

PEKING REVIEW

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January 7, 1977

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報

**Chairman Hua Meets
Major General Ziaur Rahman**

Comrade Chen Yung-kuei's Report

— At the Second National Conference on Learning
From Tachai in Agriculture

**The Crux of "Gang of Four's" Crimes
Is to Usurp Party and State Power**

— "Renmin Ribao" editorial

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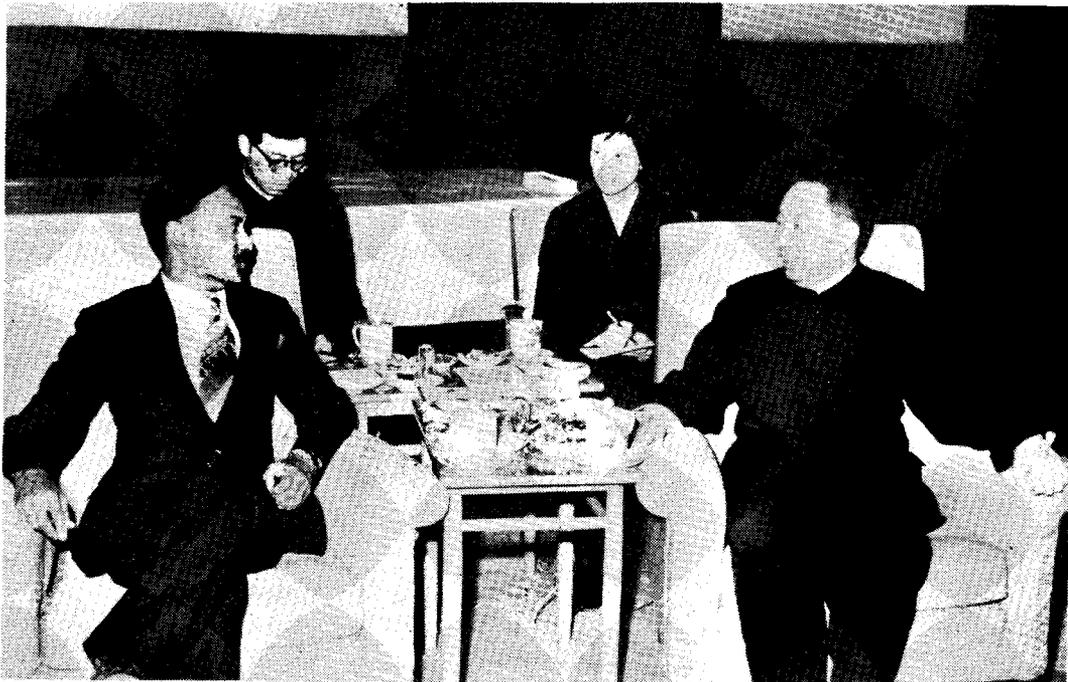
Chairman Hua Meets Major General Ziaur Rahman

HUA KUO-FENG, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and Premier of the State Council, met on the afternoon of January 4 Major General Ziaur Rahman, Chief Martial Law Administrator and Chief of Army Staff of Bangladesh.

As Major General Ziaur Rahman arrived at the meeting hall accompanied by Foreign Secretary Tabarak Husain, Chairman Hua walked up to warmly shake hands with him and extend a warm welcome to Major General Rah-

man and the other distinguished Bangladesh guests on their visit to China. Major General Rahman told Chairman Hua: "It is a great honour to be your guest and to be invited by you to visit China." After posing for a photograph, Chairman Hua and Major General Rahman had a sincere and friendly conversation in a cordial atmosphere.

Present at the meeting and conversation were Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien of the State Council and Foreign Minister Huang Hua.



New Development in China-Bangladesh Relations

MAJOR General Ziaur Rahman visited China from January 2 to 6. This was the first occasion for contact between the leaders of the two countries. Though short, the visit achieved completely successful results.

During the visit, Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien and Major General Ziaur Rahman exchanged views on the international situation, the strengthening of relations between the two countries and other questions of common concern, thus enhancing their mutual understanding and trust. An economic and technical co-operation agreement and a trade and payment agreement between the Governments of China and Bangladesh were signed in Peking.

Since changes took place in the Bangladesh political situation in the second half of 1975, the Government and people of Bangladesh have made arduous efforts and achieved remarkable successes in maintaining national independence, safeguarding state sovereignty, developing the national economy and building their own country.

Grand Reception in Honour Of Foreign Experts

The General Office of the State Council gave a grand reception on New Year's Eve in honour of the foreign experts and their spouses from more than 40 countries on the five continents.

Grain production in fiscal year 1975-76 reached 13 million tons. The country is now striving to realize self-sufficiency in grain. In international affairs, the Government of Bangladesh follows a non-aligned policy, opposes hegemonism, expansionism and interference in internal affairs by foreign countries, supports the people of all countries in their struggle against imperialism and stands for the strengthening of unity with other third world countries. The Chinese people follow development of Bangladesh with interest and firmly support the just struggle of its people to maintain national independence and state sovereignty.

The visit of the distinguished guests from Bangladesh was warmly welcomed by the Chinese people. Chairman Hua greeted Major General Ziaur Rahman at the airport when he arrived in Peking. Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien hosted the banquet given by the State Council in his honour. (For highlights of their speeches at the banquet see pp. 18 and 19.)

The distinguished guests also visited Kwangchow.

Li Hsien-nien, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and Vice-Premier of the State Council; Teng Ying-chao, Member of the C.P.C. Central Committee and Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress; and Huang Hua,

Member of the C.P.C. Central Committee and Foreign Minister, were at the reception.

In his toast at the banquet, Vice-Premier Li extended thanks to the foreign experts for their valuable contributions to China's socialist revolution and socialist construction and the promotion of friendship among different people.

Chinese People's Friendship Delegation in Yugoslavia

The Chinese People's Friendship Delegation led by Chi Peng-fei, Secretary-General of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, returned to Peking last December 26 after an eight-day visit to Yugoslavia.

Dzermal Bijedic, President of the Federal Executive Council, met and had a warm and friendly conversation with the delegation members during their stay in Yugoslavia.

Delegation leader Chi acquainted President Bijedic with the excellent situation in China and the basic principles of her foreign policy. He said that the Chinese people support both the Yugoslav people's struggle to defend independence and sovereignty and Yugoslavia's non-aligned policy and hope to develop further the relations of friendship and co-operation between the two countries.

When delegation leader Chi talked about the great victory of the Chinese people in smashing the "gang of four," President

(Continued on p. 20.)

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Comrade Chen Yung-kuei's Report

— At the Second National Conference on Learning From Tachai in Agriculture

On December 20, 1976, Chen Yung-kuei, Member of the Political Bureau of the C.P.C. Central Committee and Vice-Premier of the State Council, made a report at the Second National Conference on Learning From Tachai in Agriculture which was held in Peking. Entitled "Thoroughly Criticize the 'Gang of Four' and Bring About a New Upsurge in the Movement to Build Tachai-Type Counties Throughout the Country," the report expounded the great historic significance of Comrade Hua Kuo-feng being appointed leader of our Party and of the victory of smashing the "gang of four"; it reviewed the acute struggles waged by our Party against the "gang of four" centring round the movement to learn from Tachai in agriculture, and set forth the task of continuing to deepen in the rural areas education in the Party's basic line, so as to achieve still greater development in agriculture. The report also called on the Party committees at all levels to strengthen leadership, mobilize the whole Party and make greater efforts to develop agriculture.

Comrades:

At the important moment when our Party has won a great historic victory, the Second National Conference on Learning From Tachai in Agriculture is being convened in accordance with a decision by the Party Central Committee on the proposal of Chairman Hua Kuo-feng. This is a very important conference. Our conference will give tremendous impetus to the great struggle to expose and repudiate the anti-Party clique of Wang Hung-wen, Chang Chun-chiao, Chiang Ching and Yao Wen-yuan, give greater momentum to the movement to build Tachai-type counties than last year and encourage us to make still greater efforts than last year. In the last few days, the comrades have conscientiously studied Chairman Mao's brilliant work *On the Ten Major Relationships*, reviewed

Comrade Hua Kuo-feng's summing-up report to last year's national learn-from-Tachai conference and studied relevant documents issued by the Party Central Committee. They have also read the evidence of the crimes of the Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao anti-Party clique. All the participants have warmly praised our wise leader Chairman Hua, angrily exposed and repudiated the "gang of four," exchanged the experience gained over the past year in building Tachai-type counties and mechanizing farm work, and discussed future tasks. With ease of mind and in high spirits, the comrades have full confidence in victory in accelerating the building of Tachai-type counties throughout the country, speeding up the development of agriculture and bringing about a still better situation.

I will now elaborate on a few questions.

I. A Great Historic Victory

In October this year, the whole Party, the whole army and the people of all nationalities throughout the country welcomed two happy

events. One was that the Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee unanimously endorsed Comrade Hua Kuo-feng as Chairman of

the C.P.C. Central Committee and Chairman of its Military Commission; the other was that the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua Kuo-feng smashed the counter-revolutionary schemes of the anti-Party clique of Wang Hung-wen, Chang Chun-chiao, Chiang Ching and



Yao Wen-yuan to usurp the supreme leadership of the Party and state. The people of all our nationalities were overjoyed and the whole country was a scene of jubilation in celebrating that great historic victory.

This year has been far from ordinary. The great leader and teacher Chairman Mao left us for ever on September 9. And prior to this, we lost our esteemed and beloved Premier Chou En-lai and Chairman Chu Teh. The whole Party, the whole army and the people of all nationalities in our country were in deep sorrow, and were at the same time worried about the future and the destiny of the Party and state. At that time we were indeed confronted with the real danger of our Party turning revisionist and our country changing its political colour. The Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao "gang of four" had long practised revisionism, created splits and conspired and intrigued under the guise of Marxism, and had long been engaged in activities to usurp Party and state power. During the period when Chairman Mao was seriously ill and after he passed away, they quickened their pace in a rush to usurp supreme Party and state leadership. They are a gang of bourgeois conspirators and careerists, typical representatives of the bourgeoisie inside the Party and unrepentant capitalist-roaders still on the capitalist road. There are serious questions, too, in the political history of some of them. If their plot had succeeded, if they had taken power, they would have carried out a fascist dictatorship throughout the country and, externally, gone all out for national betrayal and capitulationism. Although it can be stated definitely

that they would be short-lived politically and that they would not be tolerated by the revolutionaries who represent the interests of more than 90 per cent of the people and who would certainly get organized to overthrow them, a civil war in such a case would have been inevitable and this would have meant a setback in the Chinese revolution.

At this critical historical juncture, the Party Central Committee headed by Comrade Hua Kuo-feng faithfully carried out Chairman Mao's behests and wisely and resolutely smashed the counter-revolutionary plot of the "gang of four" at one blow, thus saving the Party and the revolution. The great victory in this struggle is of great immediate importance and of far-reaching historic significance for our Party in adhering to the Party's basic line and policies, persisting in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and carrying through to the end the proletarian revolutionary cause in China pioneered by Chairman Mao; in consolidating and developing the achievements of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat, preventing a capitalist restoration and building socialism; and in upholding proletarian internationalism and continuing to implement Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in foreign affairs.

Comrade Hua Kuo-feng is the successor trained and selected by the great leader Chairman Mao himself. Having complete faith in Comrade Hua Kuo-feng, Chairman Mao wrote in his own handwriting "With you in charge, I'm at ease." Loyal to Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, Comrade Hua Kuo-feng has firmly carried out Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and policies. Comrade Hua Kuo-feng is loyal to the Party and selfless, open and aboveboard, modest and prudent, democratic in his style of work, unassuming and approachable and good at uniting with comrades to work together. He has the ability to lead the whole Party and command the whole army and is an outstanding Marxist leader. The whole Party, the whole army and the people of all nationalities throughout the country take tremendous pride in once again having a wise leader of their own.

Our Party is a great Party, our army is a great army and our people are a great people.

Since the victory of the new-democratic revolution, we have acquired the experience of 27 years of socialist revolution and construction. Particularly in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in which the bourgeois headquarters of Liu Shao-chi and of Lin Biao were smashed and now the "gang of four" which tried to wreck the country and ruin the people has also been smashed, Mao Tsetung Thought has found its way ever deeper into the hearts of the people and Chairman Mao's revolutionary line has been grasped more firmly by the people in their hundreds of millions. Under the leadership of the Party Central Committee headed by Chair-

man Hua, our Party has become even more united and even more vigorous and the dictatorship of the proletariat is more consolidated. We now have "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." Our country is full of promise and the people in our country are filled with confidence in victory. There is no obstacle on our road forward that cannot be surmounted. A new upsurge in the socialist revolution and construction is in the making, and we must heighten our revolutionary spirit to welcome this new upsurge.

II. Hold Still Higher the Red Banner of Learning From Tachai in Agriculture

A fierce struggle around the question of whether to persist in the movement **In agriculture, learn from Tachai** or to oppose it was waged by our Party against the "gang of four" in the past year. This was an intense struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie.

The first stage of the national learn-from-Tachai conference convened in September last year with the approval of the Party Central Committee was held in Hsiyang County. Chiang Ching got to Tachai before the conference began. What did she go there for? First, to attack Tachai; second, to denounce the film *Pioneers**; and third, to make a so-called comment on the novel *Water Margin*. She wanted to lop off the red banner of Tachai. She rabidly opposed Chairman Mao's directive on the film *Pioneers* in an attempt to pull down the red banner of Taching. She babbled that "the crux of the book *Water Margin* was to make Chao Kai a figurehead**" and that "at present, there are people in the Party Central Committee who are trying to make Chairman Mao a figurehead." Her aim was to create confusion and scheme to split the Party Central Committee.

Chiang Ching made a surprise attack in an unscheduled talk at the opening ceremony of the conference on September 15. She accused the first secretaries of the provincial Party committees of neglecting agriculture because they were not attending the conference, although she knew full well that their absence was by decision of the Party Central Committee. She demanded

that her talk on *Water Margin* be printed and circulated and a recording of her talk on the same subject be played at the conference, in an attempt to make trouble and alter the conference's orientation by levelling attacks at Chairman Mao, Premier Chou and other leading comrades of the central authorities. Comrade Hua Kuo-feng who presided over the conference saw through her scheme and promptly reported it to the Party Central Committee and to Chairman Mao. Chairman Mao sharply criticized Chiang Ching's talk: "Shit! Barking up the wrong tree," and gave the specific instruction: "Don't publish the talk, don't play the recording or print the text." Chairman Mao also asked a leading comrade in the Party Central Committee to relay this to Comrade Hua Kuo-feng by phone. In accordance with Chairman Mao's

* This film which depicts the heroic deeds of the oil workers in opening up the Taching Oilfield was approved by Chairman Mao and acclaimed by the masses. (See *Peking Review*, No. 47, 1976, p. 14.)

** *Water Margin* is a novel about a peasant war towards the end of the Northern Sung Dynasty (960-1127 A.D.). Chao Kai is the leader of a peasant uprising in this novel. After Chao Kai's death, Sung Chiang, a representative of the landlord class who wormed his way into the ranks of the peasant insurgents usurps the leadership and surrenders to the emperor. Chairman Mao pointed out: "The merit of the book *Water Margin* lies precisely in the portrayal of capitulation. It serves as teaching material by negative example to help all the people recognize capitulationists." But Chiang Ching, out of ulterior motives, tampered with this instruction of Chairman Mao's.

directive, Comrade Hua Kuo-feng instructed the conference not to play Chiang Ching's recording or circulate the text of her talk, and he told Comrade Wang Chien [First Secretary of the Provincial Party Committee of Shansi where Tachai and Hsiyang are located] not to play the recording in Shansi Province either, thus giving Chiang Ching a head-on blow and frustrating her scheme.

On October 15, Comrade Hua Kuo-feng, on behalf of the Party Central Committee, made the summing-up report "Mobilize the Whole Party, Make Greater Efforts to Develop Agriculture and Strive to Build Tachai-Type Counties Throughout the Country." The report, an important Marxist document replete with Mao Tsetung Thought, won warm support from all the representatives at the conference. They said: "If we act in this way, we will be full of drive and have bright prospects." But the "gang of four" hated Comrade Hua Kuo-feng's report which had been discussed and approved by the Political Bureau. Immediately after the report was made, Chiang Ching turned round and viciously said to Comrade Hua Kuo-feng and me: "To put it mildly, that's a revisionist report!" In this way she insolently labelled it a revisionist report. However, the great leader Chairman Mao was very satisfied with the conference. Chairman Mao approved Comrade Hua Kuo-feng's report the same evening it was sent to him. The report was issued to the whole Party as Document No. 21 of the Party Central Committee.

Inspired by the guidelines of the report, the whole Party was mobilized, and the cadres and masses showed great enthusiasm. A tremendous upsurge in building Tachai-type counties throughout the country soon appeared, giving impetus to all fields of work. The whole country was full of vigour and the situation was excellent. At that moment, the "gang of four" hastily came forth and put up desperate opposition in a bid to stamp out the movement to build Tachai-type counties. Wang Hung-wen rang up and asked for all the minutes of the conference, trying to collect blacklist information on Comrade Hua Kuo-feng and other leading comrades in the central authorities. Yao Wen-yuan forbade the journal *Hongqi* to carry Comrade Hua Kuo-feng's report, saying: "We won't publish it," "I just don't want to print

it." Though the report had been listed in the table of contents, he deleted it. He even opposed publicizing Tachai and Taching. He instructed *Renmin Ribao* with these words: "Don't play up Tachai in everything you print"; "Be more cautious in publicizing Taching." The mass media under the "gang of four's" control reeled off one article after another attacking Comrade Hua Kuo-feng's report by innuendo. Chang Chun-chiao totally negated Comrade Hua Kuo-feng's report and ordered Shanghai not to implement it and to "stand firm."

A sworn follower of the "gang of four" in Liaoning Province also frenziedly opposed acting in the spirit of the conference. He objected to the calling of any meeting in this respect, big or small. Acting on the sinister injunction of the "gang of four," certain people on the Shanghai municipal Party committee raised four prohibitions: First, prohibiting mention of "The key to building Tachai-type counties lies in the county Party committees." They clamoured: "Why not the provincial Party committees? And what about the Central Committee?" Second, prohibiting consolidation of Party organizations and rectification of the style of work. They vilified both as "metaphysical." Third, prohibiting the dispatch of work teams, slandering this practice as the "bourgeois reactionary line" or "the experience of Taoyuan*." Fourth, prohibiting education in the Party's basic line, smearing it as "criticism of the petty bourgeoisie by the big bourgeoisie." They even went so far as to use such language as "When wolves are in power, what's the use of assailing foxes" to fling mud at the great leader Chairman Mao and other leading comrades of the Central Committee. They also viciously attacked Comrade Hua Kuo-feng's report, quibbling that "even if the Chairman

* In 1963, when Chairman Mao called on the whole nation to start the socialist education movement in both town and countryside, Liu Shao-chi sent a work team with his wife as the leader to Hopei Province's Taoyuan Production Brigade. Pretending to carry out the movement, she and other members of the work team attacked the cadres and poor and lower-middle peasants who persisted in taking the socialist road and shielded the bad elements in an attempt to bring about a capitalist restoration there. Liu Shao-chi and company lauded the so-called "experience of Taoyuan" to the skies and plotted to popularize it throughout the country.

checked off the document, it does not necessarily mean he agrees. We'll have to see. Let him (referring to Comrade Hua Kuo-feng — Tr.) put on a show." How devilish reactionary they were!

Comrade Hua Kuo-feng's speech at the meeting on the criticism of Teng Hsiao-ping in February this year was discussed and endorsed by the Political Bureau and had Chairman Mao's approval. The speech clearly pointed out that the movement should be conducted under the centralized leadership of the Party Committees at all levels and that no attempt should be made to ferret out Teng's agents at various levels. Trying to undermine the Party's centralized leadership, the "gang of four" went their own way and put in their oar everywhere and clamoured for ferreting out people at all levels and even "a layer of persons," in an attempt to overthrow a large number of Party, government and army leading comrades at the central and local levels. Chairman Mao instructed: **"Don't affect industry, agriculture, commerce and the army."** But they instigated and ganged up with some people to form "fighting groups," squawking: "Don't produce for the wrong line." They made trouble everywhere, paralysing some Party and government organizations, effecting capitalist restoration in several places and turning loose monsters of all kinds to launch fierce attacks against the Party.

Owing to the interference and sabotage by the "gang of four," some places became uncertain and wavering in implementing Document No. 21 issued by the Party Central Committee in 1975, and some other places recalled their work teams conducting education in the Party's basic line. In view of this, the Party Central Committee planned in April this year to telephone a directive reaffirming the correctness of Document No. 21 and of carrying out education in the Party's basic line in the rural areas, consolidating Party organizations and rectifying the work style and sending work teams to the countryside, and insisting on following through on all these. Chang Chun-chiao said insolently: "Who knows whether this education in basic line is correct or not!" "The reactionary line made work teams go down and forbade them to return to their units to rebel. Is this permissible?" and "Now we mustn't carry on according to the plans mapped out in Document

No. 21." As a result of obstructions by the "gang of four," the directive was not issued.

In May and June this year, the State Council directed the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry to convene on-the-spot meetings on summer harvesting, planting and field management in northern China and on rice growing in the south. On the authority of the Party Central Committee, I conveyed at these meetings Chairman Mao's instructions concerning the socialist education movement, reiterated the need to conscientiously implement the Central Committee Document No. 21 and stressed support for the work of Party Committees at all levels and grasping revolution and promoting production. This hit the "gang of four's" sore point. Their agents in Shanghai and Soochow challenged that I was not qualified to represent the Party Central Committee and smeared my speech as being "100 per cent the theory of productive forces," and that I "know only how to work hard and sweat but know nothing about the political line."

In spite of the fact that Chairman Mao's health had deteriorated, Chiang Ching went to Tachai for the second time on September 2 to relax by enjoying the landscape, going on horseback and watching the deer. As soon as she got off the train, she turned on Tachai and truculently said: "I've come to fight the revisionist line." She raved that "Tachai is lagging behind politically" and "following the revisionist line." She intended to pull down at one stroke the red banner of Tachai which Chairman Mao had put up. She wanted to establish another "model." Whom did she have in mind? Her own self.

There are irrefutable proofs of the heinous crimes of the "gang of four" in interfering with and sabotaging the movement to learn from Tachai and build Tachai-type counties throughout the country. They opposed going all out to criticize revisionism and capitalism and build socialism, and they tried to pull down the red banner of Tachai. The essence of their actions was to usurp Party and state power, change the Party's basic line and restore capitalism.

Confronted with the counter-revolutionary attacks by the "gang of four," Tachai and Hsi-yang once again set an example for us by their resolute struggle against the gang. With the masses and cadres standing firm against the evil

wind and overcoming all interference, the movement to learn from Tachai in agriculture progressed amid the storms of class struggle. The more than 300 counties which already excelled in the movement have been consolidated and made further progress. Another hundred or so counties joined the ranks of advanced units in learning from Tachai this year. Many provinces have persisted in conscientiously learning from Tachai and launched large-scale education in the Party's basic line, and large numbers of counties have come to the fore in the movement to learn from Tachai. Spurred on by the education in the Party's basic line, Shantung, Kiangsu and Anhwei Provinces have made rapid progress in agricultural production. In 1975 Shantung increased its grain output by 2,750,000 tons compared with 1974, and this year the province chalked up another increase of 2,500,000 tons. Even in areas seriously affected by the "gang of four's" interference, many counties have stood firm and persisted in implementing Document No. 21 issued by the Central Committee, learnt from Tachai unswervingly and made new achievements.

However, we must note the fact that interference and sabotage by the "gang of four" did cause great losses to the learn-from-Tachai movement and to agricultural production, and in places where they intervened directly, the consequences were even more serious. Agricultural production in the six provinces of Yunnan, Kweichow, Szechuan, Fukien, Chekiang and Kiangsi has suffered serious disruption in the past few years. In Wenchow, the most seriously affected prefecture, the situation in many places deteriorated to such an extent that the land was divided up and commune members had to go it

alone. Polarization of rich and poor re-emerged, black markets became rampant and the collective economy disintegrated. Class enemies rode roughshod over the people, and the poor and lower-middle peasants were thrown into misery. There, cadres who upheld the collective were stigmatized as "capitalist-roaders," while those who incited going it alone were dubbed "revolutionaries." The example of Wenchow shows that if the "gang of four" had seized power, capitalist restoration would have emerged throughout the country, our country would have changed colour and the people would again have been thrown into the abyss of suffering.

Now that the "gang of four" has been topped, its scheme to sabotage the movement to learn from Tachai and build Tachai-type counties has also been smashed to smithereens.

But liquidating their pernicious effect and influence calls for tremendous efforts. We must grasp the ultra-Right essence of the counter-revolutionary revisionist line of the "gang of four" and thoroughly and penetratingly repudiate their crimes in opposing our efforts to criticize revisionism and capitalism and build socialism and in attempting to pull down the red banner of Tachai. We should continue to conscientiously implement the summing-up report by Comrade Hua Kuo-feng at last year's national learn-from-Tachai conference and persevere in criticizing revisionism and capitalism and going all out to build socialism. We must hold still higher the red banner of learning from Tachai in agriculture, and do a still better job in the movement to learn from Tachai and build Tachai-type counties throughout the country.

III. Continue to Deepen Education in the Party's Basic Line

Comrade Hua Kuo-feng's report at last year's learn-from-Tachai conference expounded the principles, policies and significance for carrying out education in the Party's basic line in the rural areas in accordance with Chairman Mao's theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat. He pointed out: "Deepening education in the Party's basic line in the countryside is the fundamental guarantee for building Tachai-type counties." Chairman Mao's scientific thesis

published this year: "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" has enabled us to get a deeper understanding of the Party's basic line and raised our comprehension of the importance of education in the Party's basic line. We must follow Chairman Mao's teachings and Chairman

Hua's instructions and resolutely continue to deepen education in the Party's basic line.

At present, the primary task in carrying out education in the Party's basic line in the countryside is to boldly arouse the hundreds of millions of peasants and wage a people's war in exposing and denouncing the Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao "gang of four." Our Party's struggle against the "gang of four" is, in essence, a continuation of the protracted struggle waged by the Chinese Communist Party and the revolutionary masses led by it against the Kuomintang reactionaries and a continuation of the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and of the struggle between Marxism and revisionism. The deepening of this struggle is a very down-to-earth and profound edu-

Our Party's Basic Line

AT the meeting on the work of the Party Central Committee in Peitaiho in August 1962 and at the Tenth Plenary Session of the Party's Eighth Central Committee, Chairman Mao put forward in a still more comprehensive way our Party's basic line in the entire historical period of socialism. He pointed out: "Socialist society covers a considerably long historical period. In the historical period of socialism, there are still classes, class contradictions and class struggle, there is the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road, and there is the danger of capitalist restoration. We must recognize the protracted and complex nature of this struggle. We must heighten our vigilance. We must conduct socialist education. We must correctly understand and handle class contradictions and class struggle, distinguish the contradictions between ourselves and the enemy from those among the people and handle them correctly. Otherwise a socialist country like ours will turn into its opposite and degenerate, and a capitalist restoration will take place. From now on we must remind ourselves of this every year, every month and every day so that we can retain a rather sober understanding of this problem and have a Marxist-Leninist line."

cation in the Party's basic line. Once this battle is won, the consciousness of the cadres and masses in class struggle and the two-line struggle will be greatly enhanced and the tempo of the movement to learn from Tachai in agriculture and to build Tachai-type counties will be faster. The leadership at all levels must stand in the forefront of the struggle and lead the masses in using the facts in the rural areas to thoroughly expose and denounce the vile crimes of the "gang of four" in practising revisionism, creating splits and engaging in conspiracies and intrigues under the guise of Marxism and attempting to usurp supreme Party and state power; thoroughly expose and denounce their vile crimes in pushing the counter-revolutionary revisionist line and trying to subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat and restore capitalism; and thoroughly expose and denounce their towering crimes in opposing our efforts to criticize revisionism and capitalism and build socialism and in trying to pull down the red banner of Tachai to disrupt the learn-from-Tachai movement.

Representing the interests of the landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries and bad elements and new and old bourgeoisie and taking the reactionary stand, the "gang of four" opposed going all out to criticize revisionism and capitalism and to build socialism. They rode roughshod over the people, committed all manner of evil, and labelled and bludgeoned people at random. Anyone who learnt from Tachai was stigmatized as "not grasping class struggle"; anyone who carried out education in the Party's basic line was labelled as "directing the spearhead of attack downward" and as "opposing the corrupt officials only and not the emperor*"; anyone who carried out consolidation of Party organizations and rectification of the style of work was charged with "capitalist

* In criticizing the novel *Water Margin*, Chairman Mao pointed out: "*Water Margin* opposed the corrupt officials only and not the emperor." Employing their customary trick of tampering with Chairman Mao's directives, the "gang of four" used these words and attacked the movement in the rural areas to consolidate the Party organizations and rectify the style of work as only rectifying at the grass-roots level and not the Central Committee. Thus they were actually directing the spearhead of their attack against the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao.

restoration" and "retrogression"; anyone who dispatched work teams to the countryside was accused of "pursuing a bourgeois reactionary line"; anyone who stressed the centralized leadership of the Party was accused of "supporting the capitalist-roaders and suppressing the revolution"; and anyone who went all out to build socialism was accused of practising the "theory of productive forces." Charges and accusations were hurled right and left and the big stick was used here, there and everywhere, seriously dampening the socialist enthusiasm of the cadres and masses. In a considerable number of places, confusion was created in people's minds and in the class ranks, and Party organizations were messed up; the centralized leadership of the Party was disrupted, the democratic centralism of the Party violated, Party unity sabotaged, the Party's fine tradition trampled on, efforts to grasp revolution and promote production thwarted and the dictatorship of the proletariat undermined. They wanted to change the Party's basic line, turn back the wheel of history, reinstate the overthrown class enemies and fling the poor and lower-middle peasants back into misery.

The fact that the "gang of four" opposed going all out to build socialism and hurled charges of practising the "theory of productive forces" at random showed that they did not understand Marxism-Leninism at all. At the current conference, all comrades have studied Chairman Mao's *On the Ten Major Relationships* and seen through the revisionist absurdity of the "gang of four" more clearly. As regards this gang, **"metaphysics is rampant."** They pitted politics against economics, revolution against production, the relations of production against the productive forces and the superstructure against the economic base, in complete violation of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. Chairman Mao pointed out: **"There is absolutely no doubt about the unity of politics and economics, the unity of politics and technique. This is true now and will always be true."** **"Ideological work and political work are the guarantee for accomplishing economic work and technical work, and they serve the economic base. Moreover, ideology and politics are the commander, the soul."** The difference between grasping revolution and promoting production on the one hand and practising the

"theory of productive forces" on the other is whether one attaches the development of productive forces to socialism or to capitalism, that is to say, the criterion is which road one really takes. What we want to criticize is the erroneous tendency of not grasping class struggle, not caring about politics and not taking the socialist road. We certainly do not criticize the development of socialist production.

In carrying out education in the Party's basic line, we should organize the cadres and masses to conscientiously study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, repudiate the revisionist fallacies spread by the "gang of four," smash the ideological shackles they imposed on the people and distinguish Marxism from revisionism, socialism from capitalism, materialism and dialectics from idealism and metaphysics. We should hold high the great red banner of Mao Tsetung Thought and march steadfastly along the road of learning from Tachai in agriculture.

In carrying out education in the Party's basic line, it is necessary to do a good job of consolidating Party organizations and rectifying the style of work. We should conduct Marxist education on a wide scale among the Party members and cadres, wage active ideological struggle and more firmly uphold the three basic principles **"Practise Marxism, and not revisionism; unite, and don't split; be open and aboveboard, and don't intrigue and conspire."** The problems of line, revolutionary drive, style of work and unity must be solved well and the influence of the "gang of four" must be eliminated politically, ideologically and organizationally. Resolute struggles must be waged against the few unrepentant capitalist-roaders practising revisionism, creating splits and engaging in intrigues and conspiracies. In some places, Party members and cadres must be educated to overcome bourgeois factionalism and strengthen proletarian Party spirit. The Party organizations at all levels should be built into united and militant leading cores that resolutely implement Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and policies. In consolidating the Party organizations at the grass-roots level, the cases where power in some people's communes and production brigades is in the hands of bad elements, political degenerates, persons eager in taking the capitalist road, and goody-goodies

and those whose ideology still remains at the stage of the democratic revolution should be handled carefully according to the different nature of each case. While stress is put on ideological rectification in the course of consolidating Party organizations and rectifying the style of work, organizational rectification should be carried out where it is really necessary, so as to ensure that leading power is truly in the hands of Marxists and the poor and lower-middle peasants.

Cadres at all levels must persist in taking part in collective productive labour. The cadres at the county, commune and brigade levels must do physical labour for 100, 200 and 300 days a year respectively. It is essential to take a correct attitude towards the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, towards the masses and towards oneself, warmly support the socialist new things and make conscious efforts to restrict bourgeois right. It is necessary to uphold the principle of combining the old, the middle-aged and the young in leading bodies and actively train and select new emerging forces in accordance with the five requirements for worthy successors to the proletarian revolutionary cause. The "May 7" cadre schools should be run well. Educated young people who go to settle in the countryside should be given due care and encouragement and they should be helped to give full play to their role in the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment.

In carrying out education in the Party's basic line, effective methods must be adopted **"constantly to imbue the peasant masses with the socialist ideology and to criticize the tendency towards capitalism."** The Tachai people have said correctly: "Without blocking the capitalist road one cannot take the socialist road." Resolute measures must be taken against embezzlers and grafters, speculators and profiteers; corrections must be made resolutely in the few places where *san zi yi bao* (the extension of plots for private use and of free markets, the increase of small enterprises with sole responsibility for their own profits or losses, and the fixing of farm output quotas for individual households with each on its own — *Tr.*) has been practised and where land has been distributed

to individuals. Firm criticism should be made of capitalistic activities carried out under the signboard of the collective and the collective economy of the people's communes should be switched back on to the correct path and consolidated and strengthened.

In carrying out education in the Party's basic line, the Party's policies should be grasped well and the two different types of contradictions — those between ourselves and the enemy and those among the people themselves — should be strictly differentiated and correctly handled. **"Help more people by educating them and narrow the target of attack."** The overwhelming majority of our cadres are good or comparatively good. As regards comrades who have committed mistakes, including those who have committed serious mistakes, we must adhere to the policy of **"learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones and curing the sickness to save the patient."** It will be all right provided those who have made mistakes correct them. A relative stability in cadres must be maintained at the grass-roots level. The sabotaging activities of the landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries and bad elements and new and old bourgeois elements must be severely dealt with, and counter-revolutionaries and those who have indulged in mistreating people, destruction and looting must be resolutely suppressed.

Education in the Party's basic line should be carried out in a well-guided and systematic way under the centralized leadership of the county Party committees by the method of combining work both inside and outside the Party, in both urban and rural areas and at both selected points and in entire areas. Effective work teams should be dispatched. They should not take everything into their own hands, but should rely on the commune Party committees and Party branches at the grass-roots level and the poor and lower-middle peasants. It is necessary to draw up an overall plan, grasp one-third of the work well each year and persist in doing so for a long time so that the task of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat is fulfilled right through to the grass-roots level and every county is built into a fighting bastion that upholds Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and adheres to the socialist road.

IV. It Is Imperative to Bring About Greater Development of China's Agriculture

The present excellent situation calls for greater and faster expansion of our country's socialist agriculture. This is a matter of common concern to the people throughout China, a matter that has an overall bearing on the high-speed development of our country's socialist economic construction.

We have now a number of advanced counties that have distinguished themselves in learning from Tachai and we have reaped rich harvests for 15 years in a row, thus ensuring food and clothing for our 800 million people. This is a very great achievement. But we must take note of the fact that the interference and sabotage by Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and the "gang of four" were serious and that the tempo of agricultural development has fallen far short of the demands of the great strategic principle **"Be prepared against war, be prepared against natural disasters, and do everything for the people"** and the requirements of our country's socialist revolution and socialist construction. We must keep to the general line of **"going all out, aiming high and achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results in building socialism,"** continue to implement the general principle of **"taking agriculture as the foundation and industry as the leading factor"** in developing the national economy, further consolidate and expand the collective economy of the people's communes, and **make a leap from small-scale farming with animal-drawn farm implements to large-scale mechanized farming.** Spurred on by the struggle to penetratingly expose and relentlessly criticize the "gang of four," we must resolutely fulfil the fighting tasks set by the Party Central Committee: Build more than one-third of the counties into Tachai-type counties by 1980; realize in the main the mechanization of farming throughout the country; **take grain as the key link and ensure an all-round development,** top the targets set in the National Programme for Agricultural Development and overfulfil the plans for production of grain, cotton, edible oil, hogs and various industrial crops and in forestry, animal husbandry, side occupations and fisheries.

It is necessary to implement the **Eight-Point Charter*** for agriculture in an all-round way and raise the level of scientific farming. It is imperative, in particular, to make unremitting efforts to undertake capital construction on the farmland in a big way, do a good job of this great socialist undertaking and ensure high and stable farm yields. We have achieved tremendous successes in this respect but the development has been rather uneven; in a few places mountains and rivers have remained as they were before and the people there still live at the mercy of the elements. This state of affairs must not be allowed to continue. We must wage an all-out people's war for farmland capital construction by combining the mass movement with the ranks of professionals. We must display the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance and hard struggle typified by Tachai, fear neither hardship nor death and resolve to work hard throughout the year and for a long time to bring about a great change in the mountains and rivers and a new look to the land. The more enthusiastically the people work, the more we should be concerned with their well-being, pay attention to methods of work and guard against coercion and commandism. We must make sure that after a few years of hard work and by 1980, there will be an average of one-fifteenth of a hectare of land for one person in the rural areas, land giving high and stable yields irrespective of drought and waterlogging.

We must step up the pace of farm mechanization. Damage has been done to our iron and steel industry in the last few years as a result of interference and sabotage by the "gang of four," which affected the progress of farm mechanization. We must race against time, surmount all difficulties and resolutely push forward farm mechanization work. It is necessary to learn from the experience of

* The Eight-Point Charter for agriculture: soil improvement, rational application of fertilizer, water conservancy, improved seed strains, rational close-planting, plant protection, field management and innovation of farm implements.

Hopei, Shantung, the Kwangsi Chuang Autonomous Region, Kiangsu, Hunan, Anhwei and other provinces, rely on the masses, display the spirit of self-reliance, make full use of local resources and energetically expand small local industries and manufacture of farm machinery, and produce more chemical fertilizer, pesticides, farm machines and parts, and plastic sheeting. While the provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions should mainly rely on their own efforts, the state should make big efforts to help them develop small local iron and steel and other industries supporting agriculture and ensure the accomplishment of the great task set by Chairman Mao of realizing farm mechanization in the main by 1980.

It is necessary to give full scope to the people's communes' advantages of being bigger in scale and having a more developed socialist nature than the former agricultural co-ops and consolidate and develop the people's commune system. As early as the initial stage of the people's commune movement, the great leader Chairman Mao noted: **"The advance from incomplete ownership by the commune toward complete, single ownership by the commune is a process in which the level of production of the poorer production teams is raised to that of the better-off production teams as well as a process of expanding the commune public accumulation funds, developing commune-run industries and realizing the mechanization and electrification of agriculture and the industrialization of the commune and the country as a whole. Although the things directly owned by the commune, such as commune-run enterprises and other undertakings and public accumulation and welfare funds at the disposal of the commune, are still limited at present, herein lies our great and bright hope."** We must follow Chairman Mao's instructions and energetically expand commune- and brigade-run enterprises and strengthen the economy at the commune and brigade levels. Considerable progress has been made in developing commune- and brigade-run enterprises since the start of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. By 1975, 90 per cent of the communes and 60 per cent of the brigades in the country had set up enterprises totalling over 800,000. But leading comrades in some places have not yet given them adequate attention, and the economy at

the commune and brigade levels is still fairly weak. We should give wholehearted support to such newborn things as commune- and brigade-run enterprises in line with Chairman Hua's instructions in his letter on the expansion of commune- and brigade-run enterprises. We should strengthen leadership in real earnest, keep to the socialist orientation, incorporate production, supply and marketing into state plans step by step and promote the growth of the economy at the commune and brigade levels so as to create conditions for the gradual transition*.

It is necessary to adhere to the principle of running the commune diligently and thriftily and in a democratic way, strengthen management, practise economic accounting, and conscientiously improve distribution work. Some places now are overstaffed with non-productive personnel and overburdened with non-productive expenditures, and there has been serious waste and extravagance. Some other places have no reserve funds or very small amounts of accumulation funds. Efforts should be made in an earnest way to solve these problems which are detrimental to consolidating the people's communes and mobilizing the commune members' enthusiasm for socialism. **"We must consider all three, the state, the collective and the individual,"** and correctly handle the relationship between accumulation and consumption. **"Except in case of extraordinary natural disasters, we must see to it that, given increased agricultural production, 90 per cent of the cooperative 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."**

Practical steps should be taken to help the poorer communes and production brigades change their conditions. Party committees at

* Gradual transition means transition to ownership by the rural people's commune. At the present stage, the rural people's communes generally take the form of three-level ownership, that is, ownership by the commune, the production brigade and the production team, with the last as the basic accounting unit. When the time is ripe, this will gradually pass over to the system of ownership with the brigade or even the commune as the basic accounting unit and, in the distant future, to ownership by the whole people.

all levels should strengthen their leadership, conduct conscientious investigation and study and take effective measures to help deepen the movement to learn from Tachai. While the communes and brigades should rely on their own efforts, the state should give them necessary support in funds, material, technique and equipment.

Serious efforts should be made to make a success of state farms for growing crops and raising animals as well as state forestry and fishing enterprises. These undertakings, which have tremendous potential and offer a large proportion of marketable products, have broad prospects. We must strengthen leadership over them and give full scope to the advantages of ownership by the whole people and the exemplary role it plays.

Doing a good job in the exchange of commodities between town and countryside is a major issue related to the consolidation of the

worker-peasant alliance. We should, on the one hand, organize the timely supply of manufactured goods to the countryside to aid agricultural production and, on the other, educate the cadres and commune members to resolutely fulfil state targets for planting food and industrial crops and ensure fulfilment of the state purchase quotas, and aid industry and towns by supplying the cities and industrial and mining areas with more industrial raw materials and foodstuffs.

The shattering of the "gang of four" has greatly liberated the productive forces. With the mobilization of the whole Party and the efforts of the people of the whole country, we can certainly make up for the time lost as a result of interference and sabotage by the "gang of four" and bring about a greater and faster development of our country's agriculture. The tremendous expansion of agriculture will in turn motivate and promote a new upsurge in the entire national economy.

V. Party Secretaries Take a Hand Themselves and the Whole Party Goes All Out to Develop Agriculture

There will soon be a new upsurge in the movement to build more Tachai-type counties. Party committees at all levels should strengthen their leadership as effectively as they did in leading the land reform and the movements for co-operatives and people's communes and make sure that Party secretaries take a hand themselves and the whole Party goes all out to develop agriculture.

Provincial Party committees should conscientiously grasp agriculture and the movement to learn from Tachai in agriculture and build Tachai-type counties throughout the country. All seven sectors—industry, agriculture, commerce, culture and education, the army, the government and the Party—at the central and local levels, and all departments and trades should go a step further and take effective measures to do a good job in building Tachai-type counties throughout the country. The programmes of all provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions for building Tachai-type counties in 1977 should be finalized at this conference. The plans of various departments

under the Central Committee and state organs to contribute to building Tachai-type counties should be reported to the central authorities in January or February next year. It is necessary to further strengthen rural medical and health work, and do a good job in curing and preventing schistosomiasis and other local diseases and in family planning.

The key to building Tachai-type counties is the county Party committees. The existing Tachai-type counties should continue to consolidate and develop, while the other counties should strive to build themselves into Tachai-type counties at the earliest possible date. Acting in accordance with the six criteria* for building Tachai-type counties put forward by Chairman Hua, they should analyse the existing conditions in their own counties, mobilize the masses to discuss fully and work out their programmes for building Tachai-type counties and the yearly plans for implementing them, which must be seriously carried out. Check-ups and appraisals of the work done should be made periodically. From now on, the Party

committees of all provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions should start, on the basis of the programmes made by various counties, to draw up an agricultural development programme of their own for the period ending 1985.

The central departments concerned and the leading organs at provincial, prefectural and county levels should introduce the "three-thirds system" with one-third of their cadres organized every year into work teams to go deep into the rural areas, eat, live and work together with the poor and lower-middle peasants, and take part in building Tachai-type counties. The People's Liberation Army should carry forward the tradition of doing mass work and continue to take part in the movement to build Tachai-type counties.

The movement to build more Tachai-type counties is a mighty advance by the 700 million peasants in deepening the socialist revolution and speeding up socialist construction. In this movement, new things will constantly come into being and many new questions will confront us. Leading cadres at all levels, especially Party secretaries at provincial and prefectural levels, should personally take part in the movement, carry out investigation and study in selected spots and delve into matters for first-hand information so that they can gain the initiative in leading the movement. The central authorities are going to summon, some-

* The six criteria for a Tachai-type county are as follows: (1) The county Party committee should be a leading core which firmly adheres to the Party's line and policies and is united in struggle. (2) It should establish the dominance of the poor and lower-middle peasants as a class so as to be able to wage resolute struggles against capitalist activities and exercise effective supervision over the class enemies and remould them. (3) Cadres at the county, commune and brigade levels should, like those in Hsiyang, regularly participate in collective productive labour. (4) Rapid progress and substantial results should be achieved in farmland capital construction, mechanization of agriculture and scientific farming. (5) The collective economy should be steadily expanded and production and income of the poor communes and brigades should reach or surpass the present level of the average communes and brigades in the locality. (6) All-round development should be made in agriculture, forestry, animal husbandry, side-occupations and fishery with considerable increases in output, big contributions to the state and steady improvement in the living standards of the commune members.

time before or after next year's summer harvest, the Party secretaries of all provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions in charge of agriculture to a meeting at which they are to report on the work in selected spots. We should firmly put into practice Chairman Mao's teaching: "All secretaries of the provincial, municipal and prefectural Party committees and the leading comrades of the central departments should exert themselves and, on the basis of raising their level of Marxism-Leninism, turn themselves into experts versed in both political and economic work. It is necessary to do a good job of political-ideological work on the one hand and of economic construction on the other. We should develop a really good understanding of economic construction."

The great struggle in smashing the "gang of four" will help deepen steadily the socialist revolution in both the superstructure and the economic base and spur the vigorous development of construction work in all fields. Following Chairman Mao's instructions, Premier Chou En-lai in his report on the work of the government to the 4th National People's Congress proposed the accomplishment of the comprehensive modernization of agriculture, industry, national defence and science and technology so that our national economy will advance to the front ranks of the world and our country is built into a modern powerful socialist state before the end of this century. Comrades, there will be twists and turns in the course of realizing this magnificent goal. But we Chinese Communists have never been cowed by difficulties. So long as we persist in taking class struggle as the key link, adhere to the Party's basic line, persevere in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and so long as we come to understand more of Marxism-Leninism, natural science and, in a nutshell, the laws governing the objective world and commit fewer subjectivist errors, the goal of our work of revolution and construction can certainly be attained.

Let us unite to win still greater victories under the guidance of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and the leadership of the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua!

Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien's Speech

Following are highlights of the speech. — Ed.

ON behalf of Chairman and Premier Hua Kuo-feng and the Chinese Government and people, I wish to extend our warm welcome to Major General Ziaur Rahman and the other distinguished guests from Bangladesh."

"In recent years, the people of Bangladesh have achieved marked success in their unremitting struggle against hegemonism and expansionism. Particularly in the past year, the Government and people of Bangladesh led by Major General Ziaur Rahman, defying duress and pressure, have firmly defended their national independence and state sovereignty, displaying lofty patriotism and heroism of daring to struggle. The Chinese Government and people express our highest admiration for this. We are glad to note that the Government and people of Bangladesh have also achieved very gratifying successes in developing their national economy, especially in agricultural production. In foreign affairs, the Bangladesh Government pursues a policy of non-alignment, supports the just struggles of the people of various countries and works to strengthen its unity, co-operation and mutual assistance with other third world countries, thus making a positive contribution to the cause of unity of all peoples of the world against imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism. The Chinese Government and people sincerely congratulate the Government and people of Bangladesh on your every achievement and wish you continuous new victories on your road of advance!"

On the international situation, he said: "At present the international situation is excellent and most heartening. The world is advancing amidst turmoil, and the people are awakening in the course of their struggle. Countries want

independence, nations want liberation, and the people want revolution—these trends have converged into an irresistible historical tide cleaning up the mire of the old world. The people of the numerous third world countries are playing an ever growing role as the main force in the united struggle against imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism."

"In recent years, the situation in South Asia has also been developing in a direction more and more favourable to the people and unfavourable to imperialism and hegemonism. The developments and changes in the situation in South Asia, particularly in Bangladesh, are a profound proof that the South Asian peoples are strongly opposed to hegemonist and expansionist aggression, interference, subversion or control and that they are determined to protect their own national dignity and take the road of independence. The superpower that flaunts the title of the so-called 'natural ally' of the third world is resorting to nice rhetoric and changeful deceptive tactics. But its sinister intention to control and enslave the South Asian countries has been seen through by more and more people. The just struggles waged by the people of the South Asian countries to defend their national independence and state sovereignty demonstrate that they are not to be bullied. In the end, the perversive actions of all reactionaries will prove to be boomerangs. We firmly believe that the people of the South Asian countries will frustrate all enemy schemes and plots so long as they maintain sharp vigilance, persist in struggle and strengthen their unity."

Recalling the historic victories won in 1976, a most extraordinary year in China, he said: "At the beginning of 1977, a most promising year, the Chinese people of all nationalities are full of confidence and fighting spirit." He continued: "Under the leadership of the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua, the entire Chinese

people are determined to unite and wage a common struggle to win still greater victories. We will unswervingly implement Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and policies in the field of foreign affairs, strengthen our unity with the international proletariat, the people of the third world countries and the people of the whole world and, together with them, carry the struggle against imperialism and hegemonism through to the end."

In conclusion, he said: "There is a profound traditional friendship between the peoples of China and Bangladesh. Friendly contacts between the two peoples started more than a thousand years ago. Our two peoples have always supported and sympathized with each other in the struggle against imperialism and

colonialism. In his lifetime our esteemed and beloved Premier Chou En-lai visited Dacca twice and was accorded most ceremonious and enthusiastic welcome by the Bengali people, the memory of whose friendly sentiments is still fresh in the minds of the Chinese people. China and Bangladesh are both developing countries belonging to the third world. We note with satisfaction that since the establishment of diplomatic relations, the traditional friendship between our two countries has made new progress thanks to the joint efforts of our Governments and peoples. The Chinese Government and people firmly support the Government and people of Bangladesh in their just struggle to safeguard national independence and state sovereignty and resist foreign interference."

Major General Ziaur Rahman's Speech

Following are highlights of the speech. — Ed.

HE said: "My presence here today also affords me the sad but welcome opportunity to reiterate our solidarity with the Chinese nation in their boundless grief at the passing away of one of the greatest teachers and leaders of mankind, Chairman Mao Tsetung. We in Bangladesh spontaneously shared your grief at this irreparable loss. I personally convey to you once again today our sincere and heartfelt condolences.

"During the year that has just passed, the Chinese nation suffered other grievous losses in the passing away of their beloved Premier Chou En-lai and their redoubtable revolutionary fighter Chu Teh. On top of all these was added the series of devastating earthquakes that rocked the great land. It is a measure of the heroic quality of the great Chinese nation that undaunted by these calamities they turned grief into strength under the inspiring leadership of Chairman Hua Kuo-feng, and are already marching ahead to their chosen goal.

"It is my great privilege on this occasion to convey our warmest felicitations on his as-

sumption of the supreme leadership of the Chinese nation. The qualities of initiative, firmness and wisdom that Chairman Hua has already displayed give me confidence that under his leadership the Chinese people will march from strength to strength."

On the foreign policy of Bangladesh, he said: "We in Bangladesh feel that an edifice of peace, regional as well as global, should be built on the firm foundation of high and noble principles of international conduct. Our accession to the various international organizations — the United Nations, the Islamic Conference, the Non-Aligned Group — is based on the firm belief that they reflect the basic aspirations of mankind for freedom from subjugation and exploitation and their legitimate desire to shape their destiny without pressure or interference from outside.

"We believe that only in conditions of stable peace will we be able to apply all our energies to our national economic development which would lend meaning and substance to our independence and sovereignty. We, therefore, view with concern the fact that there are regions where stable equilibrium has yet to be

reached. The situation in the Middle East continues to pose a threat to peace in Asia. We believe that a just and lasting peace in the Middle East can be established only on the basis of complete Israeli withdrawal from all occupied Arab land and the exercise by the Palestinians of their inalienable rights including the establishment of their own state. Another area of grave tension and conflict is southern Africa where minority, racist regimes of Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa continue to deny the legitimate rights to the majority population. History has demonstrated again and again that the right of self-determination cannot be denied to peoples conscious of their rights and prepared to fight for them. Unless the racist regimes hand over power to their rightful owners, the struggle of the people will continue.

"We believe that the Indian Ocean should be declared a zone of peace. In order to make this meaningful the littoral and hinterland states should renounce the threat or use of force against one another.

"Left far behind in the march of history, what we in Bangladesh have is a commitment to enduring peace, stability and harmonious relations among countries in the South Asian subcontinent. Only such conditions will enable us to devote our entire energy to tackling the critical problems of hunger, disease, illiteracy and unemployment. To this end we have consistently pursued a policy of maintaining rela-

tion with our close neighbours on the basis of mutual respect for equality, independence and non-interference in each other's internal affairs. The stresses and strains in the affairs of the subcontinent have not deterred us in our resolve to consolidate our sovereignty and safeguard our genuine and true independence. We have persisted in this in spite of the loss of many valuable lives and notwithstanding the disruption caused among the inhabitants of our border areas and the hardships caused by diversion of the waters of the River Ganges. We desire to seek solutions of these problems on the basis of equity and justice, and look forward to the continuance of our dialogue with our neighbour.

"Bangladesh stands shoulder to shoulder with the people of the third world in their struggle against expansionism and hegemonism. Bangladesh supports the just struggle of the third world countries for establishment of a new international economic order."

On Bangladesh-China relations, he said: "We in Bangladesh consider ourselves a close neighbour of your great country. We have no common border but at the closest point our territories are within miles of each other." He continued: "Although diplomatic relations between our two countries are new, the friendship between our peoples has endured well over a millennium." He concluded: "Today, geographical and historical factors have been reinforced by an identity of intent and purpose."

(Continued from p. 4.)

Bijedic said that the Yugoslav people rejoiced at this achievement by the Chinese people.

In his remarks, President Bijedic said that Yugoslavia will continue to pursue firmly a non-aligned policy. Referring to relations with some big powers, he demanded that they re-

spect Yugoslav independence and sovereignty, saying that any interference in Yugoslav internal and external policy will not be tolerated.

Dealing with relations between Yugoslavia and China, President Bijedic expressed the hope that the two countries will increase mutual understanding and friendship and further develop their relations of cooperation in all respects.

Dusan Petrovic, President of the Yugoslav Socialist Alliance of the Working People, gave a banquet in honour of the delegation. Milos Minic, Vice-President of the Federal Executive Council and Secretary for Foreign Affairs, also met delegation leader Chi and the other members.

Wherever the delegation went, the members were given a warm welcome.

World's People Praise Chairman Mao's Immense Contributions

MORE than three months have elapsed since the passing of the great leader and teacher Chairman Mao Tsetung. Like the Chinese people, the people the world over still mourn him and pay tribute to him. He is eulogized by all the revolutionary people, revolutionary political parties and organizations and progressive public opinion in all countries as well as by many leaders of the third world. In different languages, they say: Although Chairman Mao Tsetung passed away, Mao Tsetung Thought and the revolutionary cause he pioneered "have taken root in the earth," his teachings are "deeply printed in our hearts," "the immense contributions of Mao Tsetung will warm for ever the hearts of all the revolutionary people in the world," his name is "engraved in golden letters in the hearts of the working class throughout the world," and his image "will shine for ever on mankind like the sun and the moon."

Glorious Road

The people of the world deeply cherish the memory of Chairman Mao. The victory of the revolution of the Chinese people led by Chairman Mao blazed a new trail for the cause of liberation of the oppressed nations and oppressed people of the world.

Many foreign friends have pointed out that the great socialist China founded by Chairman Mao and standing erect like a giant in the East "has an inestimable influence" on all countries, nations and people that want independence, liberation and revolution. A Japanese radio operator on board ship unfolded a map of the world as he thought of Chairman Mao. He noted the drastic changes that had taken place in the world in the past 20 years and more as an increasing number of countries won independence, while imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism found the going tougher and tougher. All these changes, he said with emotion, were inseparable from the influence of the victory of the Chinese revolution. That was why

the people in Asia, Africa and Latin America praised Chairman Mao for "founding a new China which has changed the face of the world." They regarded the victory of the Chinese revolution as "an encouragement to the militancy of the Asian, African and Latin American people in their struggle for liberation."

The oppressed nations and oppressed people of the world have come to realize through their own experience that the road of armed struggle pointed out by Chairman Mao is the only road to their liberation. The people of Algeria who fired the first shot in the war against French colonial rule, fighters in some Latin American countries who are continuing their struggle in prison, revolutionary fighters in the jungles of some Southeast Asian countries, Palestinian guerrillas and the freedom fighters in Zimbabwe and Namibia expressed profound sentiments in writing poems praising Chairman Mao and letters paying tribute to him and held rallies commemorating him. What their words boil down to is that the road charted by Chairman Mao is "a new and broad road" for the cause of liberation of the oppressed nations and oppressed people the world over. Chairman Mao "made great historic contributions that opened a new period for the cause of liberation of the people throughout the world," and Chairman Mao's brilliant thesis that "**political power grows out of the barrel of a gun**" is a "beacon" and an "irrefutable great truth" guiding the world's people in their revolutionary struggle.

The glorious road opened by the Chinese people under the leadership of Chairman Mao is encouraging the world's people to win new victories in their struggle for independence and liberation.

Wise Strategy

The people of the world deeply cherish the memory of Chairman Mao, because it was he who, using the Marxist method of class analysis and applying dialectical materialism and histori-

cal materialism, advanced the wise thesis of the three worlds after making a penetrating analysis of the basic contradictions in the contemporary era and the division and realignment of the international political forces.

Revolutionaries in many countries describe the following analysis of Chairman Mao's as absolutely correct: The two superpowers — the Soviet Union and the United States — who belong to the first world are the biggest international oppressors and exploiters in the contemporary era and the source of a new world war; the developed countries of the second world oppress and exploit the third world countries, while at the same time they are oppressed, exploited, controlled and intimidated by the superpowers; oppressed and exploited by colonialism and imperialism, the numerous third world countries are the main force in opposing imperialism, hegemonism of the two superpowers in particular. Comrade E.F. Hill, Chairman of the Australian Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist), said: "Chairman Mao's Marxist-Leninist proletarian foreign policy with its profound analysis of the three worlds and the implication of this analysis correctly answered the all-important question in the world class struggle — who are our friends and who are our enemies. It correctly identified the world domination strivings and menace of the two superpowers, emphasized the grave danger of Soviet social-imperialism, showed the decisive role of the third world and correctly estimated the position of the countries between the two superpowers and the third world. Such an analysis is a powerful weapon in the hands of the proletariat and peoples of the world — it fills them with optimism." *Octobre*, organ of the Communist Party of Switzerland (Marxist-Leninist), noted: "Comrade Mao Tsetung studied and analysed the world situation in the past years. His analysis is the basis of the revolutionary foreign policy of the People's Republic of China and the general strategy of the Marxist-Leninists of various countries." The works of Comrade Mao Tsetung are "a compass in the struggle against the enemies."

The wise strategic thought of Chairman Mao has been repeatedly borne out by the development of the objective reality and understood by more and more people and has become

a powerful ideological weapon for the people of all countries in their struggle against the two superpowers. A Japanese journal said: "Major events in real life have proved time and again the correctness of Chairman Mao's views of the world situation. The strategic thought expounded by Chairman Mao is giving more and more people the firm conviction that the worldwide struggle against hegemonism is rapidly growing and gaining momentum."

As the main force in the current worldwide struggle against imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism, the third world countries have further strengthened their unity and are playing a more and more important role. As a member of the third world, socialist China firmly sides with it and has won praise from the people of the third world countries. The Malian paper *L'Essor (Progress)* said: "We can say that Mao Tsetung, through his contributions to Marxism, integrated the demands of the socialist revolution with those of the national-liberation movement. Indeed, since the October Socialist Revolution, people have said that the national revolution of the people of the colonies and dependencies has become an integral part of the socialist revolution — the great world revolution against imperialism. However, it was Mao Tsetung who made the greatest contribution in making the third world realize this itself."

Struggle Against Modern Revisionism

The people of the world deeply cherish the memory of Chairman Mao because it was he who initiated the struggle against modern revisionism with the Soviet revisionist renegade clique at the centre, inherited, defended and developed Marxism-Leninism, greatly enriched the theoretical treasure house of Marxism and advanced the international communist movement.

As a result of the usurpation of the Soviet Party and state power by the Khrushchov-Brezhnev renegade clique, the Soviet Union, the birthplace of Leninism, changed political colour and the international communist movement was once thrown into a difficult situation — "Winter clouds snow-laden, cotton fluff flying, none or few the unfallen flowers," a situation described by Chairman Mao in his poem *Winter Clouds* in December 1962. The world's Marxist-Lenin-

ists and revolutionaries will never forget Chairman Mao's indelible contributions to the international communist movement in initiating with the sharpest farsightedness the movement to repudiate modern revisionism with the Soviet revisionist renegade clique at the centre. They will never forget that it was Chairman Mao who "pointed out the orientation of advance for the proletarian revolution" and "pushed human history forward." This is another "great struggle of far-reaching historic significance" after the great struggles launched by Marx and Lenin in the history of the international communist movement. The Marxist-Leninist Parties and organizations and revolutionary people of all countries sincerely praised Chairman Mao when they recalled this vigorous international anti-revisionist struggle. They pointed out: "Chairman Mao Tsetung became the guide for the world revolution at the difficult moment" when the Soviet revisionists "attempted to divert the people and proletariat of various countries from the road of revolution"; Comrade Mao Tsetung "once again pointed to the road to be followed by the working class and the Communist Party to accomplish the socialist revolution"; he "provided the Communists of the world with a weapon so that they can carry aloft the banner of communism cast aside by the revisionists and carry on the struggle against capitalism and imperialism and for national and social emancipation until final victory."

Tempered in this anti-revisionist struggle of world historic significance, Marxist-Leninist Parties and organizations in many countries have plunged into the new struggle with greater resolve. Max Cluzot, General Secretary of the Marxist-Leninist Revolutionary Communist Party of France, wrote in an article that Chairman Mao "strengthened politically and ideologically the revolutionary will of the working class enfeebled by revisionism and by the effects of the domination of revisionism." French revolutionaries have regarded the struggle against revisionism of all descriptions as "a decisive task." Some Marxist-Leninist Parties and organizations in Western Europe have voiced their determination to carry on the struggle against revisionism and opportunist ideas of all sorts, taking Mao Tsetung Thought as "the guide to action." And Marxist-Leninist Parties and organizations throughout the world are growing in strength

in this struggle. Workers, peasants, students and progressives in many capitalist countries are conscientiously studying the works of Chairman Mao and disseminating Mao Tsetung Thought, pledging to work harder than ever for the overthrow of capitalism.

The struggle against revisionism is also the greatest encouragement to the people of the countries ruled by revisionist cliques. A Soviet citizen said that the Soviet people and all true Communists "must follow the example of Mao Tsetung and continue to persevere in revolutionary struggle." A Polish worker said: We must continue to advance on the revolutionary road charted by Chairman Mao.

Continuing the Revolution

People all over the world deeply cherish the memory of Chairman Mao, because it was he who, for the first time in the history of the development of Marxism, explicitly advanced the great theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Summing up the historical experience of the proletarian revolution and the proletarian dictatorship at home and internationally, the great leader and teacher Chairman Mao Tsetung personally initiated and led the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, and solved the problem of combating and preventing revisionism and continuing the revolution by integrating theory with practice.

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is a brilliant embodiment of Chairman Mao's great theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. This revolution has been highly extolled by the revolutionary people of all countries. Some of them have pointed out that "this revolution is aimed at ensuring and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat," that "the great revolution testifies to the necessity of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat," and that it is "a landmark guiding Communists of all countries in the struggle against the bourgeoisie and revisionism and to advance on the road leading to communism."

Through his thoroughgoing revolutionary spirit, Chairman Mao provided the true Marxist-Leninist Parties and revolutionary people of the whole world with the theory and practice con-

cerning how to prevent capitalist restoration in socialist society. An editorial in *Nueva Democracia*, organ of the Marxist-Leninist League of Colombia, pointed out: How can the proletariat prevent capitalist restoration? What is to be done to solve this problem? "The great Lenin passed away before solving these questions in practice. Summing up the new experiences of the dictatorship of the proletariat, principally those of China and the Soviet Union, and uncompromisingly defending the legacy of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, Mao Tsetung pointed out explicitly for the first time in the history of Marxism that classes and class struggle still exist after the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production has been fundamentally completed, and that the bourgeoisie is right in the Communist Party. He elaborated the whole theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. One practice of this theory has been the Great Cultural Revolution participated in by China's millions of proletarian masses." This great theory and shining practice are new contributions of paramount importance by Chairman Mao in the history of the development of Marxism; they represent a most brilliant chapter in the history of proletarian revolution.

The great leader and teacher Chairman Mao has left us for ever. While the proletariat and revolutionary people throughout the world were overwhelmed with grief and deeply mourned him, they all hoped that the Communist Party of China and the Chinese people would carry out the late Chairman's behests and persevere in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat to ensure that China will never change political colour. Carrying out his predecessor's behests, Chairman Hua Kuo-feng, the wise leader of the Chinese people and the successor personally selected by the late great leader and teacher Chairman Mao, shattered at one stroke the counter-revolutionary plot of the "gang of four" — the anti-Party clique of Wang Hung-wen, Chang Chun-chiao, Chiang Ching and Yao Wen-yuan — to usurp Party and state power. This great political revolution is a momentous application of Chairman Mao's great theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. It will further consolidate and develop the fruits of victory of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and

is of great immediate and far-reaching historical significance for China as well as the whole world. This great victory has had a tremendous worldwide impact and has been enthusiastically hailed by the people of all countries. A statement issued by a delegation of the Marxist-Leninist Communists of France said: "The victory over the clique of ambitious, anti-Party and anti-people elements is a historic guarantee that China will remain red under the leadership of its Communist Party headed by Chairman Hua Kuo-feng." Kang Hyon Su, Member of the Central Committee of the Korean Workers' Party and Chief Secretary of the Party's Pyongyang Municipal Committee, pointed out that the Communist Party of China and the Chinese people have smashed the plot of the "gang of four" to usurp Party and state power and that they support Hua Kuo-feng, successor to Chairman Mao, as Chairman of the C.P.C. Central Committee and Chairman of its Military Commission, "thus carrying out Comrade Mao Tsetung's behests and advancing triumphantly along the road of socialism and communism charted by Chairman Mao Tsetung." This is why the world's Marxist-Leninists and revolutionary masses speak with one voice: "This is a great victory of Mao Tsetung's Marxist-Leninist proletarian line over the bourgeois revisionist line."

* * *

Like the sun and the moon, Chairman Mao's great thought shines brightly and his glorious contributions will live for ever! The revolutionary people of many countries are resolved to study more conscientiously the works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and Chairman Mao's works and carry out the late Chairman's behests with concrete action. An American friend said: "We, the working people of the world, are Mao's successors" and "we will continue the cause for which he fought" until the great goal of "communism has finally been achieved." A Sri Lankan friend wrote fervently in his poem *Eternal Glory to Comrade Mao Tsetung*:

"Bringing into reality your optimistic dreams
'East is red' and 'world is red' is left to us.

"That world will be dedicated to your golden name, holding aloft the banner of victory."

(Hsinhua Correspondent)

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Revolutionary Memoir

Chairman Mao's Inspection Tour Of Nanniwan*

by Tung Ting-heng

NANNIWAN in July 1943. Lush green paddy-fields; maize and soy bean crops swaying in the gentle breeze. A bumper harvest was in sight. With the cherry-apple, maple and chestnut trees on the hills as a backdrop, the farmland below made picturesque Nanniwan more attractive than ever.

As we were hoeing in the fields of maize one sweltering day at noon, a messenger from brigade headquarters came along and, out of breath, shouted from a distance: "Hurry, the Brigade Commander wants some of you men to go back to headquarters!" Having wiped the sweat off my face, I put my hoe on the ground and asked: "What's up?" "I've no idea either, you better hurry," he replied.

I was then head of the Fourth Section of the 359th Brigade Headquarters. I reckoned that something important must be happening. Otherwise, the Brigade Commander would not have sent someone to walk more than ten kilometres to get us back. This thought gave wings to my feet and in no time I "flew" back to Golden Basin Bay, seat of the brigade headquarters.

Brigade Commander Wang Chen broke the news the moment we entered the cave: "So you're back. Get things ready, Chairman Mao will be here tomorrow!" I was overjoyed at the news. Just to make sure, however, I asked: "Did you say Chairman Mao will be here?" "Yes, Chairman Mao," the Brigade Commander smiled, "You must be excited!"

I really was excited and for a while did not know what to say. We got busy at once after

the briefing without so much as eating lunch, some comrades went to clean up the caves, others to put things in order in the newly built houses. Comrades of the cooking squad went to the kitchen garden for fresh vegetables, to the pig-sty for fat hogs and rounded up the chickens. Someone said: "Let's show Chairman Mao something of everything we've raised and grown." Someone else disagreed: "Impossible! There's no room for so many things even if the whole cave's at our disposal!"

Transferred from the anti-Japanese front in north China to the Shensi-Kansu-Ningsia Border Region three years earlier on the order of the Party Central Committee and Chairman Mao, the 359th Brigade originally had been one of the Eighth Route Army's main forces. Then, the Kuomintang reactionaries had besieged the Border Region with an armed force of 300,000, coupling this with military attacks

* Nanniwan is located southeast of Yanan in north Shensi. Because of the attacks by the Japanese invaders and the encirclement and blockades by the Kuomintang reactionaries in the middle of the period of the War of Resistance Against Japan, in 1941-43, the Liberated Areas had enormous financial difficulties. In response to a call by Chairman Mao, government organizations, schools and armed forces in the Shensi-Kansu-Ningsia Border Region and other Liberated Areas launched large-scale production campaigns that resulted in both the army and civilians successfully tiding over the difficulties. The Eighth Route Army's 359th Brigade moved into Nanniwan to engage in a campaign for large-scale production. Because of its remarkable production and self-sufficiency achievements, it became one of the best known army units at that time.

and economic blockades, and clamouring that they intended to "starve the Eighth Route Army to death and destroy it by siege." The task entrusted to us by Chairman Mao was to rely on our own efforts and develop production. This was why we had come to Nanniwan where, with rifle in one hand and hoe in the other, we launched a campaign for production in a big way. We reclaimed the wasteland, raised sheep and cattle, set up our own factories and transformed hitherto deserted Nanniwan into a place abundant in many things. And Chairman Mao was now coming to see what we'd done and surely would be pleased by it.

That evening we naturally recalled how things were three years before. Nanniwan had been overgrown with wild plants and at night when we went to sleep in shacks made of branches and twigs, we always had to be on the alert lest leopards or wolves broke into the shelters. After dusk, there was not even an oil lamp for light and we had to hold meetings in the dark. There wasn't enough food and we had to go into the mountains for wild plants. The daily meal consisted of these wild plants mixed with black beans, sweet potatoes or pumpkins. The covering for our winter padded clothes was of homespun wool coarser than gunny sacks and quilted with ox hair and sheep fleece. When new, it looked like a coat all right, but after it had been worn a few days it began to change shape and looked exactly like a half-filled cloth bag. In summer, every one had only one pair of trousers and many comrades had to go without a spare one for a change. We had no socks and had to make do with rugs in which we wrapped around our feet and tied with a string. There was no tooth brush, let alone tooth paste, and we had to use a towel to clean our teeth with a pinch of salt on it. . . . Actually, quite a few comrades doubted at that time if we could make anything out of the barren land which was Nanniwan. But now when we looked at it, there was plenty to eat and wear and for daily use, with lowing cattle and sheep grazing in the fields and sties full of fat hogs. In addition, we also had set up a textile mill, an iron works, a carpentry's shop, a farm implement factory, a shop pickling vegetables and places making various other things. Made to supply the army, the cloth, towels and soap from our own

factories also were available to civilian consumers. One folk song described Nanniwan as the south China countryside in northern Shensi where food crops grew in abundance and cattle and sheep grazed everywhere.

Chairman Mao, this was the broad avenue we had blazed according to your instructions! With you Chairman Mao, neither difficulty of any kind nor the enemy, however ferocious, could ever deter us.

We arose at dawn the next day, excited and everybody smiling. We kept looking at the road to Yen-an. Our place, we reckoned, was 30 kilometres from Yen-an and if Chairman Mao had started at breakfast, it would take him a little more than three hours to arrive on horseback, but only an hour by car.

We waited around until noon but Chairman Mao had not come. One comrade said: "Chairman Mao is far too busy. Maybe something important has kept him and he isn't coming at all!" Another argued: "Don't talk nonsense, Chairman Mao said he'd come today, so he's sure to turn up." In fact, even that comrade wasn't so sure himself.

At this moment a car drove up with Chairman Mao all smiles and getting out and coming into our midst. We started cheering as he shook hands with all of us one by one. To Brigade Commander Wang Chen he said: "Your crops are growing fine!"

The guard who accompanied Chairman Mao on the tour told us that Chairman Mao had inspected the crops along the way and had talked with comrades working in the fields. That was why they had taken the whole morning to get here.

It was about lunch time. The Brigade Commander asked Chairman Mao to take a rest in the newly built house and told me to go to the kitchen and see if lunch was ready. Chairman Mao said with a smile: "Lunch immediately upon arrival. This means that you've plenty of food grain!" As he was talking, he went straight to the newly built houses and caves with the Brigade Commander and the Political Commissar for a look around.

I wanted to follow Chairman Mao and the others on his inspection but I had to rush to the

kitchen to see how things were going. In high spirits, the cooks were busy around. There were a great many dishes being prepared of food produced by ourselves, fried, stir-fried or stewed.

While lunch was being served in the room where Chairman Mao had had a rest, I went up to him and asked if there was any particular dish he fancied, adding that we were in a position to offer whatever he liked. He chuckled: "You've so many dishes here already that I'm afraid I won't be able to try them all!"

I told him: "All the food here was produced by us." But before long I found out that I was talking too much since the Brigade Commander was telling Chairman Mao about production in Nanniwan.

"What about the daily ration, edible oil and vegetables?" Chairman Mao asked.

"An average of 25 grammes of oil for everyone, vegetables are not rationed and one can eat his fill," replied Brigade Commander Wang Chen.

"Better food on Sundays?"

"We usually have rice or flour for lunch and there is pork or mutton from time to time, shared by several units at one time," Deputy Political Commissar Wang En-mou said.

Revealing his sense of humour, Chairman Mao remarked: "The Kuomintang wants to destroy us by a siege and starve us to death. The longer the siege the more weight you'll put on. Their siege is so effective that you comrades here are no longer suffering from rickets." Hearing this, all of us burst into laughter.

All through lunch, the brigade's commanding officers reported to Chairman Mao on how production was going in the armed forces. They told him that when they first arrived everyone cultivated an average of one-fifth of a hectare, but this year, it was two. The watchword the year before had been "Not a grain of food, an



Fighters of the Eighth Route Army reclaiming land at Nanniwan.

inch of cloth, a single cent from the government!" and for the current year it was "Two years' crops enough to last three."

As Chairman Mao listened, he kept smiling and nodding his approval. He said: "Difficulty is no unconquerable monster. When everybody starts taming it, it gives in. With everybody relying on his own efforts, we can have all we want, things to eat and wear and for daily use. Right now we have no aid from the outside world and even when we have in the future, we must still rely primarily on our own efforts. We must not do like the Kuomintang does; those people have to turn to foreigners even for the supply of cotton cloth."

He was discussing work rather than eating his meal.

The lunch over, he continued his talk for a while with Commander Wang Chen, Deputy Political Commissar Wang En-mou and other senior brigade officers. After that he left the cave and inspected places around Golden Basin Bay. As he walked along, he said that on the way he had got out of his car to examine the crops and found them growing very well. Only some bean shoots were infested with worms. He told us that caution should be taken to get rid of them and protect the young plants.

When Chairman Mao got to the communications company, rows of newly opened white-washed caves came into view. He asked where the lime had come from. Commander Wang Chen told him we quarried stones from the mountains and had our own kiln to make lime ourselves. Chairman Mao asked if all the tables in the caves had been made by the fighters themselves. Commander Wang Chen said yes. Chairman Mao picked up an exercise book from the table, looked at what was written inside, felt the thickness of the "paper" and said happily:

"Is this birch bark? It certainly looks like a sheet of real paper."

Commander Wang Chen said: "We comrades here prefer to call it the glossy paper that costs nothing."

"Here you have everything that costs you nothing," Chairman Mao said with a smile, "You comrades have created everything with your own hands to meet your own needs."

Commander Wang Chen said that birch bark could also be used to make lunch-boxes and rain-hats. He showed a rain-hat made of the same hanging on the wall to Chairman Mao who examined it carefully and spoke highly of the workmanship.

When the Chairman came into the kitchen, Li Chin-shan, an old cook who was chopping away, immediately put down his knife and held Chairman Mao's hands in his own which were all wet, not knowing what to say.

"What are you preparing?" the Chairman asked.

"Stir-fried cucumber, also turnip soup," Li Chin-shan replied.

"How many people do you serve?"

"Not many, forty or so."

"Yours is a painstaking job," the Chairman said by way of encouragement.

Li Chin-shan said that the job of the comrades who worked in the fields and whose hands were worn was even more painstaking than his.

Chairman Mao encouraged him further: "A cook's job is very important because only when the comrades eat well and have good nourishment can they exert themselves in production."

Chairman Mao went from the kitchen to look over the pig-sties. Old Tu who was busy inside just smiled when he saw the commander coming with someone. He did not know Chairman Mao nor did it occur to him that Chairman Mao would come to see him. Coming close to the sty and seeing the relaxed plump hogs and litters of squirming sucklings, the Chairman called out to Old Tu:

"You old comrade there, these hogs you have raised are fat and good!"

Digging inside the sty, Old Tu didn't hear what the Chairman said. So Commander Wang Chen added: "Comrade Tu, here is Chairman Mao. He says the hogs you've raised are fat!"

It was then that Old Tu became aware of Chairman Mao's presence. With his pick still in one hand, he hastily saluted before replying: "I never raised hogs before. They're not fat enough."

Chairman Mao shook hands with him, asking how old he was, where he came from and when had he started to raise hogs.

The old man replied that he had only two years' experience at this and was still finding his way. The Chairman said: "Old comrade, yours is a glorious job. Raise fat hogs so that the comrades can eat better. How about it?"

"Yes, yes," Old Tu answered gleefully.

Chairman Mao waved at Old Tu before heading towards the field to the west of the barracks. On the not far off slopes there were flocks of sheep and cattle grazing, maize, millet and beans swaying in the gentle breeze, deep green rice shoots alongside a bubbling stream, and vegetables. All kinds of things were growing.

Chairman Mao walked on and on without getting tired. Accompanied by the brigade's senior officers, he walked along the path in the fields, talking, inspecting fighting Nanniwan, beautiful Nanniwan. . . .

The Crux of "Gang of Four's" Crimes Is to Usurp Party and State Power

THE crux of all the counter-revolutionary crimes committed by the Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao anti-Party "gang of four" is their complete betrayal of Chairman Mao's three basic principles "Practise Marxism, and not revisionism; unite, and don't split; be open and aboveboard, and don't intrigue and conspire," their practice of revisionism, their creation of splits and their intrigues and conspiracies in a vain attempt to usurp supreme Party and state power, establish a fascist dictatorial regime and achieve their ultimate aim of restoring capitalism.

Our struggle against the "gang of four" is a life-and-death struggle between the two classes, the two lines and the two roads. The essence of the struggle is which class should wield power in our Party and state and which road our country should take.

With the insight of a proletarian revolutionary, the great leader Chairman Mao had long seen through the wild ambitions of the "gang of four" to usurp Party and state power and had foreseen that they would make trouble after his death. Chairman Mao pointed out in 1974: "Chiang Ching has wild ambitions. She wants Wang Hung-wen to be Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress and herself to be Chairman of the Party Central Committee." He said to Chiang Ching: "It's hard for you, too, to mend your ways." In 1975, Chairman Mao again pointed out: "After I die, she will make trouble." First, Chiang Ching has "wild ambitions," second, "it's hard" for her "to mend" her ways, and third, "she will make trouble." This incisively shows that the "gang of four" was not content with that portion of Party and state power it had already grabbed, but wanted to

seize the entire Party, government and army power. They wanted to be the heads of the State Council, the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, the Military Commission of the C.P.C. Central Committee and the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party. Chairman Mao's words were meant to alert the whole Party, the whole army and the people of the whole country to be vigilant against the overweening ambitions of the "gang of four" to usurp Party and state power, and to guard against a counter-revolutionary coup by this gang.

With the utmost patience and magnanimity, Chairman Mao had exposed, criticized, educated and struggled against the "gang of four," hoping that they would call it quits before it was too late. Taking the attitude of counter-revolutionary double-dealers, however, the gang feigned compliance while covertly opposing Chairman Mao's criticism and did not mend their ways in the least. They continued to collude and stepped up their conspiratorial activities to usurp Party and state power with mounting intensity. They obdurately opposed Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee and alienated themselves from the Party and the people till they were thoroughly defeated.

While Chairman Mao was alive, the "gang of four" pretended to support him because he enjoyed high prestige among the people of the whole country, but actually they racked their brains to subvert Chairman Mao's leadership. They directed the spearhead of their attack against Premier Chou En-lai, Chairman Mao's close comrade-in-arms, and other leading comrades of the central authorities in an attempt to cut Chairman Mao off from what was going on.

When preparations were being made for the Fourth National People's Congress in 1974, they sent Wang Hung-wen to Chairman Mao to frame charges against Premier Chou and ask for permission for them to form a "cabinet," openly showing their eagerness to usurp power. For decades, Premier Chou dedicated all his energy to resolutely implementing Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and had Chairman Mao's immense trust. In wildly opposing Premier Chou, the gang resorted to the counter-revolutionary tactics of "removing the ministers from the emperor's side*." Their aim was to oppose Chairman Mao and his proletarian revolutionary line. Chiang Ching said outright: "The aim of 'removing the ministers from the emperor's side' lies in the 'emperor.'" This short remark completely exposed their criminal intent. The "gang of four's" vicious plan to replace Premier Chou was sharply criticized by Chairman Mao and was shattered.

After the passing of Premier Chou at the beginning of 1976, the gang revealed their ambitions even more openly. With great vision and farsightedness, Chairman Mao took one effective measure after another to counter the wolfish ambitions of the "gang of four." In January 1976 he personally proposed that Comrade Hua Kuo-feng be appointed Acting Premier of the State Council and put in charge of the work of the Political Bureau; in April he decided that Comrade Hua Kuo-feng be appointed First Vice-Chairman of the C.P.C. Central Committee and Premier of the State Council. The post of First Vice-Chairman had never before existed in the history of our Party. By breaking with this convention, Chairman Mao explicitly designated Comrade Hua Kuo-feng as his successor. Chairman Mao also issued the instruction: "It is necessary to do propaganda and give publicity to Comrade Hua Kuo-feng to make him known to the people of the whole country step by step." Later, Chairman Mao wrote down for Comrade Hua Kuo-feng in his presence: "With you in charge, I'm at ease." These wise decisions were mortal blows directed against the ambitions of the "gang of four" to usurp Party and state power as well as an important strategic plan for the whole Party and the people of the whole country to defeat the "gang of four." The hatred of the "gang of four" for Chairman Mao's arrangement con-

cerning his successor went to such extremes that Chang Chun-chiao wrote his "Thoughts on February 3, 1976"*** in which he cursed Comrade Hua Kuo-feng's becoming Acting Premier of the State Council as: "Moving up so fast and so menacingly spells a downfall that will be just as rapid." This revealed the gang's inveterate hatred for Chairman Mao in appointing Comrade Hua Kuo-feng as his successor and also exposed their villainous motive to oust Comrade Hua Kuo-feng. Using all manner of insidious tricks, they launched unbridled attacks against Comrade Hua Kuo-feng again and again. These expert mudslingers instructed their henchmen to cook up an article in which, on the pretext of criticizing Confucius (541-479 B.C.), they attacked Comrade Hua Kuo-feng by innuendo with such remarks as Confucius "at 56 was promoted from the post of minister of crime (namely, minister of public security) to the acting premiership of the State of Lu" and Confucius pretended to know about farming and "show concern for the livelihood and well-being of the people." Last May the "gang of four" told its trusted followers to make anti-Party speeches openly in which they clamoured for "liquidating" "other people in command." At a conference discussing planning work called by the Party Central Committee last July they instructed their hench-

* This tactic was first brought into play by Prince Liu Pi in 154 B.C. in the early Western Han Dynasty. He led his troops in revolt against the central authorities and demanded, in the name of "removing the minister from the emperor's side," that Emperor Ching Ti have his chief councillor, Minister Chao Tso, murdered. Later, this practice was followed by many careerists. The "gang of four" also used this counter-revolutionary tactic in order to usurp supreme Party and state leadership. In wildly opposing Premier Chou En-lai and other leading comrades of the central authorities, their aim was to oppose Chairman Mao.

** On February 3, 1976 the C.P.C. Central Committee issued Document No. 1 which relayed the Party Central Committee's important decision: In accordance with Chairman Mao's proposal, the Political Bureau unanimously adopted the resolution to appoint Comrade Hua Kuo-feng as Acting Premier of the State Council. Long anxious for the premiership, Chang Chun-chiao that day wrote his "Thoughts on February 3, 1976," viciously attacking Chairman Mao's wise decision and slandering Comrade Hua Kuo-feng.

men to launch an attack, howling that the State Council was the "source of the Right deviationist wind" and assailing Comrade Hua Kuo-feng as a "capitalist-roader still on the capitalist road." In opposing Comrade Hua Kuo-feng so blatantly, the "gang of four" was actually trying to annul Chairman Mao's arrangement concerning his successor and seize supreme Party and state leadership.

"Make trouble, fail, make trouble again, fail again . . . till their doom." That is the logic of all reactionaries the world over in dealing with the people's cause. The "gang of four" would not go against this logic. The whole nation was in deep mourning after Chairman Mao's passing, but the "gang of four" went into raptures over it. Thinking the time was ripe, they were impatient to realize their plot to usurp the supreme leadership of the Party and state. They were ready to take action and make trouble. On the day Chairman Mao died, they appropriated the name of the General Office of the Party Central Committee and issued a notice to various places throughout the country demanding that all major questions must be reported to them for instruction. By doing so, they tried to sever communications between the Party Central Committee headed by Comrade Hua Kuo-feng and the various provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions so that they themselves could issue orders and command the whole nation. They went around making speeches and creating counter-revolutionary opinion. They had standard portraits taken of a member of the "gang of four" and instigated units under their control to write "oaths of fealty" in preparing for their coming to power. The "gang of four" attacked Comrade Hua Kuo-feng from all sides and pressed him to hand over power. They fabricated the so-called "last words" of Chairman Mao, "act according to the principles laid down." Then they wrote an article viciously attacking Comrade Hua Kuo-feng as "the revisionist chieftain" who had "tampered with Chairman Mao's principles laid down." This was an open signal to seize power. (For details see "A Desperate Move Before Destruction" in our issue No. 52, 1976.) They even hatched an armed rebellion and frenziedly howled about "being prepared to shed blood and be beheaded." They

were busy making preparations and rattling their sabres. The counter-revolutionary coup hatched by the "gang of four" to overthrow the Party Central Committee headed by Comrade Hua Kuo-feng was like an arrow in the bow and could be unleashed at any time. Our Party and our state were in a critical moment.

Our Party has a history of more than half a century and has experienced many tempestuous storms. On many occasions there have been people who intended to crush our Party from within only to end in self-destruction. The "gang of four" tried the same trick by taking advantage of the passing of Chairman Mao, and they too did not come to a better end. At the crucial moment when the gang came out to create disturbances, the Party Central Committee headed by Comrade Hua Kuo-feng, carrying out Chairman Mao's behests and representing the aspirations of the people in their hundreds of millions, made a prompt decision and at one stroke smashed the plot of the "gang of four" to usurp Party and state power, thus saving the revolution and the Party. The whole Party, the whole army and people of all nationalities throughout the country will for ever remember Comrade Hua Kuo-feng's magnificent contributions in leading our Party to achieve the great victory of smashing the "gang of four." Comrade Hua Kuo-feng showed his high proletarian revolutionary mettle and political farsightedness, and demonstrated his rich experience in struggle and exceptional organizational talent. He is the worthy wise leader of our Party and of the people of our country.

Practising revisionism, creating splits and engaging in intrigues and conspiracies to usurp Party and state power are the characteristics of all bourgeois careerists and conspirators hidden in the Party during the historical period of socialism. This is true in the Soviet Union as well as in China. Khrushchov, who represented the interests of the new and old bourgeoisie in the Soviet Union, staged a counter-revolutionary coup d'etat after Stalin's death, seized Party and state power and changed the political colour of the Soviet Union. In China, Kao Kang and Jao Shu-shih set up an underground headquarters and engaged in reshuffling the Party Central Committee behind the back of Chairman Mao; Peng Teh-huai pulled

together a "military club" and threw down the gauntlet to Chairman Mao; Liu Shao-chi recruited deserters and renegades to form a bourgeois headquarters; Lin Piao cooked up the *Outline of Project "571"* to stage a counter-revolutionary armed coup d'état. All were aimed at overthrowing the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao and replacing it by themselves. The "gang of four" carried out the same counter-revolutionary intrigues and went even further than their predecessors. Donning the cloak of Marxism, they frenziedly sabotaged the revolution and production, persecuted the cadres and suppressed the masses, and were dead-set on throwing the whole country into chaos so that they could usurp Party and state power in the confusion. They are outright bourgeois careerists and conspirators. Chairman Mao warned us long ago: **"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."** In hailing the great victory of smashing the "gang of four," this teaching of Chairman Mao's means more than ever before to the whole Party, the whole army and people of all nationalities in the country.

Just what's this "gang of four"? It is a bunch of counter-revolutionaries who sneaked into our revolutionary ranks. They are active counter-revolutionaries and some are even old-line counter-revolutionaries. Our struggle against the "gang of four" is a continuation of the protracted struggle which, under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, the revolutionary people waged against the Kuo-mintang reactionaries and a continuation of the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. After usurping a portion of Party and state power, the "gang of four" flagrantly distorted and tampered with Chairman Mao's directives, interfered with and undermined Chairman Mao's strategic plans, pushed their ultra-Right counter-revolutionary revisionist line and stopped at nothing to wreck the country and bring ruin to the people. As a result, the country was not tranquil. If they had succeeded in usurping supreme Party and state power, the victories won over the past decades by the Chinese people under Chairman Mao's leadership in the new-democratic revolution, in the socialist revolution and construction and

during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution would all be gone with the wind. **"The Marxist-Leninist party would undoubtedly become a revisionist party, a fascist party, and the whole of China would change its colour."** — This dangerous situation would have confronted us just as Chairman Mao warned us. Our people would then suffer hell on earth, and countless people would starve, be thrown into prison or even be killed. China has averted a big retrogression in her history with the great victory of smashing the plot of the "gang of four" to usurp Party and state power. This has further consolidated the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country and ensured that we can continue our triumphant advance along Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. When we think of all this, we have a deeper understanding of the great significance of this victory, hate the "gang of four" more, cherish still greater love for Chairman Hua Kuo-feng and the Party Central Committee headed by him, and are filled with greater confidence in carrying through to the end the cause of proletarian revolution in China pioneered by Chairman Mao.

While exposing and criticizing the "gang of four," the revolutionary masses in the Tachai Production Brigade said: The crux of the crimes of the "gang of four" is practising revisionism, creating splits and engaging in intrigues and conspiracies in a vain attempt to usurp Party and state leadership and restore capitalism in China. Whatever the gang did was for this express purpose. A mass movement thoroughly exposing and criticizing the "gang of four" is now surging forward. The contradiction between ourselves and the anti-Party "gang of four" is one between ourselves and the enemy. We should by no means be lenient with them. Their plot to usurp Party and state power has been smashed and we have won a great victory. An excellent situation now prevails throughout the country. The whole country's armymen and civilians must continue the triumphant advance, display the spirit of relentlessly beating the dog in the water and carry the great political revolution of exposing and criticizing the Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao anti-Party clique through to the end.

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