

Crushing the "Gang of Four" Was a Wise Decision by Chairman Mao

MASQUERADING as "Left-wingers" for some years, the anti-Party clique of Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao usurped a portion of the power of the Party Central Committee and, through the mass media under their control, cut a wide swath in making publicity for themselves. They crowned themselves with laurels such as "the 'standard-bearer' of the Great Cultural Revolution" and "proletarian revolutionary" to deceive the revolutionary people in China and the rest of the world.

The Party Central Committee headed by Comrade Hua Kuo-feng smashed the "gang of four" and tore off their masks. They were in fact a gang of bourgeois careerists and conspirators of the Khrushchov type, typical representatives of the bourgeoisie inside the Party and unrepentant capitalist-roaders still on the capitalist road. Our Party's struggle against the "gang of four" is a life-and-death struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, between socialism and capitalism and between Marxism and revisionism.

Chairman Mao's Struggle Against The "Gang of Four"

When he was still with us, Chairman Mao criticized, tried to educate and struggled against Wang, Chang, Chiang and Yao on many occasions. After 1974, he time and again gave unequivocal instructions for putting down the "gang of four" and finally made the decision to settle the problem once and for all:

Styling themselves "heroes of the Great Cultural Revolution," the "gang of four" actually opposed Chairman Mao's instructions and did many things to undermine the Great Cultural Revolution.

In the initial stage of the Great Cultural Revolution, Chairman Mao instructed us that

when there was debate, "it should be conducted by reasoning, not by coercion or force." When mass organizations in some places clashed in 1967 because of different views, Chiang Ching, however, coined the slogan: "Use reasoning in attacks and use force in self-defence." Under the demagogical influence of this reactionary slogan, mass organizations in many places made it a pretext for engaging in scuffling which gradually got out of hand and eventually developed into "full-scale civil war," a phenomenon Chairman Mao once criticized.

Working hand in glove with Lin Piao and his gang, they also hoodwinked the masses by falsely accusing others of being "renegades" or "spies" while unscrupulously branding the leading cadres they opposed "Party tyrants," "capitalist-roaders" and what not. They even directed their spearhead against Premier Chou En-lai whom the whole nation loves and holds in high esteem. This was the political background of the phenomenon of "overthrowing all" that once appeared in the Great Cultural Revolution and which was criticized by Chairman Mao.

In the days following the Tenth National Party Congress in August 1973, the Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao "gang of four" intensified their underhand activities step by step.

In early 1974, Chairman Mao initiated and led the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius. Lin Piao who obdurately worked for restoration and retrogression was ideologically a successor of Confucius who 2,000 years ago worked stubbornly to restore slave society in China. The purpose of the movement was to deepen the criticism of Lin Piao's counter-revolutionary revisionist line, dig out his ideological roots and sweep away his evil influence. As counter-revolutionary double-dealers, the "gang

of four" were always ready to take over a revolutionary slogan to further their own intrigues. In the movement, they invented slogans of their own behind Chairman Mao's back, stirring up trouble everywhere to create chaos and interfere with the struggle's general orientation. They also talked about nailing what they called the "disciples" of Confucius and directed the spearhead of their attack against Premier Chou in an attempt to overthrow a large number of leading cadres loyal to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. In early 1974, Chairman Mao severely criticized them, pointing out: **"Metaphysics, one-sidedness, is rampant."**

On March 20, 1974, Chairman Mao criticized Chiang Ching in a most resentful manner: **"It's better if we don't see each other. You haven't done many of the things I talked to you about over the years. What's the use of seeing each other more often? The works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin are there, my works are there, but you simply refuse to study."**

The four grouped together, created a system of their own inside the Party, did things their own way and placed themselves high above Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee. It was Chairman Mao who first criticized their factional activities, calling them the "gang of four." He said on July 17, 1974: **"You'd better be careful; don't let yourselves become a small faction of four." "It's hard for you, too, to mend your ways,"** he told Chiang Ching. On December 24 the same year, Chairman Mao again criticized them, saying: **"Don't form factions. Those who do so will fall."**

To prevent and combat revisionism, Chairman Mao in December 1974 called on the people throughout the country to study the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat. He said: **"Why did Lenin speak of exercising dictatorship over the bourgeoisie? This question must be thoroughly understood. Lack of clarity on this question will lead to revisionism. This should be made known to the whole nation."** The "gang of four" once again took over this revolutionary slogan to intrigue. They tampered with Chairman Mao's teaching of revisionism being the principal danger and raised a hue and cry to say that empiricism was the principal danger at present. They gave reports and wrote articles on this subject and even preached that oppos-

ing empiricism should be taken as the "key link."

Both empiricism and dogmatism revise Marxism. Dogmatists reject the truth **"Marxism is not a dogma, but a guide to action"**; they just parrot certain passages from Marxist literature to bluff people. Empiricists always keep to their segmental experience without understanding the importance of theory to revolutionary practice and fail to see the revolution in its entirety; they work blindly, though assiduously. The experience accumulated in class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment, however, is invaluable and is the source of genuine knowledge. It cannot be identified with empiricism.

Chang Chun-chiao, Yao Wen-yuan and their like who called themselves "Marxist theoreticians," however, only opposed empiricism, not dogmatism. They attempted to confound experience with empiricism and, in the name of criticizing empiricism, dismiss the leading cadres in our Party, especially the older generation revolutionaries with fighting experience, as "empiricists" subject to their attacks and to be pushed aside by them. Chairman Mao saw through their plots and criticized them accordingly: **"It seems the formulation should be: Oppose revisionism which includes empiricism and dogmatism. Both revise Marxism-Leninism. Don't mention just one while omitting the other." "In my opinion, those who are criticizing empiricism are themselves empiricists."**

The First Session of the Fourth National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China was held in January 1975. One important item on the agenda was to elect and appoint the state's leading personnel. Preparatory work for the Fourth National People's Congress was discussed at the Second Plenary Session of the Tenth Central Committee of the Communist Party of China convoked at an earlier date. While preparations for convocation of the Fourth National People's Congress were underway, Wang, Chang, Chiang and Yao went in for factional activities. In October 1974, behind the backs of the Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee, they secretly sent Wang Hung-wen to see Chairman Mao who was not in Peking, making false accusations

against Premier Chou En-lai in a calculated effort to form their own "cabinet" at the Second Plenary Session of the Party's Tenth Central Committee and the Fourth National People's Congress. They were scathingly denounced by Chairman Mao; their wild design of "forming a cabinet" came to grief. Later, Chiang Ching again asked some people to relay her wish to Chairman Mao that Wang Hung-wen be named a vice-chairman of the N.P.C. Standing Committee. Chairman Mao hit the nail on the head when he pointed out: **"Chiang Ching has wild ambitions. She wants Wang Hung-wen to be Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress and herself to be Chairman of the Party Central Committee."**

Having summed up the experience of the two-line struggles in the Party, especially the experience in the struggle to smash the Lin Piao anti-Party clique, Chairman Mao called on the whole Party to **"practise Marxism, and not revisionism; unite, and don't split; be open and aboveboard, and don't intrigue and conspire."** These basic principles of the "three do's and three don'ts" make up the criteria for differentiating between a correct and erroneous line. Every member of the Chinese Communist Party and every genuine Marxist must adhere to these principles. The "gang of four" however, chose to practise revisionism, to **split** and intrigue and conspire. On May 3, 1975, Chairman Mao reiterated the three basic principles at a Political Bureau meeting, criticizing them for having no faith in these principles and having forgotten them altogether. He sounded a warning to them: **"Don't function as a gang of four. Don't do it any more. Why do you keep doing it? Why don't you unite with the more than 200 members of the Party Central Committee? It is no good to keep a small circle of a few. It has always been no good doing so."**

Wang, Chang, Chiang and Yao took the attitude of counter-revolutionary double-dealers towards Chairman Mao's patient admonitions and severe criticisms. In the presence of Chairman Mao, they said they "will go according to Chairman Mao's instructions" while behind his back they continued to operate as a gang. Without the slightest intention of repenting,

they went from bad to worse and slipped farther along the erroneous path.

Chairman Mao was thus determined to settle the problem of the "gang of four." In 1975, he exposed Chiang Ching further: **"After I die, she will make trouble."** On May 3, Chairman Mao gave an instruction on the problem of the gang, saying that **"If this is not settled in the first half of this year, it should be settled in the second half; if not this year, then next year; if not next year, then the year after."**

Intensified Attacks and Eventual Downfall

Our respected and beloved Premier Chou En-lai passed away last January and the whole nation was grief-stricken. The "gang of four" thought the opportunity for them to usurp Party and state power had come. They instigated some people to put up big-character posters in Shanghai clamouring for making Chang Chun-chiao premier and bringing pressure on Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee. Behind the backs of Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee, they stealthily worked out sinister dossiers on comrades in the Political Bureau and leading comrades in many provinces with the intention of overthrowing these comrades so that they and people of their own choice could take over.

Early last year, they openly opposed Chairman Mao's instructions and did things their own way in criticizing Teng Hsiao-ping. They used the news media they controlled to sow confusion, undermine the revolution and disrupt production. They talked about pulling out what they called "Teng Hsiao-ping's agents" at all levels in an attempt to overthrow a large number of responsible comrades in the central organs and various localities.

Chairman Mao was far-sighted. Early last February, he personally nominated, with the unanimous approval of the Political Bureau, Comrade Hua Kuo-feng to become Acting Premier. The "gang of four" bitterly hated this. Chang Chun-chiao who had all along cast a covetous eye on the premier's post wrote in private an essay entitled "Thoughts on February 3, 1976" to give vent to his hatred for Chairman Mao and curse Comrade Hua Kuo-feng. Last

April, Chairman Mao again nominated, with the unanimous approval of the Political Bureau, Comrade Hua Kuo-feng to become First Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Premier of the State Council and selected Comrade Hua Kuo-feng as his successor. The "gang of four" hated this even more.

After Chairman Mao died and the Party and state were having a difficult time, they were overjoyed and quickened the pace to usurp the supreme leadership of the Party and state. While the nation was heart-broken with grief, the "gang of four" enjoyed themselves with feasting and other kinds of entertainment. They also went on trips to make secret contacts and delivered demagogical speeches egging people on to oppose the Party Central Committee.

They rushed out the reactionary film *Counterattack* about the first secretary of a provincial Party committee said to be an unrepentant capitalist-roader. It was scheduled for nationwide release in early last October. While the film was being shot, one of the gang's sworn followers declared that the theme would "provide an answer to the question of what is to be done if revisionism emerges in the Central Committee," shouting that the film "involves not just a question of literature and art, but will bring on a chain reaction." According to their design, *Counterattack* would cause a "chain reaction" everywhere in the country in pulling out "capitalist-roaders" on the provincial Party committees so as to facilitate their seizure of power amid chaos.

The "gang of four" also fabricated in a planned and premeditated way so-called "last words" of Chairman Mao, namely "act according to the principles laid down," and gave them much press publicity. After Comrade Hua Kuo-feng uncovered their plot on October 2, they used the mass media which they still controlled to publish an article called "For Ever Act According to Principles Laid Down by Chairman Mao" in Peking's *Guangming Ribao*. "Tampering with the principles laid down by Chairman Mao," the article said, "means betraying Marxism, betraying socialism and betraying the great theory of continuing the revolution

under the dictatorship of the proletariat." It added: "If any chieftain of revisionism dares to tamper with the principles laid down by Chairman Mao, he will definitely come to no good." They tried through their intrigues to accuse the Party Central Committee of "tampering with the principles laid down by Chairman Mao" and in particular undisguisedly directed the spearhead of their attack against Comrade Hua Kuo-feng. It was a signal for their usurping Party and state power. (See "A Desperate Move Before Destruction" in our issue No. 52, 1976.)

At this critical moment, the Party Central Committee headed by Comrade Hua Kuo-feng took decisive measures and crushed the "gang of four" at one stroke.

Chairman Mao's behest to crush the "gang of four" was thus swiftly carried out!

History of the Soviet Union Must Not Repeat Itself

It should be recalled that over two decades ago, after the death of the great Marxist Comrade Stalin, Khrushchov conspired step by step to usurp the leadership of the Soviet Party and state. This shameless renegade, who passed himself off as Stalin's most fervent supporter when Stalin was still alive and who called Stalin his own father, showed his ferocity the moment he got his hands on power. He made a secret report, destroyed Stalin's remains, feverishly pushed the counter-revolutionary revisionist line and created confusion and a split in the international communist movement. Under the Khrushchov-Brezhnev renegade clique's rule, the Soviet Union — Lenin's motherland and the world's first socialist state — changed political colour with an all-round restoration of capitalism and the people living in great misery.

Dark clouds also appeared in the skies over China before and after the death of Chairman Mao. Wang, Chang, Chiang and Yao, persons of the Khrushchov type, hastened their plot against the Party Central Committee headed by Comrade Hua Kuo-feng. China was confronted with the real danger of the Party turning revisionist and the state changing its political colour. But the Chinese Party, the Chinese army and the Chinese people would not allow the tragic his-

tory of the Soviet Union to repeat itself in our country. The "gang of four" had lifted a rock only to crush its own feet.

The clouds were soon dispersed and the skies are clear as the red sun shines all over China's land.

Crushing the "gang of four" is a great victory for Mao Tsetung Thought. It was Chairman Mao's theory of continued revolution under

the dictatorship of the proletariat that guided our Party's Central Committee headed by Comrade Hua Kuo-feng in carrying out this great revolutionary practice and made a historic contribution to the Chinese revolution and the world revolution as well. Facts show that the Chinese Communist Party deserves to be called a long-tested and matured Marxist-Leninist Party founded and fostered by Chairman Mao himself.