

PEKING REVIEW

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北京周報

Unite and Strive to Build a Modern, Powerful Socialist Country!

— Report on the Work of the Government Delivered
at National People's Congress on February 26, 1978

HUA KUO-FENG

The Late Premier Chou En-lai's
80th Birthday

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First Session of Fifth National People's Congress Closes

The First Session of the Fifth National People's Congress closed on March 5 after successfully fulfilling its tasks.

The main theme of this session was to mobilize the people of all nationalities in the country to unite and strive to build China into a powerful and modern socialist country.

The Congress unanimously adopted the Constitution of the People's Republic of China and a resolution on the Report on the Work of the Government. It unanimously elected Comrade Yeh Chien-ying Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress. Fully endorsing the proposal made by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, the Congress decided on the appointment of Comrade

Hua Kuo-feng as Premier of the State Council. A new lyric for the national anthem of the People's Republic of China was unanimously approved at the Congress.

The closing session started at 3 p.m. when Executive Chairman of the session Teng Hsiao-ping declared it open. One hour later, the elections began. Chairman Hua Kuo-feng cast the first ballot amidst thunderous applause. He was followed by the other 3,459 Deputies attending the session.

Before Teng Hsiao-ping declared the session closed at 7 p.m., he said: The First Session of the Fifth National People's Congress has successfully completed its tasks. We have held a meeting of unity and victory.

The week-long session proceeded in a lively atmosphere of unity and joy. On February 27, the Deputies discussed in small groups Premier Hua Kuo-feng's Report on the Work of the Government made the day before and the Outline of the Ten-Year Plan for the Development of the National Economy, 1976-1985 (draft). That afternoon, Chairman Hua attended the group meetings of the Peking delegation in his capacity as an ordinary Deputy.

Vice-Chairmen Li Hsien-nien and Wang Tung-hsing also joined the Deputies from their respective electorates of Hupeh Province and Peking in group discussions.



Chairman Hua Kuo-feng casting his vote.

On March 1, Vice-Chairman Yeh Chien-ying delivered a report on the revision of the Constitution in which he pointed out: The guideline for the revision of the Constitution is to hold high the great banner of Chairman Mao, comprehensively and accurately give expression to the Marxist-Leninist theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat and Chairman Mao's theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, reflect the line of the Party's 11th National Congress and the strategic decision of grasping the key link of class struggle and bringing about great order across the land, sum up the experience gained in the struggle against the "gang of four" and develop the achievements of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

The Deputies spent two days discussing the draft Constitution and Vice-Chairman Yeh's report. They expressed their approval of the new Constitution which serves as the general charter for running the country in the days ahead and they put forward some suggestions for revision.

As the Deputies elected by the People's Liberation Army, Vice-Chairmen Yeh Chien-ying and Teng Hsiao-ping took part in group discussions.

* * *

On March 6, mammoth parades were held in Peking, Shanghai and Tientsin,



N.P.C. Deputies visiting the exhibition in memory of Comrade Chou En-lai.

each involving 300,000 army-men and civilians, to celebrate the successful conclusion of the Congress. Similar parades also took place in the capitals of all provinces and autonomous regions.

The Late Premier Chou's 80th Birthday

The Chinese people cherish a deep memory for the late Premier Chou En-lai who died on January 8, 1976. They have written many articles and composed numerous poems and songs in praise of him. On his 80th birthday which falls on March 5 this year, the press published many more articles paying high tribute to our Premier Chou.

That day, *Renmin Ribao* and other newspapers throughout the country frontpaged two

facsimiles of the late Premier's handwritings and an article by Vice-Premier and Defence Minister Hsu Hsiang-chien entitled "A Man of Dedication and a Mainstay in Struggle" recalling some of Premier Chou's activities during the Great Cultural Revolution.

Commemorative articles began to appear in the newspapers one week before the anniversary. Among them was "Personification of the Party's Style of Work" by Lo Jui-ching, a responsible member of the Military Commission of the C.P.C. Central Committee. The article recounted the late Premier's exemplary deeds in maintaining close ties with the masses, combining theory with practice and making criticism and self-criticism. Other articles praised Premier Chou for his exemplary role in implementing

Chairman Mao's military line, his friendship with the third world countries and their people and his immortal contributions.

On March 1, all newspapers devoted a full page to publishing ten poems written by Premier Chou between the age of 16 and 24 (1914-22). These poems which reveal his thoughts and determination to seek the truth when he was young show that he was an accomplished poet.

The Museum of Chinese History has rearranged and enriched the exhibition in memory of Comrade Chou En-lai which was opened to the public in March last year. On display are more than 1,000 cultural relics, documents and photos showing the late Premier's life as a revolutionary. To date, some 2 million Chinese people and foreign friends have visited the exhibition.

The birthday anniversary was marked also by a rich repertoire of performances given by the capital's artists. Most impressive were the songs sung by a chorus formed by 100 veteran cadres from the Yenan days. An old poet and several noted actresses recited poems honouring the late Premier. Special programmes were arranged by the Central People's Broadcasting Station and the Peking Television Station for several days to mark the anniversary.

A book entitled *Selected Photos in Memory of Premier Chou En-lai* is now available in all

This is the last inscription written by Premier Chou En-lai with a Chinese brush during his sickness. It reads:

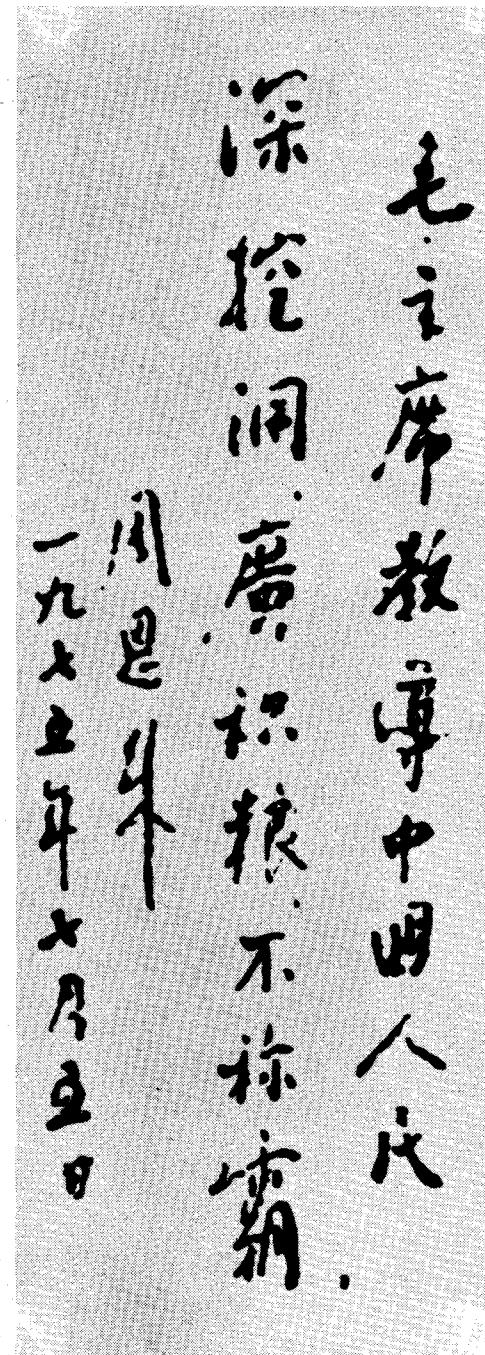
Chairman Mao has taught the Chinese people: Dig tunnels deep, store grain everywhere, and never seek hegemony.

July 5, 1975.

parts of the country. It has 300 photos with explanations describing Premier Chou's life.

March 5 was also the day when the First Session of the Fifth National People's Congress closed. The magnificent plan for the all-round realization of the modernization of agriculture, industry, national defence and science and technology before the end of this century so that our national economy will advance in the front ranks of the world, a plan put forward by Premier Chou at the Third (1964-65) and Fourth (1975) National People's Congresses in accordance with Chairman Mao's directives, is now affirmed in the form of law as the general task facing the Chinese people in the new period of development at the Fifth National People's Congress held after the smashing of the "gang of four."

Deputies to this Congress and the people of the country could no longer hear Premier Chou's voice, but his brilliant image will always inspire the 800



million Chinese people to forge ahead towards a great and modern China under the leadership of the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua.

一九四九年九月三十日

中國人民政治協商會議第一屆全體會議建立

人民英雄紀念碑

人民英雄紀念碑

三十年以來在人民解放戰爭和人民革命中犧牲的人民英雄們永垂不朽

三十年以來在人民解放戰爭和人民革命中犧牲的人民英雄們永垂不朽

自此上溯到一千八百四十年從那時起為了反對內外敵人中國民族獨立和人民自由幸福在歷

次鬥爭中犧牲的人民英雄們永垂不朽

The epitaph on the Monument to the Heroes of the People, which towers in the centre of Peking's Tien An Men Square, was drafted by Chairman Mao on September 30, 1949 and written by Premier Chou. It reads:

Monument to the Heroes of the People.

Eternal glory to the heroes of the people who laid down their lives in the people's war of liberation and the people's revolution in the past three years!

Eternal glory to the heroes of the people who laid down their lives in the people's war of liberation and the people's revolution in the past 30 years!

Eternal glory to the heroes of the people who from 1840 laid down their lives in the many struggles against domestic and foreign enemies and for national independence and the freedom and well-being of the people!

September 30, 1949.

By the First Plenary Session of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference.

Unite and Strive to Build a Modern, Powerful Socialist Country!

—Report on the Work of the Government delivered
at the First Session of the Fifth National People's
Congress on February 26, 1978

HUA KUO-FENG

Fellow Deputies,

On behalf of the State Council I will now make a report on the work of the government to the Fifth National People's Congress.

The report is divided into six parts: (1) The struggle over the last three years and the general task for the new period; (2) Carry through to the end the struggle to expose and criticize the "gang of four"; (3) Speed up socialist economic construction; (4) Develop socialist science, education and culture; (5) Consolidate our political power and strengthen the great unity of the people of all nationalities; and (6) The international situation and China's foreign policy.

The general theme of the report is: Unite and strive to build a modern, powerful socialist country.



The Struggle Over the Last Three Years and The General Task for the New Period

Since the Fourth National People's Congress our country has gone through a severe test in sharp and complex struggles between the two classes and between the two lines. Led by the Chinese Communist Party, the people of our country finally smashed the anti-Party "gang of four" of Wang Hung-wen, Chang Chun-chiao,

Chiang Ching and Yao Wen-yuan after repeated and intense trials of strength. This tremendous victory marked the successful conclusion of China's first Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and the beginning of a new period of development in its socialist revolution and socialist construction.

Resolution on the Report on the Work of the Government

(Adopted on March 5, 1978)

THE First Session of the Fifth National People's Congress approves the Report on the Work of the Government made by Premier Hua Kuo-feng on behalf of the State Council.

The session notes with satisfaction that since the Fourth National People's Congress, the State Council, under the leadership of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, has firmly implemented the great leader Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. It has waged unremitting struggles against the anti-Party "gang of four" of Wang Hung-wen, Chang Chun-chiao, Chiang Ching and Yao Wen-yuan and achieved significant results in all fields. Particularly in the year or so since the smashing of the "gang of four," initial success has been won in carrying out the strategic decision to grasp the key link of class struggle and bring about great order across the land, and the achievements of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution have thus been further consolidated and expanded. An increasingly promising situation prevails throughout the country.

The session unanimously points out that Premier Hua Kuo-feng's Report on the Work of the Government explicitly sets forth the tasks, specific as well as general, for our people in the new period of the country's development, comprehensively and correctly embodies Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and fully reflects the common desires and fundamental interests of

the people of all nationalities. It is a programmatic document which will guide the work of our government and the common efforts of our people for some time to come.

The session fully endorses the Outline of the Ten-Year Plan for the Development of the National Economy, 1976-1985, formulated by the State Council and holds that the outline is dynamic and sound and can be fulfilled or even overfulfilled through hard work.

The session calls on the people of all nationalities throughout the country to rally still more closely round the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party headed by Chairman Hua, hold high the great banner of Chairman Mao, firmly implement the line of the 11th National Congress of the Communist Party of China, and strive to accomplish all the fighting tasks, political, economic, cultural, military and diplomatic, set forth in the Report on the Work of the Government, and win marked success within three years in grasping the key link of class struggle and bringing about great order across the land, fulfil the Outline of the Ten-Year Plan for the Development of the National Economy, carry out the behests of Chairman Mao and Premier Chou, and build China into a great, modern and powerful socialist country by the end of the century so as to make a greater contribution to humanity.

The 11th National Congress of our Party held last year comprehensively summed up the Party's struggle against the "gang of four." It was truly a life-and-death struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, a decisive and historic battle. The crux of the struggle was whether to uphold Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line or to follow the gang's counter-revolutionary revisionist line, whether to persevere in the dictatorship of the proletariat

or to institute a fascist dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, whether to make China a prosperous, modern and powerful socialist country or to reduce it to its former semi-colonial and semi-feudal status. It was around these focal questions that we waged one soul-stirring struggle after another against the gang.

The preparation and convocation of the Fourth National People's Congress was an im-

portant round in the struggle. Prior to the Congress we had crushed the Lin Piao anti-Party clique, and in August 1973 we convened the Tenth Party Congress. The situation throughout the country was most encouraging. At that point Chairman Mao and the Central Committee of the Party decided to make preparations for the Fourth National People's Congress, which was to elect or decide on the leading personnel of the state so as to consolidate and carry forward the victories won in the Cultural Revolution. The Congress was to be a very important one. The "gang of four," which had worked most closely with the Lin Piao anti-Party clique, surfaced at this juncture and ran amuck in their attempt to usurp supreme state power. In 1974, taking advantage of the campaign to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, they sprang a surprise attack and whipped up counter-revolutionary opinion in order to usurp Party and state power. They directed the spearhead of their assault against the Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao and feverishly opposed Premier Chou En-lai and Vice-Chairman Yeh Chien-ying, trying to overthrow a large number of leading cadres at the national and local levels. Their interference and sabotage made it impossible for many local Party, government and military departments to perform their normal functions. In some places the leadership was actually seized by the gang's henchmen and, as a result, capitalism became rampant, the socialist economy suffered serious damage, and science, education and culture sustained tremendous losses. Criticizing their disruptive activities, Chairman Mao declared in clear terms, "**Eight years have passed since the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution started. Now it is preferable to have stability. The whole Party and the whole army should get united.**" And he repeatedly instructed us to "**push the national economy forward.**" However, the gang stubbornly worked against these instructions and, what's more, they stepped up their scheme to exploit the convocation of the Fourth National People's Congress to "set up their own cabinet." Chairman Mao promptly exposed their intrigues and made the pointed remark that Chiang Ching had wild ambitions. He forbade her to make public appearances, write instructions on documents or organize a

cabinet. Chairman Mao had boundless trust in our esteemed and beloved Premier Chou and said explicitly, "**The Premier is still our Premier.**" He decided that Premier Chou should be responsible for personnel arrangements in connection with the Fourth National People's Congress and the State Council, and that Comrade Teng Hsiao-ping should assist the Premier in drafting the Report on the Work of the Government. The successful convocation of the Fourth National People's Congress in January 1975 frustrated the gang's plot to form their own cabinet and dealt a crushing blow to their criminal activities aimed at usurping Party and state power.

After the Fourth National People's Congress, our struggle with the "gang of four" became more intense. It was a struggle over whether to implement or to sabotage a number of Chairman Mao's important instructions. The essence of his instructions on the eve of the Congress was that we should consolidate and strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat, promote nationwide stability and unity and push the national economy forward. It was in accordance with these instructions that at the First Session of the Congress Premier Chou called upon the whole nation to unite more closely, adhere to the Party's basic line and strive to make China a modern, powerful socialist country by the end of the century. Premier Chou's clarion call fired the revolutionary zeal of the people in their hundreds of millions. In these circumstances, the "gang of four" took to tampering with Chairman Mao's directive concerning the study of the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat in their counter-revolutionary attempt to usurp Party and state power. They went to all lengths to spread the counter-revolutionary nonsense that "empiricism is the main danger at present" and once again indulged in splittist activities and devised all kinds of schemes and plots, with the spearhead directed against Premier Chou and a large number of leading Party, government and army cadres. In view of the gang's interference and sabotage, Chairman Mao repeatedly criticized them for violating the fundamental principles of "**Practise Marxism, and not revisionism; unite, and don't split; be open and aboveboard, and don't**

intrigue and conspire," and time and again he warned them, "Don't function as a gang of four." Acting on Chairman Mao's instructions, the Political Bureau of the Central Committee sternly criticized the gang. Meanwhile, the Central Committee of the Party and the State Council convened important conferences such as those on rail freight and traffic, the metallurgical industry, and the national defence industries, the enlarged conference of the Military Commission of the Central Committee, and the first national conference on learning from Tachai in agriculture. Firm and effective measures were taken to consolidate the leading bodies at all levels, implement the Party's policies, criticize bourgeois factionalism, mobilize the masses to combat urban and rural capitalist forces and initiate a programme of readjusting our work in industry, agriculture, finance and trade, science and education and in the army so as to eliminate the dire effects of the gang's interference and sabotage. These measures taken by the Central Committee won warm response and support throughout the country. Distinct successes were chalked up in all fields, and the economy began to take a turn for the better.

Then, to our deep grief our beloved Premier Chou passed away in January 1976. About this time, the "gang of four," in their anxiety to seize all power in the Party, the government and the army, mounted a ferocious counterattack. This touched off another struggle that was fraught with serious consequences. They resorted to various intrigues, persecuted and

cracked down on large numbers of cadres and people for mourning Premier Chou's death and trumped up charges against Comrade Teng Hsiao-ping. They completely denied our achievements in all fields in 1975, slandering the implementation of Chairman Mao's instructions as pushing a "revisionist programme," branding the consolidation in different spheres of work as "all-round restoration" and vilifying the building of a powerful socialist country with modern agriculture, industry, national defence and science and technology as "going capitalist." They fabricated lies, framed up charges and viciously attacked the leading comrades of the State Council in an attempt to cripple its work and that of the central departments. They wielded the "theory of the unique importance of the productive forces" as a big stick to club the numerous cadres and people who persisted in grasping revolution and promoting production. They fondly hoped they could thus paralyse the whole economy. Their criminal aim was to create country-wide confusion and seize power in the process. Chairman Mao wisely and resolutely took emergency measures at the end of January 1976. On his proposal and after discussion and approval by the Political Bureau of the Central Committee, personnel decisions were taken concerning the acting premiership of the State Council and responsibility for the day-to-day work of the Central Committee. Then, early in April, again on his proposal and after discussion and approval by the Political Bureau, a decision was taken on the choice of the First Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee and

Emancipated Tibetan serfs seeing their own Deputy off to Peking.



Deputies from Hongkong and Macao.



Premier of the State Council. Chairman Mao's great strategic decisions struck hard at the gang's plot to usurp Party and state power, and laid the groundwork for our subsequent settlement of the question of the "gang of four." But they would not take their defeat lying down. They stirred up trouble everywhere with a ten-fold fanaticism and a hundredfold hatred. They even openly dished up a counter-revolutionary political programme equating veteran cadres with "democrats" and "democrats" with "capitalist-roaders" and agitated for rounding up "capitalist-roaders" at all levels from the central down to the local. It was a futile attempt to overthrow all the leading cadres of the Party, government and army who adhered to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. The vast majority of the Central Committee, united as one and adhering to principle, waged resolute struggles against the "gang of four." Tempered in the Cultural Revolution, large numbers of cadres, people and P.L.A. commanders and men demonstrated a high degree of awareness in the struggle between the two lines. Their indignation at the gang's perverse acts knew no bounds. They put up all forms of resistance and opposition and stood up to pressure with revolutionary dauntlessness.

In September 1976, our great leader and teacher Chairman Mao left us for ever. Profound grief gripped the people of all nationalities. They were full of anxiety for the future. At this crucial juncture the "gang of four" took advantage of the grave difficulties facing our Party, coun-

try and people and quickened the tempo of their counter-revolutionary machinations to usurp supreme Party and state power. They conspired to sever the contact between the Central Committee and the localities, and urged people to write letters to Chiang Ching pledging allegiance and imploring her to take over supreme power. There were hectic goings-on at the time to prepare for the gang's ascension to power in full make-up, and surreptitious manoeuvres were under way for the "suppression of counter-revolutionaries" and "executions." Still more sinister was their forgery, "Act upon the principles laid down," which they claimed to be Chairman Mao's "deathbed injunction." They slanderously accused the Central Committee of "tampering with the principles laid down by Chairman Mao," thus openly inciting its overthrow. They were spoiling for action and raring to stage a counter-revolutionary coup d'etat. At this moment, when everything hung by a thread, the Central Committee acted in accordance with Chairman Mao's behest and the common aspirations and fundamental interests of the people of all nationalities and smashed the "gang of four" in one stroke on October 6, 1976. The whole nation was jubilant, it enthusiastically hailed our Party for winning a decisive victory in the 11th major struggle between the two lines.

Looking back at this period of our history, we can see that the destiny of our Party and country hinged on the struggle against the "gang of four." This counter-revolutionary clique of

At the first session of the Congress.



Deputies of scientists and workers.



conspirators exploited the positions and power they had usurped to collect landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries and bad elements as well as a small band of careerists, renegades, newborn counter-revolutionary elements, gangsters and smash-and-grabbers to make havoc of the Party, army and country. They practised fascist dictatorship and ruthlessly persecuted revolutionary cadres and people. They sabotaged the national economy and disrupted socialist construction in every field. The consequences were extremely grave. As a result of their interference and sabotage between 1974 and 1976 the nation lost about 100 billion yuan in total value of industrial output, 28 million tons of steel, and 40 billion yuan in state revenues, and the whole economy was on the brink of collapse. In some regions and departments where bad characters were in power because of the gang's support, protection and connivance, production came to a standstill in factories, land was parcelled out to peasant households for individual farming, corruption, embezzlement and profiteering became widespread, class enemies went berserk, unreformed landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries and bad elements attempted to recover lost privileges and seek revenge, and in some cases there was even capitalist restoration. Had this situation been allowed to go on, our country would have changed colour and our people would have suffered grave disasters. The smashing of the "gang of four" averted a major split in the Party and a major retrogression in our country's history, and thus enabled our people to continue their advance along the socialist road charted by Chairman Mao.

In the past year the Central Committee of the Party, holding high the great banner of Chairman Mao, took the strategic decision to grasp the key link of class struggle and bring about great order across the land, and on a national scale initiated and led a great political revolution — the campaign to expose and criticize the "gang of four." In this tremendous struggle the Central Committee of the Party and the State Council, grasping the key link as well as other links and using the key link to set everything else in motion, worked hard, adopted many effective measures, called a number of important meetings and lost no time in solving many

pressing problems resulting from the gang's interference and sabotage. In overcoming the serious difficulties created by the gang, cadres and people in vast numbers have shown revolutionary heroism and an unyielding fighting will; this spirit is invaluable. Through the joint efforts of the Party, the army and the people of all nationalities major victories have been won and profound changes have taken place on all fronts.

Because we have destroyed the bourgeois factional setup of the "gang of four" and their followers, recovered that portion of power usurped by them and repudiated their counter-revolutionary revisionist line, our Central Committee and our Party and state organizations are now purer, stronger and more united than ever and Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and the Central Committee's policies can now be successfully implemented in all spheres.

Having shattered the mental manacles the gang tried to fasten on them, our people are now bold in their thinking and high in their political consciousness. Inspired and jubilant, they are bursting with enthusiasm to work for socialism.

Having foiled the gang's plot to destroy our army, our Great Wall, the P.L.A. is resolute in implementing Chairman Mao's line on army building and in promoting its glorious tradition. It is showing zeal in military and political training and in making preparations against war, and is progressing towards its goal of revolutionization and modernization.

Having destroyed the gang's "iron and steel and hat factories" and condemned its crime of savagely attacking and persecuting them, our cadres are displaying renewed revolutionary spirit. They are now more vigorous and bolder in their thinking, speech and action than ever before.

We have dealt telling blows to those landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries and bad elements trying to recover their lost privileges and seek revenge, and to criminals who have seriously disrupted public order. We have dealt telling blows to the smash-and-grabbers, corrupt elements, embezzlers and profiteers. The revolutionary spirit of the proletariat is rising

while the baleful influence of the bourgeoisie is on the wane. Order prevails throughout the country, and this has won the people's approval and applause.

Relations are closer than ever between the Party and the masses, between the cadres and the masses, between the army and the government, between the army and the people, between the higher and the lower levels and between the various nationalities. Our revolutionary united front is becoming stronger and everywhere in the country there is a lively atmosphere of unity in struggle.

The economy, once in a state of stagnation or even decline and retrogression because of sabotage by the "gang of four," has turned the corner and is now on the path of steady growth and healthy development. The mass campaigns to learn from Taching in industry and from Ta-chai in agriculture are forging ahead and a new upsurge is already in sight.

On the scientific, educational and cultural fronts we have smashed the gang's fascist cultural autocracy and repudiated the counter-revolutionary fallacy of the so-called "two appraisals"¹¹ which they concocted, and we have thus kindled the enthusiasm of the intellectuals and created a lively and vigorous atmosphere.

In the international struggle, we strive to promote our relations with foreign countries and peoples in conformity with Chairman Mao's great theory of the three worlds. This has helped to broaden the international united front against hegemony and influence the international situation in a direction favourable to the people of the world. China's prestige is higher than ever.

All this amply shows that the call of the Central Committee for initial success within a year in carrying out the strategic decision to grasp the key link of class struggle and bring about great order across the land has been fully met, and that things are going better than expected. The whole nation is jubilant and revolutionary people the world over are happy for our sake. The Soviet revisionists, who vainly hope that we will depart from Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, accuse our state of

being "unstable" and of "running up a blind alley." But their slanders have all been exploded in the face of hard facts. Let these pygmies go on ranting and raving. The great Chinese people will continue to forge valiantly ahead.

Fellow Deputies! The overthrow of the "gang of four" is another great turning point in the history of our revolution. The general task facing our people in the new period of development in socialist revolution and socialist construction is firmly to carry out the line of the 11th Party Congress, steadfastly continue the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, deepen the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment, and transform China into a great and powerful socialist country with modern agriculture, industry, national defence and science and technology by the end of the century.

Back in 1963, Chairman Mao incisively pointed out, "In the 105 years from the 1840s to the middle of the 1940s, almost all the imperialist countries of the world, whether large, medium or small, committed aggression against our country and waged war against us. Except for the last war, namely, the War of Resistance Against Japan, which resulted in the surrender of Japanese imperialism owing to internal and external causes, all these wars ended in our defeat and the signing of treaties with humiliating terms. That was due to two factors, first, a corrupt social system and, second, a backward economy and technology. Now our social system has changed and a basic solution has occurred as far as the first factor is concerned. But the solution is still incomplete, because class struggle still exists. There is some change too in regard to the second factor, but it will require several more decades to bring about a complete change. If in the decades to come we don't completely change the situation in which our economy and technology lag far behind those of the imperialist countries, it will be impossible for us to avoid being pushed around again." And he added, "In planning our work we should start from the possibility of being attacked and do our utmost to change the backward state of our economy

and technology in not too long a period of time, otherwise we will make mistakes."

Chairman Mao here summed up the history of imperialist aggression against China and our people's struggle against it over the past century. He regarded the transformation of our economic and technological backwardness as a question of life and death for the nation, bringing into sharp relief the importance and urgency of socialist construction. In studying Chairman Mao's teachings afresh, we can all see more clearly than ever that the socialist modernization of our agriculture, industry, national defence and science and technology is not merely an important economic task, it is, above all, an urgent political task. Internationally, since the two hegemonist powers, the Soviet Union and the United States, are locked in a fierce struggle for world domination, war is bound to break out sooner or later. The Soviet revisionists are bent on subjugating our country. We must race against time to strengthen ourselves economically and heighten our defence capabilities at top speed, for this is the only way to cope effectively with possible social-imperialist and imperialist aggression against us. Domestically, speeding up socialist modernization in the above four fields is likewise highly important. Only thus can we further consolidate the worker-peasant alliance on a new basis and enhance the power of the proletariat for victory over the bourgeoisie and of socialism for victory over capitalism. Only thus can we steadily raise the level of the people's material and cultural life and gradually eliminate the distinctions between town and country, between industry and agriculture and between mental and manual labour. And only thus can we fully consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and prevent capitalist restoration.

To speed up socialist modernization in the four fields, we must be steadfast in grasping class struggle as the key link and persist in the struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie. We must always bear in mind Chairman Mao's teachings and fully recognize that throughout the historical period of socialist society classes, class struggle and the struggle between the socialist and capitalist roads all exist and that this strug-

gle is protracted and complicated. We must be good at correctly handling not only the problem of classes, class contradictions and class struggle but also contradictions between the enemy and ourselves and contradictions among the people. We must keep up the work of reforming the superstructure where it does not correspond with the economic base and the relations of production where they do not correspond with the growing productive forces. We must conduct intensive socialist education in order to oppose and prevent revisionism. We must adhere to the principle, "Grasp revolution, promote production and other work and preparedness against war," and simultaneously press on with the three revolutionary movements of class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment. To tackle production and scientific experiment without at the same time waging class struggle will not lead to success to the two former, since in that case it would be impossible to keep to the socialist orientation, foster stability and unity, sweep away the obstacles to the four modernizations and activate the revolutionary spirit of the people. But to wage class struggle without at the same time carrying on the struggle for production and scientific experiment would not do either, since in that case the four modernizations would be just so much idle talk and support for the Party line would consist of nothing but spurious avowals. We must be good at integrating the three revolutionary movements and persevere in them.

The overthrow of the "gang of four" has removed the biggest obstacle in the way of our advance. Under the strong leadership of the Central Committee, the people of all nationalities, holding high the great banner of Chairman Mao and united as one, are going all out to criticize revisionism and capitalism and work for socialism and will certainly hasten the transformation of China into a modern, powerful socialist country. The accomplishment of the four modernizations in less than a quarter of a century in our socialist country having as it does one-fifth of the world population is an outstanding achievement not only in our own history but also in the history of the world. We must strive to fulfil the magnificent task history has placed on our shoulders.

Carry Through to the End the Struggle to Expose and Criticize the "Gang of Four"

The primary task for the people of our country at present and for some time to come is still to expose and criticize the "gang of four" and carry this great struggle through to the end. In deepening this struggle, we shall further clarify questions of right and wrong with regard to the political line, straighten things out in every field of endeavour, revive and foster our Party's fine traditions and style of work, and carry out the task of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat down to the grass-roots units so as to promote nationwide stability and unity and achieve great order across the land. We shall thus achieve broad progress in all fields of socialist construction and within three years win marked and anticipated success in grasping the key link of class struggle and running the country well, thereby consolidating and expanding the splendid achievements of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

Over the last year or so, the mass movement to expose and criticize the "gang of four" has been both sound and vigorous. The bourgeois factional setup of the gang and their followers has collapsed. Investigation into the individuals and incidents associated with the gang's conspiracy to usurp Party and state power has in the main been completed in most of the localities and departments, and in their essential aspects the class alignments have become clear. By and large, the country-wide investigation has been successfully concluded. Of course, this does not mean that our work is finished. The development of the movement is uneven. In a few localities and units where it got off to a late start or where progress was unsatisfactory, investigation needs to be stepped up. Leadership must be strengthened particularly in those units where the "gang of four" had their fingers deep in the pie and where problems abound and resistance is strong, and investigation should be resolute and conscientious in accordance with the requirements of the Central Committee.

At present, the third campaign in the struggle to expose and criticize the gang is deepening

throughout the country. To carry out this campaign successfully is a more arduous and long-term task. In the process of exposing and criticizing their counter-revolutionary political programme and the ultra-Right essence of their counter-revolutionary revisionist line and all its manifestations, people working on all fronts and in all localities and departments must closely link up the campaign with the specific situation in their own units. Fine results were gained in the recent mass discussion of the "ten needs and ten need nots"² carried out on the economic front, and in the P.L.A.'s educational programme concerning the "ten shoulds and ten should nots"³ of the political line, as well as in the criticism of the gang's counter-revolutionary fallacy of the "two appraisals" conducted on the scientific, educational and cultural fronts. We must press on and deepen the campaign. People in all fields must concentrate on those matters where the gang's influence has been the deepest and the damage wrought has been the worst and, by waging an all-out people's war, clear up all the confusion created by the gang and rectify all their reversals of right and wrong. The aim is to carry out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line correctly and comprehensively.

To lay bare the ultra-Right essence of the gang's revisionist line, it is imperative to make a penetrating criticism of the reactionary theory on which it was based. They falsified Marxism in all its three aspects, namely, philosophy, political economy and scientific socialism and, in particular, they completely corrupted Chairman Mao's great theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and spread a host of anti-Marxist fallacies. With Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought as our weapon, we must conduct a profound criticism of all these fallacies on the theoretical plane, smash the gang's reactionary ideology and make a clean sweep of their pernicious influence.

The "gang of four" was made up of old and new counter-revolutionaries who had succeeded in concealing themselves most artfully and of counter-revolutionary double-dealers of the

slyest kind. As was their wont, they used the red flag to oppose the red flag, flaunted the banner of opposing capitalist restoration to effect a capitalist restoration, shouted anti-revisionist slogans while practising revisionism, and put on a revolutionary guise to cover up their true counter-revolutionary features. They pushed an extreme ultra-Right line, which manifested itself in an ultra-Left as well as in an ultra-Right form. As a rule, it was when they struck an ultra-Left pose that their capacity to deceive became quite great. We must thoroughly expose the gang's counter-revolutionary double-dealing tricks, lay bare their reactionary features as real Rightists masquerading as Leftists and enhance our ability to distinguish genuine from sham Marxists.

In the struggle to expose and criticize the "gang of four," we must do a thorough checkup on all our work. This includes Party and government organizations, factories, mines and other enterprises, people's communes and brigades, shops, schools and colleges, and army units. The most important thing here is to consolidate the leading bodies at various levels and effectively solve the problem of impurity in ideology, organization and style of work, an impurity which exists in varying degrees and which is the result of the gang's interference and sabotage. Stress must be laid on ideological education to improve people's understanding of the political line and policies and, where necessary, there must also be organizational readjustments. Those who sold out to the gang and took part in its conspiracy to usurp Party and

state power must be duly dealt with. Leading bodies that are soft, lazy or lax must be readjusted, reinforced and strengthened. People who harbour wild ambitions, are politically bad and have an obnoxious style of work must not be allowed to fill posts in the leading bodies or be given important jobs. In accordance with the five requirements for revolutionary successors and the principle of the three-in-one combination of the old, the middle-aged and the young set forth by Chairman Mao, we must adopt effective measures and gradually build up leading bodies at all levels that will be nuclei resolutely implementing Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, maintaining close ties with the masses and working with one mind. We must strengthen our political and ideological work, endeavour to build up our ranks and raise the political consciousness of the workers, peasants and intellectuals still higher and sharpen their sense of organization and discipline. And we must continue to pay close attention to implementing the Party's policy on cadres. Many localities and departments have done a lot in this respect since the smashing of the gang. The slanders and false charges levelled by the gang at many cadres have been repudiated, and objective conclusions have been reached on those whose past records have been examined. But failing to realize the full importance of giving effect to the Party's policy on cadres, some units have been rather languid and progress has been slow. This state of affairs must be speedily changed and a real effort must be made to discharge this duty well. All cadres who are able to work should be assigned to suitable jobs as soon as

Deputies from the rural people's communes.



Deputies from minority nationalities.



possible. For those who are advanced in age and poor in health proper arrangements should be made and care and concern should be shown for them politically and in their livelihood.

Chairman Mao said, "The transformation and construction of China depend on us for leadership. When we have rectified our way of thinking and style of work, we shall enjoy greater initiative in our work, become more capable and do a better job." For a long time, the "gang of four" corrupted our Party's style of work and social values and seriously corroded people's thinking. We must liquidate the gang's pernicious influence and restore and promote the Party's fine traditions and style of work, for example, seeking the truth from facts, following the mass line, being modest and prudent, keeping to plain living and hard work, making criticism and self-criticism, and wholeheartedly serving the people. We must actively commend meritorious deeds and models, evoke a fresh socialist spirit and encourage the masses to cultivate lofty revolutionary ideals, contribute to realizing the four modernizations and work for the glory of our socialist motherland. Our Party, our country, our army and our people must all maintain a fine style of work. The fine traditions and style of work fostered by Chairman Mao and the older generation of proletarian revolutionaries over long years of revolutionary struggle must spread and flourish throughout the Chinese nation and be handed down from generation to generation.

Since the smashing of the "gang of four," a "double blow" movement, namely, a move-

ment to deal blows both to the class enemies for their destructive activities and to the capitalist forces for their wild attacks, has unfolded on a large scale in some localities in connection with the struggle to expose and criticize the gang, with both town and country taking concerted action. It has yielded good results. Practice has shown that this revolutionary struggle waged to strike at the gang's social base is very important for the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the protection of socialist public ownership and the acceleration of socialist construction. Taking its specific conditions into consideration, each locality should wage the struggle step by step under proper leadership and make it a success.

In the struggle to expose and criticize the "gang of four," it is imperative to implement conscientiously the policies laid down in the Political Report to the 11th Party Congress, strictly distinguish between the two different types of contradictions and handle them correctly. Stress must be laid on the weight of evidence and on investigation and study, and it is strictly forbidden to obtain confessions by compulsion and then give them credence. Help more people by education and narrow the target of attack. Be strict in criticism and lenient in your verdicts. Be strict with those who resist and lenient with those who repent. Deal resolute blows to the handful of the gang's sworn followers who are guilty of heinous crimes and are unwilling to repent and to counter-revolutionaries guilty of subversive activities. As for those backbone elements who have made a clean

Jung Kuan-hsiu who earned the title "Mother of the people's armymen" talking with P.L.A. Deputies.



Deputy Kuan Shan-yueh, a well-known artist.



break with the gang, owned up to their wrong-doings and shown readiness to repent, they can be treated leniently. In the case of comrades who have made mistakes, including serious mistakes, we must adhere to the principle of "learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones and curing the sickness to save the patient," and help them correct their mistakes. If they have done so, well and good. Don't keep picking on them, and as early as possible let off those who can be let off. Chairman Mao said, "For revolution, it is always better to have more people." We should try to win over all those that can be won over so as to unite over 95 per cent of the cadres and the masses.

The struggle to expose and criticize the "gang of four" is in fact a vast movement of Marxist education. It is imperative to integrate the study of Marxist theory with the struggle and bring about a new upsurge in the study of works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and by Chairman Mao throughout the Party, army and nation. There should be an emulation drive among leading cadres at all levels, and among high-ranking cadres in particular, so that they can study better and have a broad and ac-

curate grasp of Mao Tsetung Thought as a system. Study, criticism and summing up experience should be combined. Chairman Mao's revolutionary line has held sway on all fronts throughout the past 28 years, including the 17 years prior to the Cultural Revolution, despite the interference and sabotage of Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and, in particular, the "gang of four." We should go in for investigation and study on a broad scale, objectively sum up our experience, whether positive or negative, get a clear idea of the specific line, principles, policies and methods in all spheres, revise or draw up rules and regulations for industry, agriculture, commerce, culture and education and in the army, and institute and perfect systems for every branch of work which will fully embody Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and suit our conditions, so as to speed up our work in every field.

The revolutionary storm to expose and criticize the "gang of four" is sweeping away the dirt everywhere and heightening the revolutionary spirit of the broadest masses. We must persist in taking this gigantic class struggle as the key link and bring about a new upsurge in our socialist economic and cultural construction.

Speed Up Socialist Economic Construction

In order to make China a modern, powerful socialist country by the end of the century, we must work and fight hard in the political, economic, cultural, military and diplomatic spheres, but in the final analysis what is of decisive importance is the rapid development of our socialist economy.

At the Third National People's Congress and again at the Fourth, Premier Chou, acting on Chairman Mao's instructions, put forward a grand concept for the development of our national economy which calls for the all-round modernization of agriculture, industry, national defence and science and technology by the end of the century so that our economy can take its place in the front ranks of the world. By the end of this century, the output per unit of major agricultural products is expected to reach or surpass advanced world levels and the output of major industrial products to approach, equal

or outstrip that of the most developed capitalist countries. In agricultural production, the highest possible degree of mechanization, electrification and irrigation will be achieved. There will be automation in the main industrial processes, a major increase in rapid transport and communications services and a considerable rise in labour productivity. We must apply the results of modern science and technology on a broad scale, make extensive use of new materials and sources of energy, and modernize our major products and the processes of production. Our economic and technical norms must approach, equal or surpass advanced world levels. As our social productive forces become highly developed, our socialist relations of production will be further improved and perfected, the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country consolidated, our national defence strengthened, and our people's material well-being and cul-

tural life substantially enriched. By then, China will have a new look and stand unshakably in the East as a modern, powerful socialist country.

The ten years from 1976 to 1985 are crucial for accomplishing these gigantic tasks. In the summer of 1975, the State Council held a meeting to exchange views on a perspective long-term plan. On the basis of a mass of material furnished by investigation and study, it worked out a draft outline of a ten-year plan for the development of our economy. The outline was discussed and approved by the Political Bureau. The "gang of four" attacked the State Council meeting as "the source of the Right deviationist wind" and labelled the outline a "revisionist document." This was just plain slander and vilification. After the gang's downfall, the State Council revised and supplemented the outline in the light of China's fine political and economic situation and in accordance with the ardent desire of the whole nation to accelerate the four modernizations. The draft outline of the plan is now submitted to you for consideration.

According to the plan, in the space of ten years we are to lay a solid foundation for agriculture, achieve at least 85 per cent mechanization in all major processes of farmwork, see to it that for each member of the rural population there is one *mu* of farmland with guaranteed stable high yields irrespective of drought or waterlogging, and attain a relatively high level in agriculture, forestry, animal husbandry, sideline production and fisheries. The plan calls for the growth of light industry, which should turn out an abundance of first-rate, attractive and reasonably priced goods with a considerable increase in per capita consumption. Construction of an advanced heavy industry is envisaged, with the metallurgical, fuel, power and machine-building industries to be further developed through the adoption of new techniques, with iron and steel, coal, crude oil and electricity in the world's front ranks in terms of output, and with much more developed petrochemical, electronics and other new industries. We will build transport and communications and postal and telecommunications networks big enough to meet growing industrial and agricultural needs, with most of our locomotives electrified or dieselized and with road, inland water and air transport and ocean shipping very much ex-

panded. With the completion of an independent and fairly comprehensive industrial complex and economic system for the whole country, we shall in the main have built up a regional economic system in each of the six major regions, that is, the southwest, the northwest, the central south, the east, the north and northeast China, and turned our interior into a powerful, strategic rear base.

According to the ten-year plan, by 1985, we are to produce 400 billion kilogrammes of grain and 60 million tons of steel. In each of the eight years from 1978 to 1985, the value of agricultural output is to increase by 4 to 5 per cent and of industrial output by over 10 per cent. The increase in our country's output of major industrial products in the eight years will far exceed that in the past 28 years. In these eight years, state revenues and investments budgeted for capital construction will both be equivalent to the total for the past 28 years. As fellow Deputies have reviewed the various economic targets in the ten-year plan, there is no need to list them now. The accomplishment of the ten-year plan will bring about tremendous economic and technological changes and provide the country with a much more solid material base, and, given another period of hard work over three more five-year plans, the stage will be set for China to take its place in the front ranks of the world economy.

The tasks set in the ten-year plan and the envisaged development over 23 years are gigantic, but the job can be done. We have a socialist system with its advantages which can ensure a rapid growth of the productive forces. Since the Cultural Revolution, and especially since the great struggle to expose and criticize the "gang of four," Chairman Mao's revolutionary line is better understood by the broadest masses, who are filled with a growing enthusiasm for socialism. We have a large population and abundant natural resources, and after 20-odd years of construction we have established a fairly solid material base and accumulated a rich store of experience, negative as well as positive. We have all the pre-conditions for speeding up economic growth. Of course, there will be difficulties ahead and arduous efforts are needed to surmount them. But there is no reason at all to be apathetic — to underestimate the favourable conditions, be pessimistic and

think that this or that is impossible. In the 11 years from 1966 to 1976, despite serious interference and sabotage by Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and particularly the "gang of four," grain output still registered an annual increase of over 4.3 per cent in a third of the provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions, with a maximum of 5.5 per cent, and the value of industrial output went up annually by more than 12 per cent likewise in a third of the provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions, with a maximum of 18.5 per cent. With the smashing of the "gang of four," we believe that it is entirely possible for all the provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions to attain or exceed these rates of increase through their efforts. We are sure this splendid plan of ours can be fulfilled.

To turn the plan into reality, it is most important to adhere to the Party's basic line, keep to the general line of **going all out, aiming high and achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results in building socialism**, uphold the principle of **building up our country independently and with the initiative in our own hands, through self-reliance and hard work, and diligence and thrift** and follow the road for building socialism charted by Chairman Mao. The red banners of Taching and Tachai, which Chairman Mao set up as models, are fine examples of how a good job can be done in socialist industry and agriculture by steadfastly continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Over the past 17 years, Taching has increased its annual output of crude oil by an average of 28 per cent and last year Tachai produced over a thousand kilogrammes of grain per head. If all our industrial enterprises, communes and production brigades catch up with them, what an inspiring picture our national economy will present! Leading comrades at all levels should fully understand the profound significance of unfolding the movements to learn from Taching and Tachai and really endeavour to improve their work so that these movements will advance still more soundly and vigorously. They must not remain at the talking stage or be confined to meeting halls. No, they must be translated into action. Up to now, some localities and units have not made earnest efforts but have been halfhearted or have even made no real efforts in learning

from the two models. Besides, there is a tendency in some localities to lower the standards for a Taching-type enterprise or a Tachai-type county. This must be quickly corrected. We must foster the revolutionary do-or-die spirit and work hard to ensure that by 1980 one-third of our enterprises become Taching-type enterprises and one-third of our counties Tachai-type counties.

To turn the plan into reality, we must also adopt effective measures and strive to solve a number of problems bearing on our whole economy.

First. Mobilize the Whole Nation and Go in for Agriculture in a Big Way.

Agriculture is the foundation of the national economy. If agriculture does not develop faster, there will be no upswing in our industry and economy as a whole, and even if there is a temporary upswing, a decline will follow, and there will be really serious trouble in the event of major natural calamities. We must have a clear understanding of this. Predominantly agricultural provinces must make an effort to develop agriculture, and predominantly industrial provinces must make still greater efforts. All trades and professions must do their best to support and serve agriculture.

In order to effect an upswing in agriculture, we rely mainly on learning conscientiously from Tachai, practising scientific farming and speeding up mechanization. In line with the principle of "**taking grain as the key link and ensuring an all-round development**," the state is planning to take the following measures to develop agricultural production:

(1) While attaining a country-wide increase in grain production, focus on the two following tasks. One, run the 12 large commodity grain bases and all our state farms efficiently and enable them to achieve a twofold or threefold increase in marketable grain in a space of eight years. Two, help low-yield, grain-deficient areas to become self-sufficient and achieve a surplus within two or three years.

(2) While ensuring a rise in yields per unit, organize planned reclamation of wasteland by the state farms and people's communes so as to obtain a fair increase in

cultivated acreage year by year, provided such reclamation does not affect water and soil conservation and the protection of forests, grasslands and aquatic product resources.

(3) In accordance with the principles of specialized planting and rational distribution, build a number of bases for the production of cotton, edible oil, sugar and other cash crops where conditions are suitable, and turn them into the state's main sources of supply for these products.

(4) Strive to develop forestry, animal husbandry, sideline production and fisheries, do a good job of developing the forest regions, plant trees around every house and every village, by roadsides and watersides, build livestock breeding areas, set up freshwater and marine fishing grounds, and actively promote rural sideline occupations and commune- and brigade-run enterprises. In this way it will be possible considerably to expand the afforested areas and greatly increase the output of animal and aquatic products and increase the proportion of commune and brigade income derived from sideline occupations and enterprises.

(5) Mobilize the masses to forge ahead with farmland capital construction and stress soil improvement and water control. The state must take charge of large-scale water conservancy projects, continue to harness such big rivers as the Yellow River, the Yangtze, the Huai, the Haiho, the Liao and the Pearl River, carry out the key projects to relieve drought in northwest, north and southwest China properly, and undertake projects to divert water from the Yangtze to areas north of the Yellow River. In the localities work must be initiated to build medium-sized and small water conservancy works suiting local conditions and to improve low-yield fields on mountain slopes, alkaline land and red soil.

(6) From the top organs to the grassroots units, set up and perfect a system of agro-scientific research and agro-technical popularization; implement the Eight-Point Charter for Agriculture in an all-round way, with stress on cultivating and popularizing fine strains of seed, improving farming methods, extensively exploring

various sources of fertilizer, making a big effort to develop organic fertilizer and making proper use of chemical fertilizer.

(7) In order to hasten the mechanization of agriculture, strive to manufacture more, better and cheaper farm machinery, chemical fertilizer and insecticide that meet specific needs, do a good job of supplying complete sets of farm machinery and of their maintenance, repair and management, and step up the training of farm technicians.

(8) Make an extra effort to build up mountain areas and in particular give attention and assistance to construction in the old revolutionary base areas so as to accelerate their economic progress.

(9) Strengthen the leadership of the poorer production teams and help them to transform themselves economically and catch up with the richer teams as soon as possible.

In order to ensure the implementation of the above measures, the state has planned to make appropriate increases in the proportion of its financial expenditures allocated to investments in agricultural capital construction and to operating expenses and to make corresponding arrangements for materials and equipment.

To increase agricultural production, it is imperative to bring into full play the socialist initiative of our peasant masses. Otherwise, the measures for increasing production will come to naught and socialist agriculture will not grow smoothly. All communes and brigades must deepen education in the Party's basic line, persistently imbue the peasants with socialist ideas and keep on overcoming the spontaneous tendencies towards capitalism. It is necessary to adhere to the principle of running the people's communes democratically, diligently and frugally so as to ensure efficient management. Matters of importance should be decided through discussion at the general meetings of commune members or the conferences of their representatives, and not by a few people. To start farmland capital construction, improve farming methods, draw up plans for planting and work out ways to increase production, it is necessary to solicit opinions from the commune members and give full consideration to their practical experience in such matters. We must proceed from reality and adopt measures suiting local

conditions. Coercion, commandism and arbitrary orders should be firmly opposed. Commune and brigade finances should be open to the supervision of the masses through the periodic publication of their accounts. Sponging and taking more than one's share, overdrawing and using funds for purposes other than those originally intended, and extravagance and waste on the part of cadres must be banned. Cadres at the county, commune and brigade levels should behave like the cadres of the Tachai Production Brigade and Hsiyang County and take an active part in collective productive labour. In some communes and brigades the proportion of cadres not engaged in production and of other non-productive personnel is too large and their subsidies are excessive, and in some cases the cadres arbitrarily demand grain and money from the commune, production brigade, production team or commune members or even requisition labour power. All this adds to the burdens of the peasants and dampens their enthusiasm. Such things must be resolutely stopped.

The conscientious implementation of the Party's rural economic policies for the present stage is vital for mobilizing the peasants' initiative. Experience over the years shows that our Party's policy against "equalitarianism and indiscriminate requisition"⁴ and in favour of the exchange of equal values; its policy of diversifying the economy and developing collective sideline occupations; its policy on the purchase of agricultural and subsidiary products and on premiums for sales; its policy of allowing commune members to farm small plots for personal needs and engage in limited household sideline production and of allowing commune members in pastoral areas to keep a little livestock for personal needs, provided that in all cases the absolute predominance of the collective economy is ensured; its policy of legitimate trade at village fairs; and so on — all these correct policies benefit the growth of agricultural production, improve the peasants' livelihood and consolidate and expand the communes' collective economy. They enjoy the support of the peasant masses. The "gang of four" maliciously attacked the implementation of these policies as "restoring capitalism." We must thoroughly criticize such nonsense, eliminate its pernicious

influence and unswervingly carry out these policies.

The state farms are agricultural units owned by the whole people. They must play an exemplary role in building a modern, large-scale socialist agriculture. We must sum up experience, fully tap our potentialities and run the existing state farms well so as to provide the state with more agricultural and animal products. Meanwhile, we must actively set up more state farms to give our state-owned agriculture a big fillip.

Second. Speed Up the Development of the Basic Industries and Give Full Scope to the Leading Role of Industry.

As the economy becomes modernized, the leading role of industry, and especially that of the basic industries, becomes more and more prominent. We must take steel as the key link, strengthen the basic industries and exert a special effort to step up the development of the power, fuel and raw and semi-finished materials industries and transport and communications. Only thus can we give strong support to agriculture, rapidly expand light industry and substantially strengthen the national defence industries.

In developing the basic industries, we must endeavour to strengthen our work in geology and in the opening up of new mines so that geological surveying and the mining industry will meet the needs of high-speed economic construction.

In developing the basic industries, we must be good at tapping the potential of the existing enterprises and at renovating and transforming them as well as at integrating this task with the building of new enterprises. In the next eight years, and especially in the next three years, our existing enterprises must be the foundation for the growth of production. We must make full use of existing equipment, make sure that complete sets of equipment are available, introduce technical transformation in a planned way and carry out extensive co-ordination between specialized departments. This will gain us time and speed and will save on investment. Meanwhile, the state plans to build or complete 120 large-scale projects, including ten iron and steel complexes, nine non-ferrous metal com-

plexes, eight coal mines, ten oil and gas fields, 30 power stations, six new trunk railways and five key harbours. The completion of these projects added to the existing industrial foundation will provide China with 14 fairly strong and fairly rationally located industrial bases. This will be decisive in changing the backward state of our basic industries.

In capital construction, we must keep to the principle of concentrating our forces and fighting a battle of annihilation to achieve economy in our investments, high quality in our work and short building cycles, and we must rapidly acquire the capacity to streamline production and get optimum results. With regard to the 120 large-scale projects in the state plan for the next eight years, the whole country, from the top levels to the grass roots, must co-operate closely and select competent leading cadres, fine technical personnel and skilled workers for the concerted battle to accomplish these projects successively with greater, faster, better and more economical results.

It is essential to adhere to the policy of the simultaneous development of large, medium-scale and small enterprises. While it is important to run the large modern enterprises well, every attention must also be given to the development of medium-scale and small enterprises. All provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions must utilize local resources, strive to make a success of medium-scale and small coalfields, small power stations, mines, cement and chemical fertilizer plants, strengthen and improve medium-scale and small iron and steel and non-ferrous metal enterprises, and try to produce more chemical raw materials. All medium-scale and small enterprises should come under the plans, get their raw materials from local sources and work hard to improve production and management techniques. Where they compete with the large enterprises for supplies of raw and semi-finished materials or for fuel or power, the matter must be given overall consideration and properly solved to ensure that the needs of the large enterprises are fully met.

The machine-building industry which has the vital task of equipping all branches of the economy should be organized in accordance with the principle of co-ordination between specializ-

ed departments. It should come under a unified plan, do a good job in the standardization, serialization and general utilization of its products, work hard to turn out high-grade machines and equipment and produce more and better sets of large modern precision machinery. The national defence industries should turn their production capacity to good account, diligently carry out research and the trial production and then the outturn of more and better modern conventional and strategic weapons. Serious efforts should be made to implement the policy of integrating military with non-military enterprises and peacetime production with preparedness against war, and fully tap the potential of the machine-building and national defence industries.

Along with the strengthening of the basic industries there should be a vigorous development of light industry. We should explore and open up more sources of raw materials, try to increase the supply of agricultural raw materials, substantially increase the ratio of such petro-chemically produced raw materials as chemical fibres and plastics to all raw materials used in light industry, greatly expand the production of textiles, sugar and paper and other light industrial products, and see that the provinces and autonomous regions achieve self-sufficiency in ordinary light industrial products as early as possible. We should continue and expand the production of popular traditional articles, and efficiently arrange the production of articles of daily use, miscellaneous goods, handicraft wares and commodities specially needed by the minority nationalities.

In building our industry we should apply the principle of combining industry and agriculture and town and country. Where conditions permit, the workers and staff and their families should get organized for agricultural and sideline production, as in the Taching Oilfield. We should as far as possible avoid crowding the big cities with new construction units and should build more small and medium-sized towns and cities.

Third. Do a Good Job in Commerce and Develop Foreign Trade.

Socialist commerce is a bridge that links industry with agriculture, urban areas with rural areas and production with consumption. It is essential to make a success of commerce, for

it promotes the rapid growth of the economy, consolidates the worker-peasant alliance and serves to meet the people's daily needs. Those who work in shops and supply and marketing departments are part of the working class. They are inseparably linked with the general process of production, and since what they do is lofty revolutionary labour they should command the respect of all. The commercial departments should firmly implement the policy of "develop the economy and ensure supplies," give strong support to industrial and agricultural production and wholeheartedly serve the people in meeting their daily needs. We should organize the exchange of industrial goods with agricultural products well, stimulate the interchange of urban and rural products, provide the markets with adequate supplies, appropriately expand commercial networks or centres, increase the variety of goods on the market, and improve the quality of service to customers. We should tighten price and market controls and deal resolute blows to speculation and profiteering.

There should be a big increase in foreign trade. In our export trade, attention should be given both to bulk exports and exports in small quantities. While expanding the export of agricultural and sideline products, we should raise the ratio of industrial and mineral products in our exports. We should build a number of bases for supplying industrial and mineral products and agricultural and sideline products for export. We should earnestly sum up our experience in foreign trade and, in accordance with the principle of equality and mutual benefit, handle our business transactions flexibly and successfully.

Fourth. Encourage Socialist Labour Emulation and Be Active in Technical Innovation and Technical Revolution.

The masses have a vast reservoir of enthusiasm for socialism. Socialist labour emulation is a good and important method of bringing the initiative and creativeness of the people into full play and of achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results in developing the economy. Each and every locality, trade, enterprise, establishment and rural commune and production brigade should fully mobilize the masses and bring about an upsurge in emulating, learn-

ing from, catching up with and overtaking the advanced units, and helping the less advanced units.

The main aim of the labour emulation is to increase production and practise economy, that is, to strive to step up production, improve quality, raise labour productivity, economize on materials, cut down costs and increase profits. At present, some enterprises seek to increase production to the neglect of quality of products and quantity of materials consumed, causing much waste. This does not square with the requirement of achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results. Failure to achieve high quality, economize on materials and provide the state with constantly increasing profits will make it impossible for the economy to achieve sustained and high-speed development. All enterprises are required to reach their previous peak production levels in terms of economic and technical norms before the year is out, and those that have already done so should strive to catch up with or surpass domestic and world advanced standards. In the course of labour emulation, attention should be paid to combining work with adequate rest so as to keep up the enthusiasm of the masses. Moreover, all departments and enterprises should break down the boundaries between trades and create more for the state by actively undertaking the multiple utilization of resources and so turning "waste" into wealth. We must resolutely combat the spendthrift style, which pays no attention to quality and economic accounting, and the prodigal bourgeois style of indulgence in extravagance and waste. We must foster the fine tradition of waging hard struggles and building the country with diligence and thrift.

For our economy to develop at high speed, we must break free from conventions and use advanced techniques as much as possible. The broad masses have inexhaustible creative power and are fully capable of making a great leap forward in science and technology by relying on their own strength. Our workers, peasants and intellectuals should be creative and dauntless; they should dare to think, dare to speak out and dare to act and should unfold a widespread movement for technical innovation and technical revolution in urban and rural areas, coming up

with new and better ways to do things and turning their talents to full account. All localities and departments must keep abreast of current developments in technology at home and abroad, work out plans and measures for employing and popularizing new techniques, strive to learn advanced science and technology, domestic and foreign, and must not get stuck in a groove and rest content with old practices. We must increase technical exchanges and fight against the rotten bourgeois style of refusing to share information. Commendations and proper awards should be given to those units that have achieved marked successes in adopting new techniques, developing new technologies and turning out new products as well as to those collectives and individuals who have made inventions.

Fifth. Strengthen Unified Planning and Give Full Play to the Initiative of Both the Central and the Local Authorities.

Planned economy is a basic feature of the socialist economy. We must resolutely put an end to the anarchy resulting from the interference and sabotage of the "gang of four" and bring all economic undertakings into the orbit of planned, proportionate development. In formulating plans, we must follow the mass line, and both the central departments and the localities should do more investigation and study, endeavour to strike an overall balance, make the plans bold as well as sound and allocate manpower, material and money where they are most needed so that the various branches of the economy develop in co-ordination. A strict system of personal responsibility must be set up at all levels, from the departments under the State Council to the provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions right down to the grass-roots units, so that each leading cadre has his clear-cut responsibilities and nothing is neglected. Fulfilment of the state plan will thus be effectively ensured. We must check up regularly on how the localities, departments and grass-roots units are carrying out their plans. We shall commend those who fulfil their plans satisfactorily and shall hold the leading cadres responsible where the plan is not fulfilled because of their poor work and bureaucracy. In the case of serious failures necessary disciplinary action will be taken.

The law of value must be consciously applied under the guidance of the unified state plan. We must study in earnest the price parities between industrial and agricultural products and between raw and semi-finished materials, fuel and manufactured goods. To promote production, we must appropriately raise the purchase prices of agricultural products and, as costs are cut down, properly reduce the prices of manufactured goods, especially those produced to support agriculture. We must fully utilize finance, banking and credit in promoting and supervising economic undertakings so as to spur all enterprises to improve management, pay due attention to economic results and accumulate more capital for the state.

Given the strengthening of unified central leadership, it is necessary to develop the initiative of both the central and the local authorities. While the former must have absolute control on major issues, power should devolve on the latter with respect to minor ones. Power is to be centralized where necessary, while active support is to be given to the local authorities in undertaking what should be put in their charge. The principle of transferring the management of certain enterprises to the localities should be adhered to. However, instead of washing their hands of these enterprises, the central departments should enthusiastically assist the local authorities to run them well. Key enterprises and research and designing institutions that have a bearing on the economy as a whole should be put under dual leadership. The central departments in charge should assume the chief responsibility, but the provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions must shoulder some responsibility too. We must conscientiously sum up experience, gradually reform and perfect the management of enterprises and control over planning, materials and finance. Both the central departments and the localities must have the overall interest in mind and work for the strengthening of the unified leadership of the central authorities. While we must put our foot down on the tendency of the central departments to take too much upon themselves and hamper the local authorities' initiative, we must also oppose the tendency of regions or departments to attend only to their own individual interests, to the neglect of the unified state plan.

Sixth. Uphold the Principle of "From Each According to His Ability, to Each According to His Work" and Steadily Improve the Livelihood of the People.

Throughout the historical period of socialism, we must uphold the principles of "He who does not work, neither shall he eat" and "from each according to his ability, to each according to his work." In applying them we must firmly put proletarian politics in command, strengthen ideological and political work and teach and encourage everybody to cultivate the communist attitude towards labour and to serve the people wholeheartedly. With regard to distribution, while we should avoid a wide wage spread, we must also oppose equalitarianism and apply the principle of more pay for more work and less pay for less work. The enthusiasm of the masses cannot be aroused if no distinction is made between those who do more work and those who do less, between those who do a good job and those who do a poor one, and between those who work and those who don't. All people's communes and production brigades must seriously apply the system of fixed production quotas and calculation of work-points on the basis of work done and must enforce the principle of equal pay for equal work irrespective of sex. The staff and workers of state enterprises should be paid primarily on a time-rate basis with piecework playing a secondary role, and with additional bonuses. There should be pecuniary allowances for jobs requiring higher labour intensity or performed under worse working conditions. In socialist labour emulation, moral encouragement and material reward must go hand in hand, with emphasis on the former. As regards the reform of the wage system, the relevant departments under the State Council should, together with the local authorities, make conscientious investigation and study, sum up experience, canvass the opinions of the masses and then submit a draft plan based on overall consideration to the central authorities for approval before it is gradually implemented.

Chairman Mao said, "We must lay emphasis on the development of production, but consideration must be given to both the development of production and the improvement of the people's livelihood." We must carry forward our fine tradition of diligence, thrift, plain living

and hard work so as to accumulate more capital for increasing production and promoting construction. At the same time, as production rises, we must gradually improve the livelihood of the people, so that in normal harvest years 90 per cent of the commune members can receive a bigger income every year, and staff members and workers can have their wages increased step by step, provided that the state plan is fulfilled. Great efforts must be made to increase the supply of non-staple foodstuffs for urban consumers. Large and medium-sized cities and those factories and mines which are in a position to do so should build production bases for non-staple foodstuffs and set up well-run mechanized or semi-mechanized pig and poultry farms. We must improve the living conditions of the urban and rural population by systematically supplying the countryside with materials needed for building houses and resolving the problem of providing living quarters for staff members and workers. Vigorous action should be taken to develop collective welfare and urban public utilities so as to facilitate production and provide amenities for the people. We must strive to ensure safety in production and the protection of labour. The elimination of pollution and the protection of the environment are a major issue involving the people's health, an issue to which we must attach great importance. We must draw up regulations to protect the environment and make sure that related problems are satisfactorily solved.

We are not yet acquainted with many of the problems that crop up in economic construction. In particular, in many respects modern production remains an unknown kingdom of necessity to us. In accordance with Chairman Mao's instructions, the leading cadres at all levels must use their brains and assiduously study Marxism-Leninism, economics, production management and science and technology so as to "become expert in political and economic work on the basis of a higher level of Marxism-Leninism." We must study hard and work well, sum up experience, attain a better grasp of the laws governing socialist economic construction, master the art of guiding and organizing modern production, raise the level of economic management and do our economic work in an ever more meticulous, thoroughgoing, practical and scientific way, thus propelling the national economy forward at high speed.

Develop Socialist Science, Education and Culture

In the wake of the new upsurge in economic construction a new upsurge of construction in the cultural sphere will follow. We must raise the scientific and cultural level of the entire Chinese nation to a much higher level so that our working people will master modern techniques of production and scientific knowledge. At the same time, we must build a vast army of working-class intellectuals. Only thus can we successfully fulfil the grand target of building a modern, powerful socialist country.

In the last 28 years, guided by Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, we have achieved much in the spheres of science, education, literature and art, public health, physical culture, the press and publishing. The explosion of the A-bomb and the H-bomb, the launching and retrieval of man-made satellites — all these mark a new level in the development of our country's science and technology. Junior middle school education has become general in practically all cities and towns and primary school education in most villages. Institutions of higher learning and secondary technical schools have trained large numbers of students in professional skills. However, our scientific, educational and cultural work has suffered severely from interference and sabotage by Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao, and most of all by the "gang of four." The gap between our own and the advanced world scientific and technical level which had been narrowing has widened again in recent years. The quality of school education has fallen sharply. In all fields of endeavour there are not enough trained younger men and women ready to take over from older experts. A new liberation has come with the smashing of the "gang of four." The tremendous exuberance of the masses of workers, peasants, soldiers and intellectuals is becoming a mammoth force for storming the citadels of science, revitalizing education and creating a brilliant culture.

Modern science and technology, which are characterized mainly by the use of atomic energy and the development of electronic computers and space science, are experiencing a great revolution leading to the emergence of new indus-

tries and spurring the advance of technology by leaps and bounds. To catch up quickly with the dramatic changes in modern science and technology and rapidly transform our backwardness in these fields are important and indispensable steps for the speedy development of our economy and the strengthening of our national defence. This is a matter to which our whole Party, army and nation must give close attention. Scientific research should be comprehensively planned with due attention to both short- and long-range targets and in the light of the needs of our national construction and the trends of modern science and technology. All branches of science and technology should be developed in co-ordination, with special emphasis on focal ones so that there is enough concentration to make a breakthrough. Scientific and technical personnel should be widely mobilized and their efforts organized, with proper division of labour and close co-ordination, to speed up research into urgent scientific and technical problems in economic construction and national defence. They should produce results in advanced scientific and technical research so as to achieve high and steady yields and fine quality at low cost in agriculture, the all-round development of agriculture, forestry, animal husbandry, sideline production and fisheries, and the building of a modern, large-scale socialist agriculture. They should make contributions towards the technical transformation of the industrial departments, towards prospecting for and discovering more mineral resources and, in particular, towards rapidly transforming the weaker links in our economy, that is, fuel, electricity, raw and semi-finished materials industries, and transport and communications, so as to put our industries on an advanced technological basis as early as possible. The prediction of natural calamities and our ability to cope with them should be improved. We must strive to develop new scientific techniques, set up nuclear power stations, launch different kinds of satellites, and step up research into laser theory and its application, attach importance to the research on genetic engineering and above all to research on integrated

circuits and electronic computers and their widespread application. We must strive to apply the latest techniques in scientific experiment and set up a number of centres for sophisticated experimentation. Full attention must be paid to theoretical research in the natural sciences, including such basic subjects as modern mathematics, high energy physics and molecular biology. Negligence in this respect will make it impossible for us to master and apply the results of advanced world science and technology and properly solve important problems in our construction, to say nothing of making major discoveries or inventions. A national science conference is soon to be convened where a plan for the development of science and technology will be drawn up, advanced individuals cited and outstanding achievements commended so as to bring everybody's initiative into full play for the modernization of our science and technology.

In the sphere of philosophy and the social sciences, we should make a study of the past as well as the present state of Chinese and world politics, economics, military affairs and ideology. We must deepen the criticism of the "gang of four," of revisionism and of the ideology of the bourgeoisie and other exploiting classes and comprehensively and accurately expound and spread Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought as a system. This is required by our country's socialist revolution and construction and it is also our bounden internationalist obligation to the people of the world. We must organize forces to map out a national development plan for philosophy and the social sciences and for research into philosophy, economics, politics, military sciences, law, history, education, literary theory, linguistics, ethnology and religion. Comrades working on the ideological and theoretical front must strive to contribute to spreading and developing Marxist philosophy and social sciences.

We must correctly carry out the policy of making education serve proletarian politics and combining it with productive labour, have a correct orientation, ensure the success of the revolution in education and accelerate the training of our students so that they develop in an all-round way, morally, intellectually and physically, and become workers with both so-

cialist consciousness and culture. All professions and trades should attach due weight to education and fully support it. We should run well schools at all levels and of all types, and primarily the key universities and schools. In order to improve the quality of education, it is necessary to take effective measures to train teachers, to compile new textbooks speedily and to utilize modern aids fully. By 1985, in the main eight-year schooling should be made universal in the rural areas and ten-year schooling in the cities. We should fully tap the potential of existing institutions of higher learning, actively expand the student enrolment, rapidly set up new colleges and institutes and endeavour to run the vocational and technical schools and colleges well. We must break free from old rules and conventions and spot, train and foster talents in all fields. Spare-time education should be actively promoted to satisfy the demand for learning on the part of cadres, workers, peasants, soldiers and school graduates who have gone to the countryside. We should set up an appropriate examination system. Spare-time students who have attained college graduate level and have proved themselves qualified by passing an examination should be given the same treatment as college graduates in their employment. Our present college graduates should be enabled to put what they have learnt to good use and further efforts should be made to train them and raise their level. In recent years, large numbers of students selected from among workers, peasants, soldiers, and school graduates who had been to the countryside were trained in colleges and universities. They are a new force in our contingent of intellectuals and should be given every care and assistance to grow and mature.

The vital task on the front of literature and art now is conscientiously to implement Chairman Mao's directive on readjusting the Party's policy in this sphere. Our work should be strengthened and the present shortage of all genres of literature and art caused by the sabotage of the "gang of four" should be rapidly overcome. The repertoires of the performing arts should be enlarged to enrich the people's cultural life. Literature and art must keep to the orientation of serving the workers, peasants and soldiers. Workers in literature, drama, the film, music, the fine arts, choreography and

chuyi [popular forms of ballad singing, etc. — Tr.] should be mobilized and encouraged to go to factories, rural areas and army units to experience life at its source and create more. We should give special attention to the film with its huge audience, because its impact is immense. We should redouble our efforts to produce more fine films. There should be variety in the subject matter of our literature and art. Modern revolutionary themes should be dominant, particularly those reflecting the three great revolutionary movements of the socialist period, but attention should also be given to historical and other themes. Revolutionary realism combined with revolutionary romanticism should be encouraged in artistic creation. We should give great emphasis to literary criticism. We should be active in organizing cultural centres, film projection teams and various forms of spare-time cultural activity for the masses. Local operas should be revived and the distinctive literature and art of our different nationalities developed. For half a century and more our great leader Chairman Mao led the Chinese people in great revolutionary struggles that brought epoch-making changes. Our writers and artists should have lofty aspirations and strive to produce fine works of art depicting the glorious deeds and achievements of Chairman Mao, Premier Chou, Chairman Chu Teh of the N.P.C. Standing Committee and other proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation, and the militant course of the people's revolutionary struggle led by our Party.

In health work, we should continue the policy of putting the stress on the rural areas and run county and commune hospitals well. The rural co-operative medical service should be strengthened and expanded and the professional proficiency of barefoot doctors raised. At the same time, medical and health work in the cities and in factories and mines should also be done well. We should earnestly strengthen the leadership over rural and urban hospitals, consolidate the management system, and raise the quality of medical care and nursing. Attention should be given to the health work for women and children. Doctors and nurses should be well trained. Medical research should be intensified and medical institutions be provided with advanced technical equipment. The policy of emphasizing preventive medicine should be

implemented and patriotic sanitation movements aimed at wiping out pests and diseases should be launched. The policy of combining Chinese traditional and Western medicine should be pursued so as to create a new integrated Chinese medicine and pharmacology. We should vigorously promote mass sports to improve the people's physique. We should rapidly develop the ranks of our athletes and strive to scale the world's peaks in sports.

Family planning is a very significant matter. Planned control of population growth is conducive to the planned development of the national economy and to the health of mother and child. It also benefits the people where production, work and study are concerned. We must continue to give it serious attention and strive to lower the annual rate of growth of China's population to less than 1 per cent within three years.

We should make a success of our press and broadcasting work and accelerate the development of television so as to be able to utilize the mass media fully in our propaganda and education. We should improve our publishing work and lose no time in changing the present state of affairs in which books and periodicals are few, the process of printing is long-drawn-out and printing techniques leave much to be desired. Libraries of all types should be promoted so that a network serving the masses and scientific research can be established.

Giving full scope to the abilities of intellectuals is important for speeding up the development of our science, education and other cultural undertakings and building a modern, powerful socialist country. The overwhelming majority of the intellectuals are devoted to the Party and socialism and support Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. In the political movements of the past, in their study of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, in their endeavour to identify themselves with the workers and peasants and in their day-to-day work, they have made marked progress in remoulding their bourgeois world outlook and acquiring the proletarian world outlook and played a significant role in the socialist revolution and construction. Working-class intellectuals are growing in number. The "gang of four" maligned the intellectuals as "the stinking ninth category." Instead of regarding them as a force to

be united with and relied upon by the working class, the gang set them up as targets for attack and as objects of the dictatorship of the proletariat, thus distorting the distinction between manual and mental labour under socialist conditions into a class antagonism. They undermined the revolutionary alliance between the workers, peasants and the numerous intellectuals and confused class alignments, thus dampening and stifling the enthusiasm of the intellectuals for socialism. We must make a clean sweep of the gang's pernicious influence and correctly and comprehensively carry out the Party's policy of uniting with, educating and remoulding the intellectuals. We must give due weight to their work, improve their working conditions, turn their specializations to account and commend their achievements. At the same time, we must warmly help and encourage them to make a real effort to remould their world outlook in the three great revolutionary movements, persevere in identifying themselves with the workers and peasants and advance along the red-and-expert road. We must continue to develop and expand the ranks of working-class intellectuals and cultivate large numbers of fine scientists, engineers, professors, teachers, doctors, writers, artists, journalists and Marxist theorists.

Millions of school graduates now in the countryside are actively participating in the three great revolutionary movements, tempering themselves and becoming more and more competent. Many more will be going to the countryside. We should take effective measures to solve problems concerning their study, livelihood and other practical matters, and bring them up as reinforcements in our undertaking to make China a modern, powerful socialist country.

"Let a hundred flowers blossom, let a hundred schools of thought contend" is the basic policy for making China's socialist science and culture flourish. Its essence is to adopt a policy of "opening wide" within the ranks of the people while adhering to the six political criteria so as constantly to expand the positions of Marxism in matters of ideology and to promote science and culture. Only by firmly carrying out Chairman Mao's policy of a hundred flowers and a hundred schools can people cultivate the ability to distinguish fragrant flowers

from poisonous weeds through comparison and struggle, and thus promote what is correct and overcome what is wrong. Only thus can different styles and trends in art and different viewpoints and schools of thought advance through discussion and mutual stimulation, and only thus can we turn out fine and competent people, register first-rate scientific achievements and produce fine literature and art. Of late, our academic circles have started a spirited discussion on a number of theoretical questions that had been bedevilled by the "gang of four." This is an auspicious sign and should be supported and encouraged. Where there is controversy in academic discussions and literary criticism, we should avoid hasty conclusions. We should seek solutions not through such over-simple measures as administrative orders but through full discussion and practical experience.

"We shouldn't demand perfection." This is a point of substance to bear in mind while implementing the policy of a hundred flowers and a hundred schools. To demand perfection, to require gold to be one hundred per cent pure and man to be flawless, is a manifestation of metaphysical thinking. The "gang of four" searched everywhere for false charges to level at people and stopped at nothing to throttle socialist science and culture. We must try hard to remove their pernicious influence, warmly support and care for new socialist things and foster their sturdy growth. As long as works of literature and art conform to the six political criteria and pass muster artistically, they should be allowed to appear. After publication or appearance they can be revised and improved in the light of comments and suggestions from the public.

To accelerate the development of socialist science and culture we must stick to the policy of "**making the past serve the present**" and "**making things foreign serve China**." We must conscientiously study the advanced science and technology of all countries and turn them to our account. We must be critical in assimilating things from our ancient culture and from the culture of foreign countries, taking the essence and discarding the dross and weeding through the old to bring forth the new, in order to promote a socialist culture which

is national in its traits and rich in the characteristics of the age.

The "gang of four" vehemently opposed Chairman Mao's policies of letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend and of making the past serve the present and things foreign serve China. It wildly pushed fascist cultural autocracy and a policy of prohibition. It put into cold storage all the highly rated films made before the Cultural Revolution and progressive films imported from abroad. It prohibited the performance of good historical plays and traditional operas. It banned large numbers of local operas, songs and dances of the nationalities, modern plays and excellent Chinese and foreign music. It stopped the publication of the finest literature, whether Chinese or foreign, disbanded the mass organizations devoted to scientific and cultural advancement and arbitrarily put books under lock and key. And so on and so forth. Cultural poverty and insipidity was the result of the gang's perversion and wrongdoing, and this aroused strong dissatisfaction among the people. We must deepen our criticism of the gang's cultural autocracy and policy of prohibitions and deal effectively with such problems as still require attention, in accordance with Chairman Mao's consistent teachings and the Party's policies.

The basic task on the ideological and cultural fronts is to promote what is proletarian and liquidate what is bourgeois. All reactionary theories, whether feudal, capitalist or revisionist, and all that is decadent in the cultural sphere, must be criticized and repudiated and must not be allowed to spread with impunity. Truth always exists by contrast with falsehood and grows in struggle with it, and so it is in

the case of fragrant flowers and poisonous weeds. In struggling with things non-Marxist and anti-Marxist, we should not adopt a policy of prohibiting people from coming into contact with the false, the ugly and the hostile, for "it is a dangerous policy" and "it will lead to mental deterioration, one-track minds, and unpreparedness to face the world and meet challenges." Our purpose in providing the people with selections of needed negative material is to fortify and immunize them. To correctly implement the policies of letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend and of making the past serve the present and things foreign serve China will definitely strengthen the leading role of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought in the spheres of science and culture. It will certainly not lead to bourgeois liberalization as the reactionaries at home and abroad fondly hope. If anything, it will bring about a flourishing socialist science and culture.

Our science, education and culture belong to the people and serve the workers, peasants and soldiers. If we popularize science and culture, if we raise the nation's scientific and cultural level and integrate popularization with higher standards, and if we forge links between specialists and laymen, we can certainly form a huge army of scientific and cultural workers and quicken the tempo of our advance. We are firm in our belief that the scientific prediction made by our great leader Chairman Mao on the solemn occasion of the birth of the People's Republic of China will come true: "The era in which the Chinese people were regarded as uncivilized is now ended. We shall emerge in the world as a nation with an advanced culture."

Consolidate Our Political Power and Strengthen The Great Unity of the People of All Nationalities

To make China a great modern, powerful socialist country, we must further strengthen the state apparatus of the dictatorship of the proletariat, give full play to popular democracy, enhance the great unity of the people of all na-

tionalities, develop the revolutionary united front and mobilize all positive factors.

The revolutionary committees at various levels are local government organs of the dictatorship of the proletariat. In the last few years

these committees were paralysed in many places because of interference and sabotage by the "gang of four," and there were even cases where power was usurped by them and their followers. We must re-elect these committees at the various levels and do a good job in building up our political power in strict accordance with the five requirements for successors in the revolutionary cause and with the principle of combining the old, the middle-aged and the young laid down by Chairman Mao. Prior to this session of the National People's Congress, all the provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions had at one time or another convened people's congresses at which outstanding people from the ranks of workers, peasants, revolutionary army-men, revolutionary cadres, and intellectuals, outstanding people who had made genuine, publicly acknowledged contributions, and representatives from all circles were elected to new revolutionary committees. This has had the warm support of the masses. People's congresses will be held in the cities directly under provincial authorities, in the autonomous prefectures and in the counties and communes throughout the country during the year to elect new revolutionary committees. As the organ of state power at the prefectural level is an agency of the provincial authorities, no revolutionary committee will be established at this level. With the exception of those factories, mines or other enterprises where government administration is integrated with management, factories, production brigades, schools and colleges, shops, Party and government organizations and other enterprises and establishments will no longer set up revolutionary committees inasmuch as they do not form a level of government. In lieu of revolutionary committees, a system of division of responsibilities should be adopted with factory directors, production brigade leaders, school principals, college presidents, and managers taking charge under the leadership of Party committees.

The revolutionary committees at the various levels should hold high the great banner of Chairman Mao, adhere to the basic principles of the "three do's and three don'ts" and foster the revolutionary spirit so that these organs of state power can play their role to the full. Cadres at all levels should apply themselves to

the study of works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and by Chairman Mao, gain the professional proficiency required by their jobs, and improve their art of leadership. They should carry forward the Party's fine traditions and style of work, throw themselves into the forefront of the three great revolutionary movements and persist in collective productive labour. They should be concerned about the livelihood of the masses, be ready to listen to their opinions, accept their supervision and be good servants of the people. Revolutionary committees at all levels must streamline their administrative structure, cut meetings to a minimum, improve working methods and raise efficiency. We must firmly oppose bureaucracy, commandism, formalism, extravagance and waste, cheating, jobbery, and privileges for the cadres and all other decadent bourgeois styles.

Under the unified leadership of the Party, revolutionary committees at all levels must attach importance to the role played by the trade unions, the Poor and Lower-Middle Peasants' Associations, the Youth League, Women's Federations and other popular organizations, and through them maintain close ties with the masses and do a good job in every field.

The Chinese People's Liberation Army founded personally by Chairman Mao is the staunch pillar of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Over the past 50 years, this army has performed meritorious services, defeating internal and external enemies, defending our socialist motherland and taking part in the socialist revolution and socialist construction. It deserves to be hailed as a heroic people's army. During the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, it again made significant contributions in the "three support's and two military's" [i.e., support industry, support agriculture, and support the broad masses of the Left; and military control and political and military training — Tr.] and in crushing the three bourgeois headquarters of Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and the "gang of four." The People's Liberation Army should continue to implement Chairman Mao's important instructions, "It is necessary to consolidate the army" and "Be ready to fight in a war." It must grasp the key link of class struggle and run its affairs well, promote its glorious traditions, strengthen its political work and its political and military training, run the military

academies well, step up preparations against war and deepen the mass movements for learning from the model soldier Lei Feng, the "Hard-Boned Sixth Company" and the First Air Force Division. We must work hard to raise to a new height the military and political quality of our army, its preparations against war and the degree of its revolutionization and modernization. We must uphold the system under which our armed forces are a combination of the field armies, the regional forces and the militia; we should continue to build up the militia organizationally, politically and militarily and give full scope to its role in the socialist revolution, socialist construction and the defence of the motherland.

Let the whole nation learn from the Liberation Army and the Liberation Army learn from the whole nation. In order to cement the ties of unity between the army and the people and between the army and the government, not only must the revolutionary committees at all levels seriously attend to the work of supporting the army and giving preferential treatment to the families of the armymen but the People's Liberation Army units must do likewise in supporting the government and cherishing the people. Moreover, they must make proper arrangements for retired, demobilized and disabled armymen and armymen transferred to civilian jobs. In particular, they must be warm in their concern for the political well-being of revolutionary armymen who have made contributions in the long years of revolutionary war and take effective measures to solve any difficulties in their livelihood.

The people's public security organs, the procuratorial organs and people's courts are important instruments of the dictatorship of the proletariat. They must be further consolidated and built up. In accordance with Chairman Mao's teaching on correctly distinguishing and handling the two types of contradictions which are different in nature, we must firmly implement the principles and policies set down by the Central Committee concerning the struggle against the enemy and deal sure, accurate and relentless blows to the handful of class enemies, with the emphasis on accuracy. We must enforce dictatorship over the reactionary classes and elements, and all those who resist socialist

transformation and oppose socialist construction. We must also exercise dictatorship over new bourgeois elements, thieves, swindlers, murderers, arsonists, criminal gangs, smash-and-grabbers and other scoundrels who seriously disrupt public order.

Dictatorship over the enemy and democracy among the people are the two inseparable aspects of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Only when we deal resolute blows to the enemy can we ensure that the people will really become masters of their own affairs. Only when we give full play to democracy among the people can we deal effective blows to the enemy and truly protect the people. Only when we give full scope to democracy can we correctly practise centralism, work out policies and methods consistent with Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and promptly spot and correct shortcomings and mistakes in our work. Only thus can we closely unite the people and fully mobilize everyone's revolutionary initiative. Chairman Mao pointed out, "Without broad democracy among the people, it is impossible for the dictatorship of the proletariat to be consolidated or for political power to be stable." "If unity is to prevail throughout the Party and the nation, we must give full play to democracy and let people speak up." We must follow Chairman Mao's teachings, listen modestly to the opinions of the masses and treat seriously the letters the people send in and the complaints they make when they call. We will never allow suppression of opinion, much less retaliation against those who make criticisms. Our Constitution lays down in clear terms the rights of the people. The organs of the state at various levels must take effective measures to ensure that the people enjoy and exercise these rights. Violations of these rights will be dealt with strictly and in serious cases will be punished according to law.

It is essential to strengthen the socialist legal system if we are to bring about great order across the land. Our laws protect the people's interests. Basing ourselves on the new Constitution which is to be discussed and adopted at this session, we should draw on our 28 years of experience with the dictatorship of the proletariat, give a ready ear to the opinions of the masses and gradually make and perfect our socialist laws. We should give wide publicity to

the significance of cultivating a sense of respect for socialist laws. Cadres should be law-abiding, as should the masses and indeed everyone. We should rely on the masses in enforcing public order and dealing firmly with crimes of different kinds.

China is a unitary state with more than 50 nationalities. Chairman Mao consistently stressed cementing the ties of unity among all nationalities and called on the people of all nationalities to make concerted efforts to build our great socialist motherland. We must thoroughly unmask and criticize the "gang of four" for their counter-revolutionary crime of undermining Chairman Mao's nationality policy and strengthen the unity of all nationalities. We must conduct re-education in this policy, with the emphasis on opposing great-nationality chauvinism while at the same time directing our attention to overcoming and preventing local-nationality chauvinism. All nationalities should respect, help and learn from one another. The policy of regional national autonomy must be conscientiously implemented and the right of the minority peoples to equality and autonomy must be guaranteed without fail. We must try very hard to train cadres from minority nationalities and promote the outstanding ones to leading positions. We must run the nationality institutes well and stress the use and development of the spoken and written languages of the minority nationalities. Comrades of the Han nationality who work in a minority nationality area must learn the area's language and respect its customs and ways. As to old and backward customs and habits, it is up to the people of the minority nationalities concerned to reform them step by step according to their own will. The handful of class enemies who try to sow discord among the nationalities and undermine national unity must be fully exposed and resolutely dealt with.

To give sincere and active help to the minority nationalities to develop their economy and culture is a major task in our nationality work, in building up our border regions and in consolidating our national defence. The minority nationalities should foster the revolutionary spirit of hard struggle and self-reliance, and the state should help them in a planned way with funds, materials and personnel to ensure "the

growth of agriculture, animal husbandry and industry from year to year, greater economic prosperity from year to year, and rising living standards of the people from year to year" in the minority areas.

In accordance with the provisions in the Constitution, we shall continue to implement the policy of freedom of religious belief, which embraces freedom to believe in religion, freedom not to believe, and freedom to propagate atheism. We must expose and strike at the class enemies who carry on counter-revolutionary activities in religious garb.

An important component of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line is the development of the revolutionary united front which is led by the working class and based on the worker-peasant alliance, and which unites the large numbers of intellectuals and other labouring people, patriotic democratic parties, patriotic personages, our compatriots in and from Taiwan, Hongkong and Macao, and our countrymen residing abroad. The revolutionary united front was one of the magic weapons by which we defeated the enemy in the period of the new-democratic revolution. In the period of socialist revolution, this revolutionary united front continues to be consolidated and expanded and is playing an important role. We must make further efforts to ensure the full implementation of Chairman Mao's principles and policies concerning the united front, uniting with all the forces that can be united and mobilizing all positive factors to serve the socialist cause. The Fifth National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference now simultaneously in session with the National People's Congress plays an important role in consolidating and developing the united front in our country.

In conformity with the six political criteria set forth by Chairman Mao, we will unite and co-operate with all those who accept the leadership of the Communist Party and love the socialist motherland, and bring their initiative into play. The government at all levels must earnestly give heed to their criticisms and suggestions and accept what is correct in order to improve our work. We must criticize and teach those whose words and deeds are at variance with the

six political criteria and, where necessary, even wage struggles against them. Our principle is: unity, struggle, unity through struggle. Towards the national bourgeoisie, our policy is to eliminate it as a class and reform its members so that they will gradually become working people supporting themselves by their own labour. Chairman Mao said: "The people and their government have no reason to reject anyone or deny him the opportunity of making a living and rendering service to the country, provided he is really willing to serve the people and provided he really helped and did a good turn when the people were faced with difficulties and keeps on doing good without giving up half-way." It is our hope that all who love the socialist motherland will continue to make progress in their study, work and ideological remoulding and do their share in building our great country.

Overseas Chinese who have returned from abroad have played a positive role in building the motherland. As before, we must seriously try to carry out the state's policies and pay attention to the political progress, work and well-being of all returned overseas Chinese and the relatives of overseas Chinese and give them proper preferential treatment, so as to bring their enthusiasm for socialism into fuller play. Our countrymen residing abroad and foreign nationals of Chinese descent who return to the homeland to visit their relatives and friends

should be provided with the necessary facilities. The concern and preferential treatment extended to the relatives of overseas Chinese will equally be extended to the relatives in China of foreign nationals of Chinese descent.

Taiwan is part of the sacred territory of China. The people in and from Taiwan are our kith and kin. The liberation of Taiwan and the unification of the motherland are the common aspirations of the whole Chinese people, our Taiwan compatriots included. We resolutely oppose anyone scheming to create what is called "two Chinas," "one China, one Taiwan," "one China, two governments" or an "independent Taiwan." We place our hopes on the people of Taiwan and resolutely support their patriotic struggle against imperialism and the Chiang clique. As for the military and administrative personnel of the Kuomintang in and from Taiwan, it has been our consistent policy that "all patriots belong to one big family," "whether they come over early or late." It is our hope that they will clearly see the general trend of events and take the road of patriotism and unification of the motherland. The Chinese People's Liberation Army must make all the preparations necessary for the liberation of Taiwan. We are determined to realize the behest of Chairman Mao and Premier Chou and, together with our Taiwan compatriots, accomplish the sacred task of liberating Taiwan and unifying the motherland.

The International Situation and China's Foreign Policy

The international situation has been developing in a direction favourable to the people of the world in the last three years. The factors for revolution are growing all the time. Countries want independence, nations want liberation and the people want revolution. This tide of history rolls on and no force on earth can hold it back. All the basic contradictions in the world are sharpening daily and the rivalry between the two hegemonist powers, the Soviet Union and the United States, and their contradictions with the people of all lands have be-

come particularly acute, constituting the central problem in international relations today. The people's struggle against them, and in particular against Soviet social-imperialism, is on a higher upsurge than ever, and the international anti-hegemonic united front with the third world as its main force is broadening. This is an outstanding feature of the fine international situation. More and more countries and people have come to see the aggressive features and paper-tiger essence of the superpowers clearly, waged tit-for-tat struggles against them and won vic-

tory after victory. The people of Kampuchea, Viet Nam and Laos defeated the U.S. aggressors after long years of war and bloodshed. Egypt, the Sudan and Somalia categorically abrogated their treaties with the Soviet Union and expelled the Soviet specialists from their countries. Zaire heroically routed the mercenary troops engaged in the invasion masterminded by the Soviet Union. The people of Africa will no longer tolerate the superpowers' riding roughshod over them, and have angrily shouted such slogans as "Hands off African affairs!" and "Russia, get out of Africa!" Faced with the superpowers' threats, the second world countries of Western Europe and other regions are making greater efforts towards unity against hegemonism. The unswerving struggles waged by the people of the world have struck crushing blows to the superpowers which, beset with difficulties at home and abroad and threatened by growing crises, find the going tougher than ever. The course of world events has further borne out the correctness of Chairman Mao's theory of the three worlds.

Unreconciled to their reverses, the two hegemonist powers are intensifying their contention for world domination and frantically pushing their policies of aggression and war. At the same time the factors for revolution are growing, so obviously are the factors for war. The danger of a world war is a growing menace to the people of the world. So long as social-imperialism and imperialism exist, war is inevitable. The contention between the two hegemonist powers reaches every corner of the globe, but the cockpit is Europe. They work overtime to preach "detente" and "disarmament," with no other purpose than to fool people and hide their arms expansion and war preparations. A latecomer among imperialist powers, the Soviet Union relies mainly on its military power to carry out expansion; yet it goes about flaunting banners of "socialism" and "support for revolution" to dupe people and sell its wares. It is the most dangerous source of a new world war. Since things differ from one country to another, the people of each country must determine their own fighting tasks in the light of its specific conditions. But so far as the overall world situation is concerned, there is a strategic task common to the people the

world over, and that is to consolidate and expand the international united front against hegemonism, oppose the policies of aggression and war pursued by the superpowers, and in particular by Soviet social-imperialism, and strive to put off the outbreak of a new world war. At present, some people in the West follow a policy of appeasement towards the Soviet Union with the fond hope of saving themselves at the expense of others. This can only whet the ambitions of the aggressors and hasten the outbreak of war. Our attitude towards a new world war is: "**First, we are against it; second, we are not afraid of it.**" We believe that the outbreak of war can be put off, but then the people of all countries must close ranks, sharpen their vigilance, prepare against all eventualities, oppose appeasement, resolutely struggle against the war machinations of the superpowers and foil their strategic dispositions. In this way, even if the superpowers gamble with war, the people of the world will not be caught in a vulnerable state of unpreparedness. We are revolutionary optimists. The future of the world is bright, though the struggle of the people of the world may be arduous and protracted and the road tortuous. Victory is sure to go to the people of the whole world.

The Chinese Government and people uphold proletarian internationalism and are determined to carry out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in foreign affairs. Following Chairman Mao's theory of the three worlds, we should strengthen our unity with the proletariat, oppressed people and oppressed nations of the world, with the socialist countries and with the third world countries, unite with all countries subjected to aggression, subversion, interference, control and bullying by the superpowers and form the broadest united front against superpower hegemonism. We are ready to establish and develop relations with all countries on the basis of the Five Principles of mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence. We support all the oppressed people and nations in their revolutionary struggles.

We have always maintained that all countries, whether big or small, are equal and that

the big should not bully the small, the strong not domineer over the weak, the rich not oppress the poor. We oppose the superpowers' interference in the internal affairs of other countries and their attempts to monopolize international affairs. No country should seek hegemony in any region or impose its will on others. Whether a country treats others on an equal footing or seeks hegemony is a major criterion by which to tell whether or not it follows the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence and whether it is a genuine or sham socialist country. A socialist country should set an example in treating others as equals. We firmly stand on the side of the people of the world and will never seek hegemony or strive to be a superpower, neither today nor in the future when we have become a modern, powerful socialist country. We shall always follow Chairman Mao's teaching that we should **get rid of great-nation chauvinism resolutely, thoroughly, wholly and completely.**

The people of the world support each other in their just struggles. We are only fulfilling our bounden internationalist duty when we render assistance to other countries. We will continue to apply the Eight Principles on providing aid to other countries as proclaimed by Premier Chou En-lai in 1964. We strictly respect the sovereignty of recipient countries and never attach any political strings, ask for any privileges or interfere in the internal affairs of these countries. In rendering assistance, we aim at helping the recipient countries to be self-reliant and not at making them dependent on the aid-giving country. As a developing country, China can provide only a limited amount of aid. Nevertheless, we will try our best to do this job well.

Before liberation quite a few people left China to make a living abroad. They have contributed their share to the progress of the economy and culture of host countries and have forged bonds of deep friendship with the people there. The policy of our government has been consistent; it supports and encourages the overseas Chinese voluntarily to take the citizenship of the countries in which they have made a new home, but it opposes any attempt to compel them to change their citizenship. All those who

have voluntarily acquired the citizenship of their country of domicile as well as those who are already citizens automatically forfeit their Chinese citizenship, but their ties of kinship with the Chinese people remain. As for those who decide to keep their Chinese citizenship, we expect them to abide by the law of the country in which they reside, respect the customs and ways of its people and live amicably with them. While it is the duty of the Chinese Government to protect their legitimate rights and interests, it is hoped that safeguards to this effect will be provided by the countries concerned. We would like to see Chinese nationals residing abroad serve as a bridge to foster the friendship between the Chinese people and the people of the countries concerned.

China is a socialist country. It belongs to the third world and has experience and tasks in common with the other third world countries. We resolutely support the developing countries and people of Asia, Africa, Latin America, Oceania and other regions in their struggles against imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism and in their struggles to win and preserve national independence, defend state sovereignty, develop the national economy, protect national resources and establish a new international economic order. We highly appraise the non-aligned movement, which plays a positive role in the struggles against imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism, and give it firm support.

We have consistently worked for greater unity with the other socialist countries and the development of relations of friendship, mutual assistance and co-operation with them on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. We steadfastly support them in their efforts to integrate the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete conditions in their own countries and to carry on their revolution and construction independently, and we steadfastly support them in their struggle to oppose foreign aggression and subversion and to safeguard their independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity. We hold that the socialist countries should likewise adhere strictly to the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence in their relations with one another. Should differences arise, they should seek a solution through friendly consultation. We pledge our firm support to the Korean people's

just struggle for the independent and peaceful reunification of their fatherland.

The Chinese people maintain traditional ties of friendship with the people of Southeast Asian countries. In the last few years China has established diplomatic relations with Malaysia, the Philippines and Thailand, and there has been a new growth in friendly contacts and economic and cultural interchange. It is our desire to restore or establish diplomatic relations with all the other countries in this region. We support the countries of Southeast Asia in their efforts to strengthen regional economic co-operation and bring about the neutralization of Southeast Asia.

The good neighbourly relations we have with Burma, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Nepal, Pakistan, Afghanistan and Iran are steadily getting better and better. We support the proposals put forward by the countries concerned to make the Indian Ocean a peace zone, South Asia a nuclear-free zone and Nepal a zone of peace. The Chinese people have always cherished feelings of friendship for the Indian people. The people of both countries wish to see an increase in friendly contacts and an improvement in their relations. There are questions pending between China and India; nevertheless, relations can be further improved provided serious efforts are made on both sides.

The Middle East question has long remained unsettled and the trouble is due to superpower support for Israeli aggression and superpower contention for hegemony in the region. The situation in the Middle East is still in a state of flux. We stand four-square behind the people of the Arab countries and the Palestinian people in their just struggle to recover lost territories and regain national rights. We are against Israeli aggression and against the contention between the Soviet Union and the United States in this part of the world. The Middle East question cannot be solved unless Israel withdraws from the occupied Arab territories and the national rights of the Palestinian people are restored. We are convinced that ultimate victory will go to the people of the Arab countries and the Palestinian people provided they set store by the general interests of their fight against the common enemy, uphold unity and persevere in struggle. China maintains good relations with most of

the Arab countries and hopes to establish and develop relations with the remaining ones.

In recent years, there has been great progress in the friendly and co-operative relations between China and the African countries. The people of Africa are waging a hard struggle to win the complete emancipation of the continent. We firmly support the people of Zimbabwe, Namibia and Azania in their just struggle against colonialism and racism and for national independence and liberation. In accordance with their strategic need to compete for global hegemony, the superpowers are stepping up their contention in Africa. We resolutely support the African countries in their struggle against aggression, subversion and intervention by the superpowers, and by Soviet social-imperialism in particular. Africa belongs to the people of Africa. The African people can settle their own problems by themselves so long as they strengthen unity and exclude outside interference.

In recent years there has been a gradual extension of the relations between China and Latin American countries. We are ready to establish and develop relations with more Latin American countries and enhance mutual understanding and friendship. We support the Latin American countries in their struggle to safeguard their independence and sovereignty, to defend their maritime rights, to promote regional economic co-operation and to establish a Latin American nuclear-free zone. We also support the people of Panama in their unrelenting struggle to recover the Panama Canal.

There have been satisfactory developments in the relations between China and the second world countries, with a steady increase in friendly contacts and economic and cultural interchange. We are ready to develop our relations with them in diverse fields. We support them in their struggle against threats, interference, subversion and control by the superpowers, and particularly by Soviet social-imperialism. We support the West European countries in their efforts to unite against hegemonism, and we hope to see a united and powerful Europe. We also hope to see closer contacts between the second and third world countries on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence.

China and Japan are close neighbours separated only by a strip of water, and the friendship between their two peoples goes back to ancient times. Since the normalization of relations, contacts and exchanges have been growing in many fields and a long-term trade agreement was recently signed. It is in the fundamental interests of the people of China and Japan to conclude at an early date a treaty of peace and friendship based on the joint statement of the two governments. We firmly support the Japanese people in their just struggle to recover their four northern islands. The people of China and Japan should live in friendship for countless generations.

China and the United States differ in social system and ideology, and there are fundamental differences between them. Yet the two countries have quite a few points in common on some issues in the present international situation. The Sino-U.S. Shanghai Communique issued in 1972 has brought a new turn in the relations between the two countries. These relations will continue to improve provided the principles laid down in the Communique are seriously carried out. At present, the attitude of the U.S. Government towards the question of Taiwan is the obstacle to the normalization of Sino-U.S. relations. The Chinese people are determined to liberate Taiwan. When and how is entirely China's internal affair, an internal affair which brooks no foreign interference whatsoever. If the relations between the two countries are to be normalized, the United States must sever its so-called diplomatic relations with the Chiang clique, withdraw all its armed forces and military installations from Taiwan and the Taiwan Straits area and abrogate its so-called "mutual defence treaty" with the Chiang clique. This is the unswerving stand of the Chinese Government. The people of China and the United States have always been friendly to each other. We are willing to increase contacts between the people of our two countries and promote mutual understanding and friendship.

China and the Soviet Union were once friendly neighbours. The people of the two countries forged a profound friendship in their long revolutionary struggles. The Sino-Soviet debates on matters of principle were provoked

by the Soviet leading clique through its betrayal of Marxism-Leninism. The fact that the relations between the two countries have sunk to such a low point today must be traced to the social-imperialist policy pursued by this clique. The debates on matters of principle must go on. At the same time, we have always held that such debates should not impede the maintenance of normal state relations on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. The Soviet leading clique has expressed its desire to improve Sino-Soviet state relations in words, but in actuality it stubbornly clings to its policy of hostility towards China. It has gone to the length of arrogantly demanding that we change Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. This is nothing but a pipe dream. If the Soviet leading clique really desires to improve the state relations between the two countries, it should prove its sincerity by deeds. First of all, in accordance with the understanding reached between the Premiers of the two countries in 1969, it should sign an agreement on maintaining the status quo on the borders, averting armed clashes and disengaging the armed forces of both sides in the disputed border areas, and then enter into negotiations on resolving the boundary question. It should also withdraw its armed forces from the People's Republic of Mongolia and the Sino-Soviet borders, so that the situation there will revert to what it was in the early 1960s. How Sino-Soviet relations will develop is entirely up to the Soviet side.

Chairman Mao taught us: "Dig tunnels deep, store grain everywhere, and never seek hegemony," and "Be prepared against war, be prepared against natural disasters, and do everything for the people." We must maintain a high level of vigilance and be prepared against a war of aggression launched by the superpowers. We will not attack unless we are attacked; if we are attacked, we will certainly counterattack. The heroic People's Liberation Army and the millions of militia, together with the people of the whole country, must go all out to strengthen preparedness against war and be ready at all times to wipe out any enemy that dares to invade us.

Fellow Deputies!

Reviewing the past and looking forward into the future, we are fortified by our boundless

confidence that we will win new and still greater victories in our socialist revolution and socialist construction.

The socialist modernization of our agriculture, industry, national defence and science and technology is a great and unprecedented undertaking and a profound revolution, too. There will be momentous changes in town and country, in the productive forces and the relations of production, in the economic base and the superstructure, and in the political, economic, military, cultural and other spheres. In this great struggle, many new situations and new things will emerge and challenge our understanding, and many new contradictions and new problems will arise and challenge us to resolve them. Our thinking and our style and methods of work must be improved and raised to a new level. We must study hard and well, try to grasp new things as they come along, and tackle new problems as they crop up. In this way we shall be able to adapt ourselves to the new situation and tasks.

Our tasks are glorious as well as arduous. Our future is bright. We must free ourselves from superstitions, emancipate our minds, be dauntless and revolutionary in the task of "transforming China in the spirit of the Foolish Old Man who removed the mountains," be firm and unyielding, and work hard to reach our great goal through indomitable struggle.

The great banner of Chairman Mao is the invincible banner of unity in struggle and of continued revolution for the people of all nationalities in our country. For over half a century, this glorious banner has guided us out of darkness to a world of light, taken us past innumerable hidden reefs and enabled us to overcome countless difficulties and win triumph after triumph. On our road of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, the banner of Chairman Mao will guide us in continuing to vanquish all internal and external class enemies, surmount all kinds of difficulties and hardships, achieve miracles and make a greater contribution to humanity.

Chairman Mao's behest that we should make China a modern, powerful socialist country must be fulfilled. It can certainly be fulfilled. This is the inexorable trend of history and no reactionary forces can hold it back.

Let us rally still more closely round the Central Committee of the Party, hold aloft the great banner of Chairman Mao and march forward in giant strides!

Long live the great unity of the people of all nationalities in our country!

Long live the great People's Republic of China!

Long live the great, glorious and correct Communist Party of China!

Long Live invincible Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought!

NOTES

1. This refers to the slander levelled by the "gang of four" that in the 17 years following liberation the bourgeoisie exercised dictatorship over the proletariat and Chairman Mao's revolutionary line was virtually not implemented on the scientific, educational and cultural fronts, and that the great majority of the intellectuals in our country, including the students trained during these 17 years, are bourgeois intellectuals.

2. The "ten needs and need nots" are: need we or needn't we adhere to the Party's basic line; need we or needn't we have Party leadership; need we or needn't we rely wholeheartedly on the working class; need we or needn't we do well in production; need we or needn't we have rules and regulations; need we or needn't we have socialist accumulation; need we or needn't we apply the principle "from each according to his ability, to each according to his work"; need we or needn't we train the proletariat's own experts; need we or needn't we import new technology; and need we or needn't we stick to planned economy.

3. The "ten shoulds and should nots" are: should we or shouldn't we uphold the absolute leadership of the Party over the army; should we or shouldn't we uphold proletarian Party spirit and oppose bourgeois factionalism; should we or shouldn't we carry on and develop the fine traditions of our Party and our army; should we or shouldn't we consolidate the army; should we or shouldn't we strictly observe revolutionary discipline and abide by rules and regulations; should we or shouldn't we form leading bodies that combine the old, the middle-aged and the young in accordance with the five requirements for revolutionary successors; should we or shouldn't we stress stability in the army; should we or shouldn't we carry out rigorous training and set strict demands; should we or shouldn't we adhere to a system under which our armed forces are a combination of the field armies, the regional forces and the militia; and should we or shouldn't we be prepared for war.

4. This refers to equalitarianism and arbitrary requisition of labour power, funds and materials, etc.

Proclamations of National People's Congress

THE Presidium of the First Session of the Fifth National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China issued the following six proclamations in Peking on March 5, 1978.

* * *

It is hereby proclaimed that the First Session of the Fifth National People's Congress elected on March 5, 1978 the Chairman, Vice-Chairmen, the Secretary-General and other Members of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress:

Chairman: Yeh Chien-ying.

Vice-Chairmen: Soong Ching Ling (f.), Nieh Jung-chen, Liu Po-cheng, Ulanfu, Wu Teh, Wei Kuo-ching, Chen Yun, Kuo Mo-jo, Tan Chen-lin, Li Ching-chuan, Chang Ting-cheng, Tsai Chang (f.), Teng Ying-chao (f.), Saifudin, Liao Cheng-chih, Chi Peng-fei, Ngapo Ngawang-Jigme, Chou Chien-jen, Hsu Teh-heng and Hu Chueh-wen.

Secretary-General: Chi Peng-fei (Concurrently).

Members: (175 Members. Their names are listed in the order of the number of strokes in their surnames.)

Tsaidan Choma (f.), Ma Chun-ku, Ma Heng-chang, Ma Hao-chien, Wang Yu-kuei, Wang Ping, Wang Yung-hsing, Wang Yeh-chiu, Wang Kun-lun, Wang Chien-an, Wang Kan-chang, Wang Yao-hua (f.), Ou Tang-liang (f.), Pei Shih-chang, Mao Ti-chiu, Fang Chih-chun, Pa Yi-kai, Pa Chin, Pasang (f.), Teng Chu-min, Teng Tien-tao, Kan Tsu-chang, Shih Chung-chin (f.), Lu Sheng-ho, Yeh Sheng-tao, Shih Lai-ho, Shih Liang (f.), Pai Shou-yi, Chi Chang-shan, Pak Chun Za (f.), Pi Ken (f.), Lu Yuan (f.), Lu Shu-hsiang, Lu Chi, Chu Liang-tsai, Chu Hsueh-fan, Chu Yun-shan, Jen Hsin-min, Hua Lo-keng, Hsiang La-yu (f.), Chuang Hsi-chuan, Liu Ta-nien, Liu Fei, Chi Tzu-sheng, Chiang Li-yin, Hsu Chieh, Hsu Ti-hsin, Namula, Yen Chi-tzu, Keyum Matniyaz, Su Pu-ching, Li Feng-lan (f.), Li Chen (f.), Li Yen-lu, Li Chang, Li Jui-huan, Li Fu-chung, Li Chu-kuei, Yang Tung-chun,

Yang Hsiu-feng, Yang Shang-kuei, Yang Mo (f.), Yang Yung, Hsiao Ching-kuang, Wu Hsien-feng, Wu Leng-hsi, Wu Cheng-ching, Wu Yao-tsung, Wang Yueh-hsia (f.), Sha Chien-li, Shen Hung, Chang Wan-fu, Chang Feng-yun (f.), Chang Wen-yu, Chang Cheng-tao, Chang Ping-hua, Chang Chi-lung, Chang Kuo-ching (f.), Chang Ping-kuei, Chang Chin-pang, Chang Kuei-chen (f.), Chang Ai-ping, Chang Fu-tsai, Chen Yu-niang (f.), Chen Yung-hsiang, Chen Tsai-tao, Chen Tzu-sheng, Chen Hsiao-shun, Chen Yi-sung, Shao Jung-pin, Wu Yu-pu, Wu Hsin-yu, Fan Chung-chih, Mao Yi-sheng, Lin Yi-shan, Lin Chiao-chih (f.), Lin Li-yun (f.), Lin Yi-ping, Lin Tieh, Ouyang Chin, Lo Ching-chang, Lo Shu-chang (f.), Lo Jui-ching, Chi Fang, Yueh Mei-chung, Chou Shih-ti, Chou Chan-ao, Chou Li, Chou Shu-tao, Chou Pei-yuan, Shan Huai-hsiang, Paojihletai (f.), Meng Chi-mao, Chao Chung-yao, Hao Teh-ching, Jung Yi-jen, Hu Tzu-ang, Hu Chiao-mu, Hu Sheng, Hu Yu-chih, Hu Yao-pang, Kuei Pi, Yu Ai-feng (f.), Hung Hsueh-chih, Yao Shih-chang, Yao Mao-chi, Yuan Jen-yuan, Yuan Hsueh-fen (f.), Chin Kuei-hsiang (f.), Hsia Chu-hua (f.), Ku Kang-lo, Chien Hsin-chung, Temur Dawamad, Ni Ku-yin (f.), Kao Ke-lin, Kuo Hua-jo, Kuo Feng-lien (f.), Kuo Shu-shen, Kuo Ying-fu, Tang Tien-chi, Hai Yu-chen, Tao Chih-yueh, Huang Tso-chin, Huang Ping-wei, Huang Jung-chang, Huang Chu-hsiang (f.), Tsao Yi-ou (f.), Tsao Yu, Tsao Chu-ju, Sheng Wan (f.), Kang Ke-ching (f.), Chang Jui-ying (f.), Yen Teh-yi, Liang Pi-yeah, Liang Chi-chuan, Peng Ming-chih, Tung Tien-chen, Tung Chi-wu, Chiang Nan-hsiang, Su Yu, Cheng Shih-tsai, Fu Chung, Fu Chiu-tao, Tung Ti-chou, Tseng Sheng, Tseng Chih (f.), Hsieh Tieh-li, Jui Pan, Chu Tu-nan, Chan Tsai-fang, Yi Shih-chuan (f.), Pei Chang-hui, Tan Yu-pao, Tan Cheng and Fan Teh-ling.

* * *

On the proposal of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, the First Ses-

sion of the Fifth National People's Congress decided on March 5, 1978, on the appointment of Hua Kuo-feng as Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China.

* * *

The First Session of the Fifth National People's Congress elected on March 5, 1978, Chiang Hua President of the Supreme People's Court and Huang Huo-ching Chief Procurator of the Supreme People's Procuratorate.

* * *

On the proposal of Premier Hua Kuo-feng of the State Council, the First Session of the Fifth National People's Congress decided on March 5, 1978, on other component members of the State Council.

Vice-Premiers:

Teng Hsiao-ping

Li Hsien-nien

Hsu Hsiang-chien

Chi Teng-kuei

Yu Chiu-li

Chen Hsi-lien

Keng Piao

Chen Yung-kuei

Fang Yi

Wang Chen

Ku Mu

Kang Shih-en

Chen Mu-hua

Minister of Foreign Affairs: Huang Hua,

Minister of National Defence: Hsu Hsiang-chien,

Minister in Charge of the State Planning Commission: Yu Chiu-li,

Minister in Charge of the State Economic Commission: Kang Shih-en,

Minister in Charge of the State Capital Construction Commission: Ku Mu,

Minister in Charge of the State Scientific and Technological Commission: Fang Yi,

Minister in Charge of the State Nationalities Affairs Commission: Yang Ching-jen,

Minister of Public Security: Chao Tsang-pi,

Minister of Civil Affairs: Cheng Tzu-hua,

Minister of Foreign Trade: Li Chiang,

Minister of Economic Relations With Foreign Countries: Chen Mu-hua,

Minister of Agriculture and Forestry: Yang Li-kung,

Minister of Metallurgical Industry: Tang Ke,
Minister of the First Ministry of Machine-

Building: Chou Tzu-chien,

Minister of the Second Ministry of Machine-
Building: Liu Wei,

Minister of the Third Ministry of Machine-
Building: Lu Tung,

Minister of the Fourth Ministry of Machine-
Building: Wang Cheng,

Minister of the Fifth Ministry of Machine-
Building: Chang Chen,

Minister of the Sixth Ministry of Machine-
Building: Chai Shu-fan,

Minister of the Seventh Ministry of Machine-
Building: Sung Jen-chiung,

Minister of Coal Industry: Hsiao Han,

Minister of Petroleum Industry: Sung Chen-
ming,

Minister of Chemical Industry: Sun Ching-wen,
Minister of Water Conservancy and Power:

Chien Cheng-ying,

Minister of Textile Industry: Chien Chih-kuang,

Minister of Light Industry: Liang Ling-kuang,

Minister of Railways: Tuan Chun-yi,

Minister of Communications: Yeh Fei,
Minister of Posts and Telecommunications:

Chung Fu-hsiang,

Minister of Finance: Chang Ching-fu,

President of the People's Bank of China: Li
Pao-hua,

Minister of Commerce: Wang Lei,

Director of the All-China Federation of Supply
and Marketing Co-operatives: Chen Kuo-
tung,

Minister of Culture: Huang Chen,

Minister of Education: Liu Hsi-yao,

Minister of Public Health: Chiang Yi-chen, and

Minister in Charge of the State Physical Cul-
ture and Sports Commission: Wang Meng.

* * *

On the proposal of Premier Hua Kuo-feng of the State Council, the First Session of the Fifth National People's Congress decided on March 5, 1978, on appointing Kuo Mo-jo as President of the Chinese Academy of Sciences and Hu Chiao-mu as President of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences.

* * *

It is hereby proclaimed that on March 5, 1978, the First Session of the Fifth National People's Congress adopted the national anthem of the People's Republic of China.

中华人民共和国国歌

National Anthem of The People's Republic of China

聂耳曲

Music by Nie Erh

进行曲速度
Tempo di marcia

集体填词
Words written collectively

1=G 2/4 (1 3 5 5 | 6 5 | 3 1 5 5 5 | 3 1 | 5 5 5 5 5 | 1) 0 5 |

前
March

1. 1 1 5 6 7 | 1 1 | 0 3 1 2 3 | 5 5 5 |
进! 各 民族 英雄 的 人 民, 伟 大 的 共 产 党
on, brave peo-ple of our na - tion, Our Com-mu-nist Par - ty

3 3 1 3 | 5 3 2 | 2 - | 6 5 | 2 3 |
领 导 我 们 继 续 长 征。 万 众 一 心
leads us on our new Long March. Mil - lions as one,

5 3 0 5 | 3 2 3 1 | 8 0 | 5 6 1 1 | 3 3 5 5 |
奔 向 共 产 主 义 明 天, 适 设 祖 国 保 卫 祖 国
we march, march on to the Communist goal. Build our coun-try, guard our coun-try,

2 2 2 6 | 2. 5 | 1. 1 | 3. 3 | 5 |
英 勇 地 斗 争。 前 进! 前 进! 前 进!
We will work and fight. March on, march on, march on!

1 3 5 5 | 6 5 | 3 1 5 5 5 | 3 0 1 0 | 5 1 |
我 们 千 秋 万 代 高 举 毛 泽 东 旗 帜 前 进!
For e-ver and e - ver, rais - ing Mao Tsetung's ban - ner, march on!

3 1 5 5 | 3 0 1 0 | 5 1 | 5 1 | 5 1 | 5 0 ||
高 举 毛 泽 东 旗 帜 前 进! 前 进! 前 进! 前 进!

Rais-ing Mao Tsetung's ban-ner, march on, march on, march on and on!

Transform China in Spirit of Foolish Old Man Who Removed Mountains

— Editorial by "Renmin Ribao," "Hongqi" and "Jiefangjun Bao" hailing the closing of the First Session of the Fifth N.P.C.

THE First Session of the Fifth National People's Congress, which has drawn the attention of the world, has come to a triumphant close. It was held in an invigorating atmosphere which greatly inspires our people. It was truly a conference of unity and victory. It will go down for all time in the annals of the Chinese revolution as a great milestone.

The mobilization of the people of all nationalities of China to unite and strive to build a powerful and modern socialist country — this was the main topic of the session. In his Report on the Work of the Government, Premier Hua Kuo-feng, holding high the great banner of Chairman Mao, comprehensively and systematically set out the tasks, principles, policies and measures for building a powerful and modern socialist country. The report explicitly points out: "The general task facing our peo-

ple in the new period of development in socialist revolution and socialist construction is firmly to carry out the line of the 11th Party Congress, steadfastly continue the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, deepen the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment, and transform China into a great and powerful socialist country with modern agriculture, industry, national defence and science and technology by the end of the century." This general task is laid down in legal form in the new Constitution. The Outline of the Ten-Year Plan for the Development of the National Economy lays out a splendid picture of construction for us. A group of long-tested proletarian revolutionaries headed by Chairman Hua has assumed the responsibility for leading the state. This is the reliable organizational guarantee for building a powerful socialist



Poster by Wang Tsun-yi and Kao Shao-fei

country. The plan has now been ratified, the order issued and an all-round new Long March has started towards the great goal of a powerful and modern socialist country!

The first thing on our agenda after the conclusion of this congress is to bring home to every person and every household the general task in the new period through extensive publicity, study and arousing of the masses. Chairman Mao sharply pointed out: **"In the 105 years from the 1840s to the middle of the 1940s, almost all the imperialist countries of the world, whether large, medium or small, committed aggression against our country and waged war against us. Except for the last war, namely, the War of Resistance Against Japan, which resulted in the surrender of Japanese imperialism owing to internal and external causes, all these wars ended in our defeat and the signing of treaties with humiliating terms. That was due to two factors, first, a corrupt social system and, second, a backward economy and technology. Now our social system has changed and a basic solution has occurred as far as the first factor is concerned. But the solution is still incomplete, because class struggle still exists. There is some change too in regard to the second factor, but it will require several more decades to bring about a complete change. If in the decades to come we don't completely change the situation in which our economy and technology lag far behind those of the imperialist countries, it will be impossible for us to avoid being pushed around again."** "In planning our work we should start from the possibility of being attacked and do our utmost to change the backward state of our economy and technology in not too long a period of time, otherwise we will make mistakes." We must help the people understand that carrying out the four socialist modernizations is not only a tremendous task in the economic field, but primarily one of extreme urgency in the political field. It involves whether our economy and national defence are strong enough to deal with possible aggression by social-imperialism and imperialism. It involves whether we can continuously consolidate the worker-peasant alliance and constantly raise the level of the material and cultural life of the people, gradually eliminate the distinctions between town and country, between industry and agriculture and between physical and

The Foolish Old Man Who Removed The Mountains

"The Foolish Old Man Who Removed the Mountains" is an ancient Chinese fable. It tells of an old man who lived in northern China long, long ago and was known as the Foolish Old Man of North Mountain. Beyond his doorway stood two great peaks obstructing the way. He called his sons, and hoe in hand they began to dig up these mountains with great determination. Another grey-beard, known as the Wise Old Man, saw them and said derisively that they were silly to do it. Refuting him, the Foolish Old Man said: "When I die, my sons will carry on; when they die, there will be my grandsons, and then their sons and grandsons, and so on to infinity. Why can't we clear them away?" He went on digging every day, unshaken in his conviction. God was moved by this, and he sent down two angels, who carried the mountains away on their backs.

This was told by Chairman Mao in his concluding speech at the Seventh National Congress of the Communist Party of China in 1945. He called on all delegates in the spirit of the Foolish Old Man who removed the mountains to dig up the mountains of reactionary rule which lay like a dead weight on the Chinese people. Chairman Mao said: We, too, will touch God's heart. Our God is the masses of the Chinese people.

Since then, the Foolish Old Man Who Removed the Mountains has become an encouragement to the Chinese people to persevere in struggle and overcome their difficulties.

mental labour, fully consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and prevent the restoration of capitalism. This is a major question involving the vital interests of this generation and generations to come. The masses must be informed of the principles and policies, steps and measures to carry out the general task, and the concrete tasks for each locality and each organization. When the masses know the truth and their own interest, the clear goals ahead and the measures to achieve them, they will concert their efforts and resolutely pool their wisdom, talents and strength for victory.

The key link of class struggle must be firmly grasped from beginning to end to accomplish

the general task. Premier Hua pointed out in his Report on the Work of the Government: "The primary task for the people of our country at present and for some time to come is still to expose and criticize the 'gang of four' and carry this great struggle through to the end." The gang, which damaged the country and brought calamity to the people, were ferocious enemies of the four modernizations. Inheriting Lin Piao's mantle, the gang whipped up an ultra-"Leftist" tendency and anarchism, stirred up armed conflicts and sabotaged production and construction by striking, smashing and looting and by bringing work to a standstill. Like Lin Piao, they distorted and tampered with Chairman Mao's theory on continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, and forbade mentioning revolution in production and technology. They used charges of the "theory of the unique importance of the productive forces" as a big stick with which they wildly attacked the development of production, and even asserted that "the day the four modernizations are realized will be the day capitalism has been restored." We must carry out successfully the third campaign in the struggle to expose and criticize the "gang of four," study works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and Chairman Mao's works diligently so as to master our ideological weapon, and continue deepening the criticism of the gang's counter-revolutionary revisionist line. The gang pushed an ultra-Rightist line, a line that went to the extreme Right; but the line had various manifestations: at times it was ultra-Rightist while on other occasions it was ultra-"Leftist." The "gang of four" were very deceptive when they posed as ultra-"Leftist." Particular efforts should therefore be made to expose and criticize their counter-revolutionary ultra-"Leftist" tactics. We can increase our ability to distinguish between true and sham Marxism, emancipate our minds and take big strides on the road of the new Long March only when we strip away the gang's "Leftist" cloak, uncover their ultra-Rightist essence and clarify right and wrong with regard to theory and line. The fundamental reason for the initial success in a year of the strategic decision made by the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua for grasping the key link of class struggle and bringing about great order across the land lies

in our successful battle to expose and criticize the "gang of four." In the new Long March, we must carry the struggle to expose and criticize the gang through to the end and achieve complete success.

This struggle calls for a well-guided, step-by-step campaign of "two blows," dealing blows at disruptive activities by the class enemy and at wanton attacks by capitalist forces. Our blows should be directed particularly at those newborn bourgeois elements who impair socialist construction and seriously disrupt the socialist public ownership. The new Constitution stipulates punishment for newborn bourgeois elements. In this category are many embezzlers, thieves, speculators, swindlers, murderers, arsonists, hooligans and smash-and-grabbers who committed serious crimes, and other scoundrels who seriously violated the law and socialist order. They form an important part of the social basis of the "gang of four" and are the most ferocious urban and rural capitalist forces. Only when dictatorship of the proletariat is imposed on them can we guarantee that the general task will be accomplished smoothly.

It is a great undertaking and a very arduous task to build up a country, which accounts for one-fifth of the world's population but is relatively backward economically and culturally, into a powerful socialist country and achieve the four modernizations comprehensively within a period of less than one quarter of a century. Our most reliable base is the masses of the people. Provided they are fully aroused, any wonder can be performed. The mass line is our Party's basic line. Our people are a very fine people. They have boundless faith in our Party, and great enthusiasm for building a powerful and modern socialist country. Provided we have faith in the masses, rely on them, respect their initiative, listen carefully to their opinions and pay heed to their well-being, their enthusiasm and creativeness can be brought into full play. This means we should fully apply socialist democracy. The people have the right to administer their country, enterprises and culture and education. It is imperative earnestly to carry out, starting from the grass-roots level, democratic management in which the masses take part, and at the same time to strengthen unification and centralization. It is also imperative to combat

anarchism, bourgeois factionalism and any act to undermine discipline.

Chairman Mao said: "The transformation and construction of China depend on us for leadership. When we have rectified our way of thinking and style of work, we shall enjoy greater initiative in our work, become more capable and do a better job." We must particularly keep to and develop the style of work of seeking truth from facts to carry out the four modernizations. Seeking truth from facts is the scientific attitude that Communists must adopt towards all work. We must advocate honesty in thinking, speech and action and oppose the use of empty words, bragging and lying. We must rouse the real and not sham drive of the people. At present, the socialist enthusiasm of the people is unprecedentedly high and we must treasure this enthusiasm and absolutely should not abuse it or dampen it down. We must combine a revolutionary spirit with a scientific attitude, do things with vigour and vitality but in a down-to-earth way. Only so can the enthusiasm of the masses be sustained and shown effectively, leaving its mark on every step taken in our triumphant march towards our lofty goal.

World history provides many examples of an economically backward country catching up with an economically developed country. Ours is a socialist country under the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is even more possible for us to catch up with the developed capitalist countries in a relatively short period. In fact, our economy and science and technology were once advancing at a quite high speed. But interference and sabotage by Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and particularly the "gang of four" caused setbacks in the development of our economic construction. The smashing of the "gang of four" has made it possible to carry out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line smoothly now. In addition, China has an enormous population, a large territory, rich natural resources, the material foundation built in the past two decades and more and both positive and negative experience. In particular, we have our wise leader Chairman Hua and the strong leadership of the Party Central Committee headed by him that has forged the closest unity, accumulated rich experience in struggle and maintains close ties with the masses. We

have all the conditions for building China into a great and powerful socialist country.

At this encouraging and important historic juncture, we are reviewing the speech that Chairman Mao delivered at the closing session of the Seventh National Congress of the Communist Party of China. The great plan made at that congress was to remove the three big mountains which had weighed on the backs of the Chinese people—imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism. Chairman Mao said: "Our aim in propagating the line of the congress is to build up the confidence of the whole Party and the entire people in the certain triumph of the revolution." Faced with the great revolutionary task of building China into a powerful and modern socialist country, we must now also build up the confidence of the entire people in the certain triumph of the revolution.

In his Report on the Work of the Government, Premier Hua Kuo-feng pointed out: "We must free ourselves from superstitions, emancipate our mind, be dauntless and revolutionary in the task of 'transforming China in the spirit of the Foolish Old Man who removed the mountains,' be firm and unyielding, and work hard to reach our great goal through indomitable struggle." Workers, peasants, fighters, revolutionary cadres, revolutionary intellectuals and all patriots! Let us respond to the call of the Fifth National People's Congress, rally more closely round the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China headed by Chairman Hua, hold high the great banner of Chairman Mao, firmly adhere to the line of the 11th National Party Congress, work energetically to carry out all the fighting tasks for politics, the economy, culture, military and foreign affairs put forward in the Report on the Work of the Government and strive to reach the goal of marked success within three years of grasping the key link of class struggle and bringing about great order across the land, fulfil the Outline of the Ten-Year Plan for the Development of the National Economy and accomplish the behests of Chairman Mao and Premier Chou to build China into a great, powerful and modern socialist country by the end of the century and make a greater contribution to humanity!

(March 6)

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