarian revolutionaries."

*Renmin Ribao* also published the poem *In Memory of Chairman Mao* written by Comrade Kuo Mo-jo on December 24, 1976. All the Peking papers also carried articles in memory of Chairman Mao.

To mark the 83rd anniversary of Chairman Mao's birthday, a full-length colour documentary *Eternal Glory to the Great Leader and Teacher Chairman Mao Tsetung* was released all over the country beginning December 24 and there was a photo exhibition "Chairman Mao Will Live For Ever in Our Hearts" in Peking. (See p. 26 and p. 27.)

On December 24, representatives attending the Second National Conference on Learning From Tachai in Agriculture held in Peking took part in construction work for the Chairman Mao Memorial Hall in Tien An Men Square to pay honour to Chairman Mao's memory. Started about a month ago, work on this gigantic project is now going ahead swiftly.

## Chairman Hua Receives Representatives Attending National Learn-From-Tachai Conference

HUA Kuo-feng, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and Premier of the State Council; Yeh Chien-ying, Vice-Chairman of the C.P.C. Central Committee; and other leading comrades of the Party and state Li Hsien-nien, Chen Hsi-lien, Chi Teng-kuei, Wang Tung-hsing, Wu Teh,

Chen Yung-kuei, Wu Kuei-hsien, Saifudin, Kuo Mo-jo, Hsu Hsiang-chien, Chen Yun, Tan Chen-lin, Li Ching-chuan, Ulanfu, Teng Ying-chao, Chou Chien-jen, Hsu Teh-heng, Hu Chueh-wen, Li Su-wen, Yao Lien-wei, Wang Chen, Yu Chiu-li, Ku Mu and Sun Chien received all the representatives attending the Second National





**Chairman Hua and Vice-Chairman Yeh at the Second National Conference on Learning From Tachai in Agriculture.**

Conference on Learning From Tachai in Agriculture in the Great Hall of the People on the evening of December 27, 1976.

Also present at the reception were Su Yu, leading member of the Military Commission of the C.P.C. Central Committee; Shen Yen-ping, Vice-Chairman of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference; and Chiang Hua, President of the Supreme People's Court.

The more than 6,000 people who had the honour of being received included leading comrades of the Party committees of various provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions, secretaries of prefectural and county Party committees, and representatives from advanced

learn-from-Tachai units, the Tachai Production Brigade and the Taching Oilfield and other units concerned, as well as delegates to other conferences being held in Peking.

After 18 days of intense work, the second national learn-from-Tachai conference, convened by the Party Central Committee on the proposal of Chairman Hua, successfully accomplished its tasks and achieved tremendous success.

The representatives who were to leave Peking soon for their respective work posts were tremendously inspired when they were received by the wise leader Chairman Hua and other central leading comrades. When Chairman Hua and other central leading comrades



walked into the hall, there was a thunderous and prolonged applause. Everyone repeatedly shouted: "Salute to Chairman Hua!" "Salute to the Party Central Committee!" "Carry out Chairman Mao's behests and obey Chairman Hua's orders!" "Rally most closely round the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua!" "Get the whole Party mobilized, go all out to develop agriculture and strive to build Tachai-type counties throughout the country!" and "Thoroughly repudiate the 'gang of four' and bring about a new upsurge in building Tachai-type counties throughout the country!" Beaming with smiles, Chairman Hua and other central leading comrades happily applauded the representatives and had a photograph taken with them.

The same evening, Chairman Hua and Vice-Chairman Yeh and other leading comrades of the Party and state also received the representatives of educated young people who have settled in the countryside and who were attending the conference, and had a photo taken with them.

These young people expressed the determination that they would, under the leadership of the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua, penetratingly expose and relentlessly criticize the "gang of four" and make new contributions to the movement of building Tachai-type counties all over the country. They pledged to earnestly study works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and by Chairman Mao, firmly take the road of integrating with the workers and peasants and settle in the countryside so as to temper themselves into worthy successors to the proletarian revolutionary cause and carry the cause of the proletarian revolution in China pioneered by Chairman Mao through to the end.

The conference was declared closed after the receptions.

Chairman Hua and the Party Central Committee attached great importance to this learn-from-Tachai conference. Chairman Hua made

an important speech at a plenary session of the conference on the evening of December 25.

In his speech, Chairman Hua reviewed the militant course traversed by the Party in 1976 and put forward the fighting tasks for 1977. He said: 1976 is a most extraordinary year in the history of our Party and of the dictatorship of the proletariat in China. It is a year in which the whole Party, the whole army and the people of all nationalities throughout the country have stood rigorous tests, a year in which we have won a great historic victory. Nineteen seventy-seven will be a year in which we shall smash the "gang of four" completely and go towards great order, a year of united struggle and triumphant advance. He pointed out that the people of the whole country will surely carry out Chairman Mao's behests and carry the cause of the proletarian revolution bequeathed to them by Chairman Mao through to the end. (For full text of the speech see p. 31.)

The plenary session was held in the Great Hall of the People and presided over by Vice-Chairman Yeh Chien-ying of the C.P.C. Central Committee. Other Party and state leaders attended the meeting.

Chairman Hua's important speech drew round after round of hearty applause. An atmosphere of unity and victory prevailed throughout the meeting hall. Jubilant and in high spirits, all present were fully confident of winning still greater victories.

Chairman Hua and Vice-Chairman Yeh and other Party and state leaders attended another plenary session on the evening of December 20. At the meeting that day, Chen Yung-kuei, Member of the Political Bureau of the C.P.C. Central Committee and Vice-Premier of the State Council, delivered the report "Thoroughly Criticize the 'Gang of Four' and Bring About a New Upsurge in the Movement to Build Tachai-Type Counties All Over the Country." (The report will appear in full in a later issue. — *Ed.*) Comrade Chen Yung-kuei's report was greeted by warm applause.

# On the Ten Major Relationships

Mao Tsetung

April 25, 1956

**I**N recent months the Political Bureau of the Central Committee has heard reports on the work of 34 industrial, agricultural, transport, commercial, financial and other departments under the central authorities and from these reports has identified a number of problems concerning socialist construction and socialist transformation. In all, they boil down to ten problems, or ten major relationships.

It is to focus on one basic policy that these ten problems are being raised, the basic policy of mobilizing all positive factors, internal and external, to serve the cause of socialism. In the past we followed this policy of mobilizing all positive factors in order to

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

put an end to the rule of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism and to win victory for the people's democratic revolution. We are now following the same policy in order to carry on the socialist revolution and build a socialist country. Nevertheless, there are some problems in our work that need discussion. Particularly worthy of attention is the fact that in the Soviet Union certain defects and errors that occurred in the course of their building socialism have lately come to light. Do you want to follow the detours they have made? It was by drawing lessons from their experience that we were able to avoid certain detours in the past, and there is all the more reason for us to do so now.

What are the internal and external positive factors? Internally, the workers and the peasants are the basic force. The middle forces are forces that can be won over. The reactionary forces are a negative factor, but even so we should do our work well and turn this negative factor as far as possible into a positive one. Internationally, all the forces that can be united with must be united, the forces that are not neutral can be neutralized

through our efforts, and even the reactionary forces can be split and made use of. In short, we should mobilize all forces, whether direct

or indirect, and strive to build China into a powerful socialist country.

I will now discuss the ten problems.

## I. The Relationship Between Heavy Industry on the One Hand and Light Industry and Agriculture On the Other

The emphasis in our country's construction is on heavy industry. The production of the means of production must be given priority, that's settled. But it definitely does not follow that the production of the means of subsistence, especially grain, can be neglected. Without enough food and other daily necessities, it would be impossible to provide for the workers in the first place, and then what sense would it make to talk about developing heavy industry? Therefore, the relationship between heavy industry on the one hand and light industry and agriculture on the other must be properly handled.

In dealing with this relationship we have not made mistakes of principle. We have done better than the Soviet Union and a number of East European countries. The prolonged failure of the Soviet Union to reach the highest pre-October Revolution level in grain output, the grave problems arising from the glaring disequilibrium between the development of heavy industry and that of light industry in some East European countries — such problems do not exist in our country. Their lopsided stress on heavy industry to the neglect of agriculture and light industry results in a shortage of goods on the market and an unstable currency. We, on the other hand, attach more importance to agriculture and light industry. We have all along attended to and developed agriculture and have to a considerable degree ensured the supply of grain and raw

materials necessary for the development of industry. Our daily necessities are in fairly good supply and our prices and currency are stable.

The problem now facing us is that of continuing to adjust properly the ration between investment in heavy industry on the one hand and in agriculture and light industry on the other in order to bring about a greater development of the latter. Does this mean that heavy industry is no longer primary? It still is, it still claims the emphasis in our investment. But the proportion for agriculture and light industry must be somewhat increased.

What will be the results of this increase? First, the daily needs of the people will be better satisfied; second, the accumulation of capital will be speeded up so that we can develop heavy industry with greater and better results. Heavy industry can also accumulate capital but, given our present economic conditions, light industry and agriculture can accumulate more and faster.

Here the question arises: Is your desire to develop heavy industry genuine or feigned, strong or weak? If your desire is feigned or weak, then you will hit agriculture and light industry and invest less in them. If your desire is genuine or strong, then you will attach importance to agriculture and light industry so that there will be more grain and more raw materials for light industry and a greater accumulation of capital. And there

will be more funds in the future to invest in heavy industry.

There are now two approaches to our development of heavy industry: One is to develop agriculture and light industry less, and the other is to develop them more. In the long run, the first approach will lead to a smaller and slower development of heavy

industry, or at least will put it on a less solid foundation, and when the overall account is added up a few decades hence, it will not prove to have paid. The second approach will lead to a greater and faster development of heavy industry and, since it ensures the livelihood of the people, it will lay a more solid foundation for the development of heavy industry.

## II. The Relationship Between Industry in the Coastal Regions and Industry in the Interior

In the past our industry was concentrated in the coastal regions. By coastal regions we mean Liaoning, Hopei, Peking, Tientsin, eastern Honan, Shantung, Anhwei, Kiangsu, Shanghai, Chekiang, Fukien, Kwangtung and Kwangsi. About 70 per cent of all our industry, both light and heavy, is to be found in the coastal regions and only 30 per cent in the interior. This irrational situation is a product of history. The coastal industrial base must be put to full use, but to even out the distribution of industry in the course of its development we must strive to promote industry in the interior. We have not made any major mistakes on the relationship between the two. However, in recent years we have underestimated coastal industry to some extent and have not given great enough attention to its development. This must change.

In the past, fighting was going on in Korea and the international situation was quite tense; this could not but affect our attitude towards coastal industry. Now, it seems unlikely that there will be a new war of aggression against China or another world war in the near future, and there will probably be a period of peace for a decade or more. It would therefore be wrong if we still fail to make full use of the plant capac-

ity and technical forces of coastal industry. If we have only five years, not to say ten, we should still work hard to develop industries in the coastal regions for four years and evacuate them when war breaks out in the fifth. According to available information, in light industry the construction of a plant and its accumulation of capital generally proceed quite rapidly. After the whole plant goes into production, it can earn enough in four years to build three new factories, or two, or one or at least half of one, in addition to recouping its capital outlay. Why shouldn't we do such profitable things? To think that the atom bomb is already overhead and about to fall on us in a matter of seconds is a calculation at variance with reality, and it would be wrong to take a negative attitude towards coastal industry on this account.

It does not follow that all new factories are to be built in the coastal regions. Without doubt, the greater part of the new industry should be located in the interior so that industry may gradually become evenly distributed; moreover, this will help our preparations against war. But a number of new factories and mines, even some large ones, may also be built in the coastal regions. As for the expansion and reconstruction of the light and heavy industries already in the coastal

regions, we have done a fair amount of work in the past and will do much more in the future.

Making good use of and developing the capacities of the old industries in the coastal regions will put us in a stronger position to promote and support industry in the interior.

To adopt a negative attitude would be to hinder the latter's speedy growth. So it is likewise a question of whether the desire to develop industry in the interior is genuine or not. If it is genuine and not feigned, we must more actively use and promote industry, especially light industry, in the coastal regions.

### III. The Relationship Between Economic Construction And Defence Construction

National defence is indispensable. Our defence capabilities have now attained a certain level. As a result of the war to resist U.S. aggression and aid Korea and of several years of training and consolidation, our armed forces have grown more powerful and are now stronger than was the Soviet Red Army before the Second World War; also, there have been improvements in armaments. Our defence industry is being built up. Ever since Pan Ku separated heaven and earth, we have never been able to make planes and cars, and now we are beginning to make them.

We do not have the atom bomb yet. But neither did we have planes and artillery in the past. We defeated the Japanese imperialists and Chiang Kai-shek with millet plus rifles. We are stronger than before and will be still stronger in the future. We will not only have more planes and artillery but we will also have atom bombs. If we are not to be bullied in the present-day world, we cannot do without the bomb. Then what is to be done about it? One reliable way is to cut military and administrative expenditures down to appropriate proportions and increase expenditures on economic construction. Only with the faster growth of economic construction can there be more progress in defence construction.

At the Third Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee of our Party in

1950, we already raised the question of streamlining the state apparatus and reducing military and administrative expenditures and considered this measure to be one of the three prerequisites for achieving a fundamental turn for the better in our financial and economic situation. In the period of the First Five-Year Plan, military and administrative expenditures accounted for 30 per cent of total expenditures in the state budget. This proportion is much too high. In the period of the Second Five-Year Plan, we must reduce it to around 20 per cent so that more funds can be released for building more factories and turning out more machines. After a time, we shall not only have plenty of planes and artillery but probably have our own atom bombs as well.

Here again the question arises: Is your desire for the atom bomb genuine and very keen? Or is it only lukewarm and not so very keen? If your desire is genuine and very keen, then you will reduce the proportion of military and administrative expenditures and spend more on economic construction. If your desire is not genuine or not so very keen, you will stay in the old rut. This is a matter of strategic principle, and I hope the Military Commission will discuss it.

Would it be all right to demobilize all our troops now? No, it would not. For enemies are still around, and we are being

bullied and encircled by them. We must strengthen our national defence, and for that

purpose we must first of all strengthen our work in economic construction.

#### IV. The Relationship Between the State, the Units Of Production and the Producers

The relationship between the state on the one hand and factories and agricultural co-operatives on the other and the relationship between factories and agricultural co-operatives on the one hand and the producers on the other should both be handled well. To this end we should consider not just one side, but must consider all three, the state, the collective and the individual, or, as we used to say, "take into consideration both the army and the people" and "take into consideration both the public and the private interest." In view of the experience of the Soviet Union as well as our own, we must see to it that from now on this problem is solved much better.

Take the workers for example. As their labour productivity rises, there should be a gradual improvement in their working conditions and collective welfare. We have always advocated plain living and hard work and opposed putting personal material benefits above everything else; at the same time we have always advocated concern for the livelihood of the masses and opposed bureaucracy, which is callous to their well-being. With the growth of our economy as a whole, wages should be appropriately adjusted. We have recently decided to increase wages to some extent, mainly the wages of those at the lower levels, the wages of the workers, in order to narrow the wage gap between them and the upper levels. Generally speaking, our wages are not high, but compared with the past the life of our workers has greatly improved because, among other things, more people are employed and prices remain low and stable. Under the regime of the proletariat, our workers have unfailingly displayed high political consciousness and enthu-

siasm for labour. When at the end of last year the Central Committee called for a fight against Right conservatism, the masses of the workers warmly responded and, what was exceptional, overfulfilled the plan for the first quarter of the year by working all out for three months. We must strive to encourage this zeal for hard work and at the same time pay still greater attention to solving the pressing problems in their work and everyday life.

Here I would like to touch on the question of the independence of the factories under unified leadership. It's not right, I'm afraid, to place everything in the hands of the central or the provincial and municipal authorities without leaving the factories any power of their own, any room for independent action, any benefits. We don't have much experience on how to share power and returns properly among the central authorities, the provincial and municipal authorities and the factories, and we should study the subject. In principle, centralization and independence forming a unity of opposites, there must be both centralization and independence. For instance, we are now having a meeting, which is centralization; after the meeting, some of us will go for a walk, some will read books, some will go to eat, which is independence. If we don't adjourn the meeting and give everyone some independence but let it go on and on, wouldn't it be the death of us all? This is true of individuals, and no less true of factories and other units of production. Every unit of production must enjoy independence as the correlative of centralization if it is to develop more vigorously.

Now about the peasants. Our relations with the peasants have always been good, but we made a mistake on the question of grain. In 1954 floods caused a decrease in production in some parts of our country, and yet we purchased 7,000 million more cattles of grain. A decrease in production and an increase in purchasing — this made grain the topic on almost everyone's lips in many places last spring, and nearly every household talked about the state marketing of grain. The peasants were disgruntled, and there were a lot of complaints both inside and outside the Party. Although quite a few people indulged in deliberate exaggeration and exploited the opportunity to attack us, it cannot be said that we had no shortcoming. Inadequate investigation and failure to size up the situation resulted in the purchase of 7,000 million more cattles; that was a shortcoming. After discovering it, we purchased 7,000 million less cattles in 1955 and introduced a system of fixed quotas for grain production, purchasing and marketing and, what's more, there was a good harvest. With a decrease in purchasing and an increase in production, the peasants had over 20,000 million more cattles of grain on their hands. Thus even those peasants who had complaints before said, "The Communist Party is really good." This lesson the whole Party must bear in mind.

The Soviet Union has taken measures which squeeze the peasants very hard. It takes away too much from the peasants at too low a price through its system of so-called obligatory sales and other measures. This method of capital accumulation has seriously dampened the peasants' enthusiasm for production. You want the hen to lay more eggs and yet you don't feed it, you want the horse to run fast and yet you don't let it graze. What kind of logic is this!

Our policies towards the peasants differ from those of the Soviet Union and take into account the interests of both the state and the peasants. Our agricultural tax has always

been relatively low. In the exchange of industrial and agricultural products we follow a policy of narrowing the price scissors, a policy of exchanging equal or roughly equal values. The state buys agricultural products at standard prices while the peasants suffer no loss, and, what is more, our purchase prices are gradually being raised. In supplying the peasants with manufactured goods we follow a policy of larger sales at a small profit and of stabilizing or appropriately reducing their prices; in supplying grain to the peasants in grain-deficient areas we generally subsidize such sales to a certain extent. Even so, mistakes of one kind or another will occur if we are not careful. In view of the grave mistakes made by the Soviet Union on this question, we must take greater care and handle the relationship between the state and the peasants well.

Similarly, the relationship between the co-operative and the peasants should be well handled. What proportion of the earnings of a co-operative should go to the state, to the co-operative and to the peasants respectively and in what form should be determined properly. The amount that goes to the co-operative is used directly to serve the peasants. Production expenses need no explanation, management expenses are also necessary, the accumulation fund is for expanded reproduction and the public welfare fund is for the peasants' well-being. However, together with the peasants, we should work out equitable ratios among these items. We must strictly economize on production and management expenses. The accumulation fund and the public welfare fund must also be kept within limits, and one shouldn't expect all good things to be done in a single year.

Except in case of extraordinary natural disasters, we must see to it that, given increased agricultural production, 90 per cent of the co-operative members get some increase in their income and the other 10 per cent break even each year, and if the latter's income should fall, ways must be found to solve the problem in good time.



In short, consideration must be given to both sides, not to just one, whether they are the state and the factory, the state and the worker, the factory and the worker, the state and the co-operative, the state and the peasant, or the co-operative and the peasant. To

give consideration to only one side, whichever it may be, is harmful to socialism and to the dictatorship of the proletariat. This is a big question which concerns 600 million people, and it calls for repeated education in the whole Party and the whole nation.

## V. The Relationship Between the Central Authorities And the Local Authorities

The relationship between the central authorities and the local authorities constitutes another contradiction. To resolve this contradiction, our attention should now be focused on how to enlarge the powers of the local authorities to some extent, give them greater independence and let them do more, all on the premise that the unified leadership of the central authorities is to be strengthened. This will be advantageous to our task of building a powerful socialist country. Our territory is so vast, our population is so large and the conditions are so complex that it is far better to have the initiative come from both the central and the local authorities than from one source alone. We must not follow the example of the Soviet Union in concentrating everything in the hands of the central authorities, shackling the local authorities and denying them the right of independent action.

The central authorities want to develop industry, and so do the local authorities. Even industries directly under the central authorities need assistance from the local authorities. And all the more so for agriculture and commerce. In short, if we are to promote socialist construction, we must bring the initiative of the local authorities into play. If we are to strengthen the central authorities, we must attend to the interests of the localities.

At present scores of hands are reaching out to the localities, making things difficult

for them. Once a ministry is set up, it wants to have a revolution and so it issues orders. Since the various ministries don't think it proper to issue them to the Party committees and people's councils at the provincial level, they establish direct contact with the relevant departments and bureaus in the provinces and municipalities and give them orders every day. These orders are all supposed to come from the central authorities, even though neither the Central Committee of the Party nor the State Council knows anything about them, and they put a great strain on the local authorities. There is such a flood of statistical forms that they become a scourge. This state of affairs must be changed.

We should encourage the style of work in which the local authorities are consulted on the matters to be taken up. It is the practice of the Central Committee of the Party to consult the local authorities; it never hastily issues orders without prior consultation. We hope that the various ministries and departments under the central authorities will pay due attention to this and will first confer with the localities on all matters concerning them and not issue any order without full consultation.

The central departments fall into two categories. Those in the first category exercise leadership right down to the enterprises, but their administrative offices and enterprises in the localities are also subject to supervision by the local authorities. Those in

the second have the task of laying down guiding principles and mapping out work plans, while the local authorities assume the responsibility and put them into operation.

For a large country like ours and a big Party like ours the proper handling of the relationship between the central and local authorities is a matter of vital importance. Some capitalist countries pay great attention to this too. Although their social system is fundamentally different from ours, the experience of their growth is nevertheless worth studying. Take our own experience, the system of the greater administrative area instituted in the early days of our Republic was a necessity at that time, and yet it had shortcomings which were later exploited to a certain extent by the Kao Kang-Jao Shu-shih anti-Party alliance. It was subsequently decided to abolish the greater administrative areas and put the various provinces directly under the central authorities; that was a correct decision. But neither was the outcome so satisfactory when matters went to the length of depriving the localities of their necessary independence. According to our Constitution, the legislative powers are all vested in the central authorities. But the local authorities may work out rules, regulations and measures in the light of their specific conditions and the needs of their work, provided that the policies of the central authorities are not violated, and this is in no way prohibited by the Constitution. We want both unity and particularity. To build a powerful socialist country it is imperative to have a strong and unified central leadership and unified planning and discipline throughout the country; disruption of this indispensable unity is impermissible. At the same time, it is essential to bring the initiative of the local authorities into full play and let each locality enjoy the particularity suited to its local conditions. This particularity is not the Kao Kang type of particularity but one that is necessary for the interest of the whole and for the strengthening of national unity.

There is also the relationship between different local authorities, and here I refer chiefly to the relationship between the higher and lower local authorities. Since the provinces and municipalities have their own complaints about the central departments, can it be that the prefectures, counties, districts and townships have no complaints about the provinces and municipalities? The central authorities should take care to give scope to the initiative of the provinces and municipalities, and in their turn the latter should do the same for the prefectures, counties, districts and townships; in neither case should the lower levels be put in a strait-jacket. Of course comrades at the lower levels must be informed of the matters on which centralization is necessary and they must not act as they please. In short, centralization must be enforced where it is possible and necessary, otherwise it should not be imposed at all. The provinces, municipalities, prefectures, counties, districts and townships should all enjoy their own proper independence and rights and should fight for them. To fight for such rights in the interest of the whole nation and not of a local department cannot be called localism or an undue assertion of independence.

The relationship between different provinces and municipalities is also a kind of relationship between different local authorities and it should be properly handled too. It is our consistent principle to advocate consideration for the general interest and mutual help and mutual accommodation.

Our experience is still insufficient and immature on the question of handling the relationship between the central and local authorities and that between different local authorities. We hope that you will consider and discuss it in earnest and sum up your experience from time to time so as to enhance achievements and overcome shortcomings.

## VI. The Relationship Between the Han Nationality and The Minority Nationalities

Comparatively speaking, our policy on the relationship between the Han nationality and the minority nationalities is sound and has won the favour of the minority nationalities. We put the emphasis on opposing Han chauvinism. Local-nationality chauvinism must be opposed too, but generally that is not where our emphasis lies.

The population of the minority nationalities in our country is small, but the area they inhabit is large. The Han people comprise 94 per cent of the population, an overwhelming majority. If they practised Han chauvinism and discriminated against the minority peoples, that would be very bad. And who has more land? The minority nationalities, who occupy 50 to 60 per cent of the territory. We say China is a country vast in territory, rich in resources and large in population; as a matter of fact it is the Han nationality whose population is large and the minority nationalities whose territory is vast and whose resources are rich, or at least in all probability their resources under the soil are rich.

The minority nationalities have all contributed to the making of China's history. The huge Han population is the result of the intermingling of many nationalities over a long time. All through the ages, the reactionary rulers, chiefly from the Han nationality, sowed feelings of estrangement among our various nationalities and bullied the minority peoples. It is not easy to eliminate the re-

sultant influences in a short time even among the working people. So we have to make extensive and sustained efforts to educate both the cadres and the masses in our proletarian nationality policy and make a point of frequently reviewing the relationship between the Han nationality and the minority nationalities. One such review was made two years ago and there should be another one now. If the relationship is found to be abnormal, then we must deal with it in real earnest and not just in words.

We need to make a thorough study of what systems of economic management and finance will best suit the minority nationality areas.

We must sincerely and actively help the minority nationalities to develop their economy and culture. In the Soviet Union the relationship between the Russian nationality and the minority nationalities is very abnormal; we should draw a lesson from this. The air in the atmosphere, the forests on the earth and the riches under the soil are all important factors needed for the building of socialism, but no material factor can be exploited and utilized without the human factor. We must foster good relations between the Han nationality and the minority nationalities and strengthen the unity of all the nationalities in the common endeavour to build our great socialist motherland.

## VII. The Relationship Between Party and Non-Party

Which is better, to have just one party or several? As we see it now, it's perhaps better to have several parties. This has been

true in the past and may well be so for the future; it means long-term coexistence and mutual supervision.

In our country the many democratic parties, consisting primarily of the national bourgeoisie and its intellectuals, emerged during the resistance to Japan and the struggle against Chiang Kai-shek, and they continue to exist to this day. In this respect, China is different from the Soviet Union. We have purposely let the democratic parties remain, giving them opportunities to express their views and adopting a policy of both unity and struggle towards them. We unite with all those democratic personages who offer us their criticisms with good intentions. We should go on activating the enthusiasm of such people from the Kuomintang army and government as Wei Li-huang and Weng Wen-hao, who are patriotic. We should even provide for such abusive types as Lung Yun, Liang Shu-ming and Peng Yi-hu and allow them to rail at us, while refuting their nonsense and accepting what makes sense in their rebukes. This is better for the Party, for the people and for socialism.

Since classes and class struggle still exist in China, there is bound to be opposition in one form or another. Although all the democratic parties and democrats without party affiliation have professed their acceptance of the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, many of them are actually in opposition in varying degrees. On such matters as "carrying the revolution through to the end," the movement to resist U.S. aggression and aid Korea and the agrarian reform, they were against us as well as for us. To this very day they have reservations about the suppression of counter-revolutionaries. They didn't want to have a constitution of the socialist type, for, as they said, the Common Programme was just perfect, and yet when the Draft Constitution came out, their hands all went up in favour. Things often turn into their opposite, and

this is also true of the attitude of the democratic parties on many questions. They are in opposition, and yet not in opposition, often proceeding from being in opposition to not being in opposition.

The Communist Party and the democratic parties are all products of history. What emerges in history disappears in history. Therefore, the Communist Party will disappear one day, and so will the democratic parties. Is this disappearance so unpleasant? In my opinion, it will be very pleasant. I think it is just fine that one day we will be able to do away with the Communist Party and the dictatorship of the proletariat. Our task is to hasten their extinction. We have spoken about this point many times.

But at present we cannot do without the proletarian party and the dictatorship of the proletariat and, what is more, it is imperative that they should be made still more powerful. Otherwise, we would not be able to suppress the counter-revolutionaries, resist the imperialists and build socialism, or consolidate it even when it is built. Lenin's theory on the proletarian party and the dictatorship of the proletariat is by no means "outmoded" as alleged by certain people. The dictatorship of the proletariat cannot but be highly coercive. Still, we must oppose bureaucracy and a cumbersome apparatus. I propose that the Party and government organs should be thoroughly streamlined and cut by two-thirds provided that no one dies or no work stops.

However, streamlining the Party and government organs does not mean getting rid of the democratic parties. I suggest that you should give attention to our united front work so as to improve our relations with them and should make every possible effort to mobilize their enthusiasm for the cause of socialism.

## VIII. The Relationship Between Revolution and Counter-Revolution

What kind of a factor are counter-revolutionaries? They are a negative factor, a destructive factor, they are forces opposed to the positive factors. Is it possible for counter-revolutionaries to change? The die-hards will undoubtedly never change. However, given the conditions in our country, most of the counter-revolutionaries will eventually change to a greater or lesser extent. Thanks to the correct policy we adopted, many have been transformed into persons no longer opposed to the revolution, and a few have even done some good.

The following points should be affirmed:

First, it should be affirmed that the suppression of counter-revolutionaries in 1951-52 was necessary. There is a view that this campaign needn't have been launched. This is wrong.

Counter-revolutionaries may be dealt with in these ways: execution, imprisonment, supervision and leaving at large. Execution—everybody knows what that means. By imprisonment we mean putting counter-revolutionaries in jail and reforming them through labour. By supervision we mean leaving them in society to be reformed under the supervision of the masses. By leaving at large we mean that generally no arrest is made in those cases where it is marginal whether to make an arrest, or that those arrested are set free for good behaviour. It is essential that different counter-revolutionaries should be dealt with differently on the merits of each case.

Now let's take execution in particular. True, we executed a number of people during the above-mentioned campaign to suppress counter-revolutionaries. But what sort of people were they? They were counter-revolutionaries who owed the masses many blood debts and were bitterly hated by them. In a great revolution embracing 600 million people, the masses would not be able to rise

if we did not kill off such local despots as the "Tyrant of the East" and the "Tyrant of the West." But for that campaign of suppression, the people would not have approved our present policy of leniency. Now that some people have heard that Stalin wrongly put a number of people to death, they jump to the conclusion that we too were wrong in putting to death that group of counter-revolutionaries. No, that's not true. It is of immediate significance today to affirm that it was absolutely right to execute those counter-revolutionaries.

Second, it should be affirmed that counter-revolutionaries still exist, though their number has greatly diminished. After the Hu Feng case surfaced, it was necessary to ferret out counter-revolutionaries. The effort to clear out those who remain hidden must go on. It should be affirmed that there are still a small number of counter-revolutionaries who are carrying out counter-revolutionary sabotage of one kind or another. For example, they kill cattle, burn grain, wreck factories, steal information and put up reactionary posters. Consequently, it is wrong to say that counter-revolutionaries have been completely eliminated and that we can therefore lay our heads on our pillows and just drop off to sleep. As long as class struggle exists in China and in the world, we should never relax our vigilance. Nevertheless, it would be equally wrong to assert that there are still large numbers of counter-revolutionaries.

Third, from now on there should be fewer arrests and executions in the suppression of counter-revolutionaries in society at large. They are the mortal and immediate enemies of the people and are deeply hated by them, and therefore a small number should be executed. But most of them should be handed over to the agricultural co-operatives and made to do farm work under su-

pervision and be reformed through labour. All the same, we cannot announce that there will be no more executions, and we must not abolish the death penalty.

Fourth, in clearing out counter-revolutionaries in Party and government organs, schools and army units, we must adhere to the policy started in Yen-an of "killing none and arresting few." Confirmed counter-revolutionaries are to be screened by the organizations concerned, and the public security bureaus are not to make any arrest, the procuratorial organs are not to start any legal proceedings and the law courts are not to put anyone on trial. Well over 90 out of every hundred counter-revolutionaries should be dealt with in this way. This is what we mean by "arresting few." As for executions, kill none.

What kind of people are those we don't execute? We don't execute people like Hu Feng, Pan Han-nien, Jao Shu-shih, or even captured war criminals such as Emperor Pu Yi and Kang Tse. We don't have them executed, not because their crimes don't deserve capital punishment but because such executions would yield no advantage. If one such criminal is executed, a second and a third will be compared with him in their crimes and then many heads will begin to roll. This is my first point. Second, people may be wrongly executed. Once a head is chopped off, history shows it can't be restored, nor can it grow again as chives do, after being cut. If you cut off a head by mistake, there is no way to rectify the mistake, even if you want to. The third point is that you will have destroyed a source of evidence. You need evidence in order to suppress counter-revolutionaries. Often one counter-revolutionary serves as a living witness against another, and there are cases where you may want to consult him. If you have got rid of him, you may not be able to get evidence any more. And this will be to the advantage of counter-revolution and not of revolution. The fourth point is that killing

these counter-revolutionaries won't (1) raise production, (2) raise the country's scientific level, (3) help do away with the four pests, (4) strengthen national defence, or (5) help recover Taiwan. It will only earn you the reputation of killing captives, and killing captives has always given one a bad name. Another point is that counter-revolutionaries inside Party and government organs are different from those in society at large. The latter lord it over the masses while the former are somewhat removed from the masses, and therefore make enemies in general but seldom enemies in particular. What harm is there in not killing any of them? Those who are physically fit for manual labour should be reformed through labour, and those who are not should be provided for. Counter-revolutionaries are worthless, they are vermin, but once in your hands, you can make them perform some kind of service for the people.

But shall we enact a law stipulating that no counter-revolutionary in Party and government organs is to be executed? Ours is a policy for internal observance which need not be made public, and all we need do is carry it out as far as possible in practice. Supposing someone should throw a bomb into this building, killing everybody here, or half or one-third of the people present, what would you say — to execute or not to execute him? Certainly he must be executed.

Adopting the policy of killing none when eliminating counter-revolutionaries from Party and government organs in no way prevents us from being strict with them. Instead, it serves as a safeguard against irretrievable mistakes, and if mistakes are made, it gives us an opportunity to correct them. In this way many people will be put at ease and distrust among comrades inside the Party avoided. If counter-revolutionaries are not executed, they have to be fed. All counter-revolutionaries should be given a way out through earning a living, so that they can start anew. This will be good for

the cause of the people and be well received abroad.

The suppression of counter-revolutionaries still calls for hard work. We must not relax. In future not only must the suppression of counter-revolutionaries in society continue, but we must also uncover all the hidden counter-revolutionaries in Party and

government organs, schools and army units. We must draw a clear distinction between ourselves and the enemy. If the enemy is allowed to worm his way into our ranks and even into our organs of leadership, we know only too well how serious a threat this will be to the cause of socialism and to the dictatorship of the proletariat.

## IX. The Relationship Between Right and Wrong

A clear distinction must be made between right and wrong, whether inside or outside the Party. How to deal with people who have made mistakes is an important question. The correct attitude towards them should be to adopt a policy of "learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones and curing the sickness to save the patient" and to help them to correct their mistakes and to allow them to go on taking part in the revolution. In those days when the dogmatists headed by Wang Ming were in the saddle, our Party erred on this question, picking up the bad aspect of Stalin's style of work. In society the dogmatists rejected the middle forces, while inside the Party they did not allow people to correct their mistakes and take part in the revolution.

*The True Story of Ah Q* is a fine story. I would recommend comrades who have read it before to reread it and those who haven't to read it carefully. In this story Lu Hsun writes mainly about a peasant who is backward and politically unawakened. He devotes a whole chapter, "Barred From the Revolution," to describing how a bogus foreign devil bars Ah Q from the revolution. Actually, all Ah Q understands by revolution is helping himself to a few things just like some others. But even this kind of revolution is denied him by the bogus foreign devil. It seems to me that in this respect some people are quite like that bogus foreign devil. They

barred from the revolution those who had committed errors, drawing no distinction between the making of mistakes and counter-revolution, and went so far as to kill a number of people who were guilty only of mistakes. We must take this lesson to heart. It is bad either to bar people outside the Party from the revolution or to prohibit erring comrades inside the Party from making amends.

With regard to comrades who have erred, some people say we must observe them and see if they are going to correct their mistakes. I would say just observing them will not do, we must help them correct their mistakes. That is to say, first we must observe and second we must give help. Everybody needs help; those who have not done wrong need it and those who have need it still more. Probably no one is free from mistakes, only some make more and some less, and once they do they need help. It is passive just to observe; conditions must be created to help those who have erred to mend their ways. A clear distinction must be drawn between right and wrong, for inner-Party controversies over principle are a reflection inside the Party of the class struggle in society, and no equivocation is to be tolerated. It is normal, in accordance with the merits of the case, to mete out appropriate and well-grounded criticism to comrades who have erred, and even to con-



duct necessary struggle against them; this is to help them to correct mistakes. To deny them help and, what is worse, to gloat over their mistakes, is sectarianism.

For revolution, it is always better to have more people. Except for a few who cling to their mistakes and fail to mend their ways after repeated admonition, the majority of those who have erred can correct their mistakes. People who have had typhoid become immune to it; similarly, people who have made mistakes will make fewer ones provided they are good at drawing lessons. On the other hand, since it is easier for those who have not erred to become cocky, they are prone to make mistakes. Let us be care-

ful, for those who fix people guilty of mistakes will more often than not end up finding themselves in a fix. Kao Kang started out to lift a rock to hurl at others only to find himself being knocked down. Treating with good will those who have erred will win general approval and unite people. A helpful attitude or a hostile attitude towards comrades who have erred — this is a criterion for judging whether one is well-intentioned or ill-intentioned.

The policy of "learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones and curing the sickness to save the patient" is a policy for uniting the whole Party. We must stick to this policy.

## X. The Relationship Between China and Other Countries

We have put forward the slogan of learning from other countries. I think we have been right. At present, the leaders of some countries are chary, and even afraid, of advancing this slogan. It takes some courage to do that; in other words, theatrical airs have to be discarded.

It must be admitted that every nation has its strong points. If not, how can it survive? How can it progress? On the other hand, every nation has its weak points. Some believe that socialism is just perfect, without a single flaw. How can that be true? It must be recognized that there are always two aspects, the strong points and the weak points. The secretaries of our Party branches, the company commanders and platoon leaders of our army have all learnt to jot down both aspects in their pocket notebooks, the weak points as well as the strong ones, when summing up their work experience. They all know there are two aspects to everything. Why do we mention only one? There will always be two aspects, even ten thousand years from now. Each age, whether

the future or the present, has its own two aspects, and each individual has his own two aspects. In short, there are two aspects, not just one. To say there is only one is to be aware of one aspect and to be ignorant of the other.

Our policy is to learn from the strong points of all nations and all countries, learn all that is genuinely good in the political, economic, scientific and technological fields and in literature and art. But we must learn with an analytical and critical eye, not blindly, and we mustn't copy everything indiscriminately and transplant mechanically. Naturally, we mustn't pick up their shortcomings and weak points.

We should adopt the same attitude in learning from the experience of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. Some of our people were not clear about this before and even picked up their weaknesses. While they were swelling with pride over what they had picked up, it was already being discarded in those countries; as a result, they

had to do a somersault like the Monkey Sun Wu-kung. For instance, there were people who accused us of making a mistake of principle in setting up a Ministry of Culture and a Bureau of Cinematography rather than a Ministry of Cinematography and a Bureau of Culture, as was the case in the Soviet Union. They did not anticipate that shortly afterwards the Soviet Union would make a change and set up a Ministry of Culture as we had done. Some people never take the trouble to analyse, they simply follow the "wind." Today, when the north wind is blowing, they join the "north wind" school; tomorrow, when there is a west wind, they switch to the "west wind" school; afterwards when the north wind blows again, they switch back to the "north wind" school. They hold no independent opinion of their own and often go from one extreme to the other.

In the Soviet Union, those who once extolled Stalin to the skies have now in one swoop consigned him to purgatory. Here in China some people are following their example. It is the opinion of the Central Committee that Stalin's mistakes amount to only 30 per cent of the whole and his achievements to 70 per cent, and that all things considered Stalin was nonetheless a great Marxist. We wrote "On the Historical Experience of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat" on the basis of this evaluation. This assessment of 30 per cent for mistakes and 70 per cent for achievements is just about right. Stalin did a number of wrong things in connection with China. The "Left" adventurism pursued by Wang Ming in the latter part of the Second Revolutionary Civil War period and his Right opportunism in the early days of the War of Resistance Against Japan can both be traced to Stalin. At the time of the War of Liberation, Stalin first wouldn't let us press on with the revolution, maintaining that if civil war flared up, the Chinese nation ran the risk of destroying itself. Then when fighting did erupt, he took us half seriously, half sceptically. When we won the war, Stalin suspected that ours was a

victory of the Tito type, and in 1949 and 1950 the pressure on us was very great indeed. Even so, we maintain the estimate of 30 per cent for his mistakes and 70 per cent for his achievements. This is only fair.

In the social sciences and in Marxism-Leninism, we must continue to study Stalin diligently wherever he is right. What we must study is all that is universally true and we must make sure that this study is linked with Chinese reality. It would lead to a mess if every single sentence, even of Marx's, were followed. Our theory is an integration of the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution. At one time some people in the Party went in for dogmatism, and this came under our criticism. Nevertheless, dogmatism is still in evidence today. It still exists in academic circles and in economic circles too.

In the natural sciences we are rather backward, and here we should make a special effort to learn from foreign countries. And yet we must learn critically, not blindly. In technology I think at first we have to follow others in most cases, and it is better for us to do so, since at present we are lacking in technology and know little about it. However, in those cases where we already have clear knowledge, we must not follow others in every detail.

We must firmly reject and criticize all the decadent bourgeois systems, ideologies and ways of life of foreign countries. But this should in no way prevent us from learning the advanced sciences and technologies of capitalist countries and whatever is scientific in the management of their enterprises. In the industrially developed countries they run their enterprises with fewer people and greater efficiency and they know how to do business. All this should be learnt well in accordance with our own principles so that our work can be improved. Nowadays, those who make English their study no longer work hard at it, and research papers are no longer translated into English, French, Ger-

man or Japanese for exchange with other countries. This too is a kind of blind prejudice. Neither the indiscriminate rejection of everything foreign, whether scientific, technological or cultural, nor the indiscriminate imitation of everything foreign as mentioned above, has anything in common with the Marxist attitude, and they in no way benefit our cause.

In my opinion, China has two weaknesses, which are at the same time two strong points.

First, in the past China was a colonial and semi-colonial country, not an imperialist power, and was always bullied by others. Its industry and agriculture are not developed and its scientific and technological level is low, and except for its vast territory, rich resources, large population, long history, *The Dream of the Red Chamber* in literature, and so on, China is inferior to other countries in many respects, and so has no reason to feel conceited. However, there are people who, having been slaves too long, feel inferior in everything and don't stand up straight in the presence of foreigners. They are just like Chia Kuei in the opera *The Famen Temple* who, when asked to take a seat, refuses to do so, giving the excuse that he is used to standing in attendance. Here we need to bestir ourselves, enhance our national confidence and encourage the spirit typified by "Scorn U.S. imperialism," which was fostered during the movement to resist U.S. aggression and aid Korea.

Second, our revolution came late. Although the 1911 Revolution which overthrew the Ching emperor preceded the Russian revolution, there was no Communist Party at that time and the revolution failed. The victory of the people's revolution came in 1949, more than 30 years after the October Revolution. On this account too, we are not in a position to feel conceited. The Soviet Union differs from our country in that, firstly, tsarist Russia was an imperialist power and, secondly, it had the October

Revolution. As a result, many people in the Soviet Union are conceited and very arrogant.

Our two weaknesses are also strong points. As I have said elsewhere, we are first "poor" and second "blank." By "poor" I mean we do not have much industry and our agriculture is underdeveloped. By "blank" I mean we are like a blank sheet of paper and our cultural and scientific level is not high. From the standpoint of potentiality, this is not bad. The poor want revolution whereas it is difficult for the rich to want revolution. Countries with a high scientific and technological level are overblown with arrogance. We are like a blank sheet of paper, which is good for writing on.

Being "poor" and "blank" is therefore all to our good. Even when one day our country becomes strong and prosperous, we must still adhere to the revolutionary stand, remain modest and prudent, learn from other countries and not allow ourselves to become swollen with conceit. We must not only learn from other countries during the period of our First Five-Year Plan, but must go on doing so after the completion of scores of five-year plans. We must be ready to learn even ten thousand years from now. Is there anything bad about that?

I have taken up ten topics altogether. These ten relationships are all contradictions. The world consists of contradictions. Without contradictions the world would cease to exist. Our task is to handle these contradictions correctly. As to whether or not these contradictions can in practice be resolved entirely to our satisfaction, we must be prepared for either possibility; furthermore, in the course of resolving these contradictions we are bound to come up against new ones, new problems. But as we have often said, while the road ahead is tortuous, the future is bright. We must do our best to mobilize all positive factors, both inside and outside the Party, both at home and abroad, both direct and indirect, and build China into a powerful socialist country.



the Chinese people, the international proletariat and friends in the five continents have for Chairman Mao Tsetung.

The documentary shows the solemn memorial ceremony in the Great Hall of the People in Peking from September 11 to 17. Filled with immense grief, Comrade Hua Kuo-feng and other Party and state leaders pay their respects to the remains of Chairman Mao and stand vigil beside his catafalque. Grieved beyond control, groups of workers, peasants, P.L.A. commanders and fighters, revolutionary cadres, revolutionary intellectuals, Red Guards, Little Red Guards and city inhabitants walk into the memorial hall with heavy steps to pay their respects to the body of Chairman Mao and bid farewell to him who was dearest to them. They pledge to rally closely round the Party Central Committee headed by Comrade Hua

Kuo-feng and carry through to the end the proletarian revolutionary cause in China pioneered by Chairman Mao.

Among the mourners paying their respects to the remains of Chairman Mao are many visiting representatives of fraternal Parties, friends from various countries and ambassadors, diplomatic envoys, experts and students from foreign countries in Peking.

In those days of deep mourning, solemn memorial ceremonies were held all over the country. In the Taching Oilfield and the Tachai Production Brigade, on Chenpao Island and Inner Mongolia's grasslands, in Tibet and Sinkiang, as well as in the former revolutionary centres and places of historic significance such as the former residence of Chairman Mao in Shaoshan in Hunan Province, the site of the

*(Continued on p. 30.)*

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## Photo Exhibition "Chairman Mao Will Live For Ever in Our Hearts"

**A** PHOTO exhibition, "Chairman Mao Will Live For Ever in Our Hearts," opened in Peking on December 25.

The 229 photos on display deal with the life of our great leader Chairman Mao, the mourning of his death by the people in Peking and all over the country, the cornerstone-laying ceremony for the Chairman Mao Memorial Hall and the activities organized by the people of all nationalities throughout the country to express their determination to carry out Chairman Mao's behests and turn grief into strength.

The photos of Chairman Mao's life show the brilliant image of Chairman Mao who dedicated his whole life to the Chinese revolution and the world revolution and recapture his great activities in various historical periods of the revolution.

Also on display are photos showing Chairman Mao together with Premier Chou, with Chairman Chu Teh of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, and with Chairman Hua and other leading comrades of the central authorities.

To usurp Party and state power, the anti-Party "gang of four" did their utmost to use news photos to play themselves up and frantically oppose the great leader Chairman Mao, the esteemed and beloved Premier Chou, and Chairman Hua and other leading comrades in the central authorities. Only after the "gang of four" was smashed and with the kind attention of the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua can these precious photos be put on display.

The 1976 National Photo Exhibition opened in Peking on the same day.

**The great leader and  
teacher Chairman Mao  
Tsetung (1959).**



**Chairman Mao and Pre-  
mier Chou at the 24th  
Session of the Central Peo-  
ple's Government Council  
(1953).**







*Right:*  
Chairman Mao and Com-  
rade Kang Sheng (first  
from right), Comrade Chen  
Yi (third from right) and  
Comrade Ho Lung (second  
from right) at Peking Air-  
port (1963).

*Below right:*  
Chairman Mao and Com-  
rade Tung Pi-wu on the  
rostrum atop Tien An Men  
Gate on October 1, 1949.

*Below:*  
Chairman Mao, Chairman  
Chu Teh of the Standing  
Committee of the National  
People's Congress and  
Premier Chou on the  
rostrum at the First Na-  
tional Games (1959).





(Continued from p. 27.)

Party's First National Congress in Shanghai, the Chingkuang Mountains, Juichin, Tsunyi and Yen-an, people recall the long and tortuous road traversed by the people of various nationalities under the leadership of Chairman Mao and honour the memory of his immortal contributions.

The film also shows the people in various parts of the world mourning Chairman Mao. Countless telegrams and letters of condolences pour into Peking. From Asia and Africa to Latin America, from Europe and North America to Oceania, the revolutionary people pay tribute to Chairman Mao with deep sorrow. Many foreign friends hold forums or report meetings and many foreign newspapers and magazines publish in succession a large number of articles, all extolling Chairman Mao's magnificent contributions.

The film shows the scene at three o'clock on the afternoon of September 18 when the people of the whole country stand in silent tribute amid the sound of sirens. Simultaneously with the one million-strong mass memorial meeting in Peking's Tien An Men Square, memorial meetings are held in all places at and above the county level. There is a recording of the memorial speech delivered by Comrade Hua Kuo-feng. In a steady and forceful voice, he calls on the whole Party, the whole army and the people of the whole country to "turn grief into strength, carry on the cause left behind by Chairman Mao, **'practise Marxism, and not revisionism; unite, and don't split; be open and aboveboard, and don't intrigue and conspire,'** and, under the leadership of the Party Central Committee, carry through to the end the cause of the proletarian revolution in China which Chairman Mao pioneered."

This historic documentary recaptures many scenes of Chairman Mao's great revolutionary activities. In high spirits, Chairman Mao inspects cotton and wheat fields and a tea plantation and chats with commune members; he goes among factory workers; he cordially receives representatives of workers, peasants and soldiers; he returns to his home village Shaoshan

and has a heart-to-heart talk with the villagers; from the rostrum atop Tien An Men Gate he waves to the crowds during the Great Cultural Revolution . . . . Chairman Mao left his footprints all over the vast expanse of China and was of one heart with the people in their hundreds of millions.

Most heart-stirring are the scenes of historic significance showing Chairman Mao at the grand inauguration ceremony of the People's Republic of China in 1949 and at the First Session of the First National People's Congress in 1954. The film records his proclamation of the founding of New China in a firm and forceful voice: "**The Central People's Government has been set up.**" His speech at the N.P.C. was punctuated by thunderous applause, part of which is heard: "**Ours is a just cause. A just cause is invulnerable to any enemy. (Warm applause.) The force at the core leading our cause forward is the Chinese Communist Party. (Warm applause.) The theoretical basis guiding our thinking is Marxism-Leninism. (Warm applause.) We are fully confident that we can overcome all difficulties and hardships, and build our country into a great socialist republic. (Warm applause.) We are marching forward. We are now engaged in a great and most glorious cause, never undertaken by our forefathers. Our goal must be attained. (Applause.) Our goal can certainly be attained. (Applause.)**"

Chairman Mao's world-shaking speech expressed the common aspirations of the Chinese people and fired them with immense confidence and courage. With Chairman Mao's brilliant thought, with the great, glorious and correct Communist Party of China and with Chairman Hua selected by Chairman Mao himself as his reliable successor, we will surely be able to carry through to the end the proletarian revolutionary cause in China pioneered by Chairman Mao and turn his great prediction into reality.

The film ends with a red sun rising over the horizon, symbolizing that invincible Mao Tsetung Thought will shine for ever and Chairman Mao is the never-setting red sun in our hearts. Chairman Mao will always live in our hearts.

# Speech at the Second National Conference on Learning From Tachai in Agriculture

**Hua Kuo-feng**

Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China

December 25, 1976

In his speech, Chairman Hua reviews the fighting course our Party has traversed in 1976 and outlines the fighting tasks for 1977.

He points out: 1976 is a most extraordinary year in the history of our Party and of the dictatorship of the proletariat in China. It is a year in which the whole Party, the whole army and the people of all nationalities throughout the country have stood rigorous tests, a year in which we have won a great historic victory. The internal and international situation at present is excellent. It is our belief that 1977 will be a year in which we shall smash the "gang of four" completely and go towards great order, a year of united struggle and triumphant advance. The people of the whole country must carry out Chairman Mao's behests, take upon our shoulders the cause of proletarian revolution bequeathed to us by him and carry it through to the end. We are determined to win victory. We can certainly win victory. Let us, the 800 million people and the more than 30 million Party members, unite and wage a common struggle to win still greater victories!

He puts forward the following main fighting tasks for 1977: First, deepen the great mass movement to expose and criticize the "gang of four." This is the central task for 1977. Second, strengthen Party building. It is necessary to carry out a movement of education in Marxist ideology throughout the Party, centring on the strengthening of the Party's unified leadership and democratic centralism and the promotion of its fine style of work, so as to build up our Party well. Third, deepen the mass movement to learn from Tachai in agriculture and to learn from Taching in industry and strive to push the national economy forward. Fourth, make further efforts to bring about a new high tide in the mass movement to study works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and Chairman Mao's works.



Comrades!

Our conference is drawing to a close.

The conference has been going on very well. Comrade Chen Yung-kuei has made a very good report on behalf of the Party Central Committee. Many comrades have spoken at the conference. Everybody is in high spirits and morale and fully confident of victory. The conference is one of mobilizing the 700 million peasants to expose and criticize the Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao "gang of four" thoroughly, of promoting in depth the movement to learn from Tachai in agriculture and to build Tachai-type counties throughout the country and of unifying our understanding and action with Mao Tsetung Thought. It is a conference of unity and victory.

At this conference, we have conscientiously studied Chairman Mao's brilliant work *On the Ten Major Relationships*. The

whole Party, the whole army and the people of all nationalities throughout the country should study this brilliant work conscientiously and in a thoroughgoing way. In 1956, bearing in mind lessons drawn from the Soviet Union, Chairman Mao summed up in this work China's experience, expounded ten major relationships in socialist revolution and socialist construction and set forth basic ideas about the general line of building socialism with greater, faster, better and more economical results, a line suited to the conditions of our country. The basic policy Chairman Mao advanced in the work is: **"We must do our best to mobilize all positive factors, both inside and outside the Party, both at home and abroad, both direct and indirect, and build China into a powerful socialist country."** We have followed this basic policy at the present conference and we should do so in all spheres of our work.

I believe that after the conference a new upsurge will swiftly come into being throughout the countryside in the great revolutionary mass movement further to expose and criticize the "gang of four" and learn from Tachai in agriculture and build Tachai-type counties all over the country. This is an important matter having a vital bearing on the overall situation. It will greatly hasten the vigorous development of the work of our Party and country in every field.

Comrades!

Nineteen seventy-six will soon be over and 1977 is fast approaching. Comrades are all interested in the situation of the country and the tasks ahead. Here I would like to review briefly the fighting course we have traversed in 1976 and outline our fighting tasks for 1977.

Nineteen seventy-six is a most extraordinary year in the history of our Party and of the dictatorship of the proletariat in China. It is a year in which the whole Party, the whole army and the people of all nationalities throughout the country have

stood rigorous tests, a year in which we have won a great historic victory. This year, the proletariat has waged a fierce, momentous struggle against the bourgeoisie and crushed the anti-Party "gang of four" of Wang Hung-wen, Chang Chun-chiao, Chiang Ching and Yao Wen-yuan. As a result, a major retrogression and split has been averted in China and we can continue to push the proletarian revolutionary cause forward in the direction pointed out by Chairman Mao.

The historic decisive battle of 1976 between our Party and the Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao "gang of four" was fought amid tremendous difficulties that confronted our Party after the death of Chairman Mao. It was therefore a battle of particular gravity.

This year saw the passing of our most esteemed and beloved great leader and teacher Chairman Mao Tsetung, the great founder of our Party, our army and our People's Republic, who had led our Party and people in valiant struggles for more than half a century, and the passing of Chairman Mao's long-tested and close comrades-in-arms our esteemed and beloved Premier Chou En-lai and Chairman Chu Teh of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress. Vice-Chairman of the Party Central Committee Kang Sheng and Vice-Chairman of the N.P.C. Standing Committee Tung Pi-wu died last year. The successive passing in so short a time of so many great proletarian revolutionaries who enjoyed high prestige among the people, undoubtedly brought enormous difficulties to the leadership of our Party Central Committee. The death of Chairman Mao in particular is an immeasurable loss to the whole Party, the whole army and the people of all our nationalities, and our grief defies description.

This year also witnessed serious natural disasters in our country. In a vast land like ours, there are always some areas hit by natural disasters each year. But in this year, not only did a number of areas suffer quite

seriously from drought, waterlogging, low temperature, early frost and other adversities, there were also violent earthquakes of magnitude 7 and upwards in the Lungling, Tangshan and Sungpan areas on six occasions. Particularly the Tangshan earthquake inflicted a loss of lives and property that was rarely seen in history. The Party Central Committee took prompt and effective measures to help the people in the stricken areas restore production and rebuild their homes and to lead the masses in the heroic struggle to overcome the difficulties caused by the earthquakes.

It was at this time that the "gang of four," the Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao anti-Party clique, perversely exploited the grave difficulty confronting the Party and the people and tried to usurp the supreme Party and state leadership, which was their long-cherished ambition. Before Chairman Mao's death, they went against a series of directives issued by Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee, sang another tune in the criticism of Teng Hsiao-ping and thus caused great ideological and political confusion and enormous economic losses. After Chairman Mao's death, thinking their chance had come, they quickened their pace to usurp the supreme Party and state leadership and mounted unprecedentedly wild attacks in an attempt to knock down the Party and the people. Should their scheme have succeeded, that would have led to a great retrogression and split in our Party and country and touched off a major civil war, they would have directly capitulated to imperialism and social-imperialism, relying on the aggressor's bayonet to prop up their puppet throne, and there would have been both internal strife and foreign aggression. At that time we were faced with the very immediate danger of capitalist restoration, a danger of our Party turning revisionist and our country changing its political colour. For a time rolling dark clouds hung over China. Such a grave situation had never arisen since the

founding of our People's Republic and was rarely seen in the history of our Party.

At that time class enemies at home and abroad were jubilant while our people, our comrades and our foreign friends and comrades were gnawed by deep anxiety and concern over the destiny of our Party and state. Everybody was saying to himself: In the past with Chairman Mao at the helm, we defied whatever difficulty or hazard before us; now that Chairman Mao has passed away, are we able to withstand the frenzied attacks of the Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao gang? What will become of China's future? Will it be a bright China or a dark China? Such anxiety and concern were fully understandable. However, the people are the makers of history and they have answered the question. In the acute and complex struggle between the two lines in 1976, particularly the decisive battle in October, our Party Central Committee adopted resolute measures and smashed at one blow the plot of the "gang of four" to usurp Party and state power. Under the leadership of the Party, our heroic people, our heroic army and vast numbers of our Party members and cadres displayed a high level of political consciousness and firm unity in this great struggle. As soon as the Party Central Committee gave the order, the broad masses rose in response and swung into action, and the issue was settled without firing a single shot or shedding a drop of blood. Armymen and people throughout the country were all cheers and the situation was very stable. Take Shanghai for example. For years the "gang of four" had taken great pains to build up their influence there and felt sure that their rule was quite secure. But the working class and the people of other sections in Shanghai had suffered much from oppression and bullying by the "gang of four" and long harboured intense hatred for their perverse activities. The hate and indignation nursed in their bosom burst out with the speed and momentum of a volcanic eruption. Shanghai has become the burying ground of the gang. Chairman Mao said:

**"If the Rightists stage an anti-Communist coup d'etat in China, I am sure they will know no peace either and their rule will most probably be short-lived because it will not be tolerated by the revolutionaries, who represent the interests of the people making up more than 90 per cent of the population."** The fact that the "gang of four" collapsed rapidly before they could succeed in the plot for a Rightist anti-Communist coup d'etat fully testifies to Chairman Mao's wise judgment.

Filled with pride of victory, the Chinese people declare to the whole world: We have stood the severe test. Under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, our Party has won, the proletariat has won, the people have won, the bright socialist China has won!

The struggle of our Party against the Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao anti-Party clique is another major struggle between the two lines in the annals of our Party. The Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao anti-Party clique is a bunch of ultra-Rightists and their counter-revolutionary revisionist line is an ultra-Right line. They are ultra-Rightists because they practise revisionism, create splits and engage in intrigues and conspiracies under the cloak of Marxism, trying by hook or by crook to usurp the supreme leadership of the Party and the state, subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat and restore capitalism. On the question of who are our enemies and who are our friends, which is of the first importance for the revolution, they have deliberately turned things upside down as to the relations between ourselves and the enemy in the historical period of socialism, decking themselves out as "Leftists" and "revolutionaries" while regarding as the targets of their "revolution" the revolutionary leading cadres of the Party, government and army at all levels who uphold Marxism. They have thus adulterated the very essence of Chairman Mao's great theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The great leader Chairman Mao summed up the positive and the negative experience of our country and that of the international communist movement and, by using the Marxist-Leninist theory of the unity of opposites, made a penetrating analysis of class relations in the period of socialism and put forward the great theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. For the first time in the history of the development of Marxism, he pointed out in clear-cut terms that, after the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production has in the main been completed and in the entire historical period of socialist society, there are still classes, class contradictions and class struggle, there is the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road, and there is the danger of capitalist restoration. It is therefore essential to continue the revolution. Chairman Mao taught us: **"You are making the socialist revolution, and yet don't know where the bourgeoisie is. It is right in the Communist Party — those in power taking the capitalist road. The capitalist-roaders are still on the capitalist road."** He also put forward the basic principles **"Practise Marxism, and not revisionism; unite, and don't split; be open and aboveboard, and don't intrigue and conspire,"** which are our fundamental criteria for identifying capitalist-roaders in the Party. Chairman Mao's great theory has provided the solution to the most important issue of our time, the issue of combating and preventing revisionism, consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and preventing capitalist restoration, and has greatly enriched and developed Marxism-Leninism. The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is a great example of the application of the great theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Under the personal leadership of Chairman Mao, the Cultural Revolution has won great victories in smashing the two bourgeois headquarters of Liu Shao-chi and Lin Biao and provided the Party with rich experience in directly relying

on the broad masses of the people to triumph over capitalist-roaders in the Party.

Clinging to the stand of the landlords and the bourgeoisie, the "gang of four" did all they could to distort and tamper with Chairman Mao's great theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and had all along directed the spearhead of their attack against our Party, against the dictatorship of the proletariat, against the great Chinese People's Liberation Army and against the leading cadres who adhere to Marxism. In the last few years, people always had the following queries in mind: Why do they invariably stand opposed to the great leader Chairman Mao and so unbridledly tamper with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, withhold or distort Chairman Mao's directives and interfere with or sabotage Chairman Mao's strategic plans? Why is it that they are bent on overthrowing our esteemed and beloved Premier Chou En-lai and other proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation and would be satisfied with nothing short of their destruction? Why is it that they are so hostile to the great Chinese People's Liberation Army which has made magnificent contributions over the decades and stop at nothing to oppose and disrupt the army in an attempt to demolish this Great Wall of ours? Why do they bitterly hate and ruthlessly attack the large number of leading comrades of the Party, government and army at the central and local levels, the backbone of our Party leadership, who have followed Chairman Mao in making revolution over the decades, are most loyal and devoted to the people and keep firmly to the socialist road? Why do they so unscrupulously suppress and persecute those young comrades who dare to uphold principle and to resist and oppose them? Why do they want to finish off with a single blow the new and old cadres who have committed mistakes, including those who have committed serious mistakes but are willing to mend their ways, and why do they not apply the principle of **learning from past**

**mistakes to avoid future ones and curing the sickness to save the patient?** Why do they incite bourgeois factionalism, instigate the use of force in struggle and provoke an all-round civil war, create splits within the ranks of the working class and among the people, set new cadres against the old and bring untold distress and sufferings to the masses? Why do they try to sow dissension among the nationalities, to create splits among them and to disrupt the unity of the big family of the Chinese nation? Why do they always rely on such new-born counter-revolutionaries as Weng Shen-ho and Chang Tieh-sheng and on those bad elements who are time-servers with wild ambitions and who are engaged in beating, smashing and looting, steal state property and endanger the peace and order of society? Why do they arrogantly trample on the masses of workers, poor and lower-middle peasants, revolutionary intellectuals and other people, lord it over them, turn a blind eye to their sufferings and not even care whether they live or die? Why do they try to undermine Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and policies in foreign affairs, worship things foreign, fawn upon foreigners, maintain illicit foreign relations and capitulate to imperialism? Why do they try to overthrow all, completely deny our tremendous achievements in the socialist revolution and construction, denigrate our Party and the dictatorship of the proletariat, make havoc of socialist cultural and economic undertakings and sabotage the revolution and production? The only possible answer is: They are ultra-Rightists, out-and-out capitalist-roaders and the most ferocious counter-revolutionaries. What "Leftists"! What "radicals"! They could not have pursued a line farther to the Right!

The infamous records of Chang Chun-chiao, Chiang Ching and Yao Wen-yuan show that they were linked with the Chiang Kai-shek Kuomintang reactionaries in a thousand and one ways. From being counter-revolutionaries of the past to being counter-revolu-

tionaries of today — that is the road they have kept to throughout. Wang Hung-wen, on the other hand, is a typical representative of the new-born bourgeoisie. The "gang of four" is in fact a sinister gang of these new and old-time counter-revolutionaries. The social basis of this gang is the landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and new and old bourgeoisie. They formed a system of their own, a party within the Party, all for the interests of the gang itself and for the purpose of usurping Party power; it was an independent counter-revolutionary underground kingdom. They are typical representatives of the bourgeoisie and the Chiang Kai-shek Kuomintang inside our Party. After stripping them of their disguises and going into their past records, we are no longer surprised to find that they hate the revolution so intensely and oppose communism and the people so frantically. Our struggle against them is a continuation of the prolonged struggle waged against the Kuomintang reactionaries by the Chinese Communist Party and the masses of the revolutionary people under its leadership, a continuation of the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and a continuation of the struggle between Marxism and revisionism. The smashing of the "gang of four" is another great example of the application of Chairman Mao's great theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is a great new victory for the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and for our struggle against the capitalist-roaders in the Party who are still on the capitalist road.

I feel deeply that the great victory we have been able to achieve in smashing the "gang of four" should be attributed to our great leader Chairman Mao's wise decision. Before his death, Chairman Mao not only criticized the "gang of four" repeatedly and severely, but made strategic arrangements for dealing with this gang. He significantly told the story of how Liu Pang saw through



Empress Lu's intention to usurp power\*, and said: "**Chiang Ching has wild ambitions**" and "**After I die, she will make trouble.**" Thus, in very sharp and explicit terms, he alerted us against the plot of the "gang of four" to usurp the supreme Party and state leadership. The arrangements of personnel Chairman Mao made before his death forestalled even more effectively the plot of the "gang of four" for a counter-revolutionary restoration. The "gang of four" was smashed precisely in accordance with Chairman Mao's arrangements and his behests.

The great victory we have been able to achieve in smashing the "gang of four" should be attributed to great Mao Tsetung Thought and Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and to our great Party, army and people. Chairman Mao's great theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat has armed our whole Party, army and people. The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution initiated and led by Chairman Mao himself has tempered and educated the whole Party, army and people. Without such education and tempering the high political consciousness and revolutionary enthusiasm displayed by the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers in the struggle to smash the "gang of four" would be inconceivable. The great victory in smashing the "gang of four" fully demonstrates that our Party deserves to be called a Party founded and fostered by Chairman Mao himself, that our army deserves to be called an army founded and fostered by Chairman Mao himself, and that our people deserve to be called a people armed with Mao Tsetung Thought. Our Party has a great future, our country has a great future.

Comrades!

We have won a great historic victory in 1976. But we must not be complacent amidst the cheers of victory. We should con-

\* See "Chiang Ching and Empress Lu" in our issue No. 52, 1976.

tinue to press forward. Our tasks ahead are both glorious and arduous. There will be all sorts of difficulties on our road of advance, particularly those resulting from prolonged interference and sabotage by the "gang of four" in the political, ideological, organizational, economic and other spheres. Nevertheless we are fully confident that we can surmount them all. We must unswervingly follow Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and his various principles and policies, **remain modest, prudent and free from arrogance and rashness** and in the coming year grasp class struggle as the key link and exert ourselves to win still greater victories.

What are the main fighting tasks for the whole Party, the whole army and the people of all nationalities throughout the country in 1977?

First, deepen the great mass movement to expose and criticize the "gang of four." This is the central task for 1977.

To expose and criticize the "gang of four" is a great political revolution. In the past two months and more, there has been an upsurge in this mass movement which has unfolded itself in all parts of the country. We should do still better next year. We must have a firm, clear-cut stand, boldly arouse the masses, build up a revolutionary momentum and wage a people's war to expose and criticize the "gang of four" thoroughly and intensively in the political, ideological and organizational spheres. The current campaign is focused on exposing and criticizing the plot of the "gang of four" to usurp Party and state power. The next step is to expose and criticize the counter-revolutionary features and criminal past of the "gang of four," to expose and criticize the ultra-Right essence of its counter-revolutionary revisionist line and the manifestations of this line in every aspect, and to refute the gang theoretically from the angle of philosophy, political economy and scientific socialism. Through exposure and criticism we must eradicate the

pernicious influences of the "gang of four" on all fronts.

For a long time, with the mass media under their control, the "gang of four" spread a host of revisionist fallacies, trampled on the fundamental principles of Marxism at will and tampered with or distorted Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and his various principles and policies. Metaphysics ran wild and idealism went rampant. The gang represented many correct things as incorrect and vice versa, reversed right and wrong, confounded black and white, and did cause confusion in people's thinking. It is imperative in the course of struggle to study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought conscientiously and let the masses themselves distinguish Marxism from revisionism and the correct line from the incorrect line. In industry, agriculture, commerce, education, military affairs, government and Party, it is essential to take the Party's basic line formulated by Chairman Mao as the guide, sum up through earnest investigations and study the positive and the negative experience in the past as well as in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, get clear about the specific line of work and the specific principles, policies and methods in each field and constantly improve and perfect them in the course of practice so that the work in all these fields can advance faster along Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. It is essential to defend and develop the victories of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and continue to do a good job in the revolution in the fields of education, literature and art, public health and science and technology and do our work well for the educated youth going to the countryside, encourage new socialist things, restrict bourgeois right and make sure that the task of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat is carried out in the grass-roots units.

In the struggle to expose and criticize the "gang of four," it is necessary to draw a strict distinction between the two types of

contradictions of differing nature and handle them correctly and carry out Party policy in earnest. Our contradiction with the "gang of four" is one between ourselves and the enemy. We must have a clear understanding of this. Those who followed the "gang of four" and made mistakes must be treated on the merits of each case. Among them only a few participated in their conspiracy, while the great majority erred because they had come under the influence of the gang ideologically. Even those who participated in the conspiracy did so to a greater or lesser extent. Whatever the extent, they are welcome once they make a clean breast of their part in the conspiracy before the Party and the people and draw a clear line between themselves and the "gang of four." The target of attack should be confined to the "gang of four" and the handful of their unrepentant sworn followers. As for those who erred under the gang's ideological influence, it is all the more necessary to stress the need to educate them, help them distinguish between the correct and incorrect lines and recognize the contents, harmful consequences and causes of their errors and the ways of rectifying them. Towards the erring comrades, we should adopt the policy: **"First we must observe and second we must give help"** and **"Learn from past mistakes to avoid future ones and cure the sickness to save the patient."** This is Chairman Mao's consistent policy and a fine tradition evolved during the rectification movement in Yen-an\*.

\* The Yen-an rectification movement was a great movement launched under Chairman Mao Tsetung's leadership in 1942. At the beginning of this movement, Chairman Mao made several reports including *Rectify the Party's Style of Work* and *Oppose Stereotyped Party Writing*. In these reports, he analysed the petty-bourgeois ideology and style which, masquerading as Marxism-Leninism, were prevalent in the Party, and which chiefly manifested themselves in subjectivist and sectarian tendencies, their form of expression being stereotyped Party writing. He called for a Party-wide movement of Marxist-Leninist education to rectify style of work in accordance with the ideological principles of Marxism-Leninism. The movement resulted in strengthening the unity of the whole Party on the basis of Marxism and laying the ideological foundation for the country-wide victory.

This policy and this tradition were seriously undermined by the "gang of four" for a long time and we must revive them effectively in the course of our struggle. We must unite with all those that can be united, including those who once wrongly opposed us, to fight together against the enemy.

Second, strengthen Party building. It is necessary to carry out a movement of education in Marxist ideology throughout the Party, centring on the strengthening of the Party's unified leadership and democratic centralism and the promotion of its fine style of work, so as to build up our Party well.

The Party is the force at the core that leads everything. In complete betrayal of the basic principles of "three do's and three don'ts," the "gang of four" practised revisionism, created splits and engaged in intrigues and conspiracies to undermine and disintegrate the Party, and ganged up to pursue their selfish interests and usurp Party power. In the few places and units where they maintained tight control and did much damage, unified Party leadership was impaired, all principles of Party life were trampled underfoot and the Party's fine style of work was sabotaged. New Party members were recruited in violation of the provisions in the Party Constitution, cadres were promoted in disregard of the five requirements\* put forward by Chairman Mao, and even bad elements were drawn into the Party and smuggled into leading bodies. Under the protection of the "gang of four," some brazenly asked for leading positions and grabbed power at every opportunity. They would stoop to anything for the selfish interests of themselves or their gang. This evil bourgeois trend was highly corrosive to our Party's organism and corruptive of the minds of our Party members; it was most harmful to the Party's fighting power and its relations with the masses. We must carry out extensive education among the Party members so that they will truly realize the seriousness of the harm caused by the "gang of four" on the

question of Party building; they will understand the fundamental principle that the Party is founded for public interests, that the interests of the Party and the people are above everything else and that ganging up for private interests is not allowed; they will understand the Party rule that forbids the formation of any faction or secret group within the Party; they will understand the importance of unified Party leadership and Party discipline and the harm of anarchism; they will understand that Party members must uphold the proletarian Party spirit and oppose bourgeois factionalism; they will understand that Party cadres are all servants

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\*The five requirements Chairman Mao advanced for worthy successors to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat are as follows:

They must be genuine Marxist-Leninists and not revisionists like Khrushchov wearing the cloak of Marxism-Leninism.

They must be revolutionaries who wholeheartedly serve the overwhelming majority of the people of China and the whole world, and must not be like Khrushchov who serves both the interests of the handful of members of the privileged bourgeois stratum in his own country and those of foreign imperialism and reaction.

They must be proletarian statesmen capable of uniting and working together with the overwhelming majority. Not only must they unite with those who agree with them, they must also be good at uniting with those who disagree and even with those who formerly opposed them and have since been proved wrong in practice. But they must especially watch out for careerists and conspirators like Khrushchov and prevent such bad elements from usurping the leadership of the Party and the state at any level.

They must be models in applying the Party's democratic centralism, must master the method of leadership based on the principle of "from the masses, to the masses," and must cultivate a democratic style and be good at listening to the masses. They must not be despotic like Khrushchov and violate the Party's democratic centralism, make surprise attacks on comrades or act arbitrarily and dictatorially.

They must be modest and prudent and guard against arrogance and impetuosity; they must be imbued with the spirit of self-criticism and have the courage to correct mistakes and shortcomings in their work. They must never cover up their errors like Khrushchov, and claim all the credit for themselves and shift all the blame on others.

of the people and must in no case ask the Party and the people for higher posts and power; they will understand that Party members must abide by the basic principles of "three do's and three don'ts" and meet the five basic requirements set in the Party Constitution. We must repudiate the practice of the "gang of four" of banding together to seek selfish interests and usurp Party power and must thoroughly discredit it so that like a rat scurrying across the street with everyone yelling: "Beat it! Beat it!" it will be deprived of its influence and find no market in the Party.

At the same time it is necessary to maintain a correct attitude towards the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, towards the masses and towards oneself. It is necessary to educate those comrades whose attitude is not correct.

In drawing the lesson from Chang Kuo-tao's\* attempt to split the Party, Chairman Mao pointed out: **"We must affirm anew the discipline of the Party, namely: (1) The individual is subordinate to the organization; (2) the minority is subordinate to the majority; (3) the lower level is subordinate to the higher level; and (4) the entire membership is subordinate to the Central Committee."** Today, in drawing the lesson from the attempt of the "gang of four" to usurp Party power by forming a small clique, we, too, must affirm the four democratic centralist principles of organization and discipline and ask all Party organizations and every Party member strictly to observe these principles in their action and wage resolute struggles against all words and deeds that run counter to these principles.

The "gang of four" also spared no effort to undermine the democratic life inside the Party and suppress any criticism directed at them; they ran a "steel plant" and a "cap factory"\*\*\* to attack the revolutionary cadres and revolutionary masses. We must improve

the democratic life inside the Party and among the people in accordance with the democratic centralist principles, let people air their views, let people criticize, allow the minority to reserve their differing views and strive to create a political situation in which there are both centralism and democracy, both discipline and freedom, both unity of will and personal ease of mind and liveliness.

It is highly necessary to carry out a Marxist ideological education movement throughout the Party in the struggle to criticize the "gang of four." Plans have been made at this conference for Party consolidation and rectification in the countryside. The Central Committee is going to launch a movement of Party consolidation and rectification throughout the Party at an opportune moment next year. On the basis of ideological education which is our point of emphasis, we should conscientiously, resolutely and carefully solve the problem of varying degrees of impurity in ideology, organization and the style of work inside the Party resulting from sabotage by the "gang of four," purify the ranks of our Party, restore and carry forward the Party's fine style of work which entails integrating theory with practice, forging close links with the masses and practising criticism and self-criticism, and build the Party organizations at all levels into vigorous vanguard organizations capable of leading the proletariat and

\* Chang Kuo-tao was a renegade from the Chinese revolution. Speculating on the revolution, he joined the Chinese Communist Party in his youth. In the Party he committed grave crimes. Most notoriously, in 1935 he opposed the Red Army's northward march, established his own bogus central committee, and engaged in openly traitorous activities against the Party and the Central Committee. Clinging to his reactionary stand, he rejected the Party's education and proved incorrigible. He escaped by himself from the revolutionary base area in 1938 and joined the Kuomintang secret police, thus turning himself into a shameless renegade and secret agent.

\*\* These are figurative descriptions of how the "gang of four" attacked and persecuted the revolutionary cadres and masses.

the revolutionary masses in the fight against the class enemy.

While strengthening Party building, we should strengthen the building of revolutionary committees at various levels in keeping with the developing situation. At an appropriate time next year, people's congresses should be held in the provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions and, after full discussion and democratic consultation, comrades who meet the five requirements for worthy successors set forth by Chairman Mao, maintain close links with the masses and have their genuine support should be elected into revolutionary committees, leading bodies composed of the old, the middle-aged and the young, which should be enabled to play a more active role under the centralized leadership of the Party.

Third, deepen the mass movements **In agriculture, learn from Tachai and In industry, learn from Taching** and strive to **push the national economy forward.**

Revolution means liberating the productive forces. The great revolution which has smashed the "gang of four" has done away with a bane which disrupted the productive forces and obstructed their growth. The revolutionary enthusiasm of the worker and peasant masses long suppressed by the "gang of four" is bursting forth. And prospects are very bright for a rapid development of our national economy. We must implement in real earnest the strategic concept **"Be prepared against war, be prepared against natural disasters, and do everything for the people"** and the principle **"Take agriculture as the foundation and industry as the leading factor,"** bring into full play the initiative of both the central and the local authorities; mobilize the masses, make determined and maximum efforts first to run agriculture well and also to run light industry well and organize the market well. Meanwhile we must

do a good job in transport and communications and in heavy industries that produce fuel, electricity, petrochemicals, iron and steel and other raw and semi-finished materials, so as to ensure the smooth operation of industry as a whole. We must launch a big drive to increase production and practise economy, step up technical innovations, tap production potential, lower costs, improve the quality of products, raise labour productivity, increase accumulation, give full scope to the production capacity of the existing enterprises and bring about an upsurge in grasping revolution and promoting production. We must see to it that our national economy will take a sure step forward in the coming year so as to prepare for a big growth of the national economy in the last three years of the 5th Five-Year Plan period.

The tasks of learning from Tachai in agriculture and building more Tachai-type counties and of agricultural mechanization have been discussed and set at the present conference, and the whole Party must make serious efforts to fulfil them. The Central Committee has decided to hold a national conference on learning from Taching in industry before next May Day to disseminate Taching's experience in adhering to Chairman Mao's line in running socialist enterprises and implementing the **Charter of the Anshan Iron and Steel Company** in an all-round way and to mobilize the whole Party and the working class to strive to build more Taching-type enterprises. Chairman Mao held up Tachai and Taching as two red banners, but the "gang of four" vainly attempted to cut them down. We must hold them high. Learning from Tachai and Taching means persevering in taking class struggle as the key link and thoroughly exposing and repudiating the "gang of four." It means implementing Chairman Mao's

instruction **Management itself is a matter of socialist education**, building leading bodies that adhere to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and maintain a militant unity so that leadership is truly in the hands of the Marxists and the workers and poor and lower-middle peasants. It means doing ideological and political work conscientiously and effectively, strengthening the revolutionary unity of the working class and the poor and lower-middle peasants and revolutionizing our ranks. It means launching mass movements energetically, bringing into full play the enthusiasm, wisdom and creativeness of the cadres and masses, unfolding socialist emulation campaigns and building socialism in a big way. Whether in industry or in agriculture, or in any other economic undertakings, we must follow the policy of building our country and running all our enterprises diligently and thriftily, rely on the masses, systematize rational rules and regulations, and improve and strengthen socialist economic management. We should encourage people to raise their cultural and technical levels for the sake of the revolution and to acquire proficiency in their work so as to be both red and expert. Leading cadres at all levels must persistently take part in collective productive labour and eat, live and work together with the workers and peasants. We must pay attention to the well-being of the masses and raise the living standard of the people step by step on the basis of increased production.

It is one of the fundamental tasks for the dictatorship of the proletariat to develop the socialist economy energetically. On condition that the socialist orientation is adhered to and proletarian politics is put in command, the more and the faster production develops, the better. By labelling this as the "theory of productive forces," the "gang of four" distorted Marxism and vilified the workers,

peasants and other working people. As early as 1957 Chairman Mao pointed out that only when the social productive forces were fairly adequately developed, could our socialist economic system and political system be considered to have acquired their own fairly adequate material foundation. In his Report on the Work of the Government to the 4th National People's Congress in 1975, Premier Chou En-lai reiterated the grand plan Chairman Mao mapped out for our country to accomplish the comprehensive modernization of agriculture, industry, national defence and science and technology and bring our national economy to the front ranks in the world before the end of the century and pointed out that the decade between 1976 and 1985 would be decisive for the realization of this plan. Now a year has passed. It is chiefly owing to interference and disruption by the "gang of four" that the achievement of our national economy this year is not as great as it should be. The people of the whole country now fervently hope that after the overthrow of the "gang of four," our national economy will grow rapidly and they are determined to make up as soon as possible for the loss of time caused by the gang. The work in 1977 has a vital bearing on the situation of the subsequent eight years. We must exert ourselves, **maintain independence, keep the initiative in our own hands and rely on our own efforts** and strive to make outstanding achievements in all fields.

Fourth, make further efforts to bring about a new high tide in the mass movement to study works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and Chairman Mao's works.

**"We need Marxism in our struggle."** Whether in thoroughly exposing and criticizing the "gang of four," or in successfully building the Party, or in pushing the na-

tional economy forward, we must study conscientiously and well works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and Chairman Mao's works and the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and use Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought to guide our struggle and command our work.

Immediately after smashing the "gang of four," the Central Committee adopted the decision on the publication of the *Selected Works of Mao Tsetung* and the preparation for the publication of the *Collected Works of Mao Tsetung*. Now, I am happy to announce here to you comrades a piece of good news: Volume V of the *Selected Works of Mao Tsetung*, which the whole Party, the whole army and the people of all nationalities have been looking forward to, will come off the press in the first half of next year. This will be a great event in the political life of our people as well as in the annals of the development of Marxism. Volume V of the *Selected Works of Mao Tsetung* will be of an extremely great significance for guiding the thorough criticism of the "gang of four," the building of our Party and the socialist revolution and socialist construction of our country and will exert most profound influence internationally. Its publication will be warmly welcomed by the Chinese people and the revolutionary people throughout the world.

In the course of conscientiously studying works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and Chairman Mao's works and penetratingly criticizing the "gang of four," our whole Party, from the Central Committee down to local Party organizations, from departments in charge of ideological work to all other departments, must effectively grasp theoretical work. Otherwise, a big Party like ours would not be able to guide such complex struggles. For the present too, we must do

theoretical work well in order to clear up the political and ideological confusion caused by the "gang of four." Efforts must be made to train through struggle a backbone force for the Party's theoretical work, and truly organize and build a powerful Marxist theoretical contingent. It is necessary to conscientiously and effectively organize and guide the worker-peasant-soldier masses and the cadres in their theoretical study and, first of all, responsible cadres at various levels must take the lead and study well. It is necessary to conduct good theoretical propaganda in newspapers, make a success of theoretical journals and strive to raise their levels. Party schools at various levels must be run well and education in theory strengthened. "May 7" cadre schools must be run well. Worker-peasant-soldier activists in theoretical study and professional theoretical workers must be so organized that they can further temper themselves and play their role in the forefront of the struggle to criticize the "gang of four." We must revive our Party's fine style of study and of writing which was vulgarized and debased by the "gang of four." First secretaries of the Party committees of all the provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions and top leaders of central departments of the Party, the government and the army must attach enough importance to theoretical work and must personally attend to it. With the lively and rich practical experience provided by the Chinese revolution and the world revolution, with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought as the guide and with the attention of the whole Party, our Party's theoretical work will certainly yield good results.

Comrades!

The internal situation at present is excellent. Our great leader and teacher Chairman Mao said: "**Great disorder across the**

**land leads to great order."** By disorder Chairman Mao meant disorder among the enemy. What the "gang of four" did was to create disorder in the Party, in the army and among the people. Now that we have thrown the "gang of four" into disorder and toppled them in revolution, we will certainly be able, in the course of the acute struggle between the two classes, to achieve **stability and unity** in our country, consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and bring about great order across the land. This accords with the general trend of events and the aspirations of the people; it is a strategic policy decision taken by our Party Central Committee in conformity with the fundamental interests and common wishes of the people throughout the country.

It is our belief that 1977 will be a year in which we shall smash the "gang of four" completely and go towards great order, a year of united struggle and triumphant advance.

The current international situation is excellent too. Our victories have the support of the genuine Marxist-Leninist Parties and organizations and the revolutionary people in all countries. We have friends all over the world. The imperialists, and the social-imperialists in particular, pinned their hopes on the possibility of a violent turmoil in China after the passing of Chairman Mao; their hopes have now come to naught. They also dreamt of the emergence of a certain force that would alter the revolutionary line and orientation Chairman Mao had defined for us; their dream has now been exploded too.

Both internally and internationally, we shall unswervingly forge ahead along the course charted by Chairman Mao. We are determined to adhere to the Party's basic line for the entire historical period of so-

cialism, enhance the great unity of the people of all nationalities throughout the country, wholeheartedly rely on the working class and the poor and lower-middle peasants, unite with other working people and the large number of intellectuals, further develop the revolutionary united front led by the working class, based on the worker-peasant alliance and embracing the patriotic democratic parties, patriotic personages, patriotic overseas Chinese and compatriots in Hongkong and Macao, consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat in China, work hard to build a powerful socialist country, and strive to make a greater contribution to humanity. We are determined to accomplish the sacred cause of liberating Taiwan and reunifying our motherland. We are determined to uphold the principles of proletarian internationalism, carry out the revolutionary line and policies in foreign affairs formulated by Chairman Mao, strengthen our unity with the international proletariat and the oppressed nations and oppressed people of the world, strengthen our unity with the third world countries and unite with all countries suffering from imperialist and social-imperialist aggression, subversion, intervention, control and bullying, so as to oppose the hegemonism of the two superpowers — the Soviet Union and the United States.

We are determined to carry out Chairman Mao's behests, take upon our shoulders the cause of proletarian revolution bequeathed to us by him and carry it through to the end.

We are determined to win victory. We can certainly win victory. Let us, the 800 million people and the more than 30 million Party members, unite and wage a common struggle to win still greater victories!



# Advance From Victory to Victory

— 1977 New Year's Day editorial by "Renmin Ribao,"  
"Hongqi" and "Jiefangjun Bao"

**F**ILLED with pride of victory and jubilation, people throughout China are ushering in the new year amidst the struggle to thoroughly expose and repudiate the "gang of four."

Nineteen seventy-six was an extraordinary year during which we won a great historic victory. In that year we lost our great leader and teacher Chairman Mao Tsetung and our esteemed and beloved Premier Chou En-lai and Chairman Chu Teh of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress. Our country was hit by earthquakes and other serious natural disasters. At a time when our Party was confronted with tremendous difficulties, the Party Central Committee headed by Comrade Hua Kuo-feng led us in smashing at one blow the plot of the Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao anti-Party clique to usurp Party and state power. This gigantic, soul-stirring class struggle averted a major setback in the Chinese revolution, a major retrogression in Chinese history and a major disaster for the Chinese people. Our victory is a great victory for Mao Tsetung Thought, a great victory for Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. The whole Party, the whole army and the people of all nationalities all over the country are elated and proud to have another wise leader of their own in Chairman Hua Kuo-feng. Eliminating the "four pests" has brought about a great liberation for the people, their minds and the productive forces. Our motherland is a vast panorama of brightness and prosperity. The far-reaching significance of the great victory of smashing the "gang of four" is becoming more and more evident.

Marxist theory and the historical experience of the Chinese revolution show that a proletarian political party must have its own outstanding leader in order to unify the will and strength of the party, the class and the entire people, overcome difficulties and danger, seize and consolidate political power and wage successful struggles. Our Party went through ten major two-line struggles in the past, and at every crucial moment when the revolution was at stake, Chairman Mao always led us in overcoming the crisis, triumphing over splits and piloting the ship of the revolution to safety, and riding the waves forward. When the Party and state were in critical danger of turning revisionist and changing political colour after Chairman Mao passed away, Comrade Hua Kuo-feng led our Party in saving the critical situation, smashing the "gang of four" and successfully waging another major two-line struggle. In this great struggle, Chairman Hua Kuo-feng has won the support and love of the whole Party, the whole army and the people of all nationalities throughout the country, and his leading position in the whole Party has been established. This is the most reliable guarantee for carrying out Chairman Mao's behests, upholding Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and carrying through to the end the proletarian revolutionary cause pioneered by the great leader Chairman Mao and the esteemed and beloved Premier Chou and the other revolutionaries of the older generation. The people of the whole country and the revolutionary people throughout the world rejoice to see that, with the guidance of invin-

cible Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, with a wise leader such as Chairman Hua and with the broad masses of the Party members, the people's army and the people rallying most closely round Chairman Hua and the Party Central Committee, our Party has a great future, our country has a great future.

Chairman Mao's brilliant work *On the Ten Major Relationships* was recently published in accordance with the decision taken by the Central Committee. This important work of Chairman Mao's, which defends and develops Marxist philosophy, political economy and scientific socialism, is a great historical document. Chairman Mao said: "We must do our best to mobilize all positive factors, both inside and outside the Party, both at home and abroad, both direct and indirect, and build China into a powerful socialist country." This is a basic policy that we must adhere to in all our work. In his important speech at the recent Second National Conference on Learning From Tachai in Agriculture, Chairman Hua summed up our struggle against the "gang of four" and expounded and defended Chairman Mao's great theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. In line with Chairman Mao's thesis that "great disorder across the land leads to great order," Chairman Hua made the strategic policy decision — "in the course of the acute struggle between the two classes, to achieve **stability and unity** in our country, consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and bring about great order across the land," — and set forth the tasks for the new year: To deepen the great mass movement to expose and criticize the "gang of four"; to strengthen Party building and carry out in the whole Party an education movement in Marxist ideology; to deepen the mass movements **In agriculture, learn from Tachai, and In industry, learn from Taching** and strive to **push the national economy forward**; and make further efforts to bring about a new high tide in the mass movement to study works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and Chairman Mao's works. These are the four fighting tasks lead-

ing to great order across the land. The whole Party, the whole army and the people of all nationalities throughout the country must diligently study well Chairman Mao's *On the Ten Major Relationships* and Chairman Hua's important speech, propagate and implement them effectively.

Chairman Hua has issued the call: "In the coming year grasp class struggle as the key link and exert ourselves to win still greater victories." Thoroughly exposing and criticizing the "gang of four" is our central task for the whole year. This gang completely betrayed the three basic principles "**Practise Marxism, and not revisionism; unite, and don't split; be open and above-board, and don't intrigue and conspire**" and tried to usurp supreme Party and state leadership. The contradiction between us and them is one between ourselves and the enemy. Our struggle against them is a life-and-death struggle between the two classes. We must not be kind-hearted towards this counter-revolutionary sinister gang but must struggle resolutely against them. A great deal of hard and careful work remains to be done to expose and criticize them penetratingly and thoroughly and eradicate their poisonous influence politically, ideologically and organizationally. Chairman Hua has said: "In industry, agriculture, commerce, education, military affairs, government and Party, it is essential to take the Party's basic line formulated by Chairman Mao as the guide, sum up through earnest investigations and study the positive and negative experience in the past as well as in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, get clear about the specific line of work and the specific principles, policies and methods in each field and constantly improve and perfect them in the course of practice so that the work in all these fields can advance faster along Chairman Mao's revolutionary line." To put all this into practice effectively, we must all the more work hard and make painstaking efforts. We should fully mobilize the masses, and unite with all the forces that can be united and carry this great political revolution through to the end.

Class struggle is the motive force propelling society ahead. If only we expose and repudiate the "gang of four" thoroughly, become clear about the ideological and political line, and mobilize the positive factors in all fields, we will certainly be able to do an even better job in all our work. At present, in the whole country both the higher and lower levels are concerting their efforts and are united as one under the leadership of the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua, and a new upsurge in socialist revolution and socialist construction is rising vigorously. The situation is steadily improving, and will develop faster and better than people can now anticipate. We must conscientiously study works by Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Chairman Mao's works, strive to grasp dialectical and historical materialism and oppose idealism and metaphysics. We should strengthen unified and centralized leadership of the Party and strengthen ideological building and organizational building of the Party so that Party organizations at all levels can give full play to their fighting role as the vanguard of the proletariat. We should wholeheartedly rely on the working class and the poor and lower-middle peasants, unite with the other labouring people and the masses of intellectuals and further develop the revolutionary united front led by the working class, based on the worker-peasant alliance and embracing the patriotic democratic parties, patriotic personages, patriotic overseas Chinese and compatriots in Hongkong and Macao, consolidate and strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat, defend and develop the victories of the Great Cultural Revolution and foster and enhance socialist new things. Comrades on the agricultural, industrial and other fronts must foster great and lofty aspirations and work energetically for socialism in a down-to-earth way. We should strengthen army and militia building, adhere to the instruction **"The whole nation should learn from the People's Liberation Army; the Liberation Army should learn from the people of the whole country,"** do a good job in supporting the government and cherishing the people and in supporting the army and

giving preferential treatment to army men's families, and strengthen the unity between the army and the government and between the army and the people. We are convinced that we will win one new victory after another for our socialist revolution and socialist construction as a result of the common efforts by the whole Party, the whole army and the people of all nationalities all over the country. We are certainly able to create a completely new situation in which there are political liveliness and economic prosperity, and in which a hundred schools of thought contend and a hundred flowers blossom in science and culture, and the people's livelihood steadily improves on the basis of the development of production. We will certainly be able to achieve the magnificent goal of accomplishing the comprehensive modernization of agriculture, industry, national defence and science and technology and build China into a powerful socialist country before the end of the century.

As we celebrate New Year's Day, we express deep concern for our compatriots in Taiwan Province who are our own flesh and blood. We are determined to accomplish the sacred cause of liberating Taiwan and reunifying our motherland.

We will unswervingly carry on the revolutionary line and policies in foreign affairs formulated by Chairman Mao himself, uphold proletarian internationalism, strengthen our unity with the international proletariat and the oppressed nations and oppressed people of the world, strengthen our unity with the third world countries and unite with all countries suffering from imperialist and social-imperialist aggression, subversion, intervention, control and bullying, so as to oppose the hegemonism of the two superpowers—the Soviet Union and the United States.

Let us hold aloft the great red banner of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and, under the leadership of the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua, wage a united struggle and advance from victory to victory!

# ROUND THE WORLD

EGYPT AND SYRIA

## Establishing a Unified Political Leadership

Syrian President Hafez Al-Assad visited Egypt for four days in mid-December.

A declaration on the establishment of a unified political leadership between Egypt and Syria, a decree for the implementation of the declaration and a joint communique were issued at the end of his visit.

The declaration says that the Governments of Egypt and Syria have resolved to set up a unified political leadership which will lay down as early as possible the base necessary for strengthening and developing unitarian relations between the two countries.

The decree for implementation of the declaration stipulates setting up six joint committees to study and lay down adequate rules for consolidating and developing union ties between the two countries.

In the joint communique, the two Presidents stressed the necessity for "establishing a just and durable peace in the Middle East" and underlined that "such a peace could never be established and last without the withdrawal of the Israeli forces from all the occupied Arab territories and the restoration of the Arab Palestinian people's right to re-

turn home and their rights to self-determination, sovereignty and independence."

The two Presidents expressed support for the struggle of the Arab people under Israeli occupation. Both countries considered as illegal all Israel's measures to alter the demographic and geographic nature of the occupied Arab territories and reserved the right to demand restoration of their original nature.

The two leaders emphasized the importance of Arab solidarity and reiterated their determination to take effective action in this respect.

The communique also called for convening the Geneva conference on the Middle East by the end of next March at the latest, with the participation of the Palestine Liberation Organization as an independent party on an equal footing with other participants.

OPEC

## Decision to Raise Oil Price

The 48th Ministerial Conference of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) has decided to increase the price of oil by 10 per cent as from January 1, 1977 and by 5 per cent more as from July 1, 1977. This was stated in a press communique issued at the end of the December 15-17 con-

ference in Doha, capital of Qatar.

The communique said the decision was approved by 11 OPEC member states and that Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates insisted on increasing their prices by 5 per cent in 1977.

It said the conference unanimously agreed to the proposal for full co-operation and co-ordination between OPEC member states and other developing countries in establishing the new world economic order.

It added that the conference approved the measures taken by the OPEC Special Fund for supporting the development plans of developing countries. The conference also decided that the OPEC member states would supply another 800 million U.S. dollars to the fund for integrated programme for commodities, which had been recommended by the 4th U.N. Conference of Trade and Development in Nairobi.

Speaking at the opening ceremony, Emir of Qatar Sheikh Khalifa bin Hamad al-Thani strongly denounced the transnational monopolies for forcing down the price of oil and plundering the oil resources of developing countries. He said the continuation of world inflation is reducing the purchasing power of the OPEC countries' oil incomes.

He stressed that a just and reasonable balance should be set between oil prices and prices of industrial goods.