

# PEKING REVIEW

17

April 22, 1977

## Volume V of "Selected Works of Mao Tsetung" Published

- C.P.C. Central Committee's Decision on Studying Volume V of "Selected Works of Mao Tsetung"
- Publication Note to Volume V of "Selected Works of Mao Tsetung"
- Introducing Volume V of "Selected Works of Mao Tsetung"

**Chairman Hua Congratulates President  
Kim Il Sung on His 65th Birthday**

**Chairman Hua Meets New Zealand  
Parliamentary Delegation**

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# PEKING REVIEW

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## Volume V of "Selected Works of Mao Tsetung" Published and Distributed

**V**OLUME V of the *Selected Works of Mao Tsetung* — an immortal Marxist-Leninist document — has just come off the press and distribution began April 15 simultaneously in the provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions of China.

Volume V of the *Selected Works of Mao Tsetung* was compiled and published by the Committee for Editing and Publishing Chairman Mao Tsetung's Works Under the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, with Chairman Hua Kuo-feng as chairman, Vice-Chairman Yeh Chien-ying as vice-chairman, and all Members and Alternate Members of the Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee as members.

This volume is a compilation of important writings of the great leader and teacher Chairman Mao Tsetung from September 1949 to 1957. It is a record of the victories and a scientific summation of the struggle waged by our Party, our army and our people under Chairman Mao's leadership against the landlord class, the bourgeoisie, the anti-Party alliance of Kao Kang and Jao Shu-shih and Liu Shao-chi's revisionist line internally, and against U.S. imperialism and Khrushchov revisionism externally in the first eight years

after the founding of the People's Republic of China. In the new historical period of socialist revolution and socialist construction, Chairman Mao systematically summed up the historical experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat in China and other countries and applied the fundamental viewpoint of materialist dialectics, that is, the unity of opposites, to the analysis of the contradictions, classes and class struggle in socialist society, thus revealing the law governing the development of socialist society and creating the great theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. In this volume, Chairman Mao pointed out to the Chinese people the fundamental road to consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, preventing a restoration of capitalism and building socialism, and greatly enriched the treasure house of Marxist-Leninist theory in the fields of philosophy, political economy and scientific socialism. The volume comprises 70 articles, 46 of which were not published before.

Publication of Volume V of the *Selected Works of Mao Tsetung* is a major event in the political life of the Chinese people as well as in the annals of the development of Marxism. It is of great immediate import-

ance and far-reaching historic significance for unifying the thinking and action of the whole Party, the whole army and the people of all nationalities throughout China, realizing Chairman Hua's strategic policy decision on grasping the key link in running the country well, deepening the exposure and criticism of the "gang of four," strengthening the ideological and theoretical building of our Party, developing the socialist revolution and socialist construction and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat in China, as well as for the international communist movement and the liberation of the oppressed people and oppressed nations throughout the world.

Publication of Volume V of the *Selected Works of Mao Tsetung* is a fruitful result of the victory won by the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua in smashing the anti-Party "gang of four," as well as a victory of Marxism over revisionism. Proceeding from their counter-revolutionary motive to usurp supreme leadership of the Party and state, the anti-Party "gang of four" frenziedly opposed the great leader and teacher Chairman Mao and Mao Tsetung Thought. They resorted to vile means and tried

by hook or by crook to obstruct and sabotage the editing and publication of Volume V of the *Selected Works of Mao Tsetung*. They attempted to usurp the leadership over the editing and publication of the *Selected Works of Mao Tsetung*. After smashing the "gang of four" at one blow last October, the Party Central Committee headed by Comrade Hua Kuo-feng, holding high the great banner of Chairman Mao, immediately passed the decision on publishing the *Selected Works of Mao Tsetung* and preparing for publication of the *Collected Works of Mao Tsetung*. It strengthened its leadership over

the editing and publication of Volume V of the *Selected Works of Mao Tsetung*. Out of their boundless esteem and love for Chairman Mao and deep-seated hatred for the "gang of four," the Party committees at all levels and the cadres and workers in the publishing, printing, distribution and other departments concerned did their utmost to get this volume out at an early date. Printing workers worked round the clock to fulfil their task ahead of schedule and they maintained high quality. Workers in distribution departments delivered the volume to all parts of the country in record time so as to

ensure the broad masses of cadres and people getting this volume of brilliant works in good time.

Volume V of the *Selected Works of Mao Tsetung* comes in three different editions—popular, paper-back and de luxe.

Volume V is being printed in over 200 million copies in different parts of the country. The first 15 million copies are being distributed.

### Minority and Foreign Language Editions Soon Available

Active preparations are in progress for printing the volume



Volume V of the *Selected Works of Mao Tsetung*.

in the Mongolian, Tibetan, Uighur, Kazakh and Korean languages of China's minority peoples. The English, French, Russian, Japanese and Spanish translations are also actively under way. All will soon be available. The volume has been prepared in braille for the blind.

Publication of Volume V of the *Selected Works of Mao Tsetung* is bound to bring about a new upsurge in China's mass movement in studying works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, and by Chairman Mao. It is bound to inspire the whole Party, the whole army and the

people of all nationalities throughout China to rally more closely round the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua, hold still higher the great banner of Chairman Mao and win new and greater victories in continuing the revolution along the path of Mao Tsetung Thought.

## Chairman Hua's Message to President Kim Il Sung

— Warm congratulations on his 65th birthday

COMRADE Hua Kuo-feng, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China, on April 14 sent a message to Comrade Kim Il Sung, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea and President of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, congratulating him on his 65th birthday.

The message says:

"On the occasion of your 65th birthday, I, on behalf of the Communist Party of China, the Chinese Government, the Chinese people and in my own name, extend to you the warmest brotherly congratulations.

"You are the founder of the glorious Workers' Party of Korea, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the

heroic Korean People's Army and the long-tested great leader of the Korean people. For half a century, you have dedicated all your wisdom and energy to the cause of the Korean proletarian revolution. You have integrated the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Korean revolution and led the heroic Korean people in making brilliant achievements in the resistance to imperialist aggression, in socialist revolution and socialist construction and in the struggle for the independent and peaceful reunification of the fatherland.

"At present, under your wise leadership, all the members of the Korean Workers' Party and the Korean people uphold the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary line, adhere to the dictatorship of the proletariat and the socialist road, persist in the struggle

against imperialism and modern revisionism, and carry out an extensive and intensive 'Movement for Winning the Red Flag of the Three Revolutions,' bringing about a new upsurge in construction for accomplishing the long-term plan for developing national economy and the five-point policy of nature-re-making you put forward at the 8th and 12th plenary sessions of the Fifth Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea. I am convinced that under the leadership of the Korean Workers' Party headed by you, the industrious and brave Korean people will certainly win still greater victories in revolution and construction in the days to come.

"In order to realize the independent and peaceful reunification of the fatherland, the Korean Workers' Party and Government have all along adhered to a correct and principled

stand and made a series of reasonable proposals. At a joint meeting held not long ago, eighteen Korean political parties and public organizations put forth a four-point national salvation proposal. This proposal, in conformity with the fundamental interests and pressing aspirations of the Korean people, has won broad sympathy and support from the peoples of the world. The Chinese Communist Party, Government and people will, as always, resolutely support the Korean people in

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

"The Chinese and Korean peoples are intimate brothers and comrades-in-arms who are as closely related as the lips and the teeth and who share weal and woe. In the protracted common struggle, we have always supported and helped each other.

"The Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese people

are determined to carry out Chairman Mao's behests to strive for the steady consolidation and development of the great friendship between the Chinese and Korean Parties and peoples and for the victory of our common cause on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

"I wish you good health and a long life and new and still greater achievements in leading the Korean people in socialist revolution and socialist construction."

## Chairman Hua Meets New Zealand Speaker Roy Jack

**H**UA Kuo-feng, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and Premier of the State Council, on April 13 met Roy Jack, Speaker of the House of Representatives of New Zealand, and the New Zealand Parliamentary Delegation he led.

Members of the delegation present on the occasion were MPs Michael Aynsley Connelly, Mrs. Mary Dorothy Batchelor, Manuera Ben Riwai Couch, Derek Francis Quigley, Mervyn Langlois Wellington and Melvyn Francis Courtney. Secretary R.M. Mckay of the delegation was also present.

Chairman Hua had a warm and friendly talk with Speaker Roy Jack and other distinguished New Zealand guests. Both sides reviewed with

satisfaction the development of friendly relations between China and New Zealand since diplomatic relations were established between the two countries and looked ahead to their broad prospects. Speaker Roy Jack said he was deeply impressed by China's great achievements. At the end of the meeting, Chairman Hua asked Speaker Roy Jack to convey his greetings to Prime Minister Robert Muldoon upon returning home.

J.R. Brady, Counsellor of the New Zealand Embassy in China, was present.

Present on the Chinese side were Vice-Chairman Wu Teh, Secretary-General Chi Peng-fei and Deputy Secretary-General Wu Hsin-yu of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, and Wang Hai-

jung, Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs.

The delegation arrived in Peking April 10 on a friendly visit to China at the invitation of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress. The host gave a banquet in honour of the distinguished guests the next evening. Among those attending were Wu Teh and Ngapo Ngawang-Jigme, Vice-Chairmen of the N.P.C. Standing Committee.

In his speech at the banquet, Vice-Chairman Wu Teh reviewed the development of relations between China and New Zealand since the establishment of diplomatic relations between them in 1972. Speaking of the international situation, he pointed out: "Situated in the Asian-Pacific region, China and





New Zealand are both naturally concerned about the development of the situation in this region. That very ambitious superpower is stepping up its infiltration and expansion in this

region in an attempt to bring it into its sphere of influence. We are very glad to see that the Government and people of New Zealand and some other Oceanian countries are sharp-

ening their vigilance against the superpower's expansionist ambition and have condemned it. We firmly support this just stand."

Speaker Roy Jack said in his speech that the delegation he led was the first parliamentary group to visit China from New Zealand. He hoped the visit would serve to bring China and New Zealand to a better understanding of their respective policies and attitudes. He pointed out that there already existed a solid foundation for developing a mutually beneficial relationship between the two countries. "We both value our freedom and independence as nations. We both are prepared to resist those who may seek to undermine that independence," he noted.

## Guyana President in Peking

**P**RESIDENT Raymond Arthur Chung of the Co-operative Republic of Guyana and Mrs. Chung arrived in Peking on April 18 for a state visit to China at the invitation of the Chinese Government.

Greeting the distinguished guests from Guyana at Peking Airport were Vice-Premier Li

Hsien-nien and Comrade Lin Ch'ia-mei, Vice-Premier Wang Chen, Vice-Chairman Ulanfu of the N.P.C. Standing Committee and Foreign Minister Huang Hua, as well as several thousand people in the Chinese capital. A grand welcoming ceremony was held at the airport.

Entitled "A Warm Welcome to the Distinguished Guests From Guyana," an editorial in *Renmin Ribao* said: "In international affairs, the Guyanese Government has over the last few years paid attention to developing relations with other third world countries, supported their just struggles against imperialism, colonialism, hegemonism, racism and Zionism, and made contribu-



President Raymond Arthur Chung and Mrs. Chung are warmly welcomed at Peking Airport.

tions in promoting unity and cooperation among the Caribbean countries and in the region and striving for the establishment of a new international economic order.”

The editorial said: “At present, an excellent situation prevails in Latin America. Latin American countries’ struggles to defend their 200-nautical-mile maritime rights and their marine resources, safeguard the price of raw materials and demand the establishment of a new international economic order have converged into a powerful torrent pounding at superpower hegemonism. It should be noted that the superpower styling itself the ‘natural ally’ of the third world is taking advantage of the other superpower’s waning influence to take its place and control Latin America by carrying out infiltration and expansionism there in a thousand and one ways. We are convinced that

the Latin American countries and peoples will certainly overcome the difficulties and dangers on their road forward, repel the wolf at the front gate while keeping the tiger from entering through the back door, and advance victoriously in their struggle against imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism.”

In conclusion, the editorial said: The people of China and Guyana have forged a profound friendship through long years of contact and in their common struggle. Since the establishment of diplomatic relations between both countries, exchanges of visits have increased constantly and their relations have developed steadily. Prime Minister Forbes Burnham’s official visit to China in March 1975, in particular, further promoted the development of the friendly relations between the two countries. The visit by President Raymond Arthur Chung will be

warmly welcomed by the Chinese people.

### **Diplomatic Relations Established Between China and Jordan**

Representative of the Government of the People’s Republic of China Huang Chen and representative of the Government of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan Abdullah Salah on April 7 signed in Washington a joint communique on the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries. The communique said:

“The Government of the People’s Republic of China and the Government of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan have decided to establish diplomatic relations at ambassadorial level, and to announce their decision simultaneously in their respective capitals on April 14, 1977.

The two countries will exchange ambassadors.

"The Government of the People's Republic of China firmly supports the Government of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan in its just cause of safeguarding national independence and developing the national economy.

"The Government of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan recognizes the Government of the People's Republic of China as the sole legal government representing the entire Chinese people, and Taiwan Province as an inalienable part of the territory of the People's Republic of China.

"The two governments have agreed to develop friendly relations and co-operation between the two countries on the basis of the principles of mutual respect for state sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence."

*Renmin Ribao* on April 16 carried an editorial greeting the establishment of diplomatic relations. The editorial read: The Jordanian people have a glorious tradition of opposing imperialism. The Jordanian Government and people in recent years have made unremitting efforts in safeguarding their national independence and developing the national economy. Today, the united struggle of the Arab and Palestinian people against imperialism, heg-

emonism and Zionism is developing in depth and the situation is excellent. The two superpowers, the Soviet Union and the United States, especially Soviet social-imperialism, are finding their true features unmasked daily and the going tougher and tougher. The Chinese people admire the victory won by the Arab and Palestinian people in their united struggle against the enemy. Led by their wise leader Chairman Hua Kuo-feng, the Chinese people are resolutely carrying out the revolutionary line in foreign affairs laid down by our great leader and teacher Chairman Mao, consistently supporting the Arab and Palestinian people's struggle for the recovery of their occupied land and the restoration of their national rights, and supporting their just cause of opposing imperialism, hegemonism and Zionism.

The editorial said both China and Jordan belong to the third world. Official establishment of diplomatic relations accords with the common interests of their peoples and is conducive to enhancing the militant friendship between the Chinese people and the 150 million Arab people.

It reaffirmed the Chinese Government's position that countries, big or small, are equal. "We hold that all people have the right to choose a social system for their own country and that no country whatever should invade, subvert, control, interfere with or

bully others," the editorial said.

## Vice-Premier Li Meets U.S. Congressional Delegation

Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien on April 12 met and had a friendly talk with a U.S. Congressional delegation, with John Brademas, Democratic Representative and Democratic Deputy Leader of the House of Representatives, and Richard Schweiker, Republican Senator, as its co-chairmen.

Members of the delegation present on the occasion were Republican Representative Silvio Conte, Republican Senator William V. Roth, Republican Representative Mark Andrews, Democratic Senator John C. Culver, Republican Representative Jack Edwards, Democratic Senator John A. Durkin, Democratic Representative George E. Danielson and Democratic Representative Barbara A. Mikulski.

Also present were James Carter III, Michael Oksenberg, J. Stapleton Roy and James C. Free, who came with the delegation.

Thomas Sovereign Gates, Jr., Chief of the Liaison Office of the United States of America in China, was present.

The delegation arrived in Peking April 9 on a visit to China at the invitation of the Chinese People's Institute of Foreign Affairs. Foreign Minister Huang Hua and President Hao Teh-ching of the institute met it on different occasions.

# Decision of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China on Studying Volume V of the "Selected Works of Mao Tsetung"

(April 7, 1977)

(1) The publication of Volume V of the *Selected Works of Mao Tsetung* is a major event in the political life of the Chinese people and in the annals of the development of Marxism. Volume V of the *Selected Works of Mao Tsetung* is of great immediate importance and far-reaching historic significance for deepening the exposure and criticism of the anti-Party clique of Wang Hung-wen, Chang Chun-chiao, Chiang Ching and Yao Wen-yuan, strengthening the building of our Party ideologically and theoretically, developing our country's socialist revolution and socialist construction and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, and for the international communist movement and the liberation of the oppressed people and oppressed nations throughout the world.

The Central Committee has decided to launch a mass movement to study Volume V of the *Selected Works of Mao Tsetung* and bring about a new high tide in the study of Chairman Mao's works in the whole Party, in the whole army and among the people of all nationalities throughout the country.

(2) Chairman Mao's greatest contributions to Marxist theory in the period of socialist revolution and socialist construction

were to systematically sum up the historical experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat in China and abroad, analyse the contradictions, classes and class struggle in socialist society by means of the fundamental concept of materialist dialectics, the unity of opposites, and thereby to reveal the law of development of socialist society and create the great theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. In studying Volume V of the *Selected Works of Mao Tsetung*, we must profoundly understand and firmly grasp this fundamental concept, further arm ourselves with Chairman Mao's great theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, constantly heighten our consciousness in implementing Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and strive to carry out the strategic policy decision of the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua on grasping the key link in running the country well.

(3) In studying Volume V of the *Selected Works of Mao Tsetung*, we should carry forward the style of study of linking theory with practice which Chairman Mao consistently advocated. Volume V of the *Selected Works of Mao Tsetung* is a record of victory and a scientific summation of the struggle waged by our Party, our army and

our people under Chairman Mao's leadership against the landlord class, the bourgeoisie, the anti-Party alliance of Kao Kang and Jao Shu-shih and Liu Shao-chi's revisionism internally and against U.S. imperialism and Khrushchov revisionism externally in the first eight years after the founding of the People's Republic of China. Taking class struggle and the struggle between the two lines as the main guideline, the article "Introducing Volume V of the *Selected Works of Mao Tsetung*" by the Committee for Editing and Publishing Chairman Mao Tsetung's Works Under the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China gives a brief account of the contents of the volume with the stress on the major works which have not been published before. We should link the study of the Volume V of the *Selected Works* closely with reality. We should use Mao Tsetung Thought as our weapon to thoroughly expose and criticize the counter-revolutionary revisionist line of the "gang of four," clarify the confusion they created in both ideology and theory, set to rights those things they turned upside down with regard to right and wrong on the question of political line and eliminate their pernicious influence and effects in all fields. It is imperative to intensify education in Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought in co-ordination with Party consolidation and the rectification of the style of work so as to enable Party members and cadres to distinguish between Marxism and revisionism, between the correct and the erroneous line and between materialism and dialectics on the one hand and idealism and metaphysics on the other in the course of struggle, raise their political and ideological consciousness and remould their world outlook. We should, in close connection with the realities of class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment, implement Chairman Mao's line and policies, consolidate and develop the victories of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, arouse the socialist enthusiasm of the cadres and masses and do the work on all fronts well.

(4) The study of Volume V of the *Selected Works of Mao Tsetung* is a major task in building our Party ideologically and theoretically, and Party committees at all levels must grasp this major task firmly and well. Leading Party cadres at all levels, the senior cadres in particular, should take the lead in studying well. They should act in line with Chairman Mao's teaching "Read and study conscientiously and have a good grasp of Marxism." It is necessary to organize the cadres and the workers, peasants and soldiers to study in a variety of ways, such as studying at their posts and running spare-time political schools, reading classes or study classes. The Central Party School and the local Party schools at various levels should run reading classes attended in turn by cadres. Those attending May 7 cadre schools should combine study with production. Efforts should be made to strengthen theoretical research work in Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. It is necessary to give scope to the role of professional and worker-peasant-soldier theoretical contingents in the study and expand the ranks of theoretical workers in the study of Marxism. The newspapers and theoretical journals should make great efforts to publicize the central ideas and basic contents of the present volume, and help the cadres and masses in their study.

(5) The great leader and teacher Chairman Mao Tsetung led our Party, our army and our people in winning complete victory in the new-democratic revolution and then in winning great victories in the socialist revolution and socialist construction. All victories won by the Chinese people are victories for Mao Tsetung Thought. The banner of Chairman Mao is the banner of victory, a banner under which the Chinese people fight in unity and continue the revolution.

The Central Committee calls on the whole Party, the whole army and the people of all nationalities throughout the country to conscientiously study Volume V of the

*Selected Works of Mao Tsetung*, study works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and Chairman Mao's other works and, under the leadership of the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua, carry out Chairman

Mao's behests, hold aloft and safeguard the great banner of Chairman Mao, unite as one, work hard to run China's affairs well and strive to make a greater contribution to humanity.

## Publication Note to Volume V of the "Selected Works of Mao Tsetung"

**T**HE works of our great leader and teacher Chairman Mao Tsetung are immortal monuments of Marxism-Leninism. In accordance with the decision of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, Volume V of the *Selected Works of Mao Tsetung* has now been published and the subsequent volumes will come out in succession.

The previously published Volumes I to IV of the *Selected Works of Mao Tsetung* contain important writings from the period of the new-democratic revolution. Volume V and succeeding volumes contain important writings from the period of the socialist revolution and socialist construction.

In the new historical period since the founding of the People's Republic of China, Comrade Mao Tsetung, consistently upholding the principle of integrating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the revolution, inherited, defended and developed Marxism-Leninism as he led our Party and our people in a series of struggles; these were struggles to carry out the socialist revolution and socialist construction, to oppose the revisionist lines of Kao-Jao, Peng Teh-huai, Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao, to fight against imperialism and the reactionaries of all countries and to combat modern revisionism, with the Soviet revisionist renegade clique as its centre. During this period Comrade Mao Tsetung's greatest contributions to theory were to systematically sum up the historical experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat in China and abroad, analyse the contradictions, classes and class struggle in socialist society by means of the fundamental concept of materialist dialectics, the unity of opposites, and thereby to reveal the law of development of socialist

society and create the great theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. The new ideas, new theses, of Comrade Mao Tsetung concerning the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat have greatly enriched the treasure house of Marxist-Leninist theory in the realms of philosophy, political economy and scientific socialism. They not only chart for the Chinese people the true road for consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, preventing capitalist restoration and building socialism, but are also of great and lasting world significance.

Volume V of the *Selected Works of Mao Tsetung* contain important writings from September 1949 through 1957. It was in these writings that Comrade Mao Tsetung for the first time put forward: the scientific thesis that the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, between the socialist road and the capitalist road, will still exist for a long time after the basic completion of the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production; the doctrine of correctly distinguishing and handling the two types of contradictions in socialist society that are different in nature, those between ourselves and the enemy and those among the people; the great theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat; and the ideas underlying the general line for building socialism. Later, particularly during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, Comrade Mao Tsetung continued to enrich and develop this body of brilliant thought on the basis of the practical experience of the revolution.

Comrade Mao Tsetung was the greatest Marxist-Leninist of our time. Mao Tsetung Thought is the victorious banner under which

our Party, our army and our people will fight in unity and continue the revolution; it is a treasure shared in common by the international proletariat and the revolutionary people of all countries. Comrade Mao Tsetung's thought and teachings will live for ever.

Some of Comrade Mao Tsetung's writings from the period of the socialist revolution and socialist construction contained in the *Selected Works* have been published before; others have not and they include documents drafted by him,

his manuscripts and official records of his speeches. Some necessary technical editing of the records of the speeches was done in the course of compilation.

**Committee for Editing and Publishing  
Chairman Mao Tsetung's Works, the  
Central Committee of the Communist  
Party of China**

March 1, 1977

# Introducing Volume V of the "Selected Works of Mao Tsetung"

**Committee for Editing and Publishing  
Chairman Mao Tsetung's Works, the Central  
Committee of the Communist Party of China**

**V**OLUME V of the *Selected Works of Mao Tsetung* has now been published under the direct leadership and with the kind attention of the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua, following the successful, deep-going exposure and criticism of the Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao anti-Party clique. This is a great joyous event to be celebrated by the people of all our nationalities and the revolutionary people of the world; it is of signal importance in the history of the development of Marxism and will have a very profound influence on the revolutionary cause of the proletariat in our country and abroad.

The Chinese people are keenly aware that it was under the leadership of the great leader and teacher Chairman Mao Tsetung and under the glorious banner of Chairman Mao that they won complete victory in the new-democratic revolution and scored great achievements in the socialist revolution and socialist construction. The publication of Volume V of the *Selected Works of Mao Tsetung* is bound to inspire the

whole Party, the whole army and all our nationalities to rally even more closely round the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua, hold still higher the great banner of Chairman Mao, continue the revolution along the path of Mao Tsetung Thought and strive for new and greater victories.

Volume V of the *Selected Works of Mao Tsetung* consists of important writings of Chairman Mao from September 1949 through 1957, beginning with *The Chinese People Have Stood Up!* and ending with *All Reactionaries Are Paper Tigers*. The volume contains altogether 70 articles, amounting to 325,000 words. Forty-six of the articles have never been published before.

The founding of the People's Republic of China marked the basic conclusion of the period of the new-democratic revolution and the beginning of the period of the socialist revolution. In the new historical period, the fundamental issue confronting our country is whether to fol-

low the socialist road or the capitalist road. During the first eight years after the seizure of national power, in order to build China into a strong socialist country of the dictatorship of the proletariat, Chairman Mao, the great leader and teacher, led our Party, our army and the people of our country in fierce struggle against the landlord class, the bourgeoisie, the anti-Party alliance of Kǎo Kang and Jao Shu-shih and Liu Shao-chi's revisionist line at home and against U.S. imperialism and Khrushchov modern revisionism abroad. Volume V of the *Selected Works of Mao Tsetung* is a record of the victory of this great struggle and a scientific summation of it. Applying the basic theory of Marxism-Leninism, Chairman Mao summed up the historical experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat in China and abroad, elucidated a series of important questions in the socialist revolution and socialist construction, advanced the great theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and thus developed Marxism-Leninism in a creative way. Later, particularly during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, Chairman Mao, in the light of the practical experience of the revolution, continued to enrich and develop the brilliant ideas set forth in the present volume.

Of Chairman Mao's writings in the three years of rehabilitation of China's national economy, those included in Volume V of the *Selected Works* are chiefly: *The Chinese People Have Stood Up!*, *Fight for a Fundamental Turn for the Better in the Nation's Financial and Economic Situation*, *Don't Hit Out in All Directions*, *Order to the Chinese People's Volunteers*, *Main Points of the Resolution Adopted at the Enlarged Meeting of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party*, *The Party's Mass Line Must Be Followed in Suppressing Counter-Revolutionaries*, *Pay Serious Attention to the Discussion of the Film "The Life of Wu Hsun,"* *Great Victories in Three Mass Movements*, *On the Struggle Against "the Three Evils" and "the Five Evils,"* *Take Mutual Aid and Co-operation in Agriculture as a Major Task*, *On the Policies for Our Work in Tibet—Directive of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party* and *The Contradiction Between the Working Class and the Bourgeoisie Is the Principal Contradiction in China.*

*The Chinese People Have Stood Up!* is an important historical document proclaiming the founding of the great People's Republic of China. It solemnly declares to the whole world: **"The Chinese people, comprising one quarter of humanity, have now stood up."** This document defines New China's state system, sets forth its tasks in the political, economic, cultural, military and other fields and formulates its foreign policy. Chairman Mao stressed: **"Our state system, the people's democratic dictatorship, is a powerful weapon for safeguarding the fruits of victory of the people's revolution and for thwarting the plots of domestic and foreign enemies to stage a comeback, and this weapon we must firmly grasp."** Our national defence must be consolidated and no imperialists will ever again be allowed to invade our land. **"Our people's armed forces must be maintained and developed with the heroic and steeled People's Liberation Army as the foundation. We will have not only a powerful army but also a powerful air force and a powerful navy."**

*Fight for a Fundamental Turn for the Better in the Nation's Financial and Economic Situation* and *Don't Hit Out in All Directions* are Chairman Mao's reports to the Third Plenary Session of the Party's Seventh Central Committee. The former sets forth the three conditions and eight tasks for a fundamental turn for the better in the nation's financial and economic situation and is a programmatic document for the period of national economic rehabilitation. The latter explains the strategic and tactical thinking embodied in the former, pointing out: **"We must not hit out in all directions. It is undesirable to hit out in all directions and cause nationwide tension. We must definitely not make too many enemies, we must make concessions and relax the tension a little in some quarters and concentrate our attack in one direction. We must do our work well so that all the workers, peasants and small handicraftsmen will support us and the overwhelming majority of the national bourgeoisie and intellectuals not oppose us. In this way, the remnant Kuomintang forces, the enemy agents and bandits will be isolated, so will the landlord class and the reactionaries in Taiwan and Tibet, and the imperialists will find themselves isolated before the people of our country."**



Chairman Mao's writings of this period on the movement to resist U.S. aggression and aid Korea, the agrarian reform and the suppression of counter-revolutionaries guided the whole Party, the whole army and the people of the whole country in winning great victories in these three mass movements. Chairman Mao ordered the Chinese People's Volunteers to **"join the Korean comrades in fighting the aggressors and winning a glorious victory."** He taught the Chinese People's Volunteers that they must show fraternal feelings and respect for the Korean Workers' Party, Government, army and people as well as for their great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung and strictly observe military and political discipline and that this was a most important political basis for ensuring the fulfilment of the military task. **"The Chinese and Korean comrades should unite as closely as brothers, go through thick and thin together, stick together in life and death and fight to the end to defeat their common enemy."** In keeping with the new situation after nationwide liberation, Chairman Mao put forward the task of carrying out agrarian reform step by step and in a systematic way to overthrow the whole landlord class, and laid down the tactics of leaving the rich peasants untouched for the time being in the agrarian reform in the new liberated areas so as better to isolate the landlords, protect the middle peasants, set the minds of the national bourgeoisie at rest and thus facilitate the early rehabilitation of production. Chairman Mao pointed out that we must suppress all counter-revolutionaries. In suppressing counter-revolutionaries, we must follow the Party's mass line, strike surely, accurately and relentlessly and follow a policy of combining suppression with leniency. **"Those who owe blood debts or are guilty of other extremely serious crimes and have to be executed to assuage the people's anger and those who have caused the greatest harm to the national interest must be unhesitatingly sentenced to death and executed without delay."** **"For only thus can we deflate the enemy's arrogance and raise the people's morale."**

While the three mass movements were in progress, Chairman Mao attached great importance to unfolding an ideological remoulding movement among people of various walks of life, first of all the intellectuals. In the speech

*Great Victories in Three Mass Movements*, he pointed out: **"Ideological remoulding, primarily that of all types of intellectuals, is an important condition for the completion of democratic reforms in all fields and the gradual industrialization of our country."**

*On the Struggle Against "the Three Evils" and "the Five Evils"* contains some important directives drafted by Chairman Mao for the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China. In view of the frenzied attacks staged by the bourgeoisie and the grave situation that many Party members and cadres had been corrupted by the bourgeoisie, Chairman Mao instructed that a struggle against corruption, waste and bureaucracy should be unfolded in a big way within the Party, the government, the army and the mass organizations, **"which will thoroughly uncover all cases of corruption, whether major, medium or minor, but aim the main blows at persons guilty of the worst crimes, while following the policy of educating and remoulding the medium and minor embezzlers so that they will not relapse"**; at the same time a large-scale struggle against "the five evils" should be waged on law-breaking capitalists, in which the tactics of utilizing contradictions, effecting splits, uniting with the many and isolating the few should be adopted and those bourgeois elements guilty of the worst crimes should be given **"due punishment, such as fines, confiscation, arrest, imprisonment or execution."** The struggle against "the three evils" and "the five evils" was the first major test of strength between the working class and the bourgeoisie of our country in the period of socialist revolution. Chairman Mao's directives guided the working class and the broad masses to great victories in this struggle.

*Take Mutual Aid and Co-operation in Agriculture as a Major Task* is an inner-Party circular of great historic significance drafted by Chairman Mao to refute Liu Shao-chi's opposition to agricultural co-operation. Chairman Mao devoted great efforts to leading the socialist transformation of agriculture. His writings and speeches about agricultural co-operation, which make up a substantial part of Volume V of the *Selected Works*, repudiated Liu Shao-chi's Right opportunist line politically, ideologically and organizationally.

*On the Policies for Our Work in Tibet — Directive of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party* is a model Chairman Mao set for us in using materialist dialectics to analyse contradictions and give guidance to work. In this directive he made a penetrating analysis of the political, economic and military situation in Tibet after the entry of our army and defined the tactics for the struggle to carry out the Agreement on Measures for the Peaceful Liberation of Tibet and particularly the reorganization of Tibetan troops.

As the rehabilitation period of China's national economy was drawing to a close, Chairman Mao reiterated his scientific thesis on the principal contradiction in the country, which he had set forth at the Second Plenary Session of the Party's Seventh Central Committee, pointing out that **"with the overthrow of the landlord class and the bureaucrat-capitalist class, the contradiction between the working class and the national bourgeoisie has become the principal contradiction in China."** In accordance with Lenin's teachings regarding the period of transition, Chairman Mao summed up the experience gained since the founding of the People's Republic of China and formulated in good time the Party's general line for the transition period. He pointed out: **"The time between the founding of the People's Republic of China and the basic completion of socialist transformation is a period of transition. The Party's general line or general task for the transition period is basically to accomplish the country's industrialization and the socialist transformation of agriculture, handicrafts and capitalist industry and commerce over a fairly long period of time. This general line should be the brilliant beacon for guiding all our work, and wherever we deviate from it, we shall make Right or 'Left' mistakes."** The essence of this general line was to change the ownership of the means of production, that is, gradually transform individual ownership into socialist ownership by the collective and capitalist ownership into socialist ownership by the whole people, so that socialist ownership would become the one and only component of the economic base in our country and society. An acute class struggle was involved and the spearhead of the revolution was directed at the bourgeoisie.

To realize the Party's general line for the transition period, Chairman Mao wrote a series of important articles. In addition to those well-known writings such as *Strive to Build a Great Socialist Country*, *Letter Concerning the Study of "The Dream of the Red Chamber,"* *In Refutation of "Uniformity of Public Opinion,"* *Preface and Editor's Notes to "Material on the Counter-Revolutionary Hu Feng Clique,"* *On the Question of the Co-operative Transformation of Agriculture*, prefaces and editor's notes to *The Socialist Upsurge in China's Countryside* and *On the Ten Major Relationships*, they include *Combat Bureaucracy, Commandism and Violations of the Law and Discipline*, *Criticize Han Chauvinism*, *Refute Right Deviationist Views That Depart From the General Line*, *On State Capitalism*, *The Party's General Line for the Transition Period*, *Combat Bourgeois Ideas in the Party*, *Criticism of Liang Shu-ming's Reactionary Ideas*, *Two Talks on Mutual Aid and Co-operation in Agriculture*, *On the Draft Constitution of the People's Republic of China*, *Speeches at the National Conference of the Chinese Communist Party*, *A Debate on the Co-operative Transformation of Agriculture and the Current Class Struggle*, *Asking for Opinions on the Seventeen-Point Document Concerning Agriculture*, *Speed Up the Socialist Transformation of Handicrafts* and *Strengthen Party Unity and Carry Forward the Party's Traditions*. These works set forth the lofty goal of building a powerful and highly industrialized socialist country, laid down a whole set of guidelines, principles and policies concerning socialist industrialization and the socialist transformation of agriculture, handicrafts and capitalist industry and commerce, dealt crushing blows at the bourgeoisie, and inside the Party exposed the anti-Party alliance of Kao Kang and Jao Shu-shih and refuted Liu Shao-chi's Right opportunist line, thus ensuring the successful implementation of the Party's general line for the transition period.

*Combat Bureaucracy, Commandism and Violations of the Law and Discipline* is an inner-Party directive Chairman Mao drafted for the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party. After the movement against corruption, waste and bureaucracy, Chairman Mao pointed out: **"The problem of the following kind of bureaucracy has not been basically solv-**

ed in many districts, departments and fields of work. Some leading cadres are ignorant of the people's hardships, of the conditions in subordinate units a short distance from their offices, and of the fact that among the cadres at the county, district and township levels there are many bad people and many cases of bad deeds, such as commandism and violations of the law and discipline. Or they may have some knowledge of such bad people and deeds, but turn a blind eye to them, feel no indignation, are not aware of the seriousness of the matter and so take no positive measure to back up good people and punish the bad or to encourage good deeds and stop bad ones." Therefore, leading organs at all levels should investigate and expose cases of bureaucracy, commandism and violations of the law and discipline and wage a resolute struggle against them in co-ordination with Party consolidation and Party building and other spheres of work.

In *Criticize Han Chauvinism*, Chairman Mao stated: "We must go to the root and criticize the Han chauvinist ideas which exist to a serious degree among many Party members and cadres, namely, the reactionary ideas of the landlord class and the bourgeoisie, or the ideas characteristic of the Kuomintang, which are manifested in the relations between nationalities. Mistakes in this respect must be corrected at once." In subsequent writings, Chairman Mao repeatedly took up the point that emphasis must be put on opposing Han chauvinism while local-nationality chauvinism must also be opposed so as to secure the unity of the nationalities.

In the article *Refute Right Deviationist Views That Depart From the General Line*, Chairman Mao sharply criticized Liu Shao-chi's mistakes. After the victory of the new-democratic revolution, Liu Shao-chi wanted to follow the capitalist road instead of carrying out socialist transformation, and put forward such Right deviationist views as "firmly establish the new-democratic social order." Chairman Mao pointed out: "The period of transition is full of contradictions and struggles. Our present revolutionary struggle is even more profound than the revolutionary armed struggle of the past. It is a revolution that will bury the capitalist system and all other systems of exploitation once and

for all. The idea, 'firmly establish the new-democratic social order,' goes against the realities of our struggle and hinders the progress of the socialist cause."

*Combat Bourgeois Ideas in the Party* is a speech Chairman Mao delivered at the National Conference on Financial and Economic Work held in the summer of 1953. This conference was convened chiefly to criticize Po I-po's mistake of departing from the general line and to correct the erroneous ideas among cadres on the question of the general line. In the speech Chairman Mao made a systematic criticism of Po I-po's mistake politically, ideologically and organizationally, and incisively pointed out that Po I-po was a target hit by a spiritual sugar-coated bullet of the bourgeoisie. "Po I-po's mistake is a manifestation of bourgeois ideas. It benefits capitalism and harms socialism and semi-socialism and runs counter to the resolution of the Second Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee."

Having analysed the ideological situation in the Party, Chairman Mao pointed out that such bourgeois ideas as Po I-po's, which manifested themselves in questions concerning the Party line, could be found not only in financial and economic work but also in political and judicial, cultural and educational and other fields of work, and among comrades in the localities as well as at the national level. He said that "we must unfold a struggle in the Party against bourgeois ideas" and that the greater administrative areas and the provinces and municipalities should call meetings in due time with the participation of responsible cadres at which "criticism and discussion are conducted and the question of the socialist road versus the capitalist road is clarified."

Chairman Mao pointed out that throughout the country there were quite a number of people who threw on anarchy. To solve this problem, it was imperative to strengthen collective leadership and oppose decentralism. "Party members come under three categories in their attitude towards collective leadership. Those in the first category care about collective leadership. Those in the second do not care so much, maintaining that the Party committees had better leave them alone, but they don't mind being supervised. 'Better leave me alone'

reveals a lack of Party spirit, and 'don't mind being supervised' shows some measure of Party spirit. We must seize on this 'don't mind being supervised' and help such comrades by education and persuasion to overcome their lack of Party spirit. Otherwise, each ministry would go its own way and the Central Committee could not supervise the ministries, the ministers could not supervise the department and bureau heads, the division heads could not supervise the section chiefs — no one, in short, could supervise anyone. In consequence, independent kingdoms would proliferate and hundreds of feudal princes would emerge. Those in the third category are only a handful. They flatly reject collective leadership and prefer always to be left alone." Chairman Mao put the stress on the strict observance of discipline under democratic centralism. "It is reliance on the political experience and wisdom of the collective that can guarantee the correct leadership of the Party and the state and the unshakable unity of the ranks of the Party."

*Criticism of Liang Shu-ming's Reactionary Ideas* is a militant indictment against Liang Shu-ming, a representative of the landlords and the bourgeoisie. At that time the bourgeoisie, after suffering severe blows during the movements against "the three evils" and "the five evils," mounted another wild attack on the proletariat on the question of the general line and opposed socialist industrialization and socialist transformation. Liang Shu-ming was a typical representative in this attack. In trenchant words, Chairman Mao thoroughly laid bare Liang Shu-ming's reactionary political features. Liang Shu-ming's record showed that he had opposed the Communist Party and the people and backed Chiang Kai-shek. "Chiang Kai-shek is an assassin with a gun and Liang Shu-ming an assassin with a pen. There are two ways of killing people: one is to kill with the gun and the other with the pen. The way which is most artfully disguised and draws no blood is to kill with the pen. You are such a murderer." Liang Shu-ming was utterly reactionary, but he described himself as "an incomparable beauty, outshining Hsi Shih and Wang Chao-chun and rivalling Yang Kuei-fei." Chairman Mao hit the nail on the head and pointed to the reactionary nature of the bourgeois ideas Liang Shu-ming represented, saying: "Yours is the bour-

geois line. If your line were followed, the result would be the ruin of our country, China would be back on the old road of semi-colonialism and semi-feudalism, and there would be a rally in Peking to welcome Chiang Kai-shek and Eisenhower. Let me repeat: We'll never adopt your line!"

In *Two Talks on Mutual Aid and Co-operation in Agriculture*, Chairman Mao pointed out in clear-cut terms the key link for our work in all fields in the period of socialism: "As an old saying goes, 'Once the key link is grasped, everything else falls into place.' It is only by taking hold of the key link that everything else will fit into its proper place. The key link means the main theme. The contradiction between socialism and capitalism and the gradual resolution of this contradiction — that is the main theme, the key link. Grasp this key link, and all kinds of political and economic work to help the peasants will be subordinated to it." In this article Chairman Mao criticized such bourgeois concepts as "firmly protecting private property" and the "four freedoms" and gave the Party committees at various levels the instruction that in their work they should put the stress on the socialist transformation of agriculture.

In the article *On the Draft Constitution of the People's Republic of China*, Chairman Mao pointed out: "An organization must have rules, and so must a state. A constitution is a set of general rules, it is the fundamental law. To codify the principles of people's democracy and socialism in the form of a fundamental law, in the form of the Constitution, so that there will be a clear course before the people of the whole country and they will feel sure they have a clear, definite and correct path to follow — this will heighten their enthusiasm." For the first time he set before the whole nation the magnificent goal of building China into a great socialist country in 50 years, that is, in the period of ten five-year plans.

In *Speeches at the National Conference of the Chinese Communist Party*, Chairman Mao dwelt emphatically on the question of smashing the anti-Party alliance of Kao Kang and Jao Shu-shih. He pointed out that the emergence of the anti-Party alliance of Kao Kang and Jao Shu-shih was a striking manifestation of the sharp class struggle in our country at the time.

The sinister aim of this anti-Party alliance was to split our Party, seize the supreme power of the Party and state by conspiratorial means and pave the way for a counter-revolutionary restoration. The alliance constituted an underground headquarters inside our Party. Chairman Mao said: **"There were two headquarters in Peking. The first headed by me stirred up an open wind and lit an open fire. The second headed by others stirred up a sinister wind and lit a sinister fire; it was operating underground."** He pointed out that Communists, and particularly senior Party cadres, should draw lessons from the case of the Kao-Jao alliance, and **"must all be open and aboveboard politically, always ready to express our political views openly and take a stand, for or against, on each and every important political issue. We must never follow the example of Kao Kang and Jao Shu-shih and indulge in scheming."** We should keep a certain distance from remarks or actions which run counter to Party principles and we should not fail to keep this distance. **"In the current anti-Party case of Kao and Jao and in the previous two-line struggles in the Party we have repeatedly had this experience: When on account of an old and intimate relationship with certain people you find it difficult to speak out, fail to keep a certain distance and don't give any rebuff and draw a clear line of demarcation, you'll later find yourself more and more deeply involved and haunted by their 'ghosts.'"** Chairman Mao warned the whole Party that they should make mental and material preparations against any possible emergency both at home and abroad and against the recurrence of such cases as the anti-Party alliance of Kao Kang and Jao Shu-shih.

Chairman Mao also pointed out: **"We have entered a period, a new period in our history, in which what we have set ourselves to do, think about and dig into is socialist industrialization, socialist transformation and the modernization of our national defence, and we are beginning to do the same thing with atomic energy."** **"I hope that all secretaries of provincial, municipal and prefectural Party committees and the comrades in charge of the central departments will strive to become expert in political and economic work, for which the prerequisite is a higher level of Marxism-Leninism. They must do well both in political and ideological work and in**

**economic construction. As for the latter we must really get to know how to do it."**

*In Refutation of "Uniformity of Public Opinion"* is one of the editor's notes written by Chairman Mao for the *Material on the Counter-Revolutionary Hu Feng Clique* and is included as a separate article in this volume because of its theoretical importance. It applies the law of the unity of opposites and sets forth the dialectical relationship between the uniformity and the non-uniformity of public opinion, and thus reveals the existence of the two different types of contradictions in socialist society — those between ourselves and the enemy and those among the people — and advances the basic ideas of correctly distinguishing and handling the two types of contradictions.

*A Debate on the Co-operative Transformation of Agriculture and the Current Class Struggle* is Chairman Mao's concluding speech at the Enlarged Sixth Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee of the Party. This great debate, which began with the question of policy in agricultural co-operation, was a debate over the question whether our Party's general line for the period of transition was entirely correct or not. Chairman Mao explained the relationship between agricultural co-operation and the transformation of capitalist industry and commerce and pointed out that only when the alliance of the working class and the peasantry was being gradually consolidated on a socialist basis in the process of a thoroughgoing socialist transformation of agriculture was it possible to sever the ties between the urban bourgeoisie and the peasantry completely, so as ultimately to isolate the bourgeoisie and facilitate the final liquidation of capitalism. **"In this matter we are quite heartless! Marxism is all that cruel and it doesn't have much mercy; it is bent on exterminating imperialism, feudalism, capitalism and small production to boot. In this respect, it is better not to have much mercy. Some of our comrades are too kind, they are not tough enough, in other words, they are not so Marxist. It is a very good thing, and a significant one too, to exterminate the bourgeoisie and capitalism in China, a country with a population of 600 million. Our aim is to exterminate capitalism, obliterate it from the face of the earth and make it a thing of the past."**

Chairman Mao summed up the debate on the question of agricultural co-operation and outlined an overall plan and the methods of leadership for the realization of the co-operative transformation of agriculture. He pointed out that from that time on in setting up co-operatives the emphasis should be laid on emulation in quality rather than in quantity. "And what are the criteria for quality? They are increased production and no loss of livestock. How can production be increased and loss of livestock be avoided? To this end, it is necessary to observe the principle of voluntary participation and mutual benefit, make comprehensive plans and give flexible guidance. Given these conditions, the co-operatives, I think, will be able to achieve better quality, increase production and prevent the loss of livestock. We must by all means avoid the mistake once made in the Soviet Union which led to the killing of livestock in large numbers." Chairman Mao further pointed out: "After a batch of co-operatives has been set up, there should be check-ups and consolidation before more co-operatives are established. It is like fighting battles, there should be rest and reorganization between two battles. It is entirely wrong to do without rest and reorganization, leave no interval and allow no breathing space." "We are opposed to boundless anxiety and countless taboos and regulations. Does this mean we should have no anxiety at all? Not a single taboo? Not a single regulation? Of course that is not the case."

*Asking for Opinions on the Seventeen-Point Document Concerning Agriculture* is an inner-Party circular drafted by Chairman Mao for the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party. The 17-Point Document Concerning Agriculture was agreed upon after Chairman Mao held consultations in Hangchow and Tientsin separately with secretaries of the Party committees of 14 provinces and the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region in November 1955. It initially mapped out a long-term programme for the development of our socialist agriculture. In January 1956, on the proposal of Chairman Mao, the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party adopted the 40-article Programme for Agricultural Development on the basis of this document.

*On the Ten Major Relationships* is a brilliant Marxist document. Bearing in mind lessons drawn from the Soviet Union, Chairman Mao summed up China's experience and, proceeding from the basic policy of mobilizing all positive factors, internal and external, to serve the cause of socialism, dealt with ten major relationships in socialist revolution and socialist construction and set forth the ideas underlying the general line of building socialism with greater, faster, better and more economical results, a line suited to the conditions of our country.

*Strengthen Party Unity and Carry Forward the Party's Traditions* is Chairman Mao's speech at the first session of the preparatory meeting for the Eighth Party Congress. Chairman Mao said that the aim and purpose of the congress should be "to sum up the experience gained since the Seventh Congress, unite the whole Party and unite all the forces at home and abroad that can be united in the struggle to build a great socialist China." After making a comparison between the conditions of our country and those of the United States, he suggested that we overtake the United States economically in 50 or 60 years. He said: "This is an obligation. You have such a big population, such a vast territory and such rich resources, and what is more, it has been said that you are building socialism, which is supposed to be superior; if after much ado for fifty or sixty years you are still unable to overtake the United States, what a sorry figure you will cut! You should be read off the face of the earth. Therefore, to overtake the United States is not only possible, but absolutely necessary and obligatory. If we don't, we the Chinese nation will be letting the nations of the world down and we will not be making much of a contribution to mankind." Chairman Mao went on to point out that we should carry forward the fine traditions of our Party with respect to ideology and the style of work and combat subjectivism, sectarianism and bureaucracy. And we must do a good job of uniting the whole Party. "By unity we mean uniting with those who have differences with you, who look down upon you or show little respect for you, who have had a bone to pick with you or waged struggles against you and at whose hands you have suffered." Moreover, on the question of

electing the Central Committee, he elucidated the fundamental hows and whys of uniting with comrades who erred in political line.

After the Communist Party of the Soviet Union hit out wildly at Stalin at its 20th congress, the imperialists in the world stirred up an anti-communist storm, the revisionist trend of thought in the communist movement became rampant and there occurred the Polish and Hungarian events. In our country, 1956 was a year of intense socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production. In these circumstances, a few people in the Party wavered. Acting in co-ordination with the counter-revolutionary onslaughts by the imperialists and revisionists and taking advantage of our Party's rectification, the bourgeois Rightists launched frantic attacks on our Party. In his articles written from the winter of 1956 through 1957, Chairman Mao correctly answered the new questions raised at home and abroad, and for the first time in the history of the development of Marxism he explicitly put forward the scientific thesis that the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and between the socialist road and the capitalist road will continue for a long period of time after the basic completion of the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production, and evolved the great theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. These brilliant writings of Chairman Mao's have guided our people in winning great victories on the political and ideological fronts in the socialist revolution.

In his *Speech at the Second Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Communist Party of China*, Chairman Mao, in view of the Right deviationist mistakes of the time, discussed the dialectical relationship between advance and retreat, getting on and off the horse, and equilibrium and disequilibrium in economic work. He pointed out: "Are our Party committees at all levels, the various government departments and the governments at all levels promoting progress or promoting retrogression? Fundamentally speaking, they are promoting progress. Society is always advancing, for to advance, to develop, is the general trend." He affirmed that the First Five-Year Plan was fundamentally correct and stressed

that we must protect the enthusiasm of the cadres and the masses and must not pour cold water on them.

With regard to the fact that there are disturbances and bad people in socialist countries, Chairman Mao pointed out: "They are in the nature of things." There will still be contradictions and struggles as well as the need for revolution even 10,000 years from now. He said: "Will there still be revolutions in the future when all the imperialists in the world are overthrown and classes eliminated? What do you say? In my view, there will still be the need for revolution. The social system will still need to be changed and the term 'revolution' will still be in use. Of course, revolutions then will not be of the same nature as those in the era of class struggle. But there will still be contradictions between the relations of production and the productive forces, between the superstructure and the economic base. When the relations of production become unsuitable, they will have to be overthrown. If the superstructure (ideology and public opinion included) protects the kind of relations of production the people dislike, they will transform it."

Chairman Mao criticized the mistakes of the Khrushchov clique in wildly attacking Stalin and in preaching the seizure of political power through the parliamentary road. He said: "I think there are two 'swords': one is Lenin and the other Stalin. The sword of Stalin has now been discarded by the Russians." And "the sword of Lenin" was "by and large . . . thrown out" by them. "We Chinese have not thrown it away. First, we protect Stalin, and second, we at the same time criticize his mistakes, and we have written the article 'On the Historical Experience of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.' Unlike some people who have tried to defame and destroy Stalin, we are acting in accordance with objective reality." Chairman Mao also pointed out that the fundamental problem with some East European countries was that they had not done a good job of waging class struggle, so they had to reap what they had sown. We had been mobilizing the masses to wage class struggle in both the democratic revolution and the socialist revolution. "Not to rely on the masses in waging

# Chairman Mao's Manuscript of "Letter Concerning the Study of *The Dream Of the Red Chamber*"

(October 16, 1954)

为门生之  
致前报的两篇文章付上清  
一阅。这是三十多年来向所  
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将此文在《人民日报》上转载，以  
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胡适说，光明日报的文章是“<sup>③</sup>荒唐又发表了教条主义的批评，  
“研究”一类的文章，看这样子，  
这个每个青年三十年的荒唐  
荒唐级唯心论（胡适派）  
的副章也许可以开展起来了。  
事情是两个小人物”做起来的，  
而大人物”往往不注意，  
并往往加以排阻，他们同

荒唐级作家在唯心论方面讲统一战线，甘心作荒唐级  
级的学统，同影片清宫秘史  
和武训传“改时”时的情形，  
平是胡同时“清宫秘史”在批判  
放胆之后，至今没有被批判。  
武训传曾经批判了，却至今  
没有引出教训，又出现了容

荒唐级唯心论和阻挠  
小人物”的批判文章的特  
怪事情，这是值得注意的。  
(我们)

九五  
十月十六日  
胡平说这一类荒唐级作家，  
知识份子，当然是应当对他们采取团结  
政策，但应当批判他们的毒害青年的行  
为，不应当对他们投了。

April 22, 1977

class struggle and not to make a clear distinction between the people and the enemy — that would be very dangerous.”

Chairman Mao criticized the bourgeois ideas found among some cadres on the question of democracy and the bureaucratic style of work characterized by alienation from the masses and failure to share weal and woe with them. He admonished the whole Party: “We must watch out lest we foster the bureaucratic style of work and grow into an aristocratic stratum divorced from the people. The masses will have good reason to remove from office whoever practises bureaucracy and does not solve their problems but scolds them, tyrannizes over them and always refuses to make amends. I say it is fine to remove such fellows, for they ought to be removed.” At the same time he pointed out: “Our Party has millions of experienced cadres. Most of them are good cadres, born and brought up in our native land, linked to the masses and tested in the course of long struggles. We have a whole body of cadres — those who joined the revolution in the period of the founding of the Party, in the period of the Northern Expedition, during the War of the Agrarian Revolution, the War of Resistance Against Japan, the War of Liberation and those who joined after the nationwide liberation. They are all valuable assets to our country. The situation in some East European countries is not very stable, and one major reason is that they lack such a body of experienced cadres. With such cadres as ours who have been tested in different periods of the revolution, we are able to ‘sit tight in the fishing boat despite the rising wind and waves.’”

In his *Talks at a Conference of Secretaries of Provincial, Municipal and Autonomous Region Party Committees*, Chairman Mao set an outstanding example in applying dialectics to analysing and solving major internal and external questions. It is a brilliant work, a practical and militant philosophical treatise. He pointed out: “The Marxist theory of the unity of opposites must be applied in examining and handling the new problems of class contradiction and class struggle in socialist society and also the new problems in the international struggle.”

In these talks, Chairman Mao, for the first time in the history of the development of Marxism, pointed out in explicit terms that there

would still be contradictions, classes and class struggle after the basic completion of the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production. He made a profound analysis of the political and ideological trends among the various classes in our society as well as within the Party and dealt with the question of small numbers of people creating disturbances, pointing out: “Everything in society is an instance of the unity of opposites. Socialist society is also a unity of opposites; the unity of opposites exists both within the ranks of the people and between ourselves and the enemy. The basic reason why small numbers of people still create disturbances in our country is that all kinds of opposing aspects, positive and negative, still exist in society and that opposing classes, opposing people and opposing views still exist.”

Regarding small numbers of people creating disturbances, Chairman Mao pointed out that, in the first place, we do not encourage this, and in the second, if some people are bent on creating disturbances, then let them. We must work well among those involved in disturbances, so as to split them and differentiate the many from the few. We must give the many proper guidance and education so that they can gradually change, and must not hurt their feelings. Proletarian dictatorship must be exercised over the very few bad people who stage such counter-revolutionary rebellions as the Hungarian incident. Chairman Mao said: “You should learn this art of leadership. Don’t always try to keep a lid on everything. Whenever people utter absurd remarks, go on strike or present a petition, you try to beat them back with one blow, always thinking that such things ought not to occur. Why is it then that such things which ought not to occur still do? This very fact proves that they ought to occur. You forbid people to strike, to petition or to make unfavourable comments, and you simply resort to repression in every case, until one day you become a Rakosi. This is true both inside and outside the Party. As for absurd remarks, strange happenings and contradictions, it is better to have them exposed. Contradictions must be exposed and then resolved.” Chairman Mao emphasized that we must intensify political and ideological work in the spheres of industry, agriculture, commerce, culture and education

as well as in the army, the government and the Party.

Proceeding from the viewpoint of the unity of opposites, Chairman Mao elaborated on the correctness of the policy of letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend, and criticized Stalin's metaphysics and the erroneous view that only fragrant flowers, but no poisonous weeds, should be allowed to grow, a view that denies the existence of poisonous weeds in a socialist country. He pointed out: "Fragrant flowers stand in contrast to poisonous weeds and develop in struggle with them. It is a dangerous policy to prohibit people from coming into contact with the false, the ugly and the hostile, with idealism and metaphysics and with the stuff of Confucius, Lao Tzu and Chiang Kai-shek. It will lead to mental deterioration and one-sided thinking and render people unprepared to face the world and meet challenges." Poisonous weeds should be weeded out. Harmful statements should be refuted in good time. Evil trends in society must be wiped out and the way to do it is through reasoning.

Chairman Mao sharply criticized the wavering elements in the Party. He said: "There are high-ranking Party cadres who have vacillated and cannot pass the test of socialism. Has this state of affairs come to an end? No, it hasn't. Will these people become firm and really believe in socialism ten years from now? Well, not necessarily. Ten years from now, when something crops up, they may say again, I foresaw that long ago."

Dwelling on the dialectical relationship between agriculture and industry, Chairman Mao stressed the position and the role of agriculture in the national economy. He said: "The whole Party should attach great importance to agriculture. Agriculture has a vital bearing on the nation's economy and the people's livelihood. Take heed, for it is very dangerous not to grasp grain production. If this is ignored, there will be widespread disorder some day."

Chairman Mao analysed the contradictions among nations, pointing out that "the embroilment of the imperialist countries contending for colonies is the bigger contradiction. They try to cover up the contradictions between them-

selves by playing up their contradiction with us." From the Suez Canal incident it was clear that "in the Middle East, two kinds of contradictions and three kinds of forces are in conflict. The two kinds of contradictions are: first, those between different imperialist powers, that is, between the United States and Britain and between the United States and France; second, those between the imperialist powers and the oppressed nations. The three kinds of forces are: one, the United States, the biggest imperialist power; two, Britain and France, second-rate imperialist powers; and three, the oppressed nations." Later, in line with the changes in international class relations, Chairman Mao developed these brilliant ideas into the scientific thesis on the division of the three worlds.

Chairman Mao reiterated China's policy towards the establishment of diplomatic relations with the United States — that is, we were in no hurry to do it. He said: "We adopt this policy to deprive the United States of as much of its political capital as possible and put it in the wrong and in an isolated position." "You Americans can go on withholding recognition of our government for one hundred years, but I doubt if you can withhold it in the 101st. One day the United States will have to establish diplomatic relations with us. When the Americans come to China then and look around, they will find it too late for regrets. For this land of China will have become quite different, with its house swept clean and the 'four pests' eliminated, they won't find many friends here and they can't do much even if they spread a few germs."

Chairman Mao sharply criticized Khrushchov revisionism and great-power chauvinism. He said: "This time when our delegation went to the Soviet Union, we came straight to the point on a number of questions. I told Comrade Chou En-lai over the phone that these people are blinded by their gains and the best way to deal with them is to give them a good dressing down. What are their gains? Nothing but 50 million tons of steel, 400 million tons of coal, and 80 million tons of petroleum. Does this amount to much? Not at all. Now at the sight of this much their heads are swollen. What Communists! What Marxists! I say multiply

all that tenfold, or even a hundredfold, it still doesn't amount to much. All you have done is to extract something from the earth, turn it into steel and make some cars, aeroplanes and what not. What is so remarkable about it? And yet you make all this such a heavy burden on your back that you even cast away revolutionary principles. Isn't this being blinded by gains? If one reaches high office, one can be blinded by gain too. To be the first secretary of a Party committee is a kind of gain, which is also liable to swell one's head. When a man's head gets too swelled, we have to give him a good dressing down one way or another. This time in Moscow, Comrade Chou En-lai did not stand on ceremony and took them on and so they kicked up a row. This is good, straightening things out face to face." "If they insist on having their own way, sooner or later we will have to bring everything into the open."

Chairman Mao said: "In my opinion the whole Party should study dialectics and advocate acting in accordance with dialectics. The whole Party should pay attention to ideological and theoretical work, build up contingents of Marxist theorists and devote greater efforts to studying and propagating Marxist theory."

The important theoretical points in these talks are systematically elaborated in *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People* and *Speech at the Chinese Communist Party's National Conference on Propaganda Work*, two brilliant Marxist documents which have already been published.

*Things Are Beginning to Change* is an article written by Chairman Mao for Party cadres before the attacks of the bourgeois Rightists on the Party reached the climax. It is devoted mainly to an analysis of the situation in class struggle and an explanation of our tactics in the struggle. Chairman Mao pointed out that there were a number of people in the Party whose thinking erred on the side of dogmatism. There were also a number of people whose thinking erred on the side of revisionism and they posed a bigger danger. They and the Rightists outside the Party acted in concert and formed a congenial lot, hitting it off like sworn brothers. Our struggle against the Rightists was focused on winning over the middle elements. We should let them run amuck for a time and let

them reach their climax. They would then end up by burying themselves.

*Muster Forces to Repulse the Wild Attacks of the Rightists* is an inner-Party directive written by Chairman Mao to make arrangements for counterattacks against the Rightists when their attacks reached the climax. Chairman Mao emphasized: "This is a big battle (with the battleground both inside and outside the Party). If we don't win this battle, it will be impossible to attain socialism and there may even be some danger of a 'Hungarian incident.'" After the issuance of this directive, a great, nationwide struggle was immediately started to beat back the bourgeois Rightists. Following this, Chairman Mao himself wrote "*Wenhui Bao's*" *Bourgeois Orientation Should Be Criticized*, an editorial for *Renmin Ribao*, which dealt a head-on blow at the Chang Po-chun-Lo Lung-chi alliance, the commanding centre of the bourgeois Rightists.

*Repulse the Attacks of the Bourgeois Rightists* and *The Situation in the Summer of 1957* are two important articles by Chairman Mao in the surging anti-Rightist struggle. Chairman Mao said that the majority of the 600 million people in our country were good and that the Rightists, who opposed the Communist Party, the people and socialism, were only a very small number. The contradiction between the Rightists and the people was one between the enemy and ourselves. It was necessary to go on digging out the Rightists; we must not relax our efforts or wind up the struggle in a hurry. Our struggle against the Rightists was centred mainly on the three questions: Whether success in our revolution and construction was primary, whether the socialist road should be taken and whether the leadership of the Communist Party was needed. Chairman Mao said that the significance of the struggle against the Rightists must not be underestimated. "It is a great socialist revolution on the political and ideological fronts. By itself, the socialist revolution of 1956 on the economic front (that is, in the ownership of the means of production) is not enough, nor is it secure. This has been borne out by the Hungarian events. There must also be a thoroughgoing socialist revolution on the political and ideological fronts."

Chairman Mao pointed out that our Party had gained experience in fulfilling the three tasks of rectifying the style of work, criticizing the Rightists and winning over the intermediate masses and this was of great significance. **“Our aim is to create a political situation in which we have both centralism and democracy, both discipline and freedom, both unity of will and personal ease of mind and liveliness, and thus to promote our socialist revolution and socialist construction, make it easier to overcome difficulties, build our modern industry and modern agriculture more rapidly and make our Party and state more secure and better able to weather storm and stress. The general subject here is the correct handling of contradictions among the people and those between the enemy and ourselves. The method is to seek truth from facts and follow the mass line.”**

Chairman Mao used the proverb “With the skin gone, where can the hair attach itself?” to explain vividly the need for bourgeois intellectuals to remould themselves. Chairman Mao pointed out that the intellectuals coming from the old society had lost their original economic basis in society. Some intellectuals became “gentlemen on the beam,” touching neither the heavens nor the earth. The intellectuals must remould themselves so that they, the “hair,” could attach to the skin of public ownership and of the proletariat. Many intellectuals were very cocky, thinking they had much knowledge. In fact they were most ignorant and they could not avoid mistakes when they dealt with matters of principle. **“The overall situation is determined not by the intellectuals, but ultimately by the working people, by their most advanced section, the proletariat.”** In order to attach themselves to the proletariat, the intellectuals must study proletarian ideology, have some warm feelings for the proletariat and make friends with workers and peasants. Chairman Mao said it was necessary that **“a new army of working-class intellectuals will be formed (including all the intellectuals from the old society who take a firm working-class stand after having been genuinely remoulded). This is a great task history sets us. The revolutionary cause of the working class will not be fully consolidated until this vast new army of working-class intellectuals comes into being.”**

*Be Activists in Promoting the Revolution* is an important speech by Chairman Mao at the Third Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Communist Party of China. In the second half of 1956, Liu Shao-chi stirred up a Right deviationist wind to oppose “rash advance,” a wind which swept away the slogan of doing things with greater, faster, better and more economical results, the 40-article Programme for Agricultural Development and the committee for promoting progress. In this speech, Chairman Mao criticized Liu Shao-chi's Right opportunist line and the revisionist viewpoint that “the principal contradiction is one between the advanced socialist system and the backward social productive forces,” which Liu Shao-chi and Chen Po-ta inserted into the Resolution of the Eighth Party Congress. Chairman Mao pointed out: **“The contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, between the socialist road and the capitalist road, is undoubtedly the principal contradiction in China's present-day society.”**

Chairman Mao affirmed the form created by the masses for making revolution, namely, speaking out freely, airing views fully, holding great debates and writing big-character posters. It was a form fitting in with the content of the struggle of the masses and class struggle in the present period, and fitting in with the correct handling of contradictions among the people. This form brought socialist democracy into full play. **“On the basis of such democracy, centralism is not weakened but further consolidated and the dictatorship of the proletariat strengthened.”**

Chairman Mao pointed out: **“Politics and the professions form a unity of opposites, in which politics is predominant and primary, and we must fight against the tendency to ignore politics, but it won't do to confine oneself to politics and have no technical or professional knowledge.”** **“Our cadres in all trades and professions should strive to be proficient in technical and professional work, turn themselves into experts and become both red and expert.”**

Chairman Mao explained our Party's basic viewpoints on the question of Stalin and the question of peaceful transition and criticized Khrushchov revisionism. He pointed out: **“Stalin's achievements are primary and his**

shortcomings and mistakes secondary." "We have put up Stalin's portrait in Tien An Men Square. This accords with the wishes of working people the world over and indicates the fundamental differences between us and Khrushchov." Peaceful change-over is a tactical slogan. Nevertheless, the bourgeoisie will never hand over their political power of their own accord but will use violence. To seize political power by armed force is a strategical slogan. "Generally speaking, political parties of the proletariat had better be prepared for two possibilities: one, a gentleman reasons things out and does not resort to his fists, but two, if a bastard uses his fists, I'll use mine. Putting the matter this way takes care of both possibilities and leaves no loophole."

The article *Firmly Believe in the Majority of the People* comprehensively analyses the political attitude of every class and stratum in socialist society and profoundly explains the balance of class forces in the continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Chairman Mao pointed out: "What is the scope of the socialist revolution, what classes are involved in this struggle? The socialist revolution is a struggle waged by the proletariat at the head of the working people against the bourgeoisie. Though relatively small in number, China's proletariat has allies in vast numbers, the most important of which are the poor and lower-middle peasants who form 70 per cent or a little more of the rural population." "Of our entire population 90 per cent are for socialism. We must have faith in this majority. Through our efforts and great debates we may win over an additional 8 per cent, which will bring the total to 98 per cent. The diehards bitterly opposed to socialism form only 2 per cent." With the majority of the people supporting socialism, the appearance of the form — speaking out freely, airing views fully, holding great debates and writing big-character posters — does a lot of good. This form has no class nature. It "can be used by the bourgeoisie just as by the proletariat; it can be used by the Left, the middle and the Right alike. Which class really benefits from this slogan of speaking out freely, airing views fully, holding great debates and writing big-character posters? In the final analysis, the proletariat, not the bourgeois Rightists."

Speaking of the 40-article Programme for Agricultural Development, Chairman Mao pointed out: "Taken all in all, there is great hope for realizing this programme. China can be changed, ignorance can be changed into knowledge and lethargy into vitality." "This country of ours is full of hope. The Rightists say it is hopeless, they are utterly wrong. They lack confidence, for they oppose socialism, naturally confidence is lacking. We adhere to socialism and we are brimming with confidence."

*A Dialectical Approach to Inner-Party Unity* is an important article on applying dialectics to solving inner-Party contradictions. Chairman Mao said that we should take the attitude of uniting with any comrade, provided he is not a hostile element or a saboteur. We should adopt a dialectical, and not a metaphysical, approach towards him. The metaphysical approach is to totally crush anyone not to one's liking. The dialectical approach is: "With a comrade who has made mistakes we should first wage a struggle to thoroughly rid him of his wrong ideas. Second, we should help him as well. Point one, struggle, and point two, help. We should proceed with good will and help him correct his mistakes so that he will have a way out." Chairman Mao clearly stated: "The concept of the unity of opposites, dialectics, must be widely propagated. I say dialectics should move from the small circle of philosophers to the broad masses of the people."

Volume V of the *Selected Works of Mao Tsetung* is a monument of Marxism-Leninism. Its publication is of great immediate and far-reaching historic significance. It is a powerful ideological weapon for unifying the thinking and actions of the whole Party, the whole army and the people of all our nationalities and for realizing Chairman Hua's strategic policy decision of grasping the key link in running the country well and bringing about great order across the land; it is a powerful ideological weapon for deepening the exposure and criticism of the "gang of four," for strengthening Party building ideologically and organizationally, for resolutely continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and for stepping up socialist construction; it is a powerful ideological weapon in opposing imperialism

and social-imperialism. We must conscientiously study Volume V of the *Selected Works of Mao Tsetung* and, under the leadership of the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman

Hua, hold high the great banner of Chairman Mao, carry out Chairman Mao's behests and carry the proletarian revolutionary cause through to the end.

# **Contents and Introductory Notes of Volume V of "Selected Works of Mao Tsetung"**

## **The Period of the Socialist Revolution and Socialist Construction (I)**

**The Chinese People Have Stood Up!** (September 21, 1949)

- Opening address at the First Plenary Session of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference.

**Long Live the Great Unity of the Chinese People!** (September 30, 1949)

- The First Plenary Session of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference entrusted Comrade Mao Tsetung with the drafting of this declaration.

**Eternal Glory to the Heroes of the People** (September 30, 1949)

- Epitaph on the Monument to the Heroes of the People drafted by Comrade Mao Tsetung.

**Always Keep to the Style of Plain Living and Hard Struggle** (October 26, 1949)

**Asking for Opinions on the Tactics for Dealing With Rich Peasants** (March 12, 1950)

- Circular to the Central-South Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and concurrently to the East China Bureau, the South China Sub-Bureau, the Southwest Bureau and the Northwest Bureau.

**Fight for a Fundamental Turn for the Better in the Nation's Financial and Economic Situation** (June 6, 1950)

- Written report to the Third Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee of the Communist Party of China.

**Don't Hit Out in All Directions** (June 6, 1950)

- Part of a speech delivered by Comrade Mao Tsetung at the Third Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee of the Communist Party of China. It throws light on the written report "Fight for a Fundamental Turn for the Better in the Nation's Financial and Economic Situation" and on its strategic and tactical ideas.

**Be a True Revolutionary** (June 23, 1950)

- Closing address at the Second Session of the First National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference.

**You Are Models for the Whole Nation** (September 25, 1950)

- Message of greetings delivered on behalf of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party to the National Conferences of Combat Heroes and of Model Workers in Industry, Agriculture and the Army.

**Order to the Chinese People's Volunteers** (October 8, 1950)

- Excerpts from an order to the Chinese People's Volunteers.

**The Chinese People's Volunteers Should Cherish Every Hill, Every River, Every Tree and Every Blade of Grass in Korea** (January 19, 1951)

- Directive to the Chinese People's Volunteers.

**Main Points of the Resolution Adopted at the Enlarged Meeting of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party** (February 18, 1951)

- I. Twenty-Two Months for Preparation
  - II. Propaganda and Education Campaign for Resisting U.S. Aggression and Aiding Korea
  - III. Agrarian Reform
  - IV. Suppression of Counter-Revolutionaries
  - V. Urban Work
  - VI. Party Consolidation and Party Building
  - VII. United Front Work
  - VIII. Rectification Movement
- Inner-Party circular drafted for the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party.

**The Party's Mass Line Must Be Followed in Suppressing Counter-Revolutionaries** (May 1951)

- Instructions added by Comrade Mao Tsetung when he revised the draft resolution of the Third National Conference on Public Security.

**Strike Surely, Accurately and Relentlessly in Suppressing Counter-Revolutionaries** (December 1950 - September 1951)

- Important directives concerning the movement to suppress counter-revolutionaries drafted for the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party.

**Pay Serious Attention to the Discussion of the Film *The Life of Wu Hsun*** (May 20, 1951)

- Abridged text of an editorial written for *Renmin Ribao*.

**Great Victories in Three Mass Movements** (October 23, 1951)

- Opening address at the Third Session of the First National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference.

**On the Struggle Against "the Three Evils" and "the Five Evils"** (November 1951 - March 1952)

- Important directives drafted for the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China.

**Take Mutual Aid and Co-operation in Agriculture as a Major Task** (December 15, 1951)

- Inner-Party circular of historic significance drafted by Comrade Mao Tsetung to rebuff Liu Shao-chi's opposition to the co-operative transformation of agriculture. In July 1951, behind the backs of Comrade Mao Tsetung and the Party Central Committee, Liu Shao-chi wrote and distributed a comment in his own name, wantonly attacking a report submitted by the Shansi provincial Party committee on promoting mutual aid and co-operation in agricultural production. In this comment, he opposed Comrade Mao Tsetung's line on the socialist transformation of agriculture, maligning it as an "erroneous, dangerous and utopian socialist idea in agriculture." In September of the same year, Comrade Mao Tsetung personally took charge of drafting the "Resolution of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China on Mutual Aid and Co-operation in Agricultural Production (Draft)," and on December 15 when the draft resolution was to be distributed he wrote this circular and instructed the whole Party to take mutual aid and co-operation in agriculture as a major task.

**New Year's Day Message** (January 1, 1952)

**On the Policies for Our Work in Tibet — Directive of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party** (April 6, 1952)



- Inner-Party directive drafted for the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party which was sent to the Southwest Bureau and the Working Committee in Tibet and communicated to the Northwest Bureau and the Sinkiang Sub-Bureau.

**The Contradiction Between the Working Class and the Bourgeoisie Is the Principal Contradiction in China (June 6, 1952)**

- Written comment by Comrade Mao Tsetung on a document drafted by the United Front Work Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China. He criticized the head of this department for his error in regarding the national bourgeoisie as an intermediate class.

**Let Us Unite and Clearly Distinguish Between Ourselves and the Enemy (August 4, 1952)**

- Salient points of a speech delivered at the 38th meeting of the Standing Committee of the First National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference.

**Hail the Signal Victory of the Chinese People's Volunteers (October 24, 1952)**

- Directive to the leading members of the Chinese People's Volunteers drafted for the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and its Military Commission.

**Combat Bureaucracy, Commandism and Violations of the Law and Discipline (January 5, 1953)**

- Inner-Party directive drafted for the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China.

**Criticize Han Chauvinism (March 16, 1953)**

- Inner-Party directive drafted for the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China.

**Solve the Problem of the "Five Excesses" (March 19, 1953)**

- Inner-Party directive drafted for the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China.

**Liu Shao-chi and Yang Shang-kun Criticized for Breach of Discipline in Issuing Documents in the Name of the Central Committee Without Authorization (May 19, 1953)**

- Written criticisms of Liu Shao-chi and Yang Shang-kun.

**Refute Right Deviationist Views That Depart From the General Line (June 15, 1953)**

- Part of Comrade Mao Tsetung's speech at a meeting of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party. Here Comrade Mao Tsetung refuted the Right opportunist views, such as "firmly establish the new-democratic social order," put forward by Liu Shao-chi and others.

**The Youth League in Its Work Must Take the Characteristics of Youth Into Consideration (June 30, 1953)**

- Talk by Comrade Mao Tsetung when he received the Presidium of the Second National Congress of the New Democratic Youth League of China.

**On State Capitalism (July 9, 1953)**

- Written comment on a document of the National Conference on Financial and Economic Work held in the summer of 1953.

**The Party's General Line for the Transition Period (August 1953)**

- Important instructions written by Comrade Mao Tsetung when he went over the summing-up to be made by Comrade Chou En-lai at the National Conference on Financial and Economic work held in the summer of 1953.

**Combat Bourgeois Ideas in the Party (August 12, 1953)**

- Speech at the National Conference on Financial and Economic work held in the summer of 1953.

**The Only Road for the Transformation of Capitalist Industry and Commerce** (September 7, 1953)

- Outline prepared by Comrade Mao Tsetung for his talk to representative personages from the democratic parties and industrial and commercial circles on September 7, 1953.

**Our Great Victory in the War to Resist U.S. Aggression and Aid Korea and Our Future Tasks** (September 12, 1953)

- Speech at the 24th Session of the Central People's Government Council.

**Criticism of Liang Shu-ming's Reactionary Ideas** (September 16-18, 1953)

- Essential parts of Comrade Mao Tsetung's criticism of Liang Shu-ming at the 27th Session of the Central People's Government Council held in Peking on September 16-18, 1953. Members of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference who were in Peking at the time sat in on the session.

**Two Talks on Mutual Aid and Co-operation in Agriculture** (October and November 1953)

- I. The Talk of October 15
- II. The Talk of November 4

- Two talks to the responsible members of the Rural Work Department of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party before and during the third conference on mutual aid and co-operation in agriculture, which was convened by the Central Committee from October 26 to November 5, 1953.

**On the Draft Constitution of the People's Republic of China** (June 14, 1954)

- Speech at the 30th Session of the Central People's Government Council.

**Strive to Build a Great Socialist Country** (September 15, 1954)

- Opening address at the First Session of the First National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China.

**Letter Concerning the Study of *The Dream of the Red Chamber*** (October 16, 1954)

- Letter to the comrades of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and other comrades concerned.

**The Chinese People Cannot Be Cowed by the Atom Bomb** (January 28, 1955)

- Main points of a conversation Comrade Mao Tsetung had with Ambassador Carl-Johan (Cay) Sundstrom, the first Finnish envoy to China, when he presented his credentials.

**Speeches at the National Conference of the Chinese Communist Party** (March 1955)

Opening Speech

Concluding Speech

- I. Evaluation of the Present National Conference
- II. On the First Five-Year Plan
- III. On the Anti-Party Alliance of Kao Kang and Jao Shu-shih
- IV. On the Current Situation
- V. Strive for the Successful Convocation of the Eighth National Congress of the Party

**In Refutation of "Uniformity of Public Opinion"** (May 24, 1955)

- Article criticizing the counter-revolutionary Hu Feng clique.

**Preface and Editor's Notes to *Material on the Counter-Revolutionary Hu Feng Clique*** (May and June 1955)

Preface

Editor's Notes (Selections)

**On the Question of the Co-operative Transformation of Agriculture** (July 31, 1955)

- Report at a conference of secretaries of provincial, municipal and autonomous region Party committees called by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China.

**In the Co-operative Transformation of Agriculture Rely on Party and League Members and Poor and Lower-Middle Peasants** (September 7, 1955)

— Inner-Party directive drafted for the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China.

**A Debate on the Co-operative Transformation of Agriculture and the Current Class Struggle** (October 11, 1955)

- I. The Relationship Between Agricultural Co-operation and the Transformation of Capitalist Industry and Commerce
- II. Summary of the Debate on the Question of Co-operation
- III. On the Question of Comprehensive Planning and Strengthening Leadership
- IV. On Ideological Struggle
- V. Other Questions

— Concluding speech delivered at the Enlarged Sixth Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party.

**Prefaces to *The Socialist Upsurge in China's Countryside*** (September and December 1955)

Preface I

Preface II

**Editor's Notes From *The Socialist Upsurge in China's Countryside*** (September and December 1955)

— In editing *The Socialist Upsurge in China's Countryside*, Comrade Mao Tsetung wrote 104 notes, of which 43 have been selected here. The enlarged meeting of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China held in Chengtu in March 1958 had part of the notes reprinted. On March 19, 1958 Comrade Mao Tsetung wrote an explanation, the full text of which reads:

Those notes which appeared in the book entitled *The Socialist Upsurge in China's Countryside* were written in September and December 1955. To this day some have not lost their significance. There is however one statement in the notes to the effect that 1955 was the year in which socialism won basic victory in the decisive battle with capitalism; it is not proper to put it that way. This is the way it should be put: 1955 was the year in which basic victory was won as regards the ownership aspect of the relations of production, while in the other aspects of the relations of production as well as in some aspects of the superstructure, namely, on the ideological and political fronts, either a basic victory was not won or if won, the victory was not complete, and further efforts were required. We did not anticipate that such a great storm would burst upon the world in 1956, nor did we anticipate that a campaign to "oppose rash advance" would occur in the same year in our country, a campaign which dampened the enthusiasm of the masses. Both events gave a considerable stimulus to the Rightists in mounting their frenzied attacks. Hence a lesson can be drawn: neither socialist revolution nor socialist construction is plain sailing, and we should be prepared to cope with the many great difficulties that may crop up at home and abroad. Both internationally and domestically the general situation is favourable, we can be sure of this, but many serious difficulties are bound to occur and we must be prepared to tackle them.

**Asking for Opinions on the Seventeen-Point Document Concerning Agriculture** (December 21, 1955)

— Circular drafted for the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and sent to the Shanghai Bureau and the various provincial and autonomous region Party committees.

**Speed Up the Socialist Transformation of Handicrafts** (March 5, 1956)

- Part of Comrade Mao Tsetung's instructions when the departments concerned under the State Council reported their work on handicrafts.

**On the Ten Major Relationships (April 25, 1956)**

- I. The Relationship Between Heavy Industry on the One Hand and Light Industry and Agriculture on the Other
  - II. The Relationship Between Industry in the Coastal Regions and Industry in the Interior
  - III. The Relationship Between Economic Construction and Defence Construction
  - IV. The Relationship Between the State, the Units of Production and the Producers
  - V. The Relationship Between the Central Authorities and the Local Authorities
  - VI. The Relationship Between the Han Nationality and the Minority Nationalities
  - VII. The Relationship Between Party and Non-Party
  - VIII. The Relationship Between Revolution and Counter-Revolution
  - IX. The Relationship Between Right and Wrong
  - X. The Relationship Between China and Other Countries
- Speech at an enlarged meeting of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party. Bearing in mind lessons drawn from the Soviet Union, Comrade Mao Tsetung summed up China's experience, dealt with ten major relationships in socialist revolution and socialist construction and set forth the ideas underlying the general line of building socialism with greater, faster, better and more econom-

ical results, a line suited to the conditions of our country.

**U.S. Imperialism Is a Paper Tiger (July 14, 1956)**

- Part of a talk with two Latin American public figures.

**Strengthen Party Unity and Carry Forward the Party's Traditions (August 30, 1956)**

- Speech at the first session of the preparatory meeting for the Eighth National Congress of the Communist Party of China.

**Some Experiences in Our Party's History (September 25, 1956)**

- Part of a talk with representatives of some Latin American Communist Parties.

**In Commemoration of Dr. Sun Yat-sen (November 12, 1956)**

- Article in commemoration of the 90th birthday of Dr. Sun Yat-sen.

**Speech at the Second Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Communist Party of China (November 15, 1956)**

**Talks at a Conference of Secretaries of Provincial, Municipal and Autonomous Region Party Committees (January 1957)**

- I. The Talk of January 18
- II. The Talk of January 27

**On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People (February 27, 1957)**

- I. Two Types of Contradictions Differing in Nature
- II. The Question of Eliminating Counter-Revolutionaries
- III. The Question of the Co-operative Transformation of Agriculture
- IV. The Question of the Industrialists and Businessmen
- V. The Question of the Intellectuals

- VI. The Question of the Minority Nationalities
  - VII. Overall Consideration and Proper Arrangement
  - VIII. On "Let a Hundred Flowers Blossom, Let a Hundred Schools of Thought Contend" and "Long-Term Coexistence and Mutual Supervision"
  - IX. On the Question of Disturbances Created by Small Numbers of People
  - X. Can Bad Things Be Turned Into Good Things?
  - XI. On Practising Economy
  - XII. China's Path to Industrialization
- Speech at the 11th Session (Enlarged) of the Supreme State Conference. Comrade Mao Tsetung went over the verbatim record and made certain additions before its publication in *Renmin Ribao* on June 19, 1957.

**Speech at the Chinese Communist Party's National Conference on Propaganda Work** (March 12, 1957)

**Persevere in Plain Living and Hard Struggle, Maintain Close Ties With the Masses** (March 1957)

- (1) is part of a speech at a conference of Party cadres in Tsinan on March 18, 1957, and (2) is part of a speech at a conference of Party cadres in Nanking on March 19 of the same year.

**Things Are Beginning to Change** (May 15, 1957)

- Article written by Comrade Mao Tsetung and circulated among Party cadres.

**The Chinese Communist Party Is the Core of Leadership of the Whole Chinese People** (May 25, 1957)

- Remarks by Comrade Mao Tsetung when he received the entire body of delegates to the Third National Congress

of the New Democratic Youth League of China.

**Muster Forces to Repulse the Wild Attacks of the Rightists** (June 8, 1957)

- Inner-Party directive drafted for the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China.

**Wenhui Bao's Bourgeois Orientation Should Be Criticized** (July 1, 1957)

- Editorial written for *Renmin Ribao*.

**Repulse the Attacks of the Bourgeois Rightists** (July 9, 1957)

- Speech delivered at a conference of cadres in Shanghai.

**The Situation in the Summer of 1957** (July 1957)

- Article written during the conference of the secretaries of provincial and municipal Party committees held in Tsingtao in July 1957 and printed and distributed at the conference. It was circulated among the leading cadres of the Party in August of the same year.

**Be Activists in Promoting the Revolution** (October 9, 1957)

- Speech at the Enlarged Third Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Communist Party of China.

**Firmly Believe in the Majority of the People** (October 13, 1957)

- Speech at the 13th Session of the Supreme State Conference.

**A Dialectical Approach to Inner-Party Unity** (November 18, 1957)

- Excerpts from a speech at the Moscow meeting of representatives of Communist and Workers' Parties.

**All Reactionaries Are Paper Tigers** (November 18, 1957)

- Excerpts from a speech at the Moscow meeting of representatives of Communist and Workers' Parties.

# Hold High the Great Red Banner of Mao Tsetung Thought, Deepen the Exposure and Criticism of "Gang of Four"

**H**OLDING high the great red banner of Mao Tsetung Thought, the Party Central Committee headed by the wise leader Chairman Hua Kuo-feng has, in the short space of six months since the shattering of the "gang of four," led the whole Party, the whole army and the people of all nationalities throughout the country in grasping the key link to run the country well and carrying out a great political revolution to combat, expose and criticize the "gang of four." A tremendous amount of work has been done and great victories have been won on all fronts. A flourishing scene prevails all over the country.

The great struggle to expose and criticize the "gang of four" has developed with great velocity and momentum. In many places, including those areas, departments and units long under the control of the gang, the struggle has developed so quickly and so well as to surpass people's expectations. A fine case in point is Shanghai. For ten years the gang took great pains to build up its influence there. As soon as the news of the gang's downfall reached Shanghai, the ten million people of that city launched a gigantic struggle to expose and criticize the gang, opening fire on its members and the handful of their followers there. The revolutionary people are in high spirits, social order has remained stable and industrial production has gone up every month. There has been no trouble at all, big or small.

It is not accidental that the struggle has developed so well in Shanghai as well as in the rest of the country. It is eloquent proof that the "gang of four" does not have any support at all among the people and is completely isolated, that our Party, our army and our people nurtured by Chairman Mao are very good indeed and that the guiding principles laid down by the Party Central Committee headed by Chair-

man Hua for this great struggle are entirely correct.

The guiding principles put forward by the wise leader Chairman Hua for exposing and criticizing the "gang of four" can be summarized into the following highly important points:

First. Hold high the great red banner of Mao Tsetung Thought, carry out Chairman Mao's behests, and make public Chairman Mao's important instructions in criticizing the "gang of four" as the most powerful ideological weapon for arming the people in the struggle to expose and criticize the gang. This will completely shatter all the rumours and slanders spread by the enemy and ensure that our struggle will always advance victoriously in line with Mao Tsetung Thought.

Second. Right from the outset, the movement has penetratingly exposed the crux of the matter with the "gang of four," namely, practising revisionism, creating splits and engaging in conspiracy and intrigues in an attempt to usurp supreme Party and state leadership; it has clearly exposed the ultra-Right nature of the gang's counter-revolutionary revisionist line and pointed out that the gang was a handful of ultra-Rightists, thus enabling the people to see that the line the gang pushed was an ultra-Right line which was in direct contravention of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and which aimed at subverting the dictatorship of the proletariat and restoring capitalism. This has hit the vital part of the "gang of four's" plots.

Third. Firmly keep to the general orientation of the struggle. The struggle our Party is waging against the "gang of four" is, in essence, a continuation of the protracted struggle waged by the Communist Party and the masses of the people under its leadership against the Kuomin-

tang, a continuation of the protracted struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and a continuation of the protracted struggle between Marxism and revisionism. By grasping class struggle which is the key link, we will be able to lead the masses to make a clear distinction between ourselves and the enemy, discern the enemy's plot to muddle our ranks and undermine the Party Central Committee's strategic plan, eliminate interferences of all descriptions and direct the spearhead of attack at the "gang of four" and its handful of sworn followers.

Fourth. Have firm faith in the majority of the people, rely directly on the revolutionary masses, incessantly enhance their understanding of the nature and significance of the struggle, and mobilize a mighty revolutionary contingent to fight a people's war of exposing and criticizing the "gang of four."

Fifth. Bring into full play the great role of the People's Liberation Army as the pillar of the proletarian dictatorship. Founded and nurtured by Chairman Mao, our army follows the Party's instructions. The fact that we were able to smash the "gang of four" and maintain nationwide stability in the struggle cannot be separated from our confidence in and reliance on the P.L.A. and bringing its role into full play.

Sixth. The movement as a whole is being carried out under the unified leadership of the Party committees. Resolutely smash the bourgeois factional set-up of the "gang of four" and its followers and sweep aside bourgeois factionalist interference. As the movement progresses, take timely and necessary measures to make organizational readjustments and reinforce the leading organs of the provincial, municipal and autonomous regional Party committees and Party committees of the central organs, government ministries and state commissions, support their work and enable them to establish proletarian revolutionary authority in the course of the struggle.

Seventh. Pay attention to policies. The Central Committee explicitly pointed out from the outset that it is necessary, on the one hand, to take a resolute and clear-cut stand and never weaken our efforts in dealing with the "gang of four" and its handful of sworn followers and,

on the other hand, draw a strict distinction between the two different types of contradictions which are different in nature, help more people by educating them and narrow the target of attack. All this ensures that our struggle will be able to solve problems and contribute to stability in the overall situation.

The state of affairs in the past six months shows that the Central Committee's guiding principles and political and organizational lines are entirely correct. The fundamental reason why they are correct is because we have carried out the behests of our great leader Chairman Mao, held high the great red banner of Mao Tsetung Thought, fully aroused and relied on the masses, taken firm hold of class struggle as the key link, grasped the principal contradiction of exposing and criticizing the "gang of four" and thereby pushed forward the development of the overall situation. All in all, the work as a whole has progressed smoothly and great achievements have been made. The situation is excellent. The whole Party, the whole army and the people of all nationalities throughout the country are delighted, and, likewise, friends abroad are delighted.

In order to deepen the exposure and criticism of the "gang of four," it is necessary, according to the arrangements made by Chairman Hua and the Party Central Committee, to continue in the next stage to expose and criticize the "gang of four's" conspiracy to usurp Party and state power and at the same time penetratingly expose and repudiate their counter-revolutionary features and their criminal personal histories. Later on, it is necessary to stress the repudiation of the ultra-Right essence of the counter-revolutionary revisionist line of the "gang of four" and its manifestations in various spheres, and to thoroughly denounce and discredit them theoretically in the fields of philosophy, political economy and scientific socialism. To make a penetrating and systematic criticism of the counter-revolutionary revisionist line and reactionary world outlook of the "gang of four" politically and ideologically is a long-term task. They controlled the mass media for a long time and caused great confusion in ideology and theory. It will require big efforts and hard work over a long period of time to eliminate their pernicious influence and effects.

In the movement to expose and criticize the "gang of four," it is necessary, in accordance with the principles and policies laid down by the Party Central Committee, to continue grasping firmly the work of making investigations with regard to persons and events connected with the plots of the "gang of four." We must not underestimate the arduousness of this work. That the movement is not developing in an even manner in different places and units merits our special attention. Units which are lagging behind need all the more to fully mobilize the masses and, in the light of the actual situation in their particular areas and units, bring about an upsurge in exposing and criticizing the "gang of four" and turn all the positive factors into account so as to enable their work in every field to catch up with the advanced units.

Holding high the great banner of Chairman Mao and applying great Mao Tsetung Thought, Chairman Hua has in the past six months made the strategic policy decision to grasp the key link in running the country well, formulated the guiding principles in exposing and criticizing the "gang of four" and led the whole Party,

the whole army and the people of the whole country to unite in struggle and advance from victory to victory. At present, the situation throughout China is excellent and it is getting better and better. The spirits of the people of all nationalities in the country are high and their morale is soaring. The dictatorship of the proletariat in China is becoming more and more consolidated. The mass movements in industry, learn from Taching; in agriculture, learn from Tachai; the whole nation should learn from the People's Liberation Army; the Liberation Army should learn from the people of the whole country are developing vigorously. Great Mao Tsetung Thought will illuminate our motherland with ever greater brilliance. A new nationwide leap forward is rapidly taking shape. Heroic people on all fronts, let us hold still higher the great red banner of Chairman Mao, closely follow the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua, take firm hold of the exposure and criticism of the "gang of four" as the key link, further develop the excellent situation, and win still greater victories!

*("Renmin Ribao" editorial, April 13)*

## Warmly Greeting Glorious Festival Of the Kampuchean People

**T**ODAY is the second anniversary of the National Independence Day of Democratic Kampuchea. The Chinese Government and people extend the warmest greetings to the Government of Democratic Kampuchea and the fraternal Kampuchean people.

Democratic Kampuchea was born amidst the flames of revolutionary war against imperialism. Two years ago today, the Kampuchean people, under the guidance of the correct line of the revolutionary organization, liberated Phnom Penh and won the great victory of the war for national liberation after five years of bloody battles. The victory brought the Kampuchean people complete and thorough liberation and opened a new epoch in Kampu-

chean history. Since then, the revolution of the Kampuchean people has entered a new historical period. The victory is of great political significance to Asia and the whole world. It profoundly inspires the oppressed people and nations in their struggle for independence and liberation, setting a glorious example for them.

Since liberation, under the wise leadership of the revolutionary organization, the Kampuchean people, full of revolutionary pride, have waged a new struggle to defend and build the motherland and achieved new and inspiring successes. They have maintained and carried forward the glorious traditions of the years of liberation war, heightened revolutionary vigilance, defended the revolutionary regime and



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## National Independence Day Reception

**P**ICH Cheang, Ambassador of Democratic Kampuchea to China, gave a reception on April 17 to mark the second anniversary of National Independence Day.

Among those present at the reception were Vice-Premier Chen Hsi-lien, Vice-Chairman of the N.P.C. Standing Committee Hsu Hsiang-chien, Foreign Minister Huang Hua and Minister of Foreign Trade Li Chiang.

In his speech, Ambassador Pich Cheang recalled the achievements of his country in revolution and construction since liberation. Reaffirming Democratic Kampuchea's foreign policy, he said that the Kampuchean people consider it their noble revolutionary duty to support the revolutionary struggle of the people the world over, the struggle of the brotherly people of the third world and the struggle of non-aligned countries. He warmly praised the Chinese people who, under the leadership of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party headed by Chairman Hua Kuo-feng, won the victory of shattering the anti-Party "gang of

four" and thus created conditions for increasing the pace of the socialist revolution and construction.

In his speech, Foreign Minister Huang Hua, on behalf of the Chinese Government and people, extended congratulations and salutes to the Government and people of Democratic Kampuchea. He said: The Kampuchean people are not only good at destroying the old world but also good at building a new one. Since liberation, the Kampuchean people, have continued to display the dauntless revolutionary spirit they showed in the war years, have persisted in independence, self-reliance and hard struggle and achieved great successes in defending their country's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, frustrating sabotage by foreign and domestic enemies, consolidating the revolutionary regime, rehabilitating and developing the economy and carrying out diplomatic activities.

The Chinese People's Association for Friendship With Foreign Countries and the China-Kampuchea Friendship Association jointly gave a reception on April 16 to mark the occasion. Vice-Chairman Hsu Hsiang-chien and Ambassador Pich Cheang attended.

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safeguarded state sovereignty and territorial integrity. In the struggle to rehabilitate and develop the war-torn national economy, the Kampuchean people have continually adhered to the principle of independence and self-reliance. The movement of building water conservancy projects, a movement they have launched with tremendous efforts, has remarkably developed agricultural production. Especially admirable is the fact that they have self-reliantly resolved the problem of food in a short period. With soaring revolutionary enthusiasm, they have restored and developed transportation and communications, repaired damaged factories and built new ones. They have set in motion a literacy campaign and built new

schools. Everywhere in Democratic Kampuchea today, the scene is one of vitality and prosperity. Tempered in protracted war and endowed with a glorious tradition of revolution, the heroic Kampuchean people, determined to surmount all hardships and obstacles on their way forward, are working unremittingly to build a prosperous and thriving Democratic Kampuchea.

Democratic Kampuchea firmly pursues a policy of independence, peace, neutrality and non-alignment. It strives to establish and maintain close and friendly relations with its neighbours and other countries of the world on the basis of mutual respect for independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, equality

and mutual benefit. It has established diplomatic relations with many countries in Asia, Africa, Latin America and Europe. The recent friendly visits of the Democratic Kampuchean Government Delegation to a number of Asian countries were crowned with success and gratifying results have been achieved in foreign affairs. Democratic Kampuchea has always expressed firm solidarity and support to the third world countries and people in their just struggle against imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism. At international conferences like those of non-aligned countries and the U.N. General Assembly, and on other occasions, it has always taken a clear-cut and firm stand, thereby winning worldwide praise and appreciation.

In the course of protracted and common revolutionary struggles, the peoples of China

and Kampuchea have established and developed a profound militant friendship. Our two peoples are close comrades-in-arms. The Chinese people deeply admire and heartily rejoice at every victory and achievement of the brotherly Kampuchean people in their revolutionary cause. Under the leadership of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China headed by Chairman Hua Kuo-feng and following the teachings of the great leader and teacher Chairman Mao Tsetung, the Chinese people will, as always, resolutely support the Kampuchean people's revolutionary cause and stand by them, fighting shoulder to shoulder and marching forward together. We are convinced that the revolutionary friendship between the Chinese and Kampuchean peoples will develop with each passing day and be everlasting.

*("Renmin Ribao" editorial, April 17)*

## *Visit to Democratic Kampuchea (II)*

# The Revolutionary Army Making New Contributions

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*This is the second report written for our magazine by a member of the Chinese journalists delegation which visited Democratic Kampuchea. — Ed.*

**T**HE Kampuchean Revolutionary Army is a people's army which came into existence and grew up in the storms of struggle. Its contributions in the national-liberation war were magnificent and it has been taking an active part in defending and building up the country since nationwide liberation.

### **Rifle in One Hand and Hoe in the Other**

At a farm on Phnom Penh's outskirts run by a Revolutionary Army unit garrisoning the capital, Deputy Prime Minister Son Sen who is in charge

of defence affairs received and accompanied us on our visit. To enable the Revolutionary Army to adhere to the firm stand of the working people and build it into one never divorcing itself from the people, he told us, the Kampuchean revolutionary organization had stipulated that the Revolutionary Army must participate in productive labour together with the people and that it should realize self-sufficiency in grain in 1976 so as to lighten the people's burden. After more than a year's efforts, he added, the Revolutionary Army had in the main attained this goal.

While we were inspecting a pump in the farm's pumping station, which was fueled with charcoal, a few fighters working there told us the pump consisted of three parts: a simple, in-

digenous boiler; a row of gas filters made from U.S. shell cases and an engine taken out of a demolished U.S. military truck. We could not help admiring the fighters who, resourceful in killing the enemy on the battlefields, have continued to display their wisdom and creativeness in production today.

The Deputy Prime Minister said humorously: There are different types of pumps on the farm, some are power-driven, others use gasoline, diesel oil or charcoal. In short, various forms and methods are employed. Using charcoal to operate a pump can be regarded as a guerrilla form.

Fighters were reaping a paddyfield under the scorching sun. They belonged to an army unit from Svay Rieng Province in eastern Kampuchea. They had repeatedly performed meritorious service on the Svay Rieng battlefields in the years of war. In a counterattack against invading puppet south Vietnamese troops, they destroyed 15 tanks. Patterned on an ancient local model, the strange sickles they were using had been forged by them from U.S. shell cases during fighting intervals. In liberating Phnom Penh, the army unit brought them to the city. This deepened our understanding of the fact that during the years of war the Revolutionary Army was both a fighting force and a production force. It was good not only at fighting battles but also at doing mass work to help people in the base areas in construction. Mondolkiri and Ratanakiri, one of Kampuchea's old revolutionary base areas, are two provinces inhabited by minority nationalities who, for a long time, cultivated land in the mountains. After country-wide liberation, the Revolutionary Army patiently persuaded and helped them grow rice on some small fields. This changed their minds and enabled them to see that switching to growing rice would increase output.

Thanks to the efforts of the Kampuchean people and the Revolutionary Army, the country has now not only solved the problem of feeding its people but has some grain for export.

### **Loyalty to the Revolution and People**

The delegation also visited a barracks in what had been a jungle. Nestling in shady woods, blocks of beautiful houses are surrounded by rows of jackfruit, orange and banana trees

and fields of sweet potatoes, cassavas, melons and vegetables. Farther off are plots of paddyfields. Amidst clouds of dust, scores of soldiers were reclaiming wasteland while others were weaving boxes and baskets under the trees. A responsible comrade of the barracks told us that the beds, tables and chairs there had all been made by the fighters themselves. "This has become a productive village now," he added.

There we met a fighter who had fought heroically against the U.S. invaders on Tang Island during the *Mayaguez* incident\*. He gave a detailed account of how Kampuchean coastguards valiantly counterattacked when the United States sent its naval and air forces and marine corps to raid Tang Island on the morning of May 15, 1975. In the battle, over 30 U.S. marines were killed and wounded and five U.S. helicopters brought down. The fighter told us with firmness that just as the Kampuchean people in the past had put up a heroic struggle in defence of their sacred sovereignty and territorial integrity, they will continue to fight resolutely for the same purpose and wipe out any invading enemy.

Another Revolutionary Army barracks was located in a former virgin forest. When the army unit first got there, there was no road at all. Rope-like vines climbed the trunks and branches of the ancient tall trees. Since their arrival, the Revolutionary Army soldiers have built many roads and houses, grown sweet potatoes, cassavas and vegetables and raised pigs, chickens and ducks. They have not only become self-sufficient in vegetables but have a surplus to supply others. While we were there, they treated us to a lavish luncheon with the fruits of their labour: chicken, meat, fish and shrimp. Before our departure, the fighters offered us some boiled sweet potatoes and sugarcane, which we ate with relish.

We were deeply touched by the Kampuchean Revolutionary Army's noble spirit of loyalty to the revolution and people. It is now making still greater contributions to building Kampuchea into a powerful country.

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\* The incident occurred on May 12, 1975 when the U.S. ship *Mayaguez* was detained and interrogated for intruding into Kampuchean territorial waters to carry out provocative activities. After this the United States flagrantly sent aircraft and marines to bomb and invade the island.

# The More TASS Tries to Cover Up, The More It Is Exposed

TASS, the Kremlin's mouthpiece, stood truth on its head in an April 12 statement on the current situation in Zaire.

The statement consists mainly of a denial that the Soviet Union is the mastermind behind the current mercenary invasion of Zaire and a slanderous attack on the just stand taken by a number of countries which support the Zairian Government and people in countering this invasion. It was clearly intended to mislead the public and exculpate the Kremlin overlords. But contrary to its author's intentions, it merely serves to highlight the new tsars' treacherous designs and drive home the fact that Soviet social-imperialism is the sworn enemy of the people of Zaire and Africa as a whole.

The TASS statement begins by declaring: "The past weeks have seen unrest in Zaire: action against the central government began in the southern region of that country (the former Province of Katanga). It would seem that the situation is perfectly clear — one deals with a strictly internal conflict which need not concern anyone outside that country."

## Who Are the Invaders?

What sort of "internal conflict"? TASS claims it is a "conflict" between "the insurrectionists of southern Zaire" and "the central government authorities." However, it steers clear of all queries: Who are the "insurrectionists"? Where did they come from? What sort of weapons do they use? Who gives them logistical support? Who gave them prolonged training? Who is the backstage mastermind of the current armed invasion?

The Zairian people, and the Zairian people alone, have the final say on the truth of the matter. Truthful battle reports in the Zairian press provide conclusive evidence that what TASS called "insurrectionists" are a splittist force long spurned by the people of Zaire. After the failure of their splitting activities

more than a decade ago, they "roved Angola" and threw themselves into the arms of the Portuguese colonialists. Later, the Soviet Union rounded them up as a tool to repress the Angolan national-liberation organizations. They were increased in strength, and were armed and trained till they became a Soviet-hired mercenary force. What TASS called "insurrectionists" are merely a pack of desperadoes in the pay of Moscow.

As Zairian public opinion has pointed out, after "receiving military and ideological training from Cubans," these mercenaries "commanded by the Cubans" "came into Zaire across the borders between Angola and Shaba Province."

The mercenaries' up-to-date weapons like missiles came from the Soviet Union. They "have acquired important arms introduced into Angola two years ago and an adequate logistic supply." Zairian President Mobutu pointed out that the "very arms are being used by the invaders in southeast Shaba to decimate Zairians." All this has been witnessed and verified by Zairian soldiers at the front, refugees from the battlefield areas and foreign reporters there, but "overlooked" by TASS which has covered so many of the "war exploits" of the "insurrectionists."

In talking voluminously about the so-called "internal conflict," TASS aims to cover up Soviet ambitions, silence others and create pretexts for an open and enlarged aggression. The allegation that the conflict "need not concern anyone outside that country" reveals nothing but its guilty conscience in trying to cover up an infamous act.

## Not the First Time

This is, in fact, not the first time the Soviet Union has instigated mercenaries to invade a country. The invasion of Zaire is only a new offensive drive in the Soviet Union's political and military aggression in Africa, and another

serious step in its contention with the other superpower for Europe — the earlier move being the invasion of Angola. But the African people who have drawn a lesson from Angola are not allowing the Angola event to be repeated in Africa. Under the leadership of President Mobutu and in defiance of brute force, the Zairian Government and people are carrying out a struggle against outside aggression and for safeguarding national independence, territorial integrity and state sovereignty.

The just struggle of the Zairian people has won ever wider sympathy and support from the African people and the people of the world. Seewoosagur Ramgoolam, Executive Chairman of the Organization of African Unity (O.A.U.) and Prime Minister of Mauritius, said in a message to President Mobutu that at the moment of trial for Zaire and Africa, "the Zairian Government and people have the total support and solidarity of the O.A.U. and my government." The heads of state or representatives of many African countries, including Chad, the Central African Empire, Rwanda, Ghana, Congo and Niger, have condemned the mercenary invasion of Zaire and expressed resolute support for the struggle of the Zairian Government and people against the invasion. King Moulay Hassan II of Morocco dispatched a group of Royal armed forces to Zaire in support of the struggle to safeguard its territory and sovereignty. These troops are at the front — the Shaba Region. Sudanese President Gaafar Mohamed Nimeri announced that "the Sudan, sharing a common border with Zaire, is making all preparations for providing the Zairian Government with all assistance needed in counterattacking the invasion." Other African and Arab countries have also expressed their determination to give Zaire the necessary aid. The instigators of the invasion have become an object of universal condemnation and are most isolated.

It is in these circumstances that TASS rushed out its statement whitewashing the Kremlin and vilifying others. The statement says that "the leading circles of the Soviet Union deem it inadmissible for any external forces to interfere in the internal struggle in Zaire." The countries and people supporting Zaire's just struggle are even falsely accused of trying "to impose on the people of Zaire their own order," "to create a new international problem and

another hotbed of dangerous tension in the world" and "to warm their hands over the fire to which they themselves are adding fuel."

### Typical Gangster Logic

The Soviet Union can engage in aggression and expansion against Zaire and Africa in general as it pleases, while others are denied the right to fight aggression. This is the typical logic of hegemonism and gangsterism. As the Kenyan paper *The Standard* pointed out in an editorial on April 11, while some countries "are actively supporting Zaire in one way or another in defending her territorial integrity," the Soviet Union is scurrilously condemning their "rallying to Zaire's defence" as "impudently interfering" in Zaire's affairs. In doing so, Moscow aims at crushing Zaire so that it can realize its own designs.

Who indeed are trying "to impose on the people of Zaire their own order"? Who are trying "to create... another hotbed of dangerous tension in the world" and "warm their hands over the fire to which they themselves are adding fuel"? Unblushingly, TASS hurled charges at others. Yet anyone who has due regard for the actual facts knows that it is precisely the Soviet Union which has been in the habit of doing such deeds.

It would seem that the new tsars are very much concerned with their own image. They accuse others of embarking on a "slanderous campaign aimed at casting a shadow... on the Soviet Union." It is true that Moscow's image is none too holy in the eyes of the African people; it is in fact repulsive. Who made it so? Let us advise TASS not to try to look so baffled. An answer can easily be found.

TASS has shamelessly attacked China for its sympathy and solidarity with Zaire's struggle against aggression. It will get nowhere. The just stand of the Chinese Government and people in firmly supporting the united struggle of the African countries and people against imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism is consistent and well known. The new tsars' anti-China outburst only throws additional light on their own hideous features.

(A commentary by Hsinhua  
Correspondent, April 15)

# Hegemonism Goes Against the Will of the People

**T**HE Japan-Soviet fishery talks which began on February 28 are now more than a month old. With the Soviet Union maintaining an unreasonable position which impairs Japan's sovereign rights, the talks were twice broken off and no results have been obtained thus far.

Prior to the talks, Moscow unilaterally announced the establishment of a 200-mile exclusive fishing zone encompassing the waters around Japan's four northern islands, to become effective on March 1. During the talks, the Soviet Union tried its utmost to compel Japan to accept this and insisted on including such a provision in a temporary fishery agreement. The aim was to take advantage of the immediate fishery problem to force Japan to give up its territory for ever. The Soviet Union, moreover, asked to fish in Japan's territorial waters as a "quid pro quo" for Japanese fishing rights in the north Pacific. These unreasonable demands were naturally rejected by Japan. Soviet manoeuvres during the fishery talks have once again laid bare its hegemonic features in the eyes of the Japanese people and the people the world over.

It is known to all that the four northern islands are part of Japan's inalienable territory and the Japanese people have all along been struggling indefatigably to secure their return.

In the past the Soviet chieftains themselves had to admit that the four northern islands constituted an outstanding problem between Japan and the Soviet Union. In the summit talks between the two countries in 1973, Brezhnev acknowledged this and "agreed to continue the talks." Nevertheless, the Soviet Union has now included Japan's four northern islands and their surrounding waters inside the Soviet 200-mile exclusive fishing zone in an attempt to make

their permanent occupation a fait accompli and stifle the Japanese people's just struggle to secure their return. These tyrannical acts on the part of the Soviet Union, which seriously infringe on Japan's territorial integrity and sovereignty, have met with strong opposition from the Japanese people.

As to the Soviet proposal seeking fishing rights in Japan's territorial seas, it is unwarranted drivelling and a wilful provocation.

No genuinely sovereign country in world history has ever opened its territorial seas to the fishing boats of any other country. Soviet social-imperialism flouts even the most fundamental norms of international relations. This shows to what extremes the new tsars have pushed their hegemonic policies!

Banking on its strength, the Soviet Union is expanding everywhere in the world and trampling on the sovereign rights of other countries. If in the past there were people who failed to see this, today more and more are becoming clear about it.

Our great leader and teacher Chairman Mao pointed out long ago that the imperialists, the same as China's Chiang Kai-shek, are the best teachers by negative example. Soviet social-imperialism is no exception. The more its reactionary hegemonic nature is revealed, the greater the role of teacher by negative example it will play. Baring their fangs at the talks, the Soviet revisionists have seriously affronted the dignity of the Japanese nation as well as violated the fundamental interests of the Japanese people. They have provoked the strong resentment and opposition of the Japanese people.

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# ROUND THE WORLD

PHILIPPINE COMMUNIST PARTY

## Statement on 8th Anniversary of Re-establishment

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Philippines issued a statement on December 26, 1976 in celebration of the 8th anniversary of the re-establishment of the Party.

The statement said: "On this occasion, we sum up and draw lessons from our experience, consolidate our ranks and raise our determination to carry out our urgent revolutionary tasks."

Reviewing the victories of the past eight years, it said: "The masses of the Party members are deeply aware that the ideological building of the Party is one of applying the universal theory of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought to the concrete practice of the Philippine revolution. The study of the basic scientific principles of revolution found in the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao Tsetung is being creatively linked with the specific characteristics of the country and with our concrete experience and current work."

"We have kept to armed struggle as the main form of our struggle and have developed the united front to promote it," it added.

It said: "All that the Party needs is to grasp the objective situation in the country and in the localities and work tenaciously to build the revolutionary organizations—the mass organizations, the armed detachments and the Party itself."

Referring to the world situation, the statement said: "The general crisis of capitalism is worsening. The two superpowers, U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, are being steadily isolated by the revolutionary struggles of the people of the world.

"The third world people and countries are steadily developing as the main force of the international united front against imperialism, especially the superpower wanting to play the role of Hitlerite Germany. While U.S. imperialism is on the decline, Soviet social-imperialism is frantically pushing its hegemonic ambitions and bellicose schemes."

The statement pointed out that the revolutionary struggles of the Southeast Asian peoples continue to advance. Soviet social-imperialism is trying its utmost to dominate the region. Only the people's revolutionary struggles can in the end drive out U.S. imperialism and avert its replacement by Soviet social-imperialism.

The statement said: "At the world strategic level, we consider Soviet social-imperialism as the rising main enemy of the people of the world and the main source of the danger of war. We must, therefore, be alert to its every machination."

"ROTE FAHNE" (C.L.L. ORGAN)

### Soviet Union — No. 1 Aggressor in Africa

An article in the latest issue of *Rote Fahne*, organ of the Communist League of Luxem-

bourg, exposed Soviet expansion and aggression in Africa.

The article pointed out that Moscow was launching an all-sided offensive against Africa. "This began with the diplomatic offensive started by Nikolai Podgorny and Fidel Castro in tours of African countries, and mercenaries were sent to Zaire in the meantime. The whole programme is carefully devised and the steps are closely co-ordinated."

It said: The Soviet Union is trying to bring Africa, especially southern Africa, under its control. It first made an important breach in Angola, and then used it as a base for further action on the continent. The article continued: Under the signboard of "supporting" the liberation movement, Moscow is attempting to make others its appendages and working to grab the gains of the southern African people's liberation struggle.

"Europe is the focus of the rivalry for world hegemony between the two superpowers and Africa forms an important flank of Europe. Only by controlling southern Africa in particular is it possible to control the sea passage for half of the oil shipments to Europe. In addition, southern Africa is rich in minerals and in such strategic raw materials as copper and uranium, the bulk of which are being exploited by the Western imperialists," the article noted.

Referring to Podgorny's African tour, it said that "wherever he went he asserted 'we seek no bases' and 'we want equality and co-operation.'" "The fact that he found it necessary to

make such professions clearly shows that the African people are increasingly seeing through the nature of Soviet social-imperialism.”

#### HUNGARY

### Bitter Fruit of “Integration”

Hungary failed to attain the principal targets set in its national economic plan last year. An important cause for this was the Soviet domination and exploitation in many sectors of the economy.

Information released recently by the Hungarian Central Bureau of Statistics on implementation of the 1976 plan reveals that industrial production failed to reach the target and agricultural output even fell by 3 per cent from the 1975 level. Foreign trade showed a deficit of 650 million U.S. dollars. Foreign indebtedness rose, government finance went deep into the red and prices soared. The official and the media explanation was that a number of external factors had worked “to delay and impede our development.”

Hungary is short of industrial raw material. Seventy per cent of the petrol consumed every

year comes from the Soviet Union which has raised the prices of oil by a large margin in recent years. The 23 per cent hike in Soviet oil prices this year will cost Hungary an additional sum of more than 50 million rubles. At the same time, when Hungary is compelled to seek extra supplies, it has to accept harsh conditions. For instance, an agreement with Moscow stipulates that for a period of five years, Hungary has to supply the Soviet Union with 50 per cent of beef, 35 per cent of wheat and 40 per cent of maize in its total exports of these products in exchange for 500,000 tons of Soviet oil and oil products. Soviet fleecing has turned Hungary's customary favourable balance of trade with Moscow into a deficit in the last two years, and this deficit exceeded 44 million U.S. dollars in 1976. It also led to repeated domestic rises in the price of gasoline, meat and what not.

Using its monopoly position as supplier of Hungary's raw material, the Kremlin has compelled that country to contribute manpower and capital for construction in the Soviet Union. Such line of action has aggravated Hungary's shortages of funds and manpower.

#### JAMAICA

### Gaining Control of U.S.-Owned Reynolds Company

The Jamaican Government has taken over all the bauxite mining land and gained control of Reynolds Jamaica Mines Ltd., a subsidiary of U.S. Reynolds Metals Corporation, under an agreement signed on March 31.

According to the agreement, the government has acquired the company's mining land, over 65,000 acres in all, at a cost of 7.3 million U.S. dollars and purchased 51 per cent of its mining assets at a book value of 7.2 million U.S. dollars. The company's farming assets, including 10,000 head of cattle, cold storage and abattoir facilities and orchards, will also be taken over.

Jamaica is rich in bauxite, with annual production of about 13 million tons. For a long time, however, its bauxite and alumina industry had been completely controlled by six North American enterprises which held leased mining land accounting for 26 per cent of the country's territory and grabbed huge profits from it every year.

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(Continued from p. 46.)

Recently fishermen and people of other walks of life in Hokkaido's fishing villages and throughout Japan have held rallies and demonstrations vehemently condemning Soviet revisionist hegemonism and calling upon their government to defend state sovereignty and guard against trading away the fundamental interests of the Japanese nation for immediate interests. The just struggle of the Japanese

people has won sympathy and support from the people throughout the world.

**The Japanese nation is a great nation.** She will never allow others to lord it over her. In its mad drive to permanently occupy the northern territory and its unscrupulous encroachment on Japan's sovereignty, the Soviet Union is lifting a rock only to drop it on its own feet.

(“Renmin Ribao” Commentator, April 18)