

PEKING REVIEW

19

May 6, 1977

北
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報

**Continue the Revolution Under the
Dictatorship of the Proletariat
To the End**

Hua Kuo-feng

May Day Celebrations

**Chairman Hua Meets President
U Ne Win**

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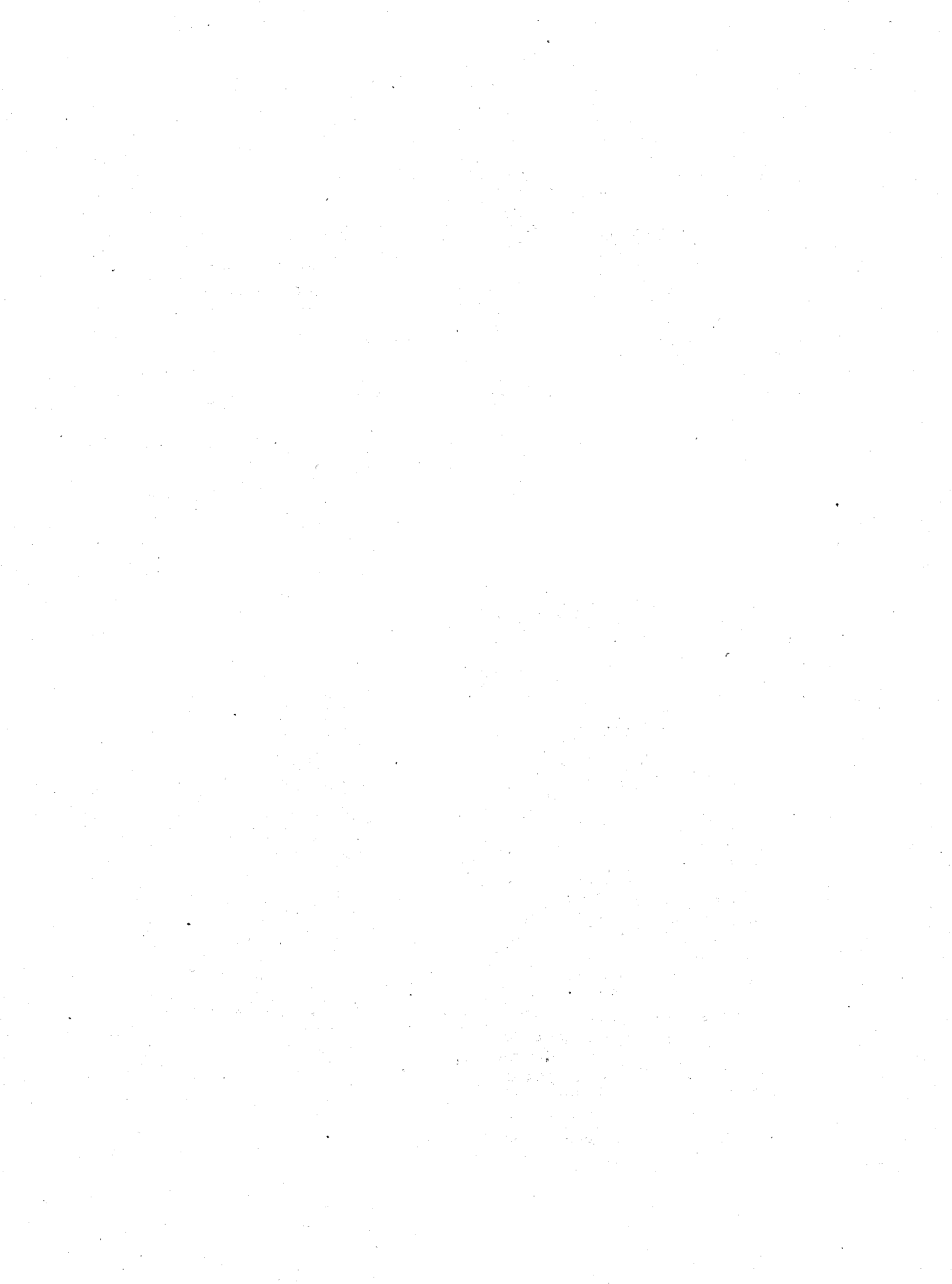
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Chairman Hua Joins Peking People In Celebrating "May 1"

ON May 1, the wise leader Chairman Hua Kuo-feng, the esteemed and beloved Vice-Chairman Yeh Chien-ying and other Party and state leaders joined workers and other working people in the capital at gala festivities celebrating International Labour Day, the first May Day since the smashing of the "gang of four."

It was a festival of triumph and joy. Holding high the banner of Chairman Mao, army-men and civilians throughout the country are implementing the strategic policy decision of grasping the key link in running the country well put forward by Chairman Hua and the Party Central Committee, and launching a high tide of earnestly studying Volume V of the *Selected Works of Mao Tsetung*, vigorously criticizing the "gang of four" and going all out to build socialism.

For Peking's eight million people, there were gala festivities in parks as well as extensive celebrations at the grass-roots level. A huge portrait of the great leader and teacher Chairman Mao hung in the middle of the vermilion wall of Tien An Men Gate. Huge portraits of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin were on the east and west sides of Tien An Men Square. The structure of the magnificent Chairman Mao Memorial Hall, which is still under construction, stood resplendently on the

square. The whole city rang with singing and red flags were seen everywhere. A jubilant atmosphere prevailed at the Working People's Palace of Culture, Chungshan Park, the Summer Palace, the Temple of Heaven, Taojanting Park and Purple Bamboo Park, all of which were bedecked with multi-coloured bunting and other festival decorations.

Get-Togethers in Parks

Well over a million people flocked to these parks for gala get-togethers and other festivities. Theatres and cinemas featured a rich programme, and sports exhibitions were held in various places. Huge streamers strung overhead in the parks were inscribed: "Long live invincible Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought!" "Long live the victory of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line!" and "Hold high the great banner of Chairman Mao, closely follow Chairman Hua and carry through to the end the proletarian revolutionary cause pioneered by Chairman Mao!"

At 3 p.m., Chairman Hua and Vice-Chairman Yeh entered the music hall in Chungshan Park together with Burmese President U Ne Win, Madame Ne Win and other distinguished foreign guests. In a stirring atmosphere, the hall burst into prolonged and warm applause to greet them. Chairman Hua

and Vice-Chairman Yeh clapped in acknowledgement and, with the distinguished foreign guests, watched song and dance performances.

Attending the get-togethers in the parks were other Party and state leaders Li Hsien-nien, Chen Hsi-lien, Chi Teng-kuei, Wang Tung-hsing, Wu Teh, Li Teh-sheng, Chen Yung-kuei, Wu Kuei-hsien, Su Chen-hua, Ni Chih-fu, Saifudin, Kuo Mo-jo, Hsu Hsiang-chien, Chen Yun, Tan Chen-lin, Li Ching-chuan, Chang Ting-cheng, Ulanfu, Teng Ying-chao, Ngapo Ngawang-Jigme, Chou Chien-jen, Hsu Teh-heng, Hu Chueh-wen, Li Su-wen, Yao Lien-wei, Wang Chen, Yu Chiu-li, Ku Mu and Sun Chien; Vice-Chairman of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference Shen Yen-ping and President of the Supreme People's Court Chiang Hua.

Comrades Hsu Shih-yu and Wei Kuo-ching joined the people in Kwangchow in May Day celebrations.

Among the distinguished foreign guests and friends joining the people of the capital in May Day celebrations were: Jusuf Adjitorop, Head of the Delegation of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Indonesia and Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of



Chairman Hua Kuo-feng, Vice-Chairman Yeh Chien-ying and other Party and state leaders together with President U Ne Win and other distinguished guests from Burma celebrating the festival with the people of Peking in Chungshan Park.

Indonesia; Mme. Lucette Cabral, wife of President Luis Cabral of the Council of State of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau; and Mme. Carmen Pereira, Vice-President of the National People's Assembly of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau.

Replicas of a giant oil painting entitled *With You in Charge, I'm at Ease**, showing Chairman Mao and Comrade Hua Kuo-feng sitting close together in a heart-to-heart talk, had been erected in the parks. They attracted large crowds who had their photographs taken in front of them. Hundreds of amateur art propaganda teams made up of workers, peasants and soldiers and professional art troupes put on colourful theatrical items in praise of Chairman Mao's tremendous contributions and the wise leadership of Chairman

* The title of the painting is a sentence written by Chairman Mao to Comrade Hua Kuo-feng in April 1976.

Hua, in celebration of one important victory after another gained in the past six months by the Chinese people under the leadership of the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua in smashing the "gang of four" and in implementing the strategic policy decision of grasping the key link in running the country well.

In the parks, a warm welcome was extended to the representatives to the National Conference on Learning From Taching in Industry, and warm applause greeted the labour heroes and models of the Taching Oilfield wherever they went. Peking's citizens cheered them: "Learn from the Taching workers!" and "Salute the Taching workers!"

At the get-togethers, people used various forms of art and literature including poetry recitals, quick-patter rhymes and comic dialogues to denounce the counter-revolutionary crimes of the "gang

of four" — Chang Chun-chiao, a Kuomintang special agent; Chiang Ching, a renegade; Yao Wen-yuan, an alien class element; Wang Hung-wen, a newborn bourgeois element. This ever-deepening big political revolution of exposing and criticizing the "gang of four" has spurred on socialist revolution and construction in winning new victories. A socialist labour emulation drive on the industrial front is now in full swing. During the festival, the happy news was announced that in April Peking overfulfilled its production quota and set a record for the same period in its monthly output value of industry.

Peking's citizens warmly greeted compatriots from Taiwan, Hongkong and Macao and patriotic overseas Chinese attending the May Day celebrations. After watching the song and dance performance in Chungshan Park, which reflected the close links between the people of the mainland and the



Taiwan compatriots, a group of Taiwan compatriots from Japan went up the platform to sing songs including *I Love Peking's Tien An Men*.

The Chinese People's Liberation Army units stationed in Peking and the militia of the capital joined the masses in the festivities. Through rich and colourful celebration activities, they expressed their determination: Heighten vigilance, step up preparedness against war, be ready at all times to wipe out all enemies who dare to invade, and liberate Taiwan!

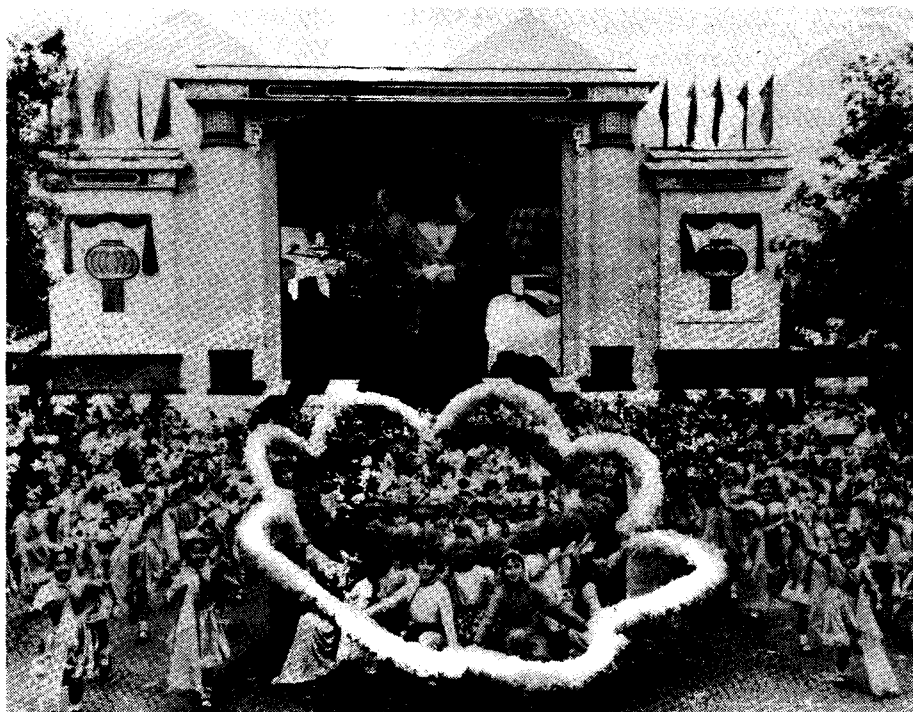
Chairman Hua's important article

"Continue the Revolution Under the Dictatorship of the Proletariat to the End," a study of Volume V of the *Selected Works of Mao Tsetung*, was published on May 1. Listening to the radio broadcast of the article and eagerly reading the newspapers, the people of Peking earnestly studied Chairman Hua's article and were filled with the inspiration in continuing the revolution and confidence in victory.

A revolutionary atmosphere of proletarian internationalism prevailed in the parks. Huge placards were inscribed with the slogans "Resolutely support the people of the third world countries in their struggle against imperialism, social-imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism, and for national liberation and in defence of national independ-

ence and state sovereignty!" and "Workers of all countries, unite! The proletariat and the oppressed people, and nations throughout the world unite!" More than 6,000 foreign comrades and friends from over 100 countries and regions in the five continents joined the people in the capital in celebrating this festival of unity and struggle of the labouring people the world over. Many foreign friends at the gala get-togethers sang revolutionary songs and danced joyfully.

Joining the festivities were Members and Alternate Members of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China; Members of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress; Members of the Standing Committee of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative



Children's song and dance performance in praise of Chairman Mao and Chairman Hua in front of the huge oil painting *With You in Charge, I'm at Ease*.



Evening in Peking on May Day.

Conference; leading members from the various departments under the C.P.C. Central Committee and government departments; leading members of the various P.L.A. general departments, the Science and Technology Commission for National Defence, the various services and arms and military academies, the Peking Units and the Peking Garrison; leading members of the C.P.C. Peking Municipal Committee and the Peking Municipal Revolutionary Committee; and representatives of the Taching Oilfield and advanced personages of various provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions who attended the National Conference on Learning From Taching in Industry.

Evening Fireworks

After dusk, the whole city was brightly lit up with the Workers'

Stadium as the centre of the evening's festivities.

At 8 p.m., Chairman Hua, Vice-Chairman Yeh and other Party and state leaders entered the stadium together with Burmese President U Ne Win and Madame Ne Win and other distinguished foreign guests amid a prolonged rousing ovation. Two thousand red scarved Little Red Guards holding bouquets and multi-coloured streamers rushed to the rostrum, shouting: "Follow Chairman Hua closely, advance bravely." Smiling and clapping to the masses, Chairman Hua extended warm festival greetings to the several thousand foreign guests, to the representatives to the National Conference on Learning From Taching in Industry, representatives of the minority nationalities, compatriots of Taiwan Province origin, com-

patriots from Hongkong and Macao and patriotic overseas Chinese in the stands near the rostrum as well as to the workers, peasants and soldiers and revolutionary masses present.

With Chairman Hua and Vice-Chairman Yeh at the fireworks display were Party and state leaders Li Hsien-nien, Chen Hsi-lien, Chi Teng-kuei,

Wang Tung-hsing, Wu Teh, Li Teh-sheng, Chen Yung-kuei, Wu Kuei-hsien, Su Chen-hua, Ni Chih-fu, Saifudin, Tan Chen-lin, Li Ching-chuan, Ulanfu, Ngapo Ngawang-Jigme, Chou Chien-jen, Hsu Teh-heng, Hu Chueh-wen, Li Su-wen, Yao Lien-wei, Wang Chen, Yu Chiu-li, Ku Mu and Sun Chien; Vice-Chairman of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference Shen Yen-ping; and President of the Supreme People's Court Chiang Hua.

Among the distinguished guests seated in the front row of the rostrum were Jusuf Adjitorop, Head of the Delegation of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Indonesia and Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Indonesia; Mme. Lucette Cabral, wife of President

Luis Cabral of the Council of State of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau; Mme. Carmen Pereira, Vice-President of the National People's Assembly of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau; Kim Gi Nam, leader, and Kim Gil Hyon, deputy leader, of the friendship visiting group of the Workers' Party of Korea; Stefan Bobos, leader of the Romanian friendship tourist group, and his wife.

During the interval, Chairman Hua Kuo-feng, Vice-Chairman Yeh Chien-ying and Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien met and

had cordial conversations with Comrade Jusuf Adjitorop, Comrades Kim Gi Nam and Kim Gil Hyon, Comrade Stefan Bobos and his wife, leader of the women's delegation from Sweden Kerstin Schuldheis, former Prime Minister of Peru Edgardo Mercado Jarrin and his wife, Honorary Aide-de-Camp to the King of Nepal General Arjun Shumsher J.B. Rana and his wife, Member of the House of Representatives of Japan Yoshi-mi Furui, leader of the delegation of Japanese Diet members for Japan-China friendship Ganri Yamashita, former Jap-

anese permanent Vice-Foreign Minister and President of the Japan International Co-operation Agency Shinsaku Hogen and his wife, and leader of the Japanese artists in the performing group of the Sinseisakuza Theatre Miho Mayama and her husband.

Among the guests at the festivities and fireworks display were diplomatic envoys of various countries to China and their families, diplomatic officials of foreign embassies and their families and foreign experts, students and trainees in Peking.

Chairman Hua Meets President And Madame Ne Win

HUA Kuo-feng, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and Premier of the State Council, and Yeh Chien-ying, Vice-Chairman of the C.P.C. Central Committee, met and had a cordial and friendly conversation with U Ne Win, President of the Socialist Republic of the Union of Burma and Chairman of the Council of State, in Peking's Great Hall of the People on April 29.

Present were Li Hsien-nien, Vice-Premier; Teng Ying-chao, Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress; Huang Hua, Foreign Minister; Yu Chan, Vice-Foreign Minister; and Yeh Cheng-chang, Chinese Ambassador to Burma.

The distinguished Burmese guests at the meeting and con-

versation were U Thaung Kyi and Dr. Maung Maung, Members of the Council of State; U Hla Phone, Minister for Foreign Affairs; General Kyaw Htin, Minister for Defence; Colonel Maung Cho, Minister for Industry II; and U Myint Maung, Burmese Ambassador to China.

After the conversation, Chairman Hua and Vice-Chairman Yeh cordially met Madame Ne Win Yadana Nat Mai and the other distinguished Burmese guests and were photographed together with all the guests.

Later, Chairman Hua hosted a banquet in honour of President and Madame Ne Win and the other distinguished Burmese guests. Present were Vice-Chairman Yeh Chien-ying, Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien, N.P.C. Standing Committee Vice-

Chairman Teng Ying-chao, Foreign Minister Huang Hua, Vice-Foreign Minister Yu Chan and Madame Lin Chia-mei.

The banquet proceeded in a warm atmosphere. Toasts were drunk to the constant development of the *paukphaw* friendship between the peoples of China and Burma.

President and Madame Ne Win in Peking

PRESIDENT U Ne Win and Madame Ne Win and other distinguished Burmese guests arrived in Peking on April 27 for an official visit to China at the invitation of the Chinese Government. They were welcomed at the airport by Chairman Hua, Vice-Premier Li and Vice-Chairman Teng Ying-chao



of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress and several thousand well-wishers in the capital.

The State Council gave a grand welcome banquet in the Great Hall of the People that evening. Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien hosted the banquet. Vice-Chairmen Teng Ying-chao and Ngapo Ngawang-Jigme

and Vice-Premier Wang Chen were at the banquet. Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien and President U Ne Win spoke at the banquet. (For excerpts of their speeches see pp. 33 and 34.)

During the guests' stay in Peking, Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien held talks with President U Ne Win on questions of com-

mon concern. The talks have enabled both sides to deepen their mutual understanding and trust and enhance their friendship.

On May 1, President and Madame Ne Win gave a grand banquet. The distinguished Burmese guests left Peking the following day to tour other places of China.

Chairman Hua Meets Mmes. Cabral And Pereira

HUA Kuo-feng, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and Premier of the State Council, on April 30 met Madame Lucette Cabral, wife of President Luis Cabral of the Council of State of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau, and Madame Carmen Pereira, Vice-President of the National People's Assembly of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau.

Present at the meeting were members of their party: Madame Henriqueta Gomes, Director of the Office of the Principal Commissioner; Madame Olga Teixeira, Deputy of the Municipality of Bissau; and Constantino Ferreira, Deputy Chief of Protocol of the Commissioner of State for Foreign Affairs.

Chairman Hua had a cordial and friendly conversation with the distinguished guests and

extended a warm welcome to Madame Lucette Cabral and Madame Carmen Pereira on their visit to China. Madame Lucette Cabral conveyed to Chairman Hua President Cabral's good wishes. She said: The warm and cordial hospitality accorded us everywhere in China makes us feel we are at the home of an old friend. Chairman Hua said: Your visit has contributed to

promoting mutual understanding and friendship between the people of our two countries. He asked the guests to convey, upon returning home, his regards to President Cabral and Principal Commissioner Francisco Mendes of the Council of Commissioners of State.

Also present at the meeting were Vice-Chairman Wu Teh of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress; Kang Ke-ching, Member of the N.P.C. Standing Committee; Huang Hua, Foreign Minister; Ma Wenpo, Vice-Foreign Minister; and Chia Huai-chi, Chinese Ambassador to Guinea-Bissau.

Mmes. Lucette Cabral and Carmen Pereira arrived in Peking on April 21 for a friendly visit to China at the invitation of the Chinese Government and the N.P.C. Standing

Committee respectively. Vice-Chairman Wu Teh of the N.P.C. Standing Committee gave a banquet that evening to warmly welcome them.

The guests also toured Nan-king, Shanghai, Kwangchow and Wuhsi.

were distributed, a record in China's publication and distribution history.

The publishing, printing and distribution departments regard printing and distributing the fifth volume of the *Selected Works* as their glorious task of disseminating Mao Tsetung Thought. The more than 300 printing houses in various parts of the country entrusted to print the *Selected Works* enthusiastically launched a socialist labour emulation drive. Many printing houses repeatedly revised their plans upwards and then surpassed them. Kiangsu Province had set the goal of printing 350,000 copies by April 15, but actually turned out 1.04 million copies. Despite serious damage in last year's earthquake, the Tangshan People's



Chairman Hua meets Madame Cabral (left) and Madame Pereira (right).

Twenty-Eight Million Copies of Volume V of "Selected Works of Mao Tsetung" Distributed

DISTRIBUTION of Volume V of the *Selected Works* of Mao Tsetung has surpassed the original plan of 15 million copies by a big margin since it was first distributed on April 15. Party organizations at all levels have paid great attention to this work, people of all trades and

professions have worked in close co-ordination, printing workers have stood by their machines day and night in shifts and those in the distribution departments have done their best to meet the needs of the people all over the country. In the short space of two weeks, 28 million copies

Printing House set up makeshift workshops and printed high-quality copies of the *Selected Works*. Emulating their colleagues in other parts of the country, printing workers in the Tibet Autonomous Region overcame technical and other difficulties and fulfilled their task ahead of time.

On April 15, all Hsinhua Bookstores in the country at the county level and above, including those in outlying counties, distributed Volume V simultaneously. Many distribution workers climbed mountains and crossed rivers or carried the books on shoulder-poles to deliver the *Selected Works* to grass-roots units. Railway, road, shipping, postal and civil aviation departments did excellent work at the highest possible speed.

With Volume V rapidly distributed throughout the country, a new high tide of studying Chairman Mao's works is surging ahead on an extensive scale.

Message of Greetings to Ziaur Rahman

Premier Hua Kuo-feng on April 29 sent a message to Ziaur Rahman greeting his assumption of the office of President of the People's Republic of Bangladesh. The message reads: "On the occasion of your assumption of the office of President of the People's Republic of Bangladesh, I wish to extend to you our warm congratulations on behalf of the Chinese Government and people and in my own name. May Bangladesh, under Your Excellency's leadership, achieve continuous new successes in its sacred cause of defending national independence and state sovereignty, developing the na-

tional economy and building the country. May the friendship between the peoples of China and Bangladesh grow daily."

Vice-Chairman Ngapo Ngawang-Jigme On Tibetan Situation

Ngapo Ngawang-Jigme, Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, on April 30 met the Delegation of Editors of the *Journal Japan and China* led by Masao Shimada, permanent director of the headquarters of the Japan-China Friendship Association (Orthodox) and leading member of the journal's editorial department. They had a cordial and friendly conversation.

At the request of the Japanese friends who visited Tibet recently, Ngapo Ngawang-Jigme gave an account of the profound changes the Tibetan people had brought about in various spheres after the democratic reform under the wise leadership of the great leader Chairman Mao and the Communist Party of China, and Tibet's enormous achievements in the socialist revolution and construction.

"With regard to Dalai who fled abroad during the 1959 rebellion and those who escaped with him," the Vice-Chairman said, "our Party's consistent policy is: All patriots are welcome, whether they come forward early or late. So long as they sincerely return to the embrace of the motherland and stand on the side of the people, the government and people will certainly make appropriate arrangements for their well-being."

Masao Shimada thanked the Vice-Chairman for the briefing. He said: "We are convinced that the Tibetan people will surely advance towards great goals."

Support for the Zairian People's Just Struggle

The Chinese people are determined to give positive support to the Zairian people in their just struggle to safeguard national independence and defend state sovereignty against foreign aggression and interference. China has sternly denounced Soviet social-imperialism for its aggression and interference in Zaire.

Vice-Chairman Tan Chen-lin of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress said this when he met S.E.M. Bomandeke Bonyeka, First Secretary of the Permanent Committee of the National Legislative Council of the Republic of Zaire, on April 26.

He also said: A just cause enjoys abundant support while an unjust cause finds little support. The Zairian people's struggle has the support of the revolutionary people of the third world and the whole world. We believe that the Zairian people under the leadership of President Mobutu are bound to win final victory in their just struggle.

Bomandeke Bonyeka expressed his gratitude to the Chinese people for their support. He said: We will never forget that the Chinese people have shared weal and woe with us when we were in difficulties.

The Zairian guest stopped over in Peking on his way home.

Continue the Revolution Under the Dictatorship of the Proletariat to the End

— A study of Volume V of the "Selected Works of Mao Tsetung"

Hua Kuo-feng

OUR great leader and teacher Chairman Mao Tsetung was the founder of our Party, our army and our People's Republic and the greatest Marxist-Leninist of our time. Chairman Mao led the Chinese revolution for the long period of more than half a century. Integrating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the revolution, he formulated for our Party the only correct line, principles and policies for each stage of the Chinese revolution. He inherited, defended and developed Marxism-Leninism in the struggles against Right and "Left" opportunism of all descriptions. Summing up the experience of the revolutionary movement in China and the contemporary world revolutionary movement, Chairman Mao made outstanding contributions to Marxism-Leninism in the spheres of philosophy, political economy and scientific socialism, thus immensely enriching the treasure house of Marxist-Leninist theory.

The course of the Chinese revolution has not been plain sailing, for in the course of advancing we have had to vanquish many enemies at home and abroad and both inside and outside the Party, overcome various erroneous tendencies within our ranks and solve many new problems that our predecessors never met with. The victories won by our Party during the democratic revolution and the socialist revolution should all be attributed to Chairman Mao's leadership.

History proves that the banner of Chairman Mao is a great banner under which the proletariat leads the people in united struggle to victory.

During Chairman Mao's lifetime, we united under his banner and fought victorious battles. Since he passed away, loyalty to his banner has become a guarantee for the victory of our revolutionary cause. All our comrades should fully understand this. We must always hold aloft and resolutely defend Chairman Mao's banner so that our revolutionary cause, under the guidance of Mao Tsetung Thought, will continue to advance triumphantly along Chairman Mao's revolutionary line.

Volume V of the *Selected Works of Mao Tsetung* is a record of victory and a scientific summing-up of the great struggles carried out in all fields by our Party under the leadership of Chairman Mao in the first eight years following the founding of the People's Republic of China. Chairman Mao at all times took a very serious and prudent attitude toward ideological and theoretical questions, and never allowed his *Selected Works* to be compiled until his writings had been tested in practice for a period of time. In 1969, Chairman Mao delegated Comrades Chou En-lai and Kang Sheng to take charge of the compilation of Volume V of the *Selected Works*. Interference and sabotage

by the revisionist line, however, prevented this volume from being published. This interference and sabotage came first from Lin Piao and Chen Po-ta and later in the past few years from the anti-Party "gang of four" of Wang Hung-wen, Chang Chun-chiao, Chiang Ching and Yao Wen-yuan. Around the time of Chairman Mao's death, especially, the "gang of four" did their utmost to seize leadership over the compilation and publication of Chairman Mao's works, so as to hinder and sabotage the publication of Volume V and subsequent volumes. This was part of their scheme to tear down the great banner of Chairman Mao and to achieve their criminal aim of seizing Party and state leadership and restoring capitalism. The publication of Volume V of the *Selected Works of Mao Tsetung* is a victory won by our Party in smashing the anti-Party "gang of four."

The fundamental concept running through this volume is to uphold and develop the Marxist principle of continued revolution and, upon the seizure of political power by the proletariat, to switch over from the democratic revolution to the socialist revolution and carry it on under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

At the time of the victory of the democratic revolution China was extremely poor and backward in economy, with the proletariat accounting for only a tiny portion of the population and the peasants for more than 80 per cent. Was it possible for a big country in such circumstances to switch over immediately to the socialist revolution upon the victory of the democratic revolution? More than a few people, at home and abroad, inside our Party and outside, expressed their doubts or simply thought it impossible.

Marxism-Leninism holds that the completion of the democratic revolution opens the door to the socialist revolution. Applying this principle to the concrete conditions of China, Chairman Mao led our Party in successfully making this changeover of the revolution.

On the eve of nationwide victory, in his report to the Second Plenary Session of the Party's Seventh Central Committee, Chairman Mao pointed out that the principal contradiction in the country after nationwide victory would be the **"contradiction between the working class and the bourgeoisie."** That is to say, the revolution would pass on to the socialist revolution without interruption. This concept of Chairman Mao's meant that the leadership of the proletariat, upon the day of bringing the democratic revolution to victory, should without vacillating develop into the state power led by the proletariat. That in fact is what happened. The people's democratic dictatorship led by the proletariat thus established was in essence the dictatorship of the proletariat. By expropriating bureaucrat-capital in the democratic revolution, the people's democratic dictatorship led by the proletariat had from the very outset a state-owned economy which was in control of the lifelines of the national economy and was socialist in character.

After nationwide victory, under Chairman Mao's leadership, our Party rehabilitated the national economy in three years and at the same time mobilized the masses to carry out the three great movements of land reform, suppression of counter-revolutionaries and resistance to U.S. aggression and aid to Korea. In areas where land reform had already been completed, immediate steps were taken to organize various forms of mutual aid and co-operation in production. Measures to introduce state capitalism started to be taken with regard to private capitalist industry and commerce. Chairman Mao led the struggle in 1952 against "the three evils" and "the five evils," which by virtue of the strength of the masses dealt crushing blows to illegal activities by the bourgeoisie in refusing to accept leadership by the socialist economic sector and frantically sabotaging the socialist economy. This victorious struggle gave great impetus to the transformation aimed at bringing private capi-

talist industry and commerce into the orbit of state capitalism.

Thanks to the state power under the dictatorship of the proletariat and the leading position of the socialist state-owned sector in the whole national economy, our Party began the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production on a national scale after the completion of land reform. This meant, as Chairman Mao said, **"destroying capitalist ownership, transforming it into socialist ownership by the whole people and destroying individual ownership, transforming it into socialist collective ownership."** The transformation of ownership was the central issue at that time for resolving the contradiction between the working class and the bourgeoisie and between the socialist road and the capitalist road. Chairman Mao in good time formulated for our Party the general line for the transition period. That general line set the task of the socialist transformation of agriculture, handicrafts and capitalist industry and commerce while our country was being industrialized.

To implement this general line, Chairman Mao led the whole Party in waging a complex struggle against the bourgeoisie on the political and ideological fronts as well as the economic front. Criticism of idealism was an important aspect of this struggle against the bourgeoisie. Chairman Mao led the whole Party in waging incessant struggles against bourgeois ideas that had infiltrated the Party and in overcoming the Right opportunism represented by Liu Shao-chi that departed from the general line. The chief manifestations of such opportunism were the advocacy of "firmly establishing the new-democratic social order," refusal to effect the socialist transformation of capitalist industry and commerce, abandoning leadership by the state economy, negating the necessity and possibility of unfolding the mutual aid and co-operation movement immediately after land reform and permitting class polarization in the countryside. The essence of this Right

opportunism was to halt the revolution and lead China on to the road to capitalism.

With tremendous vigour, Chairman Mao led the socialist transformation of agriculture, swiftly guiding the 500 million peasants on to the socialist road — this is an event of enormous international significance. The socialist transformation of agriculture advanced the worker-peasant alliance based on land reform to one based on socialism, thereby providing the dictatorship of the proletariat with a most powerful base. The transformation of capitalist industry and commerce into socialist state economy was brought about through many transitional forms of state capitalism. Chairman Mao succinctly explained that the socialist transformation of agriculture and the socialist transformation of capitalist industry and commerce were interrelated and promoted each other, and he combined these two transformations skilfully in practice. With socialism in the commanding position in the countryside, the state controlled the raw material and markets needed by the capitalists and isolated the bourgeoisie politically, thus making them submit to socialist transformation.

The socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production was a very profound change which was brought about through sharp class struggle. Thanks to Chairman Mao's correct leadership, this change was effected swiftly, and in the process, no damage was done to the productive forces, agricultural production increased every year, industry and commerce advanced continuously, and the socialist state economy grew steadily. That accounted for our great successes in national economic construction under the First Five-Year Plan, which started in 1953, at the time the transformation of the ownership of the means of production was in the main completed.

Chairman Mao led our Party in blazing a trail for establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat and going on to the socialist rev-

olution upon the victory of the democratic revolution in an economically backward agricultural country, and for simultaneously carrying out socialist transformation and socialist construction. Much new experience was gained in the socialist transformation of agriculture and handicrafts and of capitalist industry and commerce. Chairman Mao's summing-up and generalization of all this experience are of important theoretical significance in the annals of the development of Marxism.

China completed in the main the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production in 1956. From then on, a new question confronted the Chinese revolution — whether contradictions, classes and class struggle still exist in socialist society, whether it remains necessary to continue the socialist revolution and how this revolution is to be carried on. This was also a question for which no correct answer had been found in the international communist movement for a long time.

No ready answers to this question could be found in the Marxist-Leninist works of the past. Marx and Engels founded the doctrine of scientific socialism and the principles of the dictatorship of the proletariat, but they had no experience of the victory of the proletarian revolution and therefore such a question had never been posed for them in a concrete way. Lenin developed the Marxist thesis on the dictatorship of the proletariat in both theory and practice, pointing out that after the proletariat seizes political power, acute and complicated class struggle still exists as does the danger of capitalist restoration, and that it remains necessary to strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat. But Lenin died too early to see with his own eyes the completion of the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production and it was impossible for him to answer the question clearly and definitely. Stalin was a great Marxist-Leninist. He inherited the cause of Lenin and led the Soviet

people in achieving socialist industrialization and agricultural collectivization and winning victory in the anti-fascist war. In practice, he waged resolute struggles against various counter-revolutionary bourgeois representatives who had wormed their way into the Party. Yet, theoretically he did not acknowledge that after the collectivization of agriculture, the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and between the socialist road and the capitalist road continued in the Soviet Union. For a long time, he did not look at socialist society from the materialist dialectical viewpoint of the unity of opposites, but saw it as an integrated whole where there is only identity, but no contradictions. Under the influence of this idea, there prevailed in the international communist movement for a long time the viewpoint which refused to recognize that class struggle continues between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie after the completion of the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production, that such class struggle will manifest itself in the form of the struggle between two different lines within the Party, and that the danger of a capitalist restoration remains. The bitter lesson of the usurpation of the leadership of the Soviet Communist Party and state and the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union by the Khrushchov renegade clique placed a serious task before Marxist-Leninists, the task of conscientiously summing up the historical experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat and reconsidering the related questions.

Taking advantage of the moment when the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production was basically completed, Liu Shao-chi and Chen Po-ta, agents of the bourgeoisie inside our Party, again tried to halt the revolution. They said that the bourgeoisie had been eliminated and that the question of which would win out, socialism or capitalism, had already been settled. They spread the theory of the dying

out of class struggle precisely for the purpose of writing off the socialist revolution. If the proletariat and its political party had accepted their viewpoint, the consequences could only have been the loss of the fruits of the revolution already reaped and China would have slid back on to the road of capitalism.

In view of the erroneous ideas that existed in China and the world, Chairman Mao, by applying Marxist dialectics in the dauntless spirit of a thoroughgoing materialist, summed up both the positive and negative experience at home and abroad, gave the first scientific answer in the history of the international communist movement to this question of cardinal importance relating to the historical destiny of the dictatorship of the proletariat and founded the great theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. On the basis of this theory, Chairman Mao formulated in 1962 the Party's basic line for the whole historical period of socialism. The practice of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution which began in 1966 has augmented and enriched the theory. This theory is already advanced in Volume V of the *Selected Works of Mao Tsetung*, chiefly in the important writings of 1956 through 1957.

Chairman Mao clearly pointed out early in 1957 that class struggle by no means ended with the basic completion of the transformation of the ownership because there were still remnants of the landlord and comprador classes, there was still a bourgeoisie, and the remoulding of the petty bourgeoisie had just started. **"The class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, the class struggle between the various political forces, and the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in the ideological field will still be long and tortuous and at times even very sharp."** Chairman Mao also said: **"Basically, the socialist system has been established in our country. We have won basic victory in transforming the ownership**

of the means of production, but on the political and ideological fronts we are farther from complete victory." In the spring of 1957, the bourgeois Rightists took the opportunity of our Party's rectification campaign to launch wild attacks on socialism, in the hope of overwhelming the proletariat politically and ideologically. Chairman Mao led the whole Party and the people of the entire country in beating back their attacks and a great victory was won on the political and ideological fronts in the socialist revolution. This struggle proved to the hilt the correctness of Chairman Mao's thesis.

Chairman Mao persevered in applying the viewpoint of the unity of opposites of materialist dialectics to the study and analysis of socialist society. He pointed out: **"Some say that contradictions can be 'found' in socialist society, but I think this is a wrong way of putting it. The point is not whether contradictions can be found but that it is full of contradictions."** The contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and between the socialist road and the capitalist road is the principal contradiction in socialist society. Having grasped this principal contradiction, Chairman Mao set forth the laws governing the development of socialist society and provided a firm basis for the theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Chairman Mao applied the Marxist tenets on the contradiction between the relations of production and the productive forces, the contradiction between the superstructure and the economic base, to socialist society and thus fundamentally negated the metaphysical view that contradictions do not exist in socialist society and that there is no longer any need to make revolution. It often happens in socialist society that certain links in the relations of production do not keep up with the development of the productive forces and need to be changed; it also happens quite often that certain links in the superstructure not only fail to protect the socialist economic

base but even harm it and need to be changed. In referring to the superiority of the socialist system, we do not mean that these fundamental contradictions universally present in human society have already disappeared; what we mean is that these contradictions can be resolved through continuous active intervention under the system of socialism.

These fundamental contradictions in socialist society are still class struggle in nature. The struggle between the two classes, the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, and the struggle between the two roads, the socialist and the capitalist, exists in both the relations of production and the superstructure, therefore the danger of capitalist restoration exists. Chairman Mao said: "In China the struggle to consolidate the socialist system, the struggle to decide whether socialism or capitalism will prevail, will take a long historical period." In order to keep improving and developing the socialist system and to prevent the restoration of capitalism, "it is necessary not only to bring about the socialist industrialization of the country and persevere in the socialist revolution on the economic front, but also to carry on constant and arduous socialist revolutionary struggles and socialist education on the political and ideological fronts. Moreover, various complementary international conditions are required."

Chairman Mao said: "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." Chairman Mao divided the contradictions in socialist society into two types of contradictions differing in nature, those between ourselves and the enemy and those among the people, and pointed out that they must be handled and resolved by different methods. This is a new Marxist-Leninist theoretical summing-up based on revolutionary practice both at home and abroad.

Both Marx and Lenin pointed out that throughout the transition period from capitalism to communism, there must be a revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat. Based on this principle, Chairman Mao repeatedly stressed the absolute necessity of the dictatorship of the proletariat and of continuously strengthening it during the period of socialism. This is necessary because there are still contradictions between ourselves and the enemy inside the country, in addition to the need to defend the country from subversion and possible aggression by external enemies. Chairman Mao said: "In an era in which classes and class struggle still exist both at home and abroad, the working class and the masses who have seized state power must suppress the resistance to the revolution put up by all counter-revolutionary classes, groups and individuals, thwart their activities aimed at restoration and prohibit them from exploiting freedom of speech for counter-revolutionary purposes."

The dictatorship of the proletariat is dictatorship by the overwhelming majority of the people under the leadership of the proletariat over a very small handful of enemies, but this does not signify that there is only identity and no contradictions within the ranks of the people. Chairman Mao pointed out with ample evidence that there were many contradictions among the people. The contradiction between the socialist road and the capitalist road not only finds expression in the contradiction between ourselves and the enemy but in large measure in contradictions among the people. We use the method of dictatorship to resolve the contradiction between ourselves and the enemy; as for contradictions among the people, we can only adopt the democratic method to resolve them, namely the method of persuasion, education, criticism and self-criticism. A correct method must be applied in handling contradictions among the people so as to ensure the daily strengthening of the unification and unity within the ranks of the people.

Chairman Mao's scientific analysis of the classes in Chinese society after the basic completion of the transformation of ownership is the basis for correctly distinguishing and handling contradictions among the people and those between ourselves and the enemy, as well as the basis for formulating the strategy and tactics in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Chairman Mao said: The socialist revolution "is a struggle waged by the working people under the leadership of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie." Basing himself on the experience of the anti-Rightist struggle in 1957, Chairman Mao pointed out that the people who favour socialism account for 90 per cent of the total population of the country while those who do not favour or oppose socialism make up 10 per cent, of whom 8 out of 10 may be won over through work so that the people who favour socialism may reach 98 per cent, and the diehards who are absolutely opposed to socialism make up only 2 per cent. The working class is the leading class. Chairman Mao said: "The proletariat in China is small in number, some 10 million only, and it must rely on the several hundred million poor peasants, lower-middle peasants, city poor, poor handicraftsmen and revolutionary intellectuals in order to exercise dictatorship — otherwise it cannot." Apart from uniting with these reliable allies, the working class should win over and unite with the majority of the upper petty bourgeoisie and the bourgeois intellectuals and with those members of the national bourgeoisie who are willing to accept socialist transformation, so as to isolate and hit at the tiny handful of diehards who are dead-set against socialism. Chairman Mao said: "Though small in number, the working class, and it alone, has a great future. The other classes are all classes in transition, through which they must go in the direction of the working class." The working class should transform in its own image the peasantry and the urban petty bourgeoisie, eliminate the bourgeoisie and transform the bourgeois ele-

ments and bourgeois intellectuals; while transforming the objective world, the working class should constantly remould its own subjective world. These are the important long-term tasks in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The "gang of four" negated outright Chairman Mao's scientific analysis of the classes in Chinese society, negated outright the class line for continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and created confusion on the two different types of contradictions — those among the people and those between ourselves and the enemy. They stood opposed to our Party's "wholeheartedly relying on the working class" and relying on the poor and lower-middle peasants and to our Party's uniting with revolutionary intellectuals and other sections of the masses to the maximum possible extent. The "advanced elements" they relied on were none other than landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries and bad elements as well as old and new bourgeois elements. They stirred up bourgeois factionalism and created splits and provoked "all-round civil war" among the working class and the masses to serve their criminal aim of sabotaging the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and destroying the dictatorship of the proletariat. They are enemies of the people. The victory in the struggle to smash the "gang of four" proved once again the truth of Chairman Mao's words "Firmly believe in the majority of the people."

Applying dialectics to the new task of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and proceeding from the principle that only by exposing contradictions can they be resolved, Chairman Mao expounded the question of how to handle and resolve the various kinds of contradictions in socialist society and in socialist revolution and socialist construction. Like Marx, Engels and Lenin, Chairman Mao was a great teacher in applying dialectics to the practice of the proletarian revolution.

Since there are classes, class contradictions and class struggle in socialist society and since it is imperative to persist in the dictatorship of the proletariat, a political party of the proletariat is indispensable. That the class struggle in society is reflected in the Communist Party has been true ever since the founding of a Communist Party; it becomes a matter of an especially serious nature after the seizure of state power by the Communist Party. How to deal with the contradictions and struggle inside the Party is a question of major importance in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In the period of socialism, the enemy of the proletarian revolution exists not only outside the Party but also within it. In 1954, Chairman Mao led our Party in smashing the anti-Party alliance of Kao Kang and Jao Shu-shih which was a bourgeois headquarters hidden in the Party. In summing up this struggle at that time, Chairman Mao said: **"The emergence of the anti-Party alliance of Kao Kang and Jao Shu-shih was by no means accidental, but was an acute manifestation of the intense class struggle in our country at the present stage. The criminal aim of this anti-Party alliance was to split our Party and seize supreme power in the Party and the state by conspiratorial means, thus paving the way for a counter-revolutionary comeback."** In 1957, there were also some persons in the Party whose political features were identical with those of the Rightists outside the Party, and these two groups of people echoed each other and mounted an attack on the Party. That is why Chairman Mao said that this was a big struggle against the Rightists **"with the battleground both inside and outside the Party."** From then on, finding it increasingly difficult to subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat from the outside, the bourgeoisie pinned their hopes of restoration more and more on their agents who had sneaked into the Communist Party. Of course, class struggle in society still goes on every day and

every hour, and the two-line struggle in the Party remains a reflection, and a concentrated reflection at that, of the class struggle in society. The scientific concept of Party persons in power taking the capitalist road, put forward by Chairman Mao in 1965, clearly pointed out that the chief danger of capitalist restoration comes from the capitalist-roaders inside the Party. Generally speaking, the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution has been a struggle waged by the proletariat and the revolutionary masses against the capitalist-roaders inside the Party who were represented by Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and the Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao "gang of four." This gang are typical representatives of the anti-communist, anti-socialist bourgeoisie inside the Party and they had a thousand and one links with Chiang Kai-shek's Kuomintang. Like the contradictions between our Party and Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao, the contradiction between the "gang of four" and our Party is also a contradiction between the enemy and ourselves.

Chairman Mao taught us that we must look at the proletarian party from a dialectical viewpoint. The Communist Party of China is a great, glorious and correct Party and this must be affirmed. Still some counter-revolutionaries have disguised themselves and wormed their way into our Party, and some wavering elements inside the Party have been hit by the material and spiritual sugar-coated bullets of the bourgeoisie and have degenerated into agents of the bourgeoisie. This shows that class struggle is protracted, tortuous and complicated. Chairman Mao once said: **"They are in the nature of things and will always happen."** The enemy inside a fortress is most dangerous. History proves that our Party has always been able to mobilize the masses, expose such elements completely and expel them from the Party.

Chairman Mao also taught us that it was a metaphysical, rather than a dialectical, approach to think that every member of the Communist Party must be a 100 per cent

Marxist incapable of any error or to think that we should "knock him down at one stroke" should he ever make a mistake. We must act in accordance with Chairman Mao's teachings and carefully distinguish an erring revolutionary from a counter-revolutionary. That is to say, we must distinguish a contradiction among the people from a contradiction between ourselves and the enemy. The method for dealing with shortcomings and mistakes of our comrades must be different from that for handling contradictions between ourselves and the enemy. What attitude should be taken toward a comrade who has erred? On this question, Chairman Mao's starting point is: **"For revolution, it is always better to have more people. Except for a few who cling to their mistakes and fail to mend their ways after repeated admonition, the majority of those who have erred can correct their mistakes."** Learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones and curing the sickness to save the patient is a policy Chairman Mao laid down during the rectification movement in Yenan, a policy which has long proved effective. In Volume V, Chairman Mao further elucidated this policy, pointing out that in regard to a comrade who had made mistakes we should not only observe, to see whether he wants to correct his mistakes, but should give him help, to help him correct his mistakes. Chairman Mao said: **"It is passive just to observe; conditions must be created to help those who have erred to mend their ways. A clear distinction must be drawn between right and wrong, for inner-Party controversies over principle are a reflection inside the Party of the class struggle in society, and no equivocation is to be tolerated. It is normal, in accordance with the merits of the case, to mete out appropriate and well-grounded criticism to comrades who have erred, and even to conduct necessary struggle against them; this is to help them to correct mistakes. To deny them help and, what is worse, to gloat over their mistakes, is sectarianism."**

May 6, 1977

Chairman Mao affirmed that the great majority of the cadres of our Party were good cadres whom the people needed. He said: **"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."** Wielding the cudgel of "opposing empiricism," the "gang of four" tried to strike down all the cadres who had experienced long years of revolutionary struggles; they wanted to overthrow all the cadres, who had stood the test of the new-democratic revolution and the socialist revolution, by labelling them "democrats" and "capitalist-roaders." The gang knew that, before they could smash the revolutionary cause of the Chinese people and destroy our Party, they must first of all eliminate this body of cadres of our Party, including those new cadres who had come to the fore during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and who had opposed the gang. Facts show that this body of Party cadres is indestructible and that they have proved to be an insurmountable barrier for the "gang of four" in carrying out their plot to usurp Party and state power and restore capitalism. Chairman Mao said: **"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.'"**

By practising revisionism, creating splits and resorting to intrigues and conspiracies, the "gang of four" exerted a great disruptive and damaging influence on our Party ideologically, organizationally and in its style of work. Nevertheless, it must be noted that

our Party has a fine revolutionary tradition. This tradition, nurtured by Mao Tsetung Thought, was established under Chairman Mao's leadership in the long years of revolutionary struggles and in the course of combating various wrong tendencies. It has taken root in the mass of our Party members and cadres and can withstand storm and stress. The disruption and sabotage by the "gang of four" was another great storm that tempered our Party. A bad thing can be turned into a good thing—this is a truth of dialectics which Chairman Mao repeatedly stated. Through exposure and criticism of the "gang of four," and through Party consolidation and rectification, our Party can surely carry forward its tradition of combining theory with practice, maintaining close ties with the masses and practising criticism and self-criticism, its tradition of democratic centralism, and its tradition of plain living and hard work. It will surely enhance its fighting power, and play a still more effective role in leading the socialist revolution and socialist construction.

Using the theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat to guide China's socialist construction, Chairman Mao in 1958 formulated the general line of going all out, aiming high, and achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results in building socialism. The basic idea of this general line had been expounded in many of the writings that are included in the fifth volume, that is, in continuing the socialist revolution, to handle correctly all sorts of contradictions and relationships and fully mobilize all positive forces so that socialist construction can develop with greater, faster, better and more economical results. Chairman Mao said: "We must do our best to mobilize all positive factors, both inside and outside the Party, both at home and abroad, both direct and indirect, and build China into a powerful socialist country."

Revolution in both the superstructure and the relations of production is aimed at

emancipating the productive forces and speeding up the development of production. We, must build our economically and culturally backward country into a powerful one with modern agriculture, industry, national defence and science and technology in keeping with the orientation of socialism and communism. Capitalism enabled many countries to industrialize. But as Chairman Mao said in discussing the road agriculture should take, "the capitalist road can also lead to increased production, but the time required would be longer and the course painful." Socialism is far superior to capitalism. It enables us to go faster than capitalism in expanding production, industrialize the country in a comparatively short period and surpass capitalism in labour productivity step by step. We must expand production as quickly as possible under socialism, because this is the only way to satisfy the people's growing needs gradually, and keep broadening the material basis of the socialist system. The consolidation of socialism requires, among other conditions, a strong material basis. In order to safeguard the socialist system, it is imperative to have a powerful national defence and therefore a powerful economic force. Without a high degree of industrialization of the country, it is impossible for socialism to win final victory over capitalism. Chairman Mao further pointed out: "The productive forces are the most revolutionary factor. When the productive forces have developed, there is bound to be a revolution." This is a Marxist principle applicable to any society. Under socialism, too, the growth of the productive forces is bound to expose flaws in the economic and political systems and rouse people to make changes. Take agriculture for instance, Chairman Mao long ago pointed out: "The social and technical transformation of the rural areas will proceed simultaneously." The growth of agricultural co-operatives into people's communes opened a broad road for mechanizing farming. Agriculture is of vital importance in our country's economic construction. The development of

our agriculture calls for carrying out the mass movement to learn from Tachai in agriculture and popularize Tachai-type counties throughout the country, for carrying out education in the Party's basic line among the peasant masses, for criticizing revisionism and capitalism in a big way and for persisting in the socialist road while working energetically to mechanize farm work. The present three-level system of ownership of the means of production in the people's commune, with ownership by the production team as the basic form, will in the future gradually be raised to fully collective ownership by the people's commune and eventually ownership by the whole people. This is a process of constant transformation in the superstructure and in the relations of production, a process of achieving farm mechanization and industrializing the communes and the country, and a process of constantly raising the level of mechanization and industrialization. The "gang of four" styled themselves as being keen on the socialist system, but actually they gave support to the forces for capitalist restoration in town and country. Every day they sabotaged the material basis of the socialist system and opposed the four modernizations. They were political swindlers who tried deliberately to subvert the socialist system and stood opposed to the socialist revolution.

Chairman Mao asked the cadres in all trades and professions to "strive to be proficient in technical and professional work, turn themselves into experts and become both red and expert." Chairman Mao said: "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. Whatever line our comrades are in, whether it is industry, agriculture, commerce, or culture and education, they should all acquire some technical and professional knowledge."

Chairman Mao demanded that the comrades in charge of the central departments and of various levels in the localities should "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." The "gang of four" were against our improving professional skills for socialism. They opposed our learning technical skill and vocational knowledge because they opposed socialism. Chairman Mao said: "Some people are white, like the Rightists in the Party who are politically white and technically inexperienced." The "gang of four" went even further than these Rightists, they were ultra-Rightists.

It is impossible to build socialism and consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat without mammoth contingents of working-class technical cadres and working-class intellectuals. Chairman Mao set the requirement for members of the Communist Party and the Youth League and the whole people that "everybody should study hard. Wherever possible they should strive to acquire technical skill and vocational knowledge and study Marxist theory, so 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)." Chairman Mao added: "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." We must follow Chairman Mao's teachings and, proceeding from the needs of the revolution, fully understand the great importance of this task and strive to fulfil it.

Volume V indicates that Chairman Mao always pondered deeply on the question of how to bring the superiority of socialism into full play so as to develop China's national

construction at a faster pace and with better results. Chairman Mao said as early as 1954 that it would take roughly 50 years, or a period of 10 five-year plans, for China to achieve socialist industrialization and agricultural mechanization and become a great socialist state. Again, in 1956, Chairman Mao proposed to overtake the United States economically in 50 to 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 50 or 60 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."** Could any Chinese remain unmoved and inactive when he or she reads these words of Chairman Mao's, except the "gang of four" and the handful of landlords and bourgeois elements they represent who stubbornly oppose socialism?

Following Chairman Mao's instructions, Comrade Chou En-lai submitted to the National People's Congress sessions held in 1964 and 1975 a magnificent plan envisaging the building of our country by the end of the present century into a powerful socialist country with all-round modernization of agriculture, industry, national defence, and science and technology so that our national economy can rank among the most advanced in the world. Under the leadership of Chairman Mao, our Party and our people took more than 20 years to build our country independently and with the initiative in our own hands, and through self-reliance and hard struggle, into a socialist state with the beginnings of prosperity. We must work with stamina and diligence for another 20-odd years to fulfil that magnificent plan.

Chairman Mao's theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat is a powerful weapon with which to fight anti-Marxist revisionism at home and abroad.

Holding high the banner of Marxism-Leninism, Chairman Mao fought against modern revisionism with the Soviet revisionist renegade clique at its centre and dealt it a smashing blow theoretically. This was one of the great exploits he performed. From the time of the writings in Volume V up to the present, a momentous change has taken place in the international communist movement, that is, the socialist camp no longer exists as a result of the degeneration of the Soviet Union into social-imperialism through the betrayal of the Khrushchov and Brezhnev cliques. As early as 1956 Chairman Mao sharply pointed out that Khrushchov and company, while having thrown away the "sword" of Stalin, had also thrown away the "sword" of Lenin by and large, thus discarding Leninism by and large. Confronted with the frenzied attack by modern revisionists, Chairman Mao resolutely defended Stalin and safeguarded Marxism-Leninism. We must carry out Chairman Mao's behests and carry the struggle against Soviet social-imperialism through to the end.

The Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao anti-Party "gang of four" are vicious enemies of Chairman Mao's great theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. They tampered with the Party's basic line and even lauded sabotaging activities against the socialist superstructure and relations of production and against socialist economic construction as "revolutionary." They rallied a group of secret agents, renegades, counter-revolutionaries, hooligans and bad elements of various kinds who seriously disturbed social order. They called themselves "Leftists" and "revolutionaries" but directed the spearhead of their attack at the leading cadres at various levels and the revolutionary masses who persisted in the so-

cialist road. They reversed the relationship between the enemy and the people, confused right and wrong and made trouble in order to usurp supreme Party and state power and replace the dictatorship of the proletariat with a fascist dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. In the deep-going struggle to expose and criticize the "gang of four," we must use Mao Tsetung Thought to strip off their "Leftist" mask and reveal their true features as ultra-Rightists.

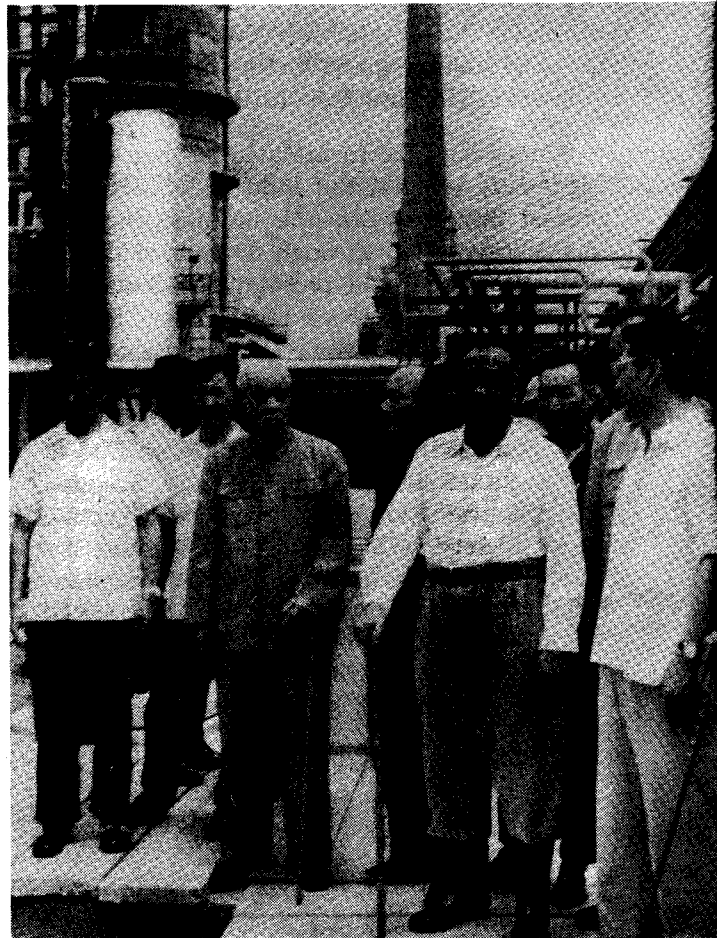
Through revolutionary practice of more than 20 years and the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in particular, Chairman Mao's theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat has armed both our Party and the masses. With this powerful ideological weapon and the active support of the masses, our Party in good time smashed the plot of the "gang of four" to seize supreme Party and state power. As a result, the tragedy of a capitalist restoration that befell the Soviet Union after Stalin's death was not repeated in our country. The smashing of the "gang of four" by our Party is a great application of Chairman Mao's theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, and it is another great victory in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

Chairman Mao formulated for our Party a clear-cut, well-defined and correct Marxist-Leninist line, i.e., the line for carrying the socialist revolution through to the end under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Chairman Mao taught us that we must never forget class struggle and that we should grasp class struggle as the key link and, step by step, do a good job of the socialist revolution and socialist construction and build China into a great socialist country and go on to accomplish the transition from socialist to communist society. Chairman Mao wanted us to act in this way, and we should firmly do so.

At present, the whole Party, the whole army and the people of various nationalities

throughout the country must continue in a deep-going way this great political revolution to expose and criticize the "gang of four," continue to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and implement and carry out correctly and in an all-round way Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in the political, economic and cultural spheres, so as to bring about great order across the land. We must accelerate the revolutionization and modernization of the People's Liberation Army, strengthen preparedness against war, maintain vigilance and be ready at all times to wipe out any enemy who dares to intrude. Together with our compatriots in Taiwan, we must make efforts to accomplish the sacred cause of liberating Taiwan and reunifying the motherland. We must expand the revolutionary united front, led by the working class and based on the worker-peasant alliance, which includes patriotic democratic parties and patriotic personages so as to mobilize all positive factors to serve the cause of socialism. We must adhere to proletarian internationalism, act according to Chairman Mao's scientific analysis on the division into three worlds, do a good job of foreign affairs, unite with all the forces in the world that can be united and oppose the hegemonism of the two superpowers, the Soviet Union and the United States. In the course of struggle and work, we must make an earnest study of Volume V of the *Selected Works of Mao Tsetung* and bring about a new upsurge in the study of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought so as to arm ourselves better ideologically.

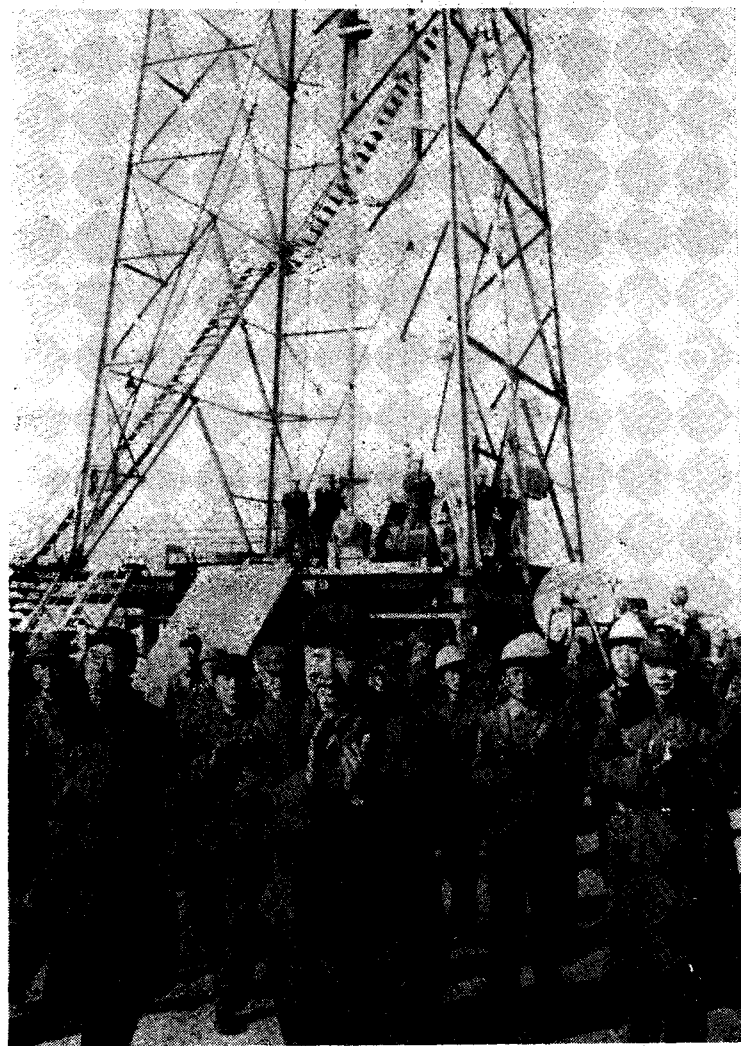
Let us hold high the great banner of Chairman Mao and make further efforts to strengthen the great unity of the whole Party, the whole army and the people of various nationalities throughout the country and, under the leadership of the Party Central Committee, strive to overcome all hardships and difficulties on our way forward and win one new victory after another in the socialist revolution and socialist construction.



Chairman Hua Inspects Taching

THE wise leader Chairman Hua Kuo-feng made an inspection tour of the Taching Oilfield, the red banner on China's industrial front put up by the great leader and teacher Chairman Mao, from April 17 to 19, before presiding over the opening ceremony of the National Conference on Learning From Taching in Industry.

He highly praised the Taching workers' revolutionary spirit of hard struggle in opening up and building the oilfield and their tremendous achievements over the past 17 years. He spoke highly of their tit-for-tat struggle against the "gang of four," saying that these workers are really an indomitable and unbeatable revolutionized contingent of the Iron Man type (a reference to the late heroic driller Wang Chin-hsi — Tr.), which is capable of combating and preventing revisionism and is politically conscious and vocationally proficient. He warmly encouraged leading cadres at all levels and workers of the oilfield and their families to uphold Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, persevere in criticizing revisionism, carry forward the spirit of combining revolutionary spirit with all-out exertion and redouble their efforts to make still greater contributions to the high-speed development of China's petroleum industry.



Chairman Hua meets members of the Nos. 1205 and 1202 Drilling Teams.

◀ **Top:** Chairman Mao shook hands with Iron Man Comrade Wang Chin-hsi, an outstanding representative of Taching's workers; at the closing ceremony of the Ninth National Congress of the Communist Party of China on April 24, 1969.

Lower left: Premier Chou En-lai listened to a worker's report about oil layers in Taching on June 21, 1962.

Lower right: Chairman Chu Teh of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress and Vice-Chairman Tung Pi-wu of the People's Republic of China visited the Taching Oil Refinery on August 1, 1964.

In the course of his inspection tour, Chairman Hua more than once stressed the significance of Chairman Mao's call **In industry, learn from Taching**. He said: "Taching is a



Chairman Hua shaking hands with a veteran oil-extraction worker.

model Chairman Mao set for us. In industry, learn from Taching means following its example in taking China's own road of industrial development. It is essential to learn from Taching's working class the revolutionary spirit of 'setting to work when conditions are available, and when they are not, creating the necessary conditions and going ahead.' If everyone works for the revolution as the people of Taching do, we can surely surmount all difficulties and make a success of our work in all fields."

Other leading comrades of the Party Central Committee and the State Council who made inspection tours of the oilfield were Li Hsien-nien, Chi Teng-kuei, Wang Tung-hsing, Li Teh-sheng, Chen Yung-kuei, Wu Kuei-hsien, Su Chen-hua, Wang Chen, Yu Chiu-li and Ku Mu.

On drilling platforms, at oil well sites, by the side of pipelines and shelves of a warehouse, in simply-equipped workshops for washing and mending worn-out work clothes, at a militia shooting range, in adobe houses of the workers and staff members and in the scientific experiment exhibition hall showing the exploration and exploitation of the Taching Oilfield, Chairman Hua listened attentively to work reports by workers, leading cadres, technicians

and housewives and discussed with them questions concerning the socialist revolution and socialist construction. He called on them to carry out Chairman Mao's behests and make still greater contributions to the motherland and mankind.

In the course of his inspection, Chairman Hua chatted cordially with workers and staff members at every place he visited, inquiring about their work, life and families. He was very happy to learn that many of the workers and staff members and their families had come from Chekiang and other provinces in south China or from

big cities like Peking and Shanghai. He told leading comrades of the Taching Party committee: "They have all become natives of Taching!" These words of praise soon spread, and all who had come from different parts of the country to take part in building the oilfield were elated.

In a talk with leading cadres of the Ministry of Petroleum and Chemical Industries, Chairman Hua said: "The people of Taching, under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, have gone through storm and stress to blaze China's own road of industrial development. They have cast off the 'oil-poor country' label which the bourgeoisie in the West imposed on us, and made a great contribution to the high-speed development of China's petroleum industry." He called on the Taching Party committee to send more and more cadres and workers to the new oilfields in addition to producing more oil for the country. He made the same demand to the Party organizations of the drilling and oil-extraction teams when he inspected these and other grass-roots units. A political instructor of a women's oil-extraction team told him: "We are determined to find new oil deposits at Taching and elsewhere, so as to produce more oil for the country." Chairman Hua highly appreciated her pledge and said: "You are right, that's the way to do it."

During his three-day inspection, Chairman Hua visited the No. 1205 Drilling Team once headed by the late Iron Man Wang Chin-hsi, a women's oil-extraction team, a production well which has maintained stable and high output throughout the past 17 years, a pumping station for oil and gas transport designed and built by Taching's workers and technicians themselves, the Taching Chemical Fertilizer Plant built in the fierce struggle against the interference and sabotage by the "gang of four," a chemical fibre plant under the general petrochemical works known for its constant development and innovations, the sewing and mending factory under the supply headquarters renowned for its spirit of diligence and frugality, a motor vehicle and tractor parts warehouse famous for the high proficiency of the warehouse keepers, a worker-peasant village famous for the spirit of plain living and hard work, a pumping station construction site, and the scientific experiment exhibition hall. Chairman Hua also saw field operations of machines and equipment and a modern drama *The Rising Sun* which depicts how housewives build the worker-peasant villages.

After visiting the scientific experiment exhibition hall, Chairman Hua had a cordial talk with the scientific and technical personnel who explained the exhibits to him, enjoining them to attach importance to scientific experimentation. He said: "The interference and sabotage by the 'gang of four' in this field were very serious. In order to achieve the modernization of agriculture, industry, national defence and science and technology and reach advanced world levels, we must roundly criticize the 'gang of four' and eliminate their noxious influence, and persevere in the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment. We must carry out scientific experiments conscientiously and train a greater number of scientists and technicians. We must say that the number of scientists and technicians in our country is small and their level of proficiency not high enough. So we must not rest content with what we have achieved." Min Yu, vice-chairman of the Taching revolutionary committee and chief geologist for the massive battle to strike oil when the oilfield was started, expressed his determination to follow Chairman Hua's instructions. Kang Shih-en,

Chairman Hua praises warehouse keeper Chi Li-li who has distinguished herself by training hard to master the skills for the cause of the revolution.





Chairman Hua talking with Hsueh Kuei-fang who led housewives in reclaiming wasteland in the early days of the oilfield.

Minister of Petroleum and Chemical Industries and deputy commander-in-chief of the then massive battle, pledged: "We will work hard to catch up with and surpass the advanced world levels." Chairman Hua said: "That's right, we must catch up with and surpass the advanced world levels. We will achieve what has been achieved in other countries; we must also achieve what has not yet been achieved in other countries and do it still better."

A representative of the housewives reported to Chairman Hua how in those early days five housewives used five shovels to reclaim wasteland on the vast bleak grassland and, with them taking the lead, many others joined them in building a new-type mining area which combines industry with agriculture and town with country. Praising Hsueh Kuei-fang, now 63, who was then in the van leading the housewives to make revolution with five shovels, Chairman Hua said: "You've set a good example. If the people throughout the country are imbued with the spirit of making revolution with five shovels, they will work more miracles."

While visiting the sewing and mending factory which makes work clothes, gloves, fur

caps and other wear from discarded material, Chairman Hua went over every process of work carefully. He said: "The people elsewhere have received an education from a documentary film about your factory. Your work is very important because it is aimed at serving the people. Chairman Mao taught us to run enterprises diligently and frugally. You've done a good job and the people all over the country should learn from you."

Minister Kang Shih-en and Sung Chen-ming, Vice-Minister of Petroleum and Chemical Industries, secretary of the Taching Party committee and frontline commander of the then massive battle, accompanied Chairman Hua on his inspection tour.

Braving wind, snow and biting cold, Chairman Hua drove several hundred kilometres across the vast oilfield from south to north and from west to east. The several hundred thousand Taching workers and staff members and their families deemed it a great honour to be inspected by Chairman Hua and drew tremendous encouragement from it. A festive mood prevailed throughout the oilfield. Militant

(Continued on p. 39.)

Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien's Speech

(Excerpts)

WE are very glad that at the invitation of the Chinese Government, His Excellency President U Ne Win has again come to our country for an official visit at this time of spring blossoming. President U Ne Win is our respected old friend. During His Excellency's visit to China in 1975, the Chinese people's great leader and teacher Chairman Mao Tsetung had a cordial meeting with him and expressed the hope that he would come again and visit more places. Today, this wish of Chairman Mao's has come true posthumously, and it gives us the opportunity of gathering joyously again with His Excellency the President and the other Burmese friends to renew our friendship. This fills us with particular joy. On behalf of Chairman and Premier Hua Kuo-feng and the Chinese Government and people, I wish to extend our warm welcome to His Excellency the President, Madame Ne Win and all the other distinguished Burmese guests.

The *paukphaw* friendship between the Chinese and Burmese peoples and between our two countries is deep-rooted and long-standing. Our friendly relations have been nurtured under the personal care of Chairman Mao and President U Ne Win. The repeated visits by Premier Chou En-lai to Burma and by President U Ne Win to China made important contributions to increasing the mutual understanding and developing the friendly relations between our two countries. Reviewing Sino-Burmese friendship naturally awakens our deep memories of Chairman Mao Tsetung and Premier Chou En-lai.

The principles guiding continued development of relations between our two countries have been laid down in the joint communique issued by our two countries during His Excellency the President's visit to China in 1975. Following Chairman Mao's behests, the Chinese Government and people will continue, as before,

to make unceasing efforts to promote the friendship between the Chinese and Burmese peoples and the friendly relations between our two countries.

Over two months ago, Madame Teng Ying-chao, Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, visited Burma and was accorded a grand, magnificent and warm welcome and cordial, thoughtful and friendly hospitality by His Excellency the President, Madame Ne Win and the Burmese Government and people. I would like to take this opportunity to express, on behalf of the Chinese Government and people, our heartfelt gratitude to His Excellency the President, Madame Ne Win and the Burmese Government and people. We are convinced that His Excellency's current visit to China will add a new chapter to the annals of friendly relations between our two countries and that these relations will further develop on the basis of the five principles of mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence and in the common struggle against imperialism, colonialism and super-power hegemonism.

At present, the international situation continues to develop in a direction favourable to the people of all countries, and the peoples of the vast third world are playing an ever more important role in international affairs. The hegemonic features of the superpowers are being more and more exposed, and they have suffered continual defeats and setbacks. The Asian peoples are increasingly awakening and they are determined to guard against the tiger while repelling the wolf. Their struggle against the superpowers' contention for hegemony in Asia and in defence of national independence and state sovereignty is developing vigorously.

The Korean people's just struggle for the independent and peaceful reunification of their fatherland has won ever wider sympathy and support from the people of the world. The peoples of Kampuchea, Viet Nam and Laos have achieved marked successes since liberation in consolidating their fruits of victory and building their own countries. The Southeast Asian countries adhere to their positive proposition for establishing a zone of peace and neutrality in Southeast Asia and oppose superpower aggression and interference. Their regional economic co-operation has also made new progress. The people of the South Asian countries have won new victories in their struggle against hegemonism. Relations among Asian countries have further improved extensively. This main trend of development in the Asian situation is heartening and it accords with the desire of the Asian peoples.

At the same time, we are soberly aware that the security of the Asian countries is still threatened by superpower aggression and subversion. Wherever there is a chance, the super-

powers try by every means to sow discord, create contradictions and intensify their infiltration and expansion. This is arousing greater vigilance on the part of the Asian countries and people. We are sure that, so long as the Asian peoples maintain independence, strengthen their unity and firmly oppose foreign interference and aggression, they will frustrate all schemes and plots of hegemonism and further move the Asian situation in a direction favourable to themselves.

We are happy to note that in recent years the Burmese people have waged an unremitting struggle to safeguard their national independence and state sovereignty. Under President U Ne Win's leadership, the Burmese Government has, over a long period, persisted in an independent and non-aligned foreign policy, developed friendly relations and co-operation with other third world countries and resolutely opposed the imperialist and hegemonist policy of aggression and expansion. This is highly admired and appreciated by the Chinese Government and people.

President U Ne Win's Speech

(Excerpts)

MAY I first of all say that I am extremely grateful for the hearty welcome extended to me and the members of my delegation on our arrival in Peking today.

I have had the privilege and pleasure of visiting China from time to time, this being my ninth visit. The warm welcome and generous hospitality accorded to me by my *paukphaw* kinsfolk and the intimate conversations we engage in, all these make it a moving family reunion for me.

When I called on Chairman Mao during my visit to China in November 1975, he was kind enough to say to me, "Your visit this time is much too short. Come again to China and stay longer." He also extended the invitation: "Travel round China next time; go wherever

you wish. Invite our leaders too to Burma." I promised Chairman Mao that I would come back, and as suggested by Chairman Mao, I did extend an invitation to the leaders of China to visit Burma. I am happy that my present visit has fulfilled the wish of the late Chairman Mao. I should like here to express again my thanks to Chairman Hua Kuo-feng, the Chinese Government and leaders for renewing the invitation to enable me to keep my promise to Chairman Mao.

In response to my invitation to the leaders of China to visit Burma, our respected friend Vice-Chairman Teng Ying-chao came to visit us. The friendship and goodwill visit of respected Vice-Chairman Teng Ying-chao gave us unbounded joy, like the visit of an elder sister to the home of a younger brother. Her visit

has given renewed strength to the existing close friendship between our two peoples.

The relations between Burma and China are not new. They are as old as history and as close as *paukphaw* kinship. China and Burma are not only linked together geographically by rivers, streams, forests and mountains but there have always been close social, economic and cultural exchanges between the two peoples.

Both China and Burma accept the "principles of peaceful coexistence." These principles are in accord not only with the interests of our two peoples but with their desires also.

For this reason, speaking for Burma, we are resolved to make all efforts to ever strengthen the *paukphaw* relationship between our two countries.

As China and Burma are close neighbours, it would be best if no problems arise at all between them. If and when differences un-

avoidably arise at times, both sides should try and resolve them in a spirit of frankness and with patience. If we both adopt this way, we shall be able to contain the problems and to prevent any deterioration in our friendship, even if the problems do not submit themselves to an immediate solution. The amicable settlement of the boundary between our two countries is an outstanding case in point.

Ever since our two peoples became masters of their own destiny they have been striving to develop and advance their somewhat backward economies and societies. For their efforts to be successful, it is necessary that peaceful and stable conditions should prevail within their own countries, in their immediate neighbourhood, and in the broader international community.

May I therefore conclude by urging that all countries work together towards the achievement of such peaceful and stable conditions.

A Sinister Cabal of New and Old Counter-Revolutionaries

by Commentators of *Renmin Ribao*, *Hongqi* and *Jiefangjun Bao*

WHAT kind of people are Wang Hung-wen, Chang Chun-chiao, Chiang Ching and Yao Wen-yuan? And what is the nature of this "gang of four"?

Over a long period of time they used every organ of propaganda and the entire mass media to eulogize and monumentalize themselves, decking themselves out as "heroes" of the Great Cultural Revolution and "standard-bearers" of the revolution in literature and art, with, in addition, a glorious past, as they claimed that their "family background is clear and clean" and they had been "revolutionaries all the time." Now, the truth has come out. Acting in accordance with Chairman Mao's principle of

relying on the joint efforts of special bodies and the masses, the Party Central Committee in the past six months and more has conducted careful and serious investigations into the political history of Chang Chun-chiao, Chiang Ching, Yao Wen-yuan and Wang Hung-wen. It has now been established, supported by an enormous amount of conclusive evidence, that Chang Chun-chiao was a Kuomintang special agent; Chiang Ching, a renegade; Yao Wen-yuan, an alien class element; and Wang Hung-wen, a newborn bourgeois element. In short, they are a bunch of counter-revolutionaries, and, in the case of Chang Chun-chiao and Chiang Ching, they were double-dyed counter-revolutionaries, being counter-revolution-

aries of the past and active counter-revolutionaries of today. This "gang of four" is a sinister band of new and old counter-revolutionaries, a counter-revolutionary faction, an underground independent kingdom which hides in the revolutionary camp.

Chang Chun-chiao who came from a bureaucrat-landlord family began serving as a Kuomintang special agent and engaging in criminal anti-Communist, counter-revolutionary activities in the early 30s while attending middle school in Tsinan, Shantung Province. The information he gave against leaders and activists in the student movement to oppose Chiang Kai-shek and resist Japanese aggression led to the persecution of six young revolutionaries, one of whom died in prison. In the spring of 1933, the Fu Hsing Society of the Kuomintang established in Tsinan the fascist Hua Ti Society, of which Chang Chun-chiao was one of the founders and a stalwart. In May 1935 he went to Shanghai, where, taking orders from Tsui Wan-chiu, a special agent of the Kuomintang Fu Hsing Society, he took part in anti-Communist activities to espouse Chiang Kai-shek's cause, rabidly opposed Lu Hsun (1881-1936, a great man of letters, thinker and revolutionary — *Tr.*) and took an active part in the Kuomintang's counter-revolutionary cultural "encirclement and suppression" campaign. Back in Tsinan in the autumn of 1937, on the instructions of Chin Chi-jung, chief of the Fu Hsing Society special agents in Shantung, Chang Chun-chiao was to sneak into our base areas at the first opportunity, and in January 1938 he went to Yen-an. There, he concealed his counter-revolutionary past, and his counter-revolutionary family and social connections, and, hiding this from the Party organization, he wormed his way into the Communist Party.

Chiang Ching who was born into a landlord's family likewise began her counter-revolutionary political career in the 30s. She joined the Communist Party in February, 1933 but soon lost contact with it. In the autumn of the same year, she joined the "Left-Wing Teachers' League" and the Communist Youth League in Shanghai. In October 1934, she was arrested by a Kuomintang secret service agency and before long made a confession and betrayed the Party, and crawled out of the enemy cell as a renegade.

Soon afterwards, she too struck up an acquaintance with Tsui Wan-chiu and was in constant and close contact with him, with the latter giving publicity *ad nauseam* to her in the reactionary press. Chiang Ching played various parts in "national defence dramas" and "national defence films," was active in the campaign to raise funds for "planes as a birthday present" to Chiang Kai-shek and placed herself in the Kuomintang's service while ingratiating herself with Chiang Kai-shek. She made her way to Yen-an in 1937 after making an agreement with another renegade that they would shield each other. Hiding from the Party her act of betrayal with a statement supplied by the said renegade to vouch for her political integrity, she wormed her way into the Party.

Yao Wen-yuan's father was Yao Peng-tzu, who, by betraying the Party, got released from prison in 1934. Afterwards, he became a special agent in cultural circles under Hsu En-tseng, a secret service chief of the Bureau of Investigation and Statistics of Kuomintang's Central Committee. As a boy, Yao Wen-yuan was a pet of Hsu En-tseng and his wife Fei Hsia, a renegade, and became the godson of this secret service chieftain. He had close ties with the couple until they fled to Taiwan. In 1948, before Shanghai's liberation, Yao Wen-yuan wormed his way into the Party, concealing his father's identity as a renegade and special agent, his landlord and capitalist family background, and the serious political involvement in his own past. After liberation, Yao Peng-tzu clung to his reactionary stand, opposed the Communist Party and the people and was thus classified a bourgeois Rightist in 1957, but Yao Wen-yuan did his best to shield him. During the Great Cultural Revolution, on the strength of the power he had usurped, Yao Wen-yuan, using every possible and most despicable means, worked in cahoots with Wang Hung-wen and Chang Chun-chiao to put his father under their wing so that Yao Peng-tzu was able to escape interrogation by the Party and the people. Yao Wen-yuan long maintained close political and economic ties with Yao Peng-tzu. When Yao Peng-tzu died in 1969, Yao Wen-yuan came into all his property except his bank deposits. This is the so-called "Yao Wen-yuan road" that the followers of the "gang of four" trumpeted.

Although Wang Hung-wen came from a family of labouring people, served in the army and was a worker once, he conducted himself poorly and misbehaved while in the army and working in a factory. He read neither works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin nor Chairman Mao's works and did nothing to remould his world outlook. In Shanghai, he often wined and dined with landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries and bad elements, entered into a brotherhood with those people and had strong lumpen element traits. During the Great Cultural Revolution, Wang Hung-wen brought together his "brothers" to form a cabal which spied on people and worked for their own interests. After he had ganged up with Chang Chun-chiao, Chiang Ching and Yao Wen-yuan, his bourgeois personal wild ambitions grew stronger and unchecked and he practised revisionism, created splits and engaged in intrigues and conspiracies, worked feverishly to realize his criminal aim of usurping supreme Party and state leadership and finally embarked on the path of opposing the Party, the people and the revolution. Abusing the power he had usurped, he embezzled and stole like mad, squandering what belonged to the state and leading a decadent life. Wang Hung-wen was a typical representative of the newborn bourgeoisie sucking the blood of the workers, and a capitalist-roader still on the capitalist road.

Such are the true features of Wang, Chang, Chiang and Yao, the self-styled "Leftists" and "radicals."

The rise and fall of the "gang of four" once again drives home the truth: With the proletariat scoring still greater victories, the class enemies will become ever more anxious to worm their way into the ranks of the proletariat, using the tactic of "eating it up from within." They conceal their true features by giving people a false impression. The "gang of four" practised revisionism in the guise of "combating revisionism," worked for a restoration in the guise of "opposing restoration," vehemently waged a ruthless struggle on behalf of the bourgeoisie against the proletariat under the slogan of "grasping class struggle," and exercised bourgeois dictatorship under the signboard of the "proletarian dictatorship." Revolutionary slogans were nothing to them but a tactic to further their counter-revolutionary activities, a

camouflage. The exposure and criticism conducted in the last few months of their crimes of usurping Party and state power and wrecking the country and ruining the people have ripped off their "Leftist" mask and laid bare their ferocious counter-revolutionary features. Now that we have got to the bottom of things and dug into their past, we are able to provide a more adequate explanation to questions that were otherwise quite inexplicable in an ordinary way, questions such as: Why did they consistently oppose the great leader Chairman Mao? Why did they so intensely hate and ruthlessly struggle against and deal ruthless blows to the esteemed and beloved Premier Chou, the other proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation and a large number of leading comrades of the Party, government and army who adhered to the socialist road? Why did they unscrupulously create splits in the ranks of the working class and among the people, instigate the use of force in struggle and even provoke "all-round civil war"? They belonged from the outset to the counter-revolutionary camp whose task it was to overthrow China's socialist system and restore Kuomintang fascist rule. What "Leftists"! What "radicals"! They were ultra-Rightists to the hilt, out-and-out unrepentant capitalist-roaders and the most ferocious counter-revolutionaries.

The "gang of four" made a big fanfare to dress themselves up as heroes of the Great Cultural Revolution in order to hoodwink the people and build up a reputation and make political capital. But what were they actually doing during the Great Cultural Revolution? In league with the Lin Piao anti-Party clique and its principal members including Chen Po-ta, they deliberately turned things upside down as to relations between ourselves and the enemy, confused class alignments, obliterated the difference between the two types of contradictions — those between ourselves and the enemy and those among the people — instigated the practice of overthrowing all and provoked "all-round civil war." Their aim was to profit by disturbances and seize power when turmoil ensued. Chairman Mao said: **"The Great Cultural Revolution can be evaluated 70 to 30, 70 per cent for achievements and 30 per cent for mistakes."** The 70 per cent — the achievements — came about under the leadership of Chairman Mao

while the 30 per cent — the mistakes — was the result of interference and sabotage by Lin Piao, Chen Po-ta, Chang Chun-chiao, Chiang Ching, Yao Wen-yuan and Wang Hung-wen. How could they be “heroes of the Great Cultural Revolution”? They were political swindlers trying to steal the fruits of the Great Cultural Revolution; they were arch-criminals who did everything to sabotage the Cultural Revolution.

The “gang of four” claimed that they “sided with the advanced elements” and “relied on the rebels.” But what were the “advanced elements” and “rebels” they spoke of? They got together a large number of new and old counter-revolutionaries, thugs who beat, smashed and looted, embezzlers and thieves, so-called veteran cadres who sold themselves to the gang, hack writers, time-serving informers, monsters and freaks, riffraff and other dregs of society. The gang called these people “advanced elements” “going against the tide” and “fighting and dashing rebels.” Those who were not Party members were hastily packed into the Party; those who had no official posts were catapulted into leading posts. Theirs was no ordinary faction, but a counter-revolutionary sinister clique having a centre of its own, complete with a big boss, a brain truster, a commander, a propaganda chief, news media, an intelligence network, base areas and secret liaison branches. They reached into some departments of the central authorities, some provincial and municipal organs and even tried to set up a “second armed force” alongside the People’s Liberation Army. In short, they formed a counter-revolutionary bourgeois gang system with a programme, a line and an organization. Though they were only a handful and completely isolated among the 800 million people, they had enormous capabilities that must not be underestimated. The extent and intensity of their pernicious influence and the gravity of the harm they did is unparalleled in the history of our Party.

The criminal records of the Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao anti-Party gang that have been brought to light are shocking. They show how these typical representatives of the Chiang Kai-shek Kuomintang and of the landlord and capitalist classes wormed their way into the Chinese Communist Party by hook or by crook

through various complex channels and how they covered up their real counter-revolutionary features and got into the core of the leadership of the Party through insidious, crafty and ruthless means. These criminal records also show it was not accidental that the “gang of four,” donning the cloak of Marxism, practised revisionism, created splits, and carried out intrigues and conspiracies in an attempt to usurp supreme Party and state leadership and turn back the wheel of history in China. All this has a deep-rooted class origin and historical background. The gang’s social foundation was the landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and the old and new bourgeoisie. Our struggle against the gang is indeed a continuation of the protracted struggle waged by the Chinese Communist Party and the revolutionary masses under its leadership against the Kuomintang reactionaries, a continuation of the protracted struggle by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie and by Marxism against revisionism.

In the protracted revolutionary struggle, our Party exposed a number of disguised counter-revolutionaries, thus constantly purifying our ranks in the struggle. This is the primary aspect. But there was also a very small number who cleverly cloaked themselves and hid deep in our ranks and whom we failed to unearth for a long time. This was so in the past and will be so in the future. It shows the protractedness, tortuousness and complexity of class struggle. But since they oppose the revolution, it is impossible for them to cover up their true features completely and they will eventually be unmasked by our Party and the people. There is no doubt about this. Making use of the power they had usurped and working hand in glove with Lin Piao, Chen Po-ta and company during the Great Cultural Revolution, the “gang of four” tried to conceal their criminal records in a thousand and one ways. They secretly took away and destroyed large quantities of evidence of their counter-revolutionary activities. They also sent people disguised as Red Guards to ransack the homes of those in the know and even had them arrested on trumped-up charges, kept them in jail for a long time and cruelly persecuted them to the point of murder to prevent divulgence of their secrets. But fire cannot be wrapped in paper. Now

large amounts of evidence, in persons and things, have been found. These ironclad details are irrefutable proof in black and white. All the tricks and attempts of the "gang of four" to destroy the evidence of their crimes were futile. Since the start of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, our Party has smashed the three anti-Party cliques of Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao. This proves that the attempt by any disguised counter-revolutionary to destroy our Party was of no avail; this proves how very correct Chairman Mao's great theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat is and the tremendous far-reaching significance of the great practice of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution; this proves that our Party, founded and fostered by Chairman Mao, is invincible and worthy of being called a great, glorious and correct Marxist-Leninist Party.

Although the Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao "gang of four" has been toppled, the task ahead is still very arduous as we need to destroy completely the bourgeois factionalist outfit of the gang and their close followers, thoroughly expose their counter-revolutionary crimes, completely discredit their revisionist fallacies, and go into the persons and things involved in the gang's conspiratorial activities one by one. We

must take a firm and clear-cut stand, thoroughly investigate people who took part and cases involved in the gang's conspiratorial activities, show no mercy at all and resolutely eliminate the gang's poisonous influence politically, ideologically and organizationally. We must draw a strict distinction between the two types of contradictions that are different in nature, help more people by educating them and narrow the target of attack. We must, through grasping well the central task of exposing and criticizing the "gang of four," spur production and give impetus to all fields of work and make up for the losses and the lost time caused by the gang. We must mobilize all the positive factors, turn to good account the masses' socialist enthusiasm which has erupted in the struggle to expose and criticize the gang and carry out the socialist revolution and socialist construction successfully.

Under the leadership of the Party Central Committee headed by the wise leader Chairman Hua, let us hold aloft the great banner of Chairman Mao, carry out his behests, grasp the key link in running the country well and call out a mighty revolutionary contingent to carry the people's war of exposing and criticizing the "gang of four" through to the end.

(April 27)

(Continued from p. 32.)

songs drifted from loudspeakers and red flags fluttered on top of the drilling derricks, on the roofs of the cabins housing the oil wells that stud the oilfield, and in well-arranged residential areas known as worker-peasant villages. Wherever our good leader Chairman Hua went, he was greeted by resounding cheers of "Salute to Chairman Hua! Salute to the Party Central Committee!" and "Carry out Chairman Mao's behests and obey the orders of Chairman Hua!" Jubilation reigned everywhere. When Chairman Hua said "Learn from Taching!" and "Salute to the comrades at Taching!" the people were moved to tears and cheered even more heartily to express their deep love and resolute support for him.

Immediately after Chairman Hua's inspection tour, the workers and staff members held meetings to recount their happy meeting with Chairman Hua, praise Chairman Hua's concern, study his important instructions and, in connection with the two-line struggle in Taching, expose and denounce the crimes of the "gang of four" in opposing the red banner of Taching put up by Chairman Mao.

Taching's people pledged to turn Chairman Hua's concern for Taching into tremendous strength in conscientiously implementing Chairman Hua's strategic policy decision of grasping the key link in running the country well, and, in accordance with Chairman Hua's instructions, hold high the great banner of Chairman Mao, carry forward the fine revolutionary tradition and win still greater victories.



Taching Impressions (I)

Far More Than Oil

by Our Correspondent Chiang Shan-hao

A major event in China's economic development, the National Conference on Learning From Taching in Industry is now in session. How was the Taching Oilfield opened up and built? What are its main characteristics? Following is the first in a series of on-the-spot reports.

SEPTEMBER 26, 1959. Crude oil gushed from an exploration well sunk in the vast bleak grasslands of China's northernmost province of Heilungkiang. The prospectors were jubilant over the discovery of an underground treasure house for their socialist motherland. It was just before the tenth anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China on October 1. Thus, they named the oilfield Taching, meaning great celebration.

There are some 27,000 oilfields in the world and Taching is now one of the few biggest.

Its achievements can be summed up as follows:

Ten Major Contributions

- The opening up of the oilfield ground into the dust the once widespread belief that "China is oil-poor" and led to the unique creation of China's own theory in petroleum geology, thereby paving the way for locating more oilfields in the country.
- Taching's crude oil output has steadily increased at an average annual rate of 28 per cent, with current yearly production six times that of 1965, the year before the start of the Great Cultural Revolution.

- Thanks to the development of Taching and the building of other oilfields, China has begun exporting crude oil. In 1976 alone, it provided more than 40 countries and regions with crude oil and petroleum products.

- New technological processes and techniques have been introduced to keep oil output high and stable in Taching for 17 years running. (Generally speaking, the oil flow from a well tends to diminish and even becomes exhausted due to the gradually declining pressure in the oil layers.)

- In addition to a large petrochemical works that refines oil and turns out chemical fertilizer, chemical fibres and other products, Taching built a big chemical fertilizer plant last year.

- Of the many fruitful results in scientific experiments and technical innovations, more than 50 have reached or surpassed advanced world levels.

- The funds accumulated by Taching for the state over the past 17 years (profits that go into the state coffers) are 14.3 times the total state investment. Last year's returns are enough to build two oilfields and two petrochemical works the size of those in Taching.

- Initial successes have been achieved in building a somewhat unique socialist new-type mining area on the trackless grasslands, which combines industry with agriculture and town with country.

- Geological prospecting and surveying on the fringes of Taching and deep down in the oilfield have obtained a wealth of data for further tapping oil reserves there.

- Taching has helped spur the growth of China's petroleum industry by sending 56,000 personnel and large quantities of equipment to other new oilfields.

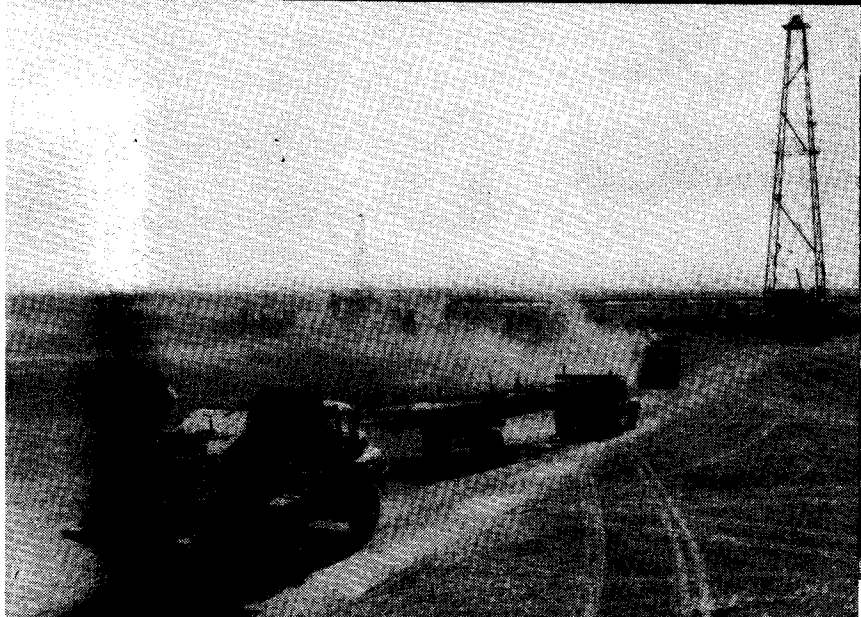
However, Taching's significance goes far beyond oil. Following Chairman Mao's line in running socialist industry and implementing the **Charter of the Anshan Iron and Steel Company**,* Taching has pioneered China's own road of industrial development, which is diametrically opposed to that of capitalism and revisionism.

As early as 1964, Chairman Mao issued the call **"In industry, learn from Taching."** Premier Chou, who went to Taching three times on inspection tours, paid careful attention to its development. Shortly after the smashing of the "gang of four," the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua Kuo-feng made the decision to convene the National Conference on Learning From Taching in Industry which is now in progress and attended by 7,000 representatives from all over the country.

What, after all, are the characteristics of the road blazed by Taching for developing industry? This series of reports will offer some explanations.

Not far from a railway station between the cities of Harbin and Tsitsihar is where the Taching Party committee and revolutionary committee — the headquarters of this huge enterprise — are located. Rows of ordinary red-brick

* Personally formulated by Chairman Mao, the **Charter of the Anshan Iron and Steel Company** defines the basic principles of persisting in putting politics in command; strengthening Party leadership; launching vigorous mass movements; cadre participation in productive labour and worker participation in management, reform of irrational and outdated rules and regulations, and close cooperation among cadres, workers and technicians; and carrying out technical innovations and technical revolution. It sets forth a Marxist line for running enterprises and is the fundamental law for running socialist enterprises well. (For more details, see "Chairman Mao's Note on 'Charter of the Anshan Iron and Steel Company'" in our issue No. 14, 1977.)



Opening up a new oil producing zone in Taching.

one-storey buildings resemble the surrounding groups of houses for workers. The sight of this cannot but bring to mind the headquarters of Exxon (or Esso, formerly the Standard Oil of New Jersey) in Manhattan, New York city. That 53-floor skyscraper symbolizes the power of money and the rule of capital.

"Law of Capture"

By comparison, it would be useful to refer to some historical facts about the development of the petroleum industry in the United States. It came into being in 1859 following the drilling of the first oil well in Pennsylvania. Later, a mighty gusher was found on a hillock called Spindletop in Texas in 1901. This spurred further advances in the industry.

The discovery of "black gold" drove many people, lusting after wealth, to madly pierce the earth's surface. The question of ownership became very urgent. According to custom in that capitalist society, land ownership goes down into the earth. The common law holds that minerals belong to the owners of the surface. But oil is a wandering mineral. Trying hard to find a solution, bar and bench finally turned to the law governing ownership of wild animals, that is, the "law of capture" or *res feræ naturæ*. More graphically, oil under-

ground was treated like a whale in the sea — he who captures it owns it.

The "law of capture" is synonymous with the "law of the jungle" — the survival of the fittest. Dictated by this law, the history of the petroleum industry is replete with cutthroat competition, vile machinations and even violence. Many people were ruined while a few made fortunes. Hence the emergence of oil barons and the "oil empire." They not only seize the enormous wealth created by the oil workers, but interfere in and rule society by dint of money. The late U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt once said: "The trouble with this country is that you can't win an election without the oil bloc, and you can't govern with it."

Furthermore, the application of the "law of capture" resulted in serious waste of natural resources. In the early days of the petroleum industry, landowners vied in drilling wells on their property to get as much of the oil pool as possible. The motto was: Get your neighbour's oil before he gets yours. Drilling large numbers of unneeded wells was itself a waste and, even more, drilling too many wells caused a rapid decline in the pressure in the oil layers, making the wells stop their flow before long and "die." Reviewing the history of his country's petroleum industry in the 20s and 30s one American scholar said that "this mad and greedy race for wealth" had caused "the most reckless and extravagant waste of natural resources."

A Massive Battle

Apologists for the capitalist system claim that rapid development is out of the question in the absence of the "law of capture" and "free enterprise." The "gang of four" also babbled: "Socialist low speed [of development] is preferable to capitalist high speed." According to the gang, socialism seemed incompatible with high-speed development. But the building of the Taching Oilfield proves that by following Chairman Mao's line in running socialist industry, we can achieve a high speed of development, even under extremely difficult conditions.

While in Taching, we visited two well-arranged exhibitions showing how the oilfield was built. The exhibits and the documentary *Battle Song of Taching* which was made at the late Premier Chou's instructions recapture many moving scenes of the pioneering days. (The film was banned from public showing by the "gang of four" for ten years, until recently.)

In February 1960, Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee approved a report from the then Ministry of Petroleum Industry and decided to fight a "massive battle" to open up Taching. (Oilfields in socialist China naturally belong to the state which represents the workers and the other labouring people.) Like fighting a "people's war," a "massive battle" meant launching a mass movement to open up the oilfield under the centralized leadership of the Party.

In response to this decision, tens of thousands of workers, demobbed P.L.A. men and engineers and technicians from all parts of the country flocked to the then virtually unpopulated Taching. The command post soon went to work in an unused cow-shed. Braving sub-zero temperatures of between -20 and -30 degrees C. on the snowbound grasslands, groups of people with their bedrolls and tools marched to their assigned "combat posts" and buckled down to work immediately. At night, they bedded down in tents or dugouts interspersed with bonfires. A battlefield-like atmosphere prevailed.

Nineteen-sixty was one of the three years when China had temporary economic difficulties arising from serious natural disasters. The Khrushchov clique took advantage of this to put pressure on the Chinese Communist Party, hoping to force it to dance to their revisionist tune. They withdrew their experts, tore up agreements and contracts, pressed for repayment of debts, and tightened their oil supply. Due to oil shortage, even buses in Peking had to carry huge bags of methane on top as a substitute for petrol. In these circumstances, we had to race against time and build the oil-

field at high speed — a task to be fulfilled in the revolutionary interests of China and the international proletariat.

The Taching people put proletarian politics in command and took on the heavy job with determination. Their outstanding representative was Wang Chin-hsi (1923-70), a Communist Party member and drilling worker. The famous No. 1205 Drilling Team he led went into battle immediately after arriving at the site from an oilfield in northwest China. As lift trucks and tractors had not arrived, they moved their drilling rig weighing 60 tons from the railway station to the site and put up the 40-metre-high derrick by sheer muscle. To solve the problem of water needed in drilling before pipes were laid, they broke through the ice in nearby marshes and fetched some 100 tons of water in basins or buckets. The necessary preparations having been made, Wang Chin-hsi ordered drilling to start at daybreak on April 14, 1960. Five days and nights later, crude oil gushed from Taching's first production well amidst resounding cheers of "Long live Chairman Mao!"

Despite fatigue, injury in an accident and all sorts of difficulties, Wang Chin-hsi remained undeterred and kept going throughout. For this people praisefully called him "Iron Man." Ever since, the glorious name Iron Man Wang has stuck and spread. Until he died of illness in 1970, he always was in the van leading the oilfield builders to fight the elements, class enemies, the revisionist line and erroneous ideas.

The oilfield's Party committee convened a meeting of 10,000 people on May 1, 1960, International Labour Day, and called on everyone to learn from the Iron Man. Wearing big red flowers on their chests, he and several other most outstanding workers like him came to the meeting place on horseback with the leading cadres holding the reins for them. A group of peasant-musicians from nearby villages were invited to play music on tradi-



Wang Chin-hsi (with raised arms) and fellow-workers in the early days of the Taching Oilfield.

tional instruments to celebrate the occasion. All present, including workers, cadres and intellectuals, became more determined to contribute their share to this glorious undertaking. The mass movement that followed to emulate the Iron Man generated inestimable strength and wisdom from the tens of thousands of builders, which was an important factor in the successful building of the oilfield.

Throughout the battle, the oilfield's Party committee acted as a staunch command post. It made well-thought-out operational plans and, of greater importance, carried out constant political agitation and education among the builders in line with the time-honoured tradition of the People's Liberation Army. This political work was done through the Party and Communist Youth League organizations, workers' meetings and in a variety of other ways. It kept the builders' morale high, which in turn led to one achievement after another.

Such a massive battle of course called for a highly centralized leadership which, however, was based on extensive democracy. Everywhere in those days, around bonfires or under candle light in tents, the builders, after coming off the job, had heated discussions about how to build up the oilfield and accomplish the task assigned each unit and made suggestions and criticisms about the leadership and its work.

Harsh as living conditions were, there was an all-pervading warmth of camaraderie. Among themselves, the builders made criticisms and self-criticisms, commended those who fought in the van and helped those lagging behind to catch up. When grain supplies ran low, someone would be surprised to find some food in his lunch box, saved and left there by an anonymous comrade. Unhesitatingly, the recipient put it into another comrade's lunch box. In the small hours, leading comrades braved bone-chilling winds to make the rounds of the tents, checking on whether the workers were well covered under cotton-padded quilts or who was not sleeping well for one reason or another. From time to time, troupes performed for the workers beside derricks, rain or shine, wind or snow. Female performers would do darning for any comrade in the audience. . . .

The massive battle rolled ahead with momentum and the first trainloads of crude oil were shipped from Taching on June 1, 1960. This big oilfield was completed in 1963 and the heartening news winged its way throughout the country: The days when China had to depend on imported oil were gone for ever.

From then on, Taching has continued its high-speed advance.

The Beacon

Over the years, Taching has gone through serious political struggles in addition to those against nature. And it has emerged victorious. Why? It is because the Taching people have always taken Mao Tsetung Thought as the beacon illuminating their road of advance. The Iron Man put it well when he said: "In studying Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, one must put it into practice and exert oneself. You haven't got an iota of Marxism-Leninism to speak of if you don't put it into practice."

The Taching people say that they built the oilfield on the strength of studying the "two 'Ons,'" namely, Chairman Mao's two philosophical works *On Practice* and *On Contradiction*. The first decision by the Taching Party committee in April 1960 was to call on everyone to study *On Practice* and *On Contradiction* and Chairman Mao's other works and use Mao Tsetung Thought to analyse and solve problems.

Philosophy, of course, cannot replace the social and natural sciences, but it is a generalization and summation of both. From these two



Thousands of Iron Man-type workers have emerged in Taching. Picture shows representatives to the conference of 1976's advanced units and models entering the meeting place.

basic philosophical works of Chairman Mao's, one can learn the Marxist stand, viewpoint and method of analysing and tackling different problems.

Here are a few examples from Taching. Repeated study of *On Practice* has enabled the Taching people to firmly keep to this viewpoint: **"Man's social practice alone is the criterion of the truth of his knowledge of the external world."** (*On Practice*.) Instead of taking for granted ready conclusions yet to be fully tested and proved in practice (the theory that "China is oil-poor" is one of them), they have paid great attention to obtaining and studying first-hand information. To get a clear picture of the oil layers, they have, from the outset, accumulated a mass of information and data. This way of doing things has become one of their fine traditions — combining soaring revolutionary drive with a strict scientific approach, which has played an important role in the development of Taching.

By studying *On Contradiction* over and over, they reached the clear understanding that the principal and decisive contradiction in the complicated and intertwined contradictions in society is class contradiction. This is why they all along have grasped class struggle, the main theme and the key link.

Internationally speaking, what the Iron Man said was incisive: As long as oil production falls short of our country's needs, "the imperialists and modern revisionists will use this as a breach and get a stranglehold on us." By firmly grasping this key link of international class struggle, the Taching people have pushed their work forward.

The class struggle and two-line struggle at home were no less acute. In the early days of the oilfield, Liu Shao-chi and company took advantage of the country's temporary economic difficulties to slash capital construction projects. After making a hasty round of Taching, they dismissed it as "a complete mess without a resemblance to a proper industrial undertaking." There also were a few people in Taching who were overawed by the difficulties and

wanted to retreat. Advance and retreat thus constituted the principal contradiction at the time. Taking firm hold of this key link, the Taching people waged a resolute struggle against the erroneous line, against the handful of class enemies engaging in disruptive activities and against mistaken ideas. Obviously, today's Taching would be non-existent without the victory of this struggle.

Later, Lin Piao and company and the "gang of four" also went all out to destroy Taching. They attacked Taching's high-speed development of production as following the "theory of productive forces," slandered outstanding workers like Wang Chin-hsi, the Iron Man, as "persons with vested interests" and vilified Taching's cadres as "hard-working capitalist-roaders." Moreover, they came up with the anarchist slogan "Burn up all rules and regulations and completely emancipate the workers" and tried to instigate work stoppages.

The "gang of four's" sabotage had serious effects in some areas and units. But the Taching people stood firm and upheld Chairman Mao's principle of **grasping revolution, promoting production**. They have every year kept to the tradition of selecting and commending pace-setters who excel in political consciousness and work. Going head-on against the serious interference by the gang, Taching in 1974 again called a mammoth meeting of representatives of pace-setters, followed by a parade round the oilfield of some 100 trucks carrying large numbers of advanced workers aboard. Everywhere, people greeted them with flowers and colourful ribbons amid fluttering red flags and the beating of gongs and drums. It was a powerful demonstration against the "gang of four." It was at this time too that Taching raised the famous slogan: "Going all out to build socialism is justified! Going all out to build socialism is a merit! Going all out to build socialism is an honour! We will continue to make all-out efforts to build socialism!"

A slogan in direct opposition to the "gang of four," it has added lustre to the red banner of Taching put up by Chairman Mao.

Plots of Soviet Revisionists and Their Lackeys to Undermine the P.K.I. and the Indonesian Revolution

COMRADE Jusuf Adjitorop, Secretary of the Central Committee, Member of the Political Bureau and Head of the Delegation of the Central Committee, of the Communist Party of Indonesia (P.K.I.), in a recent article condemned the Soviet modern revisionists and their lackeys for their plot to sabotage the P.K.I. and the Indonesian revolution by fraudulently using the name of "the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Indonesia."

The article quoted the conclusion of the Party document Self-Criticism of the Political Bureau of the P.K.I.'s Central Committee which sums up the experience and lessons of the Indonesian revolution: "In order to win the people's democratic revolution, the Indonesian Marxist-Leninists should hold aloft the Party's three banners, i.e., the first banner, the building of a Marxist-Leninist Party, free from subjectivism, opportunism and modern revisionism; the second banner, armed people's struggle which is in essence a peasants' armed struggle for an anti-feudal agrarian revolution under the leadership of the working class; the third banner, the revolutionary united front on the basis of the workers-peasants' alliance under the leadership of the working class."

Convinced of the correct road pointed out by the Political Bureau of the P.K.I. Central Committee, the article said, the Indonesian Communists are undauntedly and unflinchingly holding aloft the Party's three banners. However, it went on to say, counter-revolutionary forces donning the cloak of Marxism-Leninism, are hampering this struggle. "They have long since worked out their policy of trying to split the P.K.I., to impose their revisionist line on the Indonesian revolution, and to sabotage the Indonesian revolution. The

forces donning the cloak of Marxism-Leninism are the Soviet modern revisionists and a handful of their flunkies, the Indonesian revisionist clique of renegades."

The article revealed that the Indonesian revisionist renegade clique in Moscow had usurped the name of the P.K.I. Central Committee and published a false document at the end of 1976. "Their aim," it noted, "is to oppose and resist the Self-Criticism of the Political Bureau of the P.K.I.'s Central Committee, to rival and attack the P.K.I.'s Central Committee whose guideline is the Self-Criticism of the Political Bureau of the P.K.I.'s Central Committee and the November 1967 Programme of the P.K.I. for People's Democracy in Indonesia."

Their recent action, it pointed out, "is one of the heights in their attempt to create confusion, panic and splits within the ranks of the Communists and revolutionary people of Indonesia. However, the opportunist and revisionist line so profusely peddled in this phoney document serves as a self-exposure of their dirty and criminal attempt of forging the name of the P.K.I. Central Committee. They can never cover up their true features as flunkies of Soviet social-imperialism." "The content of their political line is the opportunist and revisionist line of the 'peaceful road' which brought about fatal damage to the P.K.I. and the Indonesian revolution."

It noted that the Soviet modern revisionists have intensified their collaboration with the Indonesian reactionaries "in carrying out their anti-popular, anti-Communist, anti-P.K.I. and anti-China policy." "With the aim of bringing disaster to the Indonesian revolution, the Soviet modern revisionists, having become social-

(Continued on p. 48.)

ROUND THE WORLD

OPANAL

Renewed Demand for Soviet Signing of Additional Protocol II

The 5th Session of the General Conference of the Organization for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America (OPANAL) met in Caracas from April 19 to 21. It was attended by 150 delegates from the signatories to the Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America (the Tlatelolco Treaty) and other countries. Chinese Ambassador to Venezuela Ling Ching was an observer.

At the plenary meeting on the 20th, the session adopted a resolution once again strongly urging the Soviet Government to sign and ratify Additional Protocol II to the Tlatelolco Treaty. This protocol provides that countries possessing nuclear weapons undertake to respect the Latin American nuclear free zone and refrain from taking any form of action which may lead to a violation of the treaty. China, France, the United Kingdom and the United States have all signed this protocol. But the Soviet Union has all along refused to do so.

Commenting on the conference, Venezuela's English paper *The Daily Journal* said on April 21 that "there was also lamenting of the fact that the Soviet Union has failed to adhere to the treaty as a nuclear power and retains the right to date to use nuclear arms in Latin

America." "All of Latin America waits to see what Russia and Cuba [which also has not signed this additional protocol] will do," it added.

The OPANAL session also approved a resolution on the status of the Tlatelolco Treaty and its additional protocols and another on the peaceful utilization of nuclear energy. The signing of the treaty by Surinam and the Bahamas brought the number of signatories to 22.

U.S.A.

Energy Shortage

With domestic energy production continuously falling and consumption sharply increasing, the United States has to import more and more oil. Only "painful sacrifices" could forestall a "national catastrophe," President Carter said in a televised speech on April 18 and in a message to Congress April 20 on the energy problem.

Carter admitted that the U.S. "energy problem is worse than it was in 1973 or a few weeks ago in the dead of winter . . . and it will get worse every day until we act." "Our demand for fuel keeps rising more quickly than our production," and, in particular, "oil and natural gas make up 75 per cent of our consumption . . . our demand for oil has been rising by more than 5 per cent each year, but domestic oil production has been falling lately by more than 6 per cent." "Six years ago, we paid 3.7 billion dollars for

imported oil. Last year we spent 36 billion dollars—nearly ten times as much—and this year we may spend 45 billion dollars." Consequently, U.S. trade deficits are growing. "If we fail to act soon," he declared, the United States "will face an economic, social and political crisis that will threaten" the U.S. system.

It was in such circumstances that Carter suggested a series of principles and measures for solving the energy crisis. They included conserving energy by burdening the consumer with price and tax increases. In recent years, the U.S. Government has on several occasions submitted energy messages and put forward emergency measures for saving petrol and a draft of the energy independent act, but all to little effect. Can the Carter administration solve the energy crisis? Many U.S. papers have their doubts. Carter himself admitted: "Many of these proposals will be unpopular."

DAKAR

Franco-African Summit

The 4th Franco-African Summit Conference in Dakar on April 20 and 21 was attended by the heads of state and government, or their representatives, of 19 countries and regions. It stressed the strengthening of solidarity and demanded a stop to foreign intervention in Africa.

The communique issued at the end of the conference said the delegates had made a general review of the African situation and reiterated their conviction that "nothing could be done on this continent if security, independence and sta-

bility of states were not assured," and that "only in the spirit of mutual respect and mutual aid and close solidarity could the conditions of peace, which are indispensable to the development of Africa, be created." "It is of primary interest that foreign intervention be stopped," it added.

On Franco-African co-operation, the communique said that the delegates "approve the idea of making a more substantial effort in favour of the less-developed countries."

In a speech at the conference, President Senghor of Senegal pointed out that "among the major world economic problems, we should put world inflation in the first place," for "we underdeveloped countries have been attacked more gravely."

He also reminded people to pay attention to "destabilization" in Africa and called on the African countries to strengthen unity and avoid splits.

French President d'Estaing said that "every African state has the right to security within its borders, whatever its po-

litical options." He added: "We approve this will of independence and security." He said France would continue to provide all forms of assistance to African countries.

G.D.R.

Grain Problem

Leaders of the German Democratic Republic have time and again emphasized the importance of grain production in order to overcome difficulties caused by reduced Soviet grain supplies.

Unable to support itself in grain and fodder, G.D.R. has over the last 20 years depended on Soviet imports to make up for the shortages. But in recent years, when G.D.R. suffered repeated crop failures resulting from natural disasters, the Soviet Union has drastically cut back grain supplies to the country. For instance, the average annual amount dropped from 1.7 million tons in the 1970-71 period to 1.2 million tons between 1972 and 1974 and it further fell to 700,000 tons in 1975. The press of G.D.R. announced that the Soviet

Union would supply it with "a considerable amount" of grain in 1976, no relevant figures, however, have been released so far.

Hit by severe drought last year, the country failed to fulfil its plan for agricultural output value which was 9.8 per cent lower than in 1975.

To ease dependence on imported grain and other farm produce, the G.D.R. Government has taken a series of measures to increase grain production, which include bigger investment in agriculture, larger sown areas and soil improvement. Its state leaders have often stressed the "increasing importance" of grain production, declaring that "higher and more stable yields" are the "key problem" in agriculture. They pointed out that the development of grain production is an "objective necessity."

Meanwhile, the country imports part of its grain from the West. A trade mission led by its First Vice-Minister of External Trade visited the United States in 1975 and 1976. Grain and fodder will be imported from the United States in the next few years.

(Continued from p. 46.)

imperialists and fostering wild ambitions of dominating the world, are acting hand in glove with the fascist regime and lackeys, a handful of the Indonesian revisionist renegade clique."

"The crimes of the Soviet modern revisionists and their flunkeys against the P.K.I. and the Indonesian revolution can never be redeemed. They are traitors to the P.K.I. and the Indonesian revolution, despised by the Indonesian

Communists and the revolutionary people, and denounced by the Marxist-Leninists and the revolutionary people of the world."

"Our Party has concluded that modern revisionism, the greatest danger in the international communist movement, constitutes also the greatest danger to the P.K.I." "We must wage a consistent and merciless struggle against the Soviet revisionists and their lackeys, a handful of the Indonesian revisionist renegade clique," the article said.