

# PEKING REVIEW

36

September 2, 1977

**President Tito in Peking**

**Constitution of the Communist  
Party of China**

**Report on the Revision of  
The Party Constitution**

Yeh Chien-ying

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## President Tito in Peking

**P**RESIDENT Josip Broz Tito of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia arrived in Peking on August 30 for an official friendly visit to China at the invitation of the Chinese Government. Filled with deep sentiments for the Yugoslav people, 100,000 people in the capital gave a grand and warm welcome to President Tito and the other distinguished Yugoslav guests.

Hua Kuo-feng, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and Premier of the State Council;

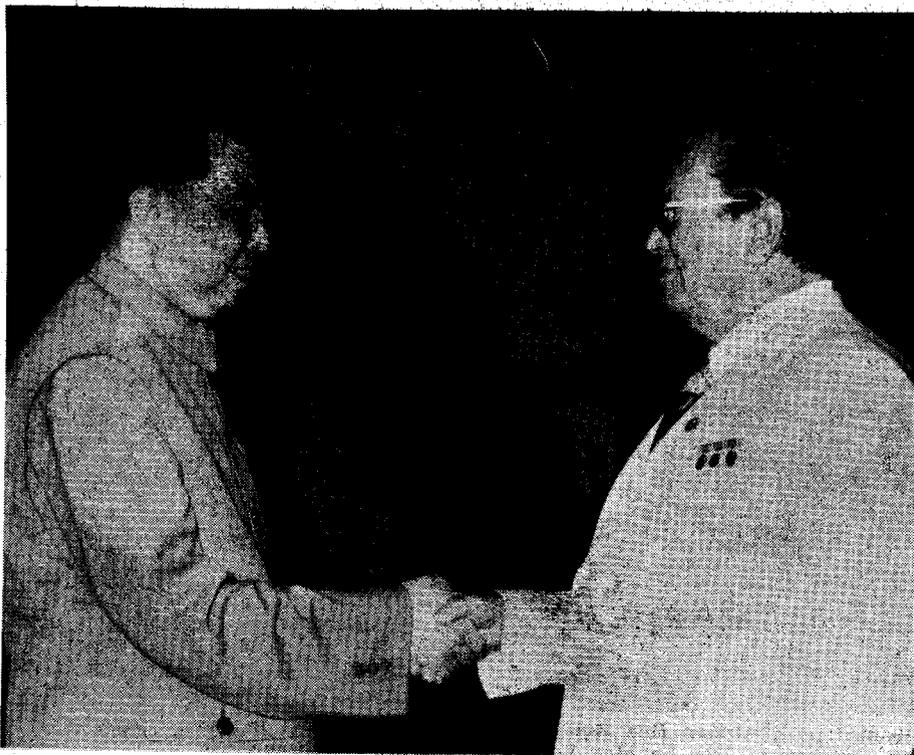
Teng Hsiao-ping and Li Hsien-nien, Vice-Chairmen of the C.P.C. Central Committee and Vice-Premiers of the State Council; and Wu Teh, Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, were at the airport to welcome the guests. A grand welcoming ceremony was held at Peking Airport. The band played the national anthems of Yugoslavia and China and President Tito, accompanied by Chairman Hua, reviewed a guard of honour made up of the ground, naval and air forces of the Chinese People's Liberation

Army. They then walked round to meet the thousands of well-comers gathered there to greet the Yugoslav President.

The main streets of Peking were festively bedecked in honour of President Tito and a joyous atmosphere prevailed.

As President Tito and his party drove to the Guest House, people lining the streets clapped their hands to greet the distinguished visitors. When the motorcade approached Tien An Men Square, which was like a sea of flowers, President Tito, accompanied by Chairman Hua, rode in an open car to receive the greetings of the well-wishers. Amidst cheers, two girls ran up to present bouquets to President Tito. On the stands flanking Tien An Men Gate was the word "welcome" in both the Serbo-Croat and Chinese languages formed by fresh flowers. As coloured balloons soared to the sky, the people performed dances to the shouts of welcome and music. The whole square was filled with a warm atmosphere of Sino-Yugoslav friendship.

When the motorcade arrived at the Guest



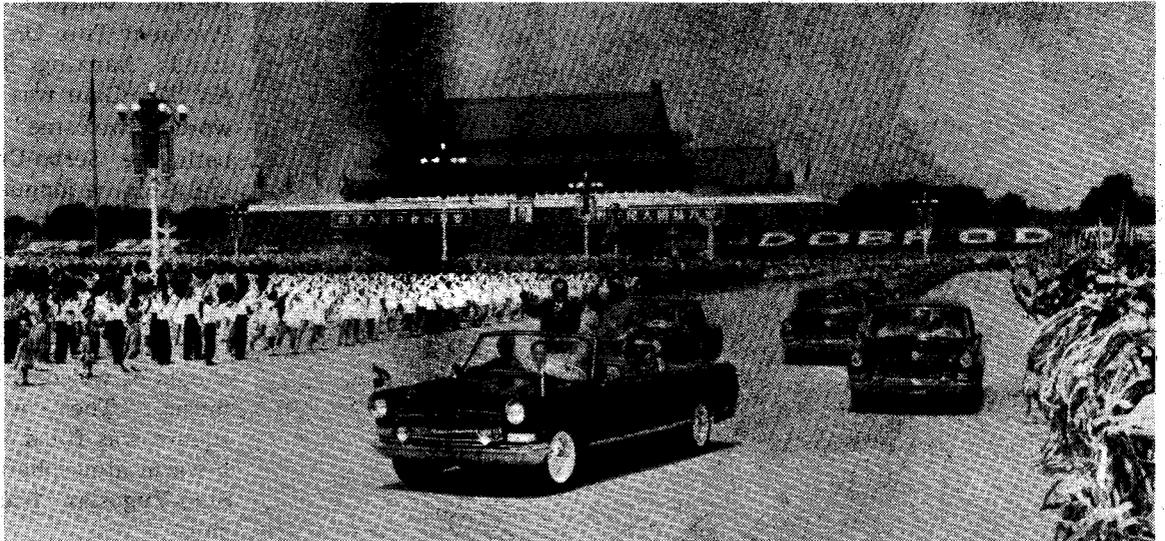


**President Tito, accompanied by Chairman Hua Kuo-feng, meets the people gathered at the airport to welcome him.**

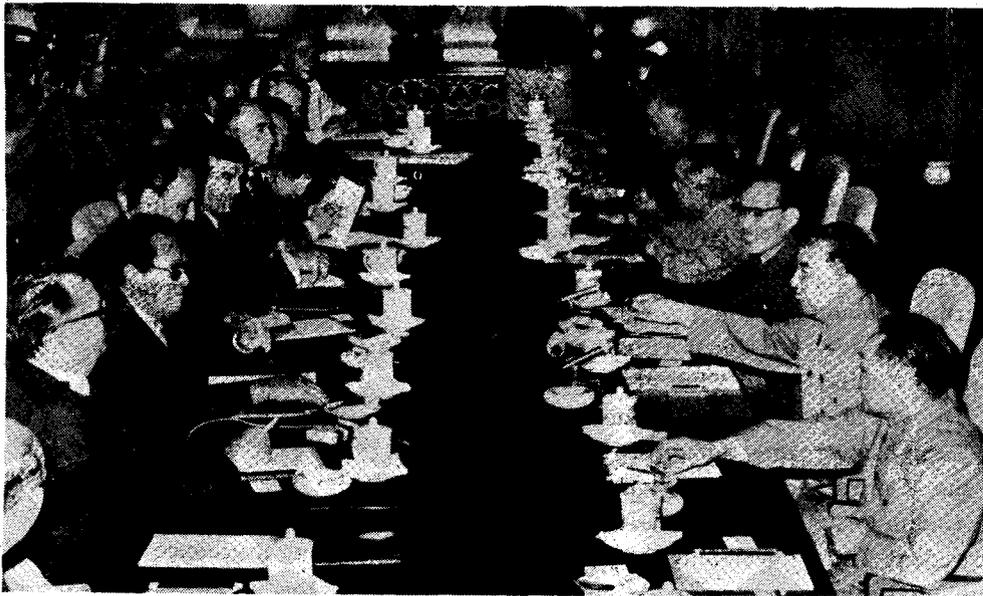
House, the young people waiting outside waved flowers and coloured ribbons and cheered. They wished President Tito a successful visit in China.

That afternoon, Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress Teng Ying-chao called on President Tito at the Guest House and extended her regards to him. They had a cordial and friendly conversation.

In the evening, Chairman Hua Kuo-feng gave a grand banquet at the Great Hall of the People to warmly welcome President Tito. Attending the banquet were Stane Dolanc, Secretary of the Executive Committee of the Presidency of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, and the other distinguished Yugoslav guests accompanying President Tito on his visit. Present at the banquet were Vice-Chairmen of the C.P.C. Central Committee Teng Hsiao-ping and Li Hsien-nien, and Vice-Chairmen of the



**Accompanied by Chairman Hua Kuo-feng, President Tito rides in an open car through Tien An Men Square to a rousing welcome.**



**Chairman Hua and President Tito hold talks.**

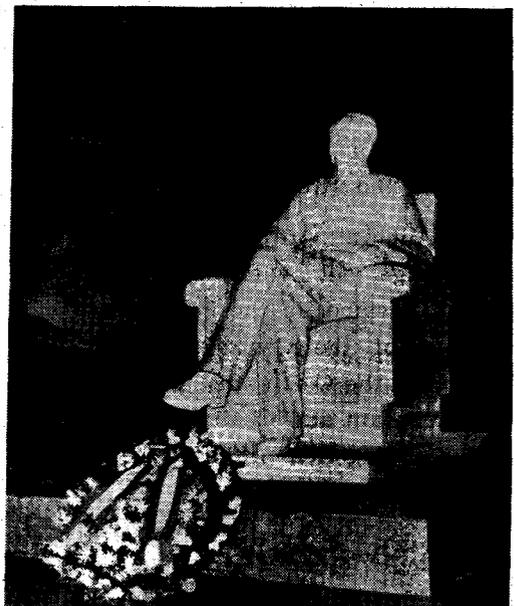
N.P.C. Standing Committee Wu Teh and Teng Ying-chao.

Chairman Hua and President Tito spoke at the banquet. (See pp. 8 and 10 for the full text of their speeches.)

On August 31, Hua Kuo-feng, Chairman of the C.P.C. Central

Committee and Premier of the State Council, and Josip Broz Tito, President of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia and President of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, held talks. Teng Hsiao-ping and Li Hsien-nien, Vice-Chairmen of the C.P.C. Central Committee

and Vice-Premiers of the State Council; Stane Dolanc, Secretary of the Executive Committee of the Presidency of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, and others took part in the talks. The two sides had an extensive exchange of views on matters of



**President Tito stands in silent tribute before Chairman Mao's statue after presenting a wreath.**

common interest. The talks proceeded in a cordial and friendly atmosphere.

On the same day, Josip Broz Tito, President of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia and President of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, went to the Chairman Mao Memorial Hall and paid his respects to the remains of Chairman Mao Tsetung. He was accompanied by Wang Tung-hsing, Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China. President Tito stood in silent tribute before the

statue of Chairman Mao after presenting a wreath. The silk ribbon on the wreath was inscribed: "To Chairman Mao Tsetung." Members of President Tito's party also went to pay their respects.

*Renmin Ribao* on August 30 carried an editorial welcoming President Tito. It said that President Tito, at the advanced age of 85, has made light of traveling thousands of miles to visit our country, making tremendous contributions to enhancing and developing the friendly relations and co-operation between the

two countries and the two peoples of China and Yugoslavia. This visit will add a glorious page to the chronicles of Sino-Yugoslav friendship. At the same time, the editorial added, President Tito's visit will promote the development of the just united struggle against hegemonism waged by various peoples and the progressive cause of national liberation and social emancipation in various countries. It will have a far-reaching influence internationally, the editorial stressed.

## Chairman Hua Meets Chairman Truong Chinh And Special Assistant Chona

**C**HAIRMAN Hua Kuo-feng met on separate occasions with the Vietnamese National Assembly Delegation led by Chairman Truong Chinh and with Mark Chona, Special Assistant (Political) to the President of the Republic of Zambia, and Mrs. Chona.

On August 29, Chairman Hua Kuo-feng met with Truong Chinh, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Viet Nam and Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, and the Vietnamese National Assembly Delegation led by him.

Chairman Hua had a cordial conversation with Chairman Truong Chinh and other Vietnamese comrades at the meeting. Chairman Truong Chinh extended his congratulations on the convocation of the 11th National Congress of the Communist Party of China and the election of the new Central Committee headed by the esteemed and beloved Chairman Hua. He said: We Vietnamese Communists wish the fraternal Chinese people still greater successes in studying and implementing the resolutions of the 11th Party Congress.

Chairman Hua expressed his sincere thanks and asked Chairman Truong Chinh to convey

his regards to President Ton Duc Thang, General Secretary Le Duan and Premier Pham Van Dong.

The Vietnamese National Assembly Delegation arrived in Peking on its way home from abroad.

On August 23, when Chairman Hua met Special Assistant Chona, the latter conveyed the regards of President Kaunda to Chairman Hua and extended his congratulations on the success of the 11th National Congress of the Communist Party of China. Chairman Hua expressed his thanks and asked Special Assistant Chona to convey his best wishes to President Kaunda.

## Chairman Hua Meets U.S. Secretary of State Vance

**C**HAIRMAN Hua Kuo-feng on August 25 met with U.S. Secretary of State Cyrus R. Vance, Mrs. Vance and their party.

At the meeting, Chairman

Hua extended his welcome to Secretary of State Vance on his visit to China and had a significant conversation with him on questions of mutual interest. Secretary of State

Vance conveyed to Chairman Hua President Carter's regards, and Chairman Hua requested the Secretary of State to give his regards to President Carter after his return home.

## Chairman Hua and Vice-Chairman Teng Meet Dr. Yang Chen-ning

**C**HAIRMAN Hua Kuo-feng and Vice-Chairman Teng Hsiao-ping on August 27 met and feted American physicist Dr. Yang Chen-ning. Fang Yi, Member of the Political Bureau

of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and Vice-President of the Chinese Academy of Sciences, was present at the meeting and the

banquet. Comrade Fang Yi had met Dr. Yang earlier in the month. Dr. Yang came to China in July to visit relatives and tour the country. He arrived in Peking on August 22.

### U.S. Secretary of State Vance Visits China

U.S. Secretary of State Cyrus Vance and Mrs. Vance and their party paid a visit to China from August 22 to 26. During their visit, Chairman Hua Kuo-feng and Vice-Premier Teng Hsiao-ping met with Mr. Vance on separate occasions and had serious and significant talks with him. Foreign Minister Huang Hua gave a banquet in honour of the Secretary of State and held talks with him on questions of common concern. Direct exchange of views between the Chinese and U.S. leaders has enhanced mutual understanding.

At the farewell banquet he gave in Peking on August 25, Secretary of State Vance ex-

pressed his appreciation for the hospitality accorded him and his party during their visit. He said: "I will report to President Carter on my return home that this has been a good visit. In my meeting with Chairman Hua, Vice-Premier Teng and Foreign Minister Huang, we have had a very serious and candid exchange of views on many important issues, global and bilateral. I believe we have enhanced our mutual understanding and confirmed important points of common interest."

He added: "In the administration's first comprehensive consultations with the Chinese leadership I made clear that the starting point of our policy is that we remain committed to the Shanghai communique and to progress toward the goal of

full normalization of relations. I look forward to further discussions on this and other issues in the months ahead."

Foreign Minister Huang Hua said in his speech at the banquet: "As we have repeatedly pointed out, China and the United States have different social systems, our two sides have different ideologies, and naturally there are differences of principle between us, but in the present international situation our two countries face questions of common concern and have quite a few points in common. We believe that Sino-U.S. relations will surely move forward steadily as desired by both our peoples so long as both sides make sincere efforts in conformity with the principles of the Shanghai communique."

## **Chairman Hua Kuo-feng's Speech**

Respected President Josip Broz Tito,  
Distinguished Guests From Yugoslavia,  
Comrades and Friends,

Today, President Tito of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, making light of a long journey, has come to China for an official friendly visit. On behalf of the Chinese Government and people, I wish to express our warm welcome to respected President Tito and all the other distinguished guests from Yugoslavia and pay our high respect to the people of various nationalities of Yugoslavia.

President Tito's visit to China is a major event in Sino-Yugoslav relations. It is our exceptional pleasure to have the opportunity of receiving and holding discussions on issues of common concern with President Tito who is a veteran leader of the resistance against the fascist aggressors during World War II, the founder of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, a well-known statesman and an initiator of the non-aligned movement. His visit will deepen the mutual understanding and friendship between our two peoples and further promote the friendly relations and co-operation between our two countries, and will also make a new contribution to strengthening the unity of all peoples in combating imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism.

The peoples of various nationalities of Yugoslavia are industrious and valiant peoples with a glorious revolutionary fighting tradition. When the German and Italian fascists brazenly invaded Yugoslavia more than 30 years ago, Marshal Tito and the Yugoslav Communist Party headed by him led the Yugoslav peoples in rising in resistance and finally liberating their motherland after fighting heroically for more than four years. In the struggle which was vital to human destiny, the Yugoslav peoples offered the lives of their 1,700,000 fine sons and daughters and made an indelible contribu-

tion to the victory of the worldwide anti-fascist war.

In the years after the war, the peoples of Yugoslavia, responding to President Tito's call, actively plunged themselves into the new battle of building up their country and achieved tremendous successes in all fields. Today, Yugoslavia has developed into a prosperous industrial-agricultural country. In the meantime, the peoples of Yugoslavia, united as one, have strengthened their "total national defence" and "social self-protection" and vigilantly safeguarded their independence and sovereignty, ready at all times to repulse any aggressors.

In international affairs, Yugoslavia has adhered to a non-aligned policy, opposed imperialism and hegemonism, upheld unity among the non-aligned countries and other developing countries and supported other peoples in their struggles for freedom and independence and against aggression and plunder, thus winning the appreciation of the people of all countries.

The Chinese people heartily rejoice at every success of the Yugoslav peoples and wish friendly Yugoslavia development and greater strength. The Chinese people firmly support Yugoslavia's non-aligned policy and her peoples' just struggle in defence of independence and sovereignty against foreign aggression and subversion.

Comrades and friends,

China and Yugoslavia are far apart geographically, but our two peoples are linked together by a similar historical experience and the common struggle confronting us today. Our two peoples have sympathized with, supported and encouraged each other. In recent years, the friendly relations and co-operation between our two countries have made continuous progress. This accords with our peoples' common desire and fundamental interests and is also in the interest of the just struggle of the people of the

world. Chairman Mao paid great attention to developing Sino-Yugoslav relations. In October 1975 he had a cordial meeting with President Dzemal Bijedic and praised President Tito for defying pressure and as being firm like iron. On his part, President Tito has also attached great importance to strengthening Sino-Yugoslav friendship. Last May he met the Delegation of the Chinese National People's Congress headed by Vice-Chairman Saifudin of its Standing Committee and expressed friendly feelings for China.

Following the policy laid down by Chairman Mao when he was with us, the Chinese people will continue to work for the development of the friendly relations between China and Yugoslavia and between our two peoples. We are confident that there are wide prospects for the development of Sino-Yugoslav relations which are truly based on the 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.

Comrades and friends,

At present, the international situation is continuing to develop in a direction favourable to the people of all countries and unfavourable to the superpowers. The numerous third world countries, united in their struggle, are pounding at the old world and winning one victory after another. As an important force, the non-aligned movement, together with the other developing countries of the third world, is playing an ever greater role in international affairs. Countries want independence, nations want liberation, and the people want revolution — this has become the irresistible historical trend of the present age.

However, the world today is far from tranquil. The two superpowers are feverishly expanding their arms and preparing for war, and they are locked in a fierce rivalry for world hegemony. Their continued rivalry is bound to lead to a world war some day. This is a question which needs to be coped with seriously. Provided the people of all countries heighten their vigilance, strengthen their unity, get prepared and persevere in struggle, they may be able to put off the outbreak of war, or will find themselves in a favourable position when war does break out. We believe that it is not

the one or two superpowers but the people of all countries that decide the destiny of the world. No matter how the superpowers may make trouble, in the end they will not be able to escape their doom.

Comrades and friends,

President Tito has come to our country at an important stage in China's history. A few days ago, we held the successful 11th National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party. This congress, holding high the great banner of Chairman Mao, summed up the experience of the 11th struggle between the two lines, persisted in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and explained the eight fighting tasks as dictated by the strategic decision to grasp the key link of class struggle and bring about great order across the land.

In the international field, we will adhere to proletarian internationalism and Chairman Mao's thesis differentiating the three worlds, continue to implement his revolutionary line in foreign affairs, strengthen our unity with the international proletariat and the oppressed people and nations, with the non-aligned and other third world countries, ally with all countries subjected to superpower aggression, subversion, interference, control or bullying, unite with all the forces that can be united to form the broadest possible united front and carry the struggle against superpower hegemonism through to the end.

Our domestic situation has been excellent since we smashed the Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao anti-Party "gang of four." Inspired by our Party's congress, our whole Party, whole army and people of all nationalities are more closely united, they are determined to work hard in the revolutionary spirit of seizing the day and seizing the hour to implement the strategic decision of grasping the key link of class struggle and bringing about great order across the land and turn China into a great, powerful and modern socialist country by the end of the century. Although we still face many difficulties, they can in no way obstruct our triumphant advance so long as we hold high the great banner of Chairman Mao and uphold the line of the Party's 11th Congress. Our goal must be attained. Our goal can unquestionably be attained.

In conclusion, we wish President Tito a completely successful visit in China.

Now, I propose a toast

to the continuous development of the friendship between the peoples of China and Yugoslavia,

to the prosperity of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the well-being of her people,

to the health and long life of President Josip Broz Tito,

to the health of the distinguished guests from Yugoslavia,

to the health of the heads of diplomatic missions and their wives present, and

to the health of all comrades and friends present here!

## President Tito's Speech

Esteemed Chairman Hua Kuo-feng,

Comrades and Friends,

Speaking on behalf of my associates and in my own name, I wish to express of all my most heartfelt thanks to the State Council of the People's Republic of China and to you, Esteemed Chairman, for the invitation to visit your great and beautiful country, as well as for your cordial welcome. At the same time, I should like to express my gratitude to the citizens of Peking for the magnificent welcome and generous hospitality extended to us wherever we go.

I should like in particular to thank for your warm words of welcome and expressions of friendship respect which you have addressed to the peoples of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. Although we are at the very outset of our visit, we have been able to observe that the leadership and people of China cherish sentiments of genuine respect towards the peoples of our country, sentiments of which you have just spoken. I wish to assure you that the same feelings of friendship and respect are also cherished towards the people of China, by the peoples of Yugoslavia who highly value the great results that you have achieved in the revolution and in the socialist development of your country.

I am glad to have the opportunity to visit your country for the first time and to conduct an exhaustive exchange of views on the further promotion of friendly relations and comprehensive co-operation between our two

independent countries, to which we attach great importance.

The People's Republic of China has been captivating the attention of the world, not only as a great, the most populous country in the world, but for its having carried out a truly great revolution of historic significance to the whole world under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party headed by Chairman Mao, which has lasted for decades and which is still continuing, as well as for the important role which China has been playing in international relations. The emergence of the People's Republic of China after World War II has reshaped the political map of the world. The heroism of the participants in your revolution and of the architects of New China is well known and commands respect in Yugoslavia. Although distances of thousands of kilometres separate our two countries, we have felt how close are the aims of our two revolutions and the struggle of our two countries, especially during World War II. Both our countries fought against the occupation and imperialism, against domestic traitors, for a new more just social system.

Your people, known for their diligence and courage, have experienced tribulations and abnegations, and proved to be ready for great endeavours and achievements. In the course of these three decades you have indeed scored enormous results in all fields. The objective that you have set for yourselves to develop your country more rapidly and more effectively to the end of this century, commands respect. We

sincerely wish you will successfully attain this arduous but important task.

The past 1976 year was one of those very difficult years for your people and your country. We shared profound sympathies with you in such moments when your revolution lost such outstanding personalities and statesmen as Premier Chou En-lai and Chairman of the National People's Congress Chu Teh, especially Chairman Mao Tsetung, whose work and personality are associated with the victories of your revolution and the successes in the socialist development of the People's Republic of China. The death of Chairman Mao Tsetung is a great loss not only for the people of China, but also for the entire progressive world.

Dear comrades and friends,

The greatness of any people or any country, big or small, is first and foremost judged by history according to its contribution to the general progress of mankind, to its contribution to the reshaping of the world in the direction of the liberation of the working man, in the direction of the freedom for peoples and countries. In the course of its long history, through the protracted revolution which put an end to the semi-colonial and semi-feudal status of China, the Chinese people aligned themselves in the ranks of those peoples whose contribution to the progress of mankind has extended far beyond their national boundaries and has become a part of a common treasure of mankind. The Chinese revolutionary movement had to share in the historic responsibility to explore and chart its own road, both in the protracted revolutionary war and in the socialist development.

The lot of the Yugoslav peoples was in many ways similar to yours. The peoples of Yugoslavia were also for centuries subjected to the onslaughts of foreign invaders. Although we were engaged in a struggle waged great distances from one another and under different conditions, we aspired to the same objectives — freedom, national independence, political and economic emancipation. This, it goes without saying, was not easy to attain; the difficulties encountered were enormous. But we have become deeply convinced that reliance upon one's own forces, and taking into account

primarily one's own specific conditions, constitutes the only right road.

Socialist Yugoslavia is a relatively small country, which was born through enormous sacrifices in the conditions of a brutal war fought against foreign aggressors and domestic reactionary and exploiting forces. Throughout history, especially the most recent history, we have been subjected to great trials. Our peoples have won their freedom and independence by themselves, and thereby also gained the right to organize their lives and to build their own future in a manner they themselves choose and which best suits their historical and specific conditions.

More specifically, our two countries have through superhuman struggle and great sacrifices, determined their own destiny. Both my country and yours, under different conditions, waged their authentic revolutions. In all this we see important positive circumstances for the further promotion of our relations and co-operation.

The differences existing between us should not affect this co-operation, for they derive primarily from the diverse conditions that we have passed through and that we continue to act in today. When co-operation is based on the principles of equality, no difference poses an obstacle, the more so since we do not wish our conceptions to be imposed upon another. Not only once has it been proved that individual experiences, regardless of how successful they had been in the country, cannot be imposed upon other countries and peoples as a general rule of socialism, irrespective of what country or what sort of experience is at issue.

Our experience is based on a broad development of the system of socialist self-management, from the factories, schools and villages up to the Federation. In the course of the past two-and-a-half decades we have been doing our utmost to ensure the constant strengthening of the decisive role of the working class and the working people in society while, at the same time, preventing bureaucratization. We have become aware that, bearing in mind both our geo-political position and the size of the country, we cannot develop an autarkic, but rather an open economy, one that will be able to follow up and to apply the modern and up-to-date

technology and to constantly increase productivity. We have a widespread economic co-operation with other countries — with the developed countries of the West and of the East, with the developing and other countries.

Comrades and friends,

Major changes have been brought about in the world during the past decades. A great majority of peoples have freed themselves from colonial subjugation and have embarked upon the road of national independence, of political and economic emancipation. I am confident that the day is not too distant when colonialism will be totally eradicated. In the course of this relatively short period of time the consciousness of the peoples has grown enormously as well as their determination to participate in the creation of more just international relations, in which there will be no inequality and domination.

At the same time, still present are the tendencies to retain the artificial divisions in the world which date back to the days of the cold war. Some countries are exposed to outside pressures, which threaten their national independence, even territorial integrity. The existing international crises are not being settled, while new hotbeds are being created. The arms race is growing more intensive and more dangerous.

It is obvious thus that the international situation is very complex and controversial, that it is burdened with many serious international problems, and the fact that they are not being resolved gives rise to our concern. For this reason, each country bears today great political and moral responsibility for the overcoming of such a state of affairs.

Proceeding from this for many years the non-aligned countries have been exerting great efforts in the struggle against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism and against every other form of domination, against bloc policy and interference in internal affairs of other countries. In doing so, they have also been rendering their irreplaceable contribution to the creation of more just political and economic relations in the world and to a progressive development in general. These common and long-term interests of theirs are far above individual ideological, political or other quite understandable differences. Owing to this, the

movement of non-alignment has become a moral and political force which can no longer be ignored in international politics. We hope that it will become also a growing economic force in the future.

We value the support which your country has been extending to the movement of non-alignment.

I cannot but state that many attempts have been made to destroy the unity and solidarity of non-aligned countries and to reduce their capabilities for action. Certain powers have been exploiting either their destitution or social foment, as well as their national, religious and other conflicts in individual regions.

I should like to emphasize also on this occasion that non-alignment constitutes lasting Yugoslav option, which is deeply rooted in the core of our revolution and our socialist self-management system. Our country, together with other non-aligned countries, is today engaged to its utmost in the implementation of the positions and decisions adopted by the Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries at Colombo last year.

We are particularly engaged in favour of the change in the existing economic relations in the world, which are markedly exploitationist and in favour of the most developed countries. Realistically speaking, the change in these relations is in the interest of the developing as well as of the developed countries. The world is in need of a new international economic order, as formulated also in the decisions of the Sixth and the Seventh Special Sessions of the General Assembly of the United Nations.

We deem it necessary that, regardless of the difficulties the greatest possible number of countries take part in the negotiations that would lead to the relaxation of international tension and lessening of distrust among states. Recently my country acted as host to the Preparatory Meeting within the follow-up to the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe which was held in conformity with the decision adopted at Helsinki. The main talks will resume in October this year. Although spectacular results have not been achieved since Helsinki, there has predominated a more realistic and positive orientation. If we want peace, security and promotion of co-operation,

there is no other way but to continue exerting patient and constructive efforts aimed at achieving the relaxation of international tension and developing co-operation on the principles of co-existence. As early as in 1955, the Bandung Conference gave a strong impetus to the idea of peaceful coexistence and formulated the well-known Ten Principles. The important role and the great contribution made by the People's Republic of China at that important conference are widely renowned. Much to our regret, we cannot say today that peace has been secured, irrespective of the desires of the great majority of mankind. However, the war is not unavoidable, either. A resolute and active struggle for peace presupposes also an energetic criticism of whatever there is negative in international relations. We, naturally, have no delusions that the desired objective is always fully attainable, but we do firmly believe in the progress of co-operation and understanding. There is no alternative to it.

Unless the existing crises are settled there can be no progress in the process of relaxation of international tensions, peaceful coexistence and international co-operation. These crises are mostly burdensome today for Africa, the Middle East and the Mediterranean region.

In Africa, the process of decolonization of Namibia and Zimbabwe and the liquidation of apartheid have been met with the stubborn resistance by racist regimes in Rhodesia and the Republic of South Africa, while imperialist and reactionary forces continue to back the resistance of these regimes. But, at the same time, the struggle waged by the national-liberation movements in southern Africa for the liquidation of colonialism and racism has been gaining momentum. These movements have been getting an ever greater political and material support from the enormous majority of countries in the world. With the flaring up of new hotbeds in Africa, the attainments gained in the liberation struggle of African and Arab countries are being jeopardized, creating thereby new space for action by external factors, for interference in the internal affairs of these countries. We are against Africa's becoming testing ground for bloc competitions, competitions between big powers. The consequences of such developments are detrimental to the position of African states and they adversely affect the unity of non-align-

ed countries in Africa and thereby objectively the interests, of peace in the world.

The crisis in the Middle East is becoming ever more intricate. The latest Israeli posture is a growing cause for concern. There is more uncertainty in the search for a settlement, so much so that there is renewed danger of backsliding to the situation of "neither war, nor peace." We resolutely support the just struggle of the Arab people for the liberation of their territories which Israel occupied in the 1967 war. The resolution of this dangerous crisis is possible only through the withdrawal of Israel from these occupied territories, through the realization of the legitimate national rights of the Palestinians, including their right to the establishment of their own independent state, and through guaranteeing the independence and security of all states in the Middle East.

Dear comrades and friends,

I wish once again to point out with satisfaction that the friendly co-operation between our two countries has been constantly developing and enriched with new forms in the past years. I am confident that I share also your view in saying that this visit and our talks will bring a new and strong impetus to a much better mutual acquaintance and to a more fruitful friendly co-operation. The dynamic development of our countries and their active participation in international events open even wider scope for our co-operation on the basis of equality and mutual interest.

May I raise this toast

to the health and success of Chairman Hua Kuo-feng,

to the further all-round progress of the People's Republic of China,

to the friendship and co-operation of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the People's Republic of China,

to the health of all Chinese comrades and friends present here,

to the health of the heads of diplomatic missions and their wives present here,

to the friendship and co-operation between the peoples of Yugoslavia and China, and

to the broad co-operation and understanding in the world.

# Completion of Chairman Mao Memorial Hall

**T**HE Chairman Mao Memorial Hall has been triumphantly completed under the loving concern and guidance of the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua. The interior fittings and decorations are also finished and the crystal sarcophagus containing Chairman Mao's body is now inside the hall.

The completion of the memorial hall is a crystallization of the common aspirations of the Chinese people. From now on the people of China's various nationalities will be able to come and pay their respects to Chairman Mao's remains from generation to generation.

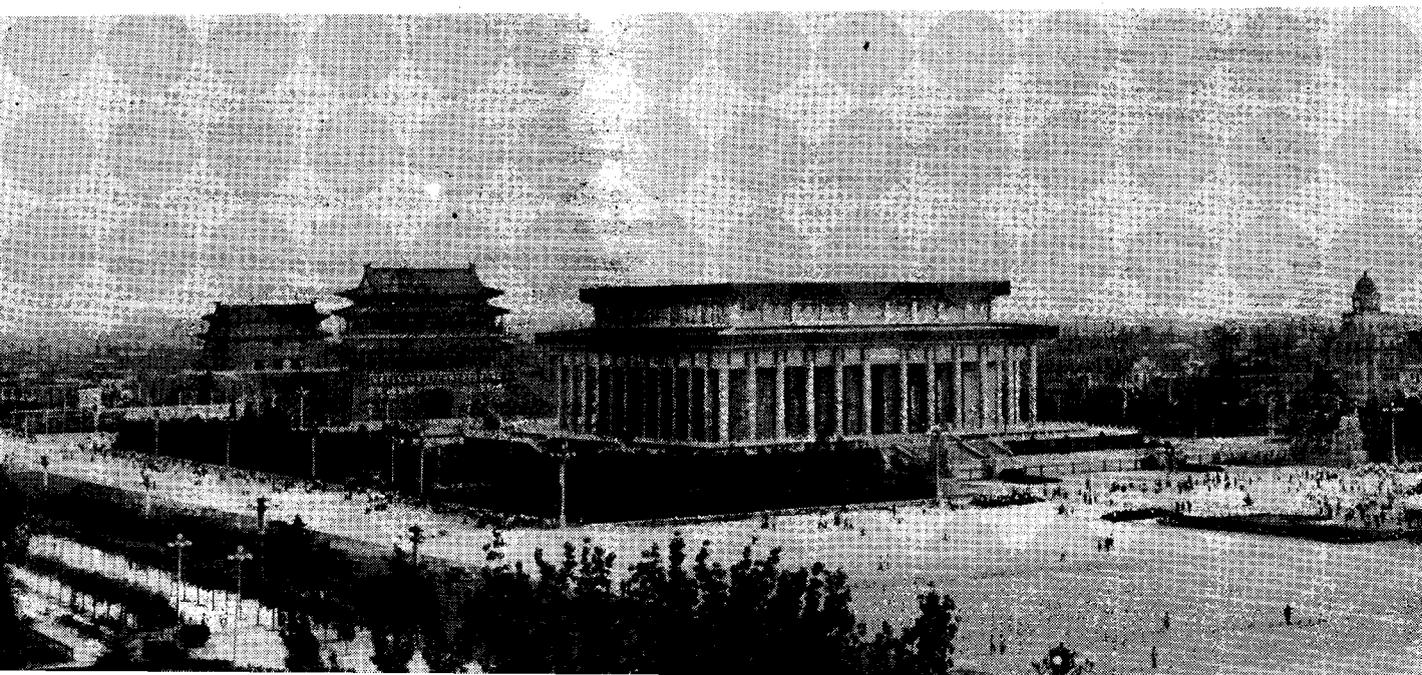
The stately Chairman Mao Memorial Hall stands majestically in Tien An Men Square, south of the Monument to the People's Heroes. This edifice square in plane is Chinese in style and character. Above each of the lofty main entrances on the south and north sides is a horizontal white marble tablet incised with Chairman Hua's calligraphy in gold: "Chairman Mao Memorial Hall." The 44 tall granite columns forming the peristyle, the two tiers of golden-yellow glazed tile eave fascia, spotless white marble balustrades and the two-tiered plinth of reddish granite all blend into one harmonious whole. Around the memorial hall are pines, cedars and flowers in bloom. To the south stands the ancient Cheng Yang Men Gate

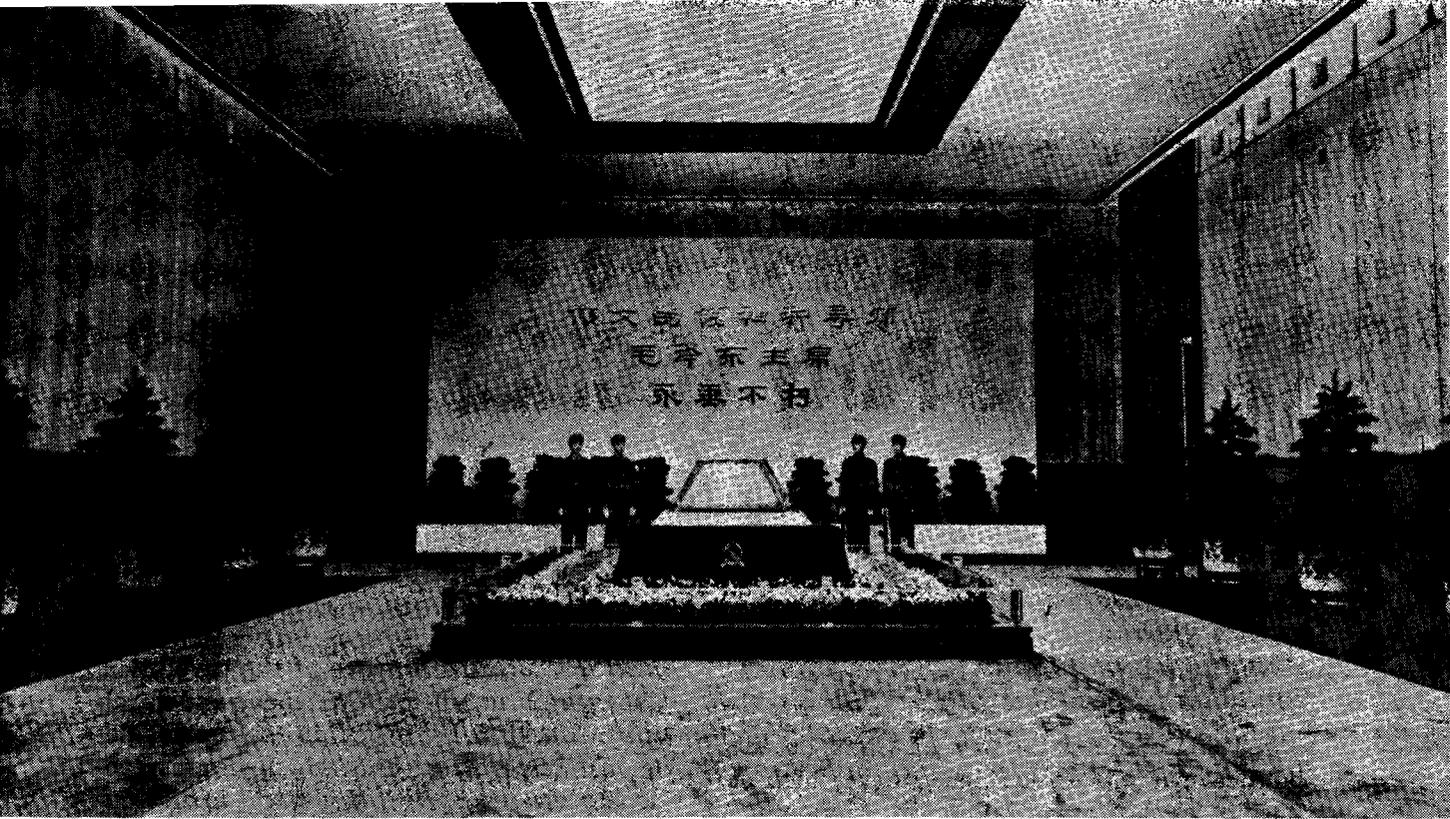
Tower, restored to its original splendour. In the course of building the memorial hall, Tien An Men Square was enlarged to almost twice its original size so that it now looks grander and more imposing than ever.

The building consists of the north room, the central hall containing the sarcophagus and the south room. The north room will be for holding activities commemorating Chairman Mao. The grey Hangchow marble floor is covered by red plush carpet. At the centre, three metres high, stands a white marble statue of Chairman Mao sitting in an armchair, life-like and kindly, with a smile on his face. Behind, on the wall, is a huge 24-metre-long by 7-metre-high tapestry with a scene of China's landscape.

On the white marble south wall in the central hall are the words embossed in gold: "Eternal Glory to the Great Leader and Teacher Chairman Mao Tsetung." In the centre of the hall lies the crystal sarcophagus surrounded by mountain flowers in full bloom. The flag of the Communist Party of China is draped over Chairman Mao's body. Chairman Mao is dressed in grey and his features are just as resolute and serene as in life.

Inside the south room carved on the white marble north wall in Chairman Mao's own cal-





The Central Hall.

Calligraphy is his poem: *Reply to Comrade Kuo Mo-jo* — to the tune of *Man Chiang Hung*. (See *Mao Tsetung Poems*.) The calligraphy in gold is powerful and vigorous and inspires lofty feelings.

Flanking either side of the south and north entrances to the memorial hall are two huge sculpture groups. Those on the north side represent the glorious course of struggle through which the great leader Chairman Mao led the

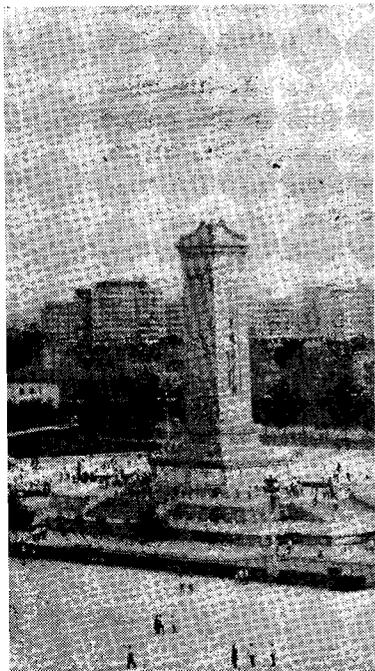
Chinese people from victory to victory for more than half a century. Those on the south side portray the determination of the people of China's various nationalities to carry out Chairman Mao's behests and carry the cause of the proletarian revolution through to the end.

Chairman Hua personally led and

directed this project. Taking part in the building of this memorial hall were tens of thousands of workers, cadres, technicians and commanders and fighters of the Chinese People's Liberation Army, whose profound memory of Chairman Mao was a tremendous strength in building this hall at high speed. The quality of work which went into the statue of Chairman Mao, the installation of the crystal sarcophagus, the interior decorations and the comprehensive testing of equipment were all of a very high standard.

The completion of the Chairman Mao Memorial Hall is the result of the efforts of 800 million people. The people of various nationalities of China living in the 30 provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions, including Taiwan, deem it an indescribable joy to be able to contribute to the work. Well-known experts and workers from designing, scientific research, medical, art and sculpture institutions throughout the country contributed their expertise to the building of this memorial hall.

After the closing of the 11th Party Congress, all the delegates came to pay their respects to Chairman Mao's remains with boundless reverence.



# Constitution of the Communist Party of China

(Adopted by the 11th National Congress of the Communist Party of China on August 18, 1977)

## General Programme

The Communist Party of China is the political party of the proletariat, the highest form of its class organization. It is a vigorous vanguard organization composed of the advanced elements of the proletariat, which leads the proletariat and the revolutionary masses in their fight against the class enemy.

The basic programme of the Communist Party of China for the entire historical period of socialism is to persist in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, eliminate the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes step by step and bring about the triumph of socialism over capitalism. The ultimate aim of the Party is the realization of communism.

Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought is the guiding ideology and theoretical basis of the Communist Party of China. The Party persists in combating revisionism, and dogmatism and empiricism. The Party upholds dialectical materialism and historical materialism as its world outlook and opposes the idealist and metaphysical world outlook.

Our great leader and teacher Chairman Mao Tsetung was the founder of the Communist Party of China and the greatest Marxist-Leninist of our time. Integrating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism

with the concrete practice of the revolution, Chairman Mao inherited, defended and developed Marxism-Leninism in the struggles against imperialism and the domestic reactionary classes, against Right and "Left" opportunist lines in the Party and against international modern revisionism. He led our Party, our army and our people in winning complete victory in the new-democratic revolution and in founding the People's Republic of China, a state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, through protracted revolutionary struggles and revolutionary wars, and then in achieving tremendous victories in the socialist revolution and socialist construction through fierce and complex struggles between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, and through the unparalleled Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. The banner of Chairman Mao is the great banner guiding our Party to victory through united struggle.

Socialist society covers a historical period of considerable length. In this period classes, class contradictions and class struggle, the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road and the danger of capitalist restoration invariably continue to exist, and there is the threat of subversion and aggression by imperialism and social-imperialism. The resolution of these contradictions depends solely on the theory and practice of continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

China's Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution was a political revolution carried out under socialism by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and prevent the restoration of capitalism. Political revolutions of this nature will be carried out many times in the future.

The Communist Party of China adheres to its basic line for the entire historical period of socialism. It must correctly distinguish and handle the contradictions among the people and those between ourselves and the enemy, and consolidate and strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat. The Party must rely on the working class wholeheartedly and rely on the poor and lower-middle peasants, unite with the vast numbers of intellectuals and other working people, mobilize all positive factors and expand the revolutionary united front led by the working class and based on the worker-peasant alliance. It must uphold the proletarian nationality policy and strengthen the great unity of the people of all nationalities in China. It must carry on the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment, it must adhere to the principle of building our country independently, with the initiative in our own hands, and through self-reliance, diligence and thrift, and to the principle of being prepared against war and natural disasters and doing everything for the people, so as to build socialism by going all out, aiming high and achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results. The Party must lead the people of all nationalities in making China a powerful socialist country with a modern agriculture, industry, national defence and science and technology by the end of the century.

The Communist Party of China upholds proletarian internationalism and opposes great-nation chauvinism; it unites firmly with the genuine Marxist-Leninist Parties and organizations the world over, unites

with the proletariat, the oppressed people and nations of the whole world and fights shoulder to shoulder with them to oppose the hegemonism of the two superpowers, the Soviet Union and the United States, to overthrow imperialism, modern revisionism and all reaction, and to wipe the system of exploitation of man by man off the face of the earth, so that all mankind will be emancipated.

The correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides everything. All Party comrades must implement Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line comprehensively and correctly and adhere to the three basic principles: Practise Marxism, and not revisionism; unite, and don't split; be open and aboveboard, and don't intrigue and conspire. They must have the revolutionary boldness in daring to go against any tide that runs counter to these three basic principles.

The whole Party must adhere to the organizational principle of democratic centralism and practise centralism on the basis of democracy and democracy under centralized guidance. It must give full scope to inner-Party democracy and encourage the initiative and creativeness of all Party members and Party organizations at all levels, and combat bureaucracy, commandism and warlordism. The whole Party must strictly observe Party discipline, safeguard the Party's centralization, strengthen its unity, oppose all splittist and factional activities, oppose the assertion of independence from the Party and oppose anarchism. In relations among comrades in the Party, all members should apply the principle of "Say all you know and say it without reserve" and "Blame not the speaker but be warned by his words," adopt the dialectical method, start from the desire for unity, distinguish between right and wrong through criticism or struggle and arrive at a new unity. The Party must strive to create a political situation in which there are both centralism and democracy, both discipline

and freedom, both unity of will and personal ease of mind and liveliness.

The Party must conscientiously follow the proletarian line on cadres, the line of "appointing people on the merit," and oppose the bourgeois line on cadres, the line of "appointing people by favouritism." It must train and bring up in mass struggles millions of successors in the revolutionary cause of the proletariat in accordance with the five requirements put forward by Chairman Mao. Special vigilance must be exercised against careerists, conspirators and double-dealers so as to prevent such bad types from usurping the leadership of the Party and the state at any level and ensure purity of the leadership at all levels.

The whole Party must keep to and carry forward its fine tradition of following the mass line and seeking truth from facts, keep to and carry forward the style of work characterized by integration of theory with practice, close ties with the masses and criticism and self-criticism, the style of modesty, prudence and freedom from arrogance and impetuosity, and the style of plain living and hard struggle; and the whole Party must prevent Party members, especially leading Party cadres, from exploiting their position to seek privileges, and wage a resolute struggle against bourgeois ideology and the bourgeois style of work.

A member of the Communist Party of China should at all times and in all circumstances subordinate his personal interests to the interests of the Party and the people; he should fear no difficulties and sacrifices, work actively for the fulfilment of the programme of the Party and devote his whole life to the struggle for communism.

The Communist Party of China is a great, glorious and correct Party, and it is the core of leadership of the whole Chinese people. The whole Party must always hold high and resolutely defend the great banner of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and ensure that our Party's cause will con-

tinue to advance triumphantly along the Marxist line.

## Chapter I Membership

**Article 1** Any Chinese worker, poor peasant, lower-middle peasant, revolutionary soldier or any other revolutionary who has reached the age of 18 and who accepts the Constitution of the Party and is willing to join a Party organization and work actively in it, carry out the Party's decisions, observe Party discipline and pay membership dues may become a member of the Communist Party of China.

**Article 2** The Communist Party of China demands that its members should:

(1) Conscientiously study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, criticize capitalism and revisionism and strive to remould their world outlook;

(2) Serve the people wholeheartedly and pursue no private interests either for themselves or for a small number of people;

(3) Unite with all the people who can be united inside and outside the Party, including those who have wrongly opposed them;

(4) Maintain close ties with the masses and consult with them when matters arise;

(5) Earnestly practise criticism and self-criticism, be bold in correcting their shortcomings and mistakes and dare to struggle against words and deeds that run counter to Party principles;

(6) Uphold the Party's unity, refuse to take part in and moreover oppose any factional organization or activity which splits the Party;

(7) Be truthful and honest to the Party, observe Party discipline and the laws of the state and strictly guard Party and state secrets; and

(8) Actively fulfill the tasks assigned them by the Party and play an exemplary vanguard role in the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment.

**Article 3** Applicants for Party membership must go through the procedure for admission individually. An applicant must be recommended by two full Party members, fill in an application form for Party membership and be examined by a Party branch, which must seek opinions extensively inside and outside the Party; he or she may become a probationary member after being accepted by the general membership meeting of the Party branch and being approved by the next higher Party committee.

Before approving the admission of an applicant for Party membership, the higher Party committee must appoint someone specially to talk with the applicant and carefully examine his or her case.

**Article 4** The probationary period of a probationary member is one year. The Party organization concerned should make further efforts to educate and observe him or her.

When the probationary period has expired, the Party branch to which the probationary member belongs must promptly discuss whether he or she is qualified for full membership. If qualified, he or she should be given full membership as scheduled; if it is necessary to continue to observe him or her, the probationary period may be extended but no more than one year; if he or she is found to be really unfit for Party membership, his or her status as a probationary member should be annulled. Any decision either to transfer a probationary member to full membership, to prolong the probationary period, or to annul his or her status as a probationary member must be adopted by the general membership meeting of the Party branch and approved by the next higher Party committee.

The probationary period of a probationary member begins from the day when the higher Party committee approves the applicant's admission. The Party standing of a Party member begins from the day when he or she is transferred to full membership.

A probationary member does not have the right to vote and to elect or be elected enjoyed by a full member.

**Article 5** When a Party member violates Party discipline, the Party organization concerned should give the member education and, on the merits of the case, may take any of the following disciplinary measures — a warning, a serious warning, removal from his or her post in the Party, being placed on probation within the Party, and expulsion from the Party.

The period for which the Party member concerned is placed on probation should not exceed two years. During this period, he or she does not have the right to vote and to elect or be elected. If the Party member concerned has been through the period of probation and has corrected his or her mistake, these rights should be restored; if the member clings to the mistake instead of correcting it, he or she should be expelled from the Party.

Proven renegades, enemy agents, absolutely unrepentant persons in power taking the capitalist road, alien class elements, degenerates and new bourgeois elements must be expelled from the Party and not be re-admitted.

**Article 6** Any disciplinary measure taken against a Party member must be decided on by a general membership meeting of the Party branch to which the member belongs and should be submitted to the next higher Party committee for approval. Under special circumstances, a primary Party committee or a higher Party committee has the power to take disciplinary action against a Party member.

## Chapter II

# Organizational System Of the Party

Any decision to remove a member from a local Party committee at any level, to place on probation or to expel the member from the Party must be made by the said Party committee and be submitted to the next higher Party committee for approval.

Corresponding provisions on disciplinary measures against members of the Party committees at all levels in the army units should be laid down by the Military Commission of the Central Committee in accordance with the Party Constitution.

Any decision to take a disciplinary measure against a Member or Alternate Member of the Central Committee must be made by the Central Committee or its Political Bureau.

When a Party organization takes a decision on a disciplinary measure against a member, it must, barring special circumstances, notify the member that he or she should attend the meeting. If the member disagrees with the decision, he or she may ask for a review of the case and has the right to appeal to higher Party committees, up to and including the Central Committee.

**Article 7** A Party member whose revolutionary will has degenerated, who fails to function as a Communist and remains unchanged despite repeated education may be persuaded to withdraw from the Party. The case must be decided by the general membership meeting of the Party branch concerned and submitted to the next higher Party committee for approval.

A Party member who fails to take part in Party life, to do the work assigned by the Party and to pay membership dues over six months and without proper reason is regarded as having given up membership.

When a Party member asks to withdraw from the Party or has given up membership, the Party branch concerned should, with the approval of its general membership meeting, remove his or her name from the Party rolls and report the case to the next higher Party committee for the record.

**Article 8** The Party is organized on the principle of democratic centralism.

The whole Party must observe democratic centralist discipline: The individual is subordinate to the organization, the minority is subordinate to the majority, the lower level is subordinate to the higher level, and the entire Party is subordinate to the Central Committee.

**Article 9** Delegates to Party congresses and members of Party committees at all levels should be elected by secret ballot after democratic consultation and in accordance with the five requirements for successors in the revolutionary cause of the proletariat and with the principle of combining the old, the middle-aged and the young.

**Article 10** The highest leading body of the Party is the National Congress and, when it is not in session, the Central Committee elected by it. The leading bodies of Party organizations at all levels in the localities and in the army units are the Party congresses or general membership meetings at their respective levels and the Party committees elected by them. Party congresses at all levels are convened by Party committees at their respective levels. The convocation of Party congresses at all levels in the localities and in the army units and the composition of the Party committees they elect are subject to approval by the next higher Party committee.

**Article 11** Party committees at all levels operate on the principle of combining collective leadership with individual responsibility under a division of labour. They should rely on the political experience and wisdom of the collective; all important issues are to be decided collectively, and at the

same time each individual is to be enabled to play his or her due part.

Party committees at all levels should set up their working bodies in accordance with the principles of close ties with the masses and of structural simplicity and efficiency. Party committees at the county level and upwards may send out their representative organs when necessary.

**Article 12** Party committees at all levels should report regularly on their work to Party congresses or general membership meetings, constantly listen to the opinions of the masses both inside and outside the Party and put themselves under their supervision.

Party members have the right to criticize Party organizations and working personnel in leading posts at all levels and make proposals to them and also the right to bypass the immediate leadership and present their appeals and complaints to higher levels, up to and including the Central Committee and the Chairman of the Central Committee. It is absolutely impermissible for anyone to suppress criticism or to retaliate. Those guilty of doing so should be investigated and punished.

If a Party member holds different views with regard to the decisions or directives of the Party organizations, he or she is allowed to reserve these views and has the right to bring up the matter for discussion at Party meetings and the right to bypass the immediate leadership and report to higher levels, up to and including the Central Committee and the Chairman of the Central Committee, but the member must resolutely carry out these decisions and directives.

**Article 13** The Central Committee of the Party, local Party committees at the county level and upwards and Party committees in the army units at the regimental level and upwards should set up commissions for inspecting discipline.

The commissions for inspecting discipline at all levels are to be elected by the Party committees at the respective levels and, under their leadership, should strengthen Party members' education on discipline, be responsible for checking on the observance of discipline by Party members and Party cadres and struggle against all breaches of Party discipline.

**Article 14** State organs, the People's Liberation Army and the militia and revolutionary mass organizations, such as trade unions, the Communist Youth League, poor and lower-middle peasant associations and women's federations, must all accept the absolute leadership of the Party.

Leading Party groups should be set up in state organs and people's organizations. Members of leading Party groups in state organs and people's organizations at the national level are to be appointed by the Central Committee of the Party. Members of leading Party groups in state organs and people's organizations at all levels in the localities are to be appointed by the corresponding Party committees.

### Chapter III

## Central Organizations Of the Party

**Article 15** The National Congress of the Party should be convened every five years. Under special circumstances, it may be convened before its due date or postponed.

**Article 16** The plenary session of the Central Committee of the Party elects the Political Bureau of the Central Committee, the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee and the Chairman and Vice-Chairmen of the Central Committee.

The plenary session of the Central Committee of the Party is convened by the Political Bureau of the Central Committee.

When the Central Committee is not in plenary session, the Political Bureau of the Central Committee and its Standing Committee exercise the functions and powers of the Central Committee.

## Chapter IV

# Party Organizations in The Localities and The Army Units

**Article 17** Local Party congresses at the county level and upwards and Party congresses in the army units at the regimental level and upwards should be convened every three years. Under special circumstances, they may be convened before their due date or postponed, subject to approval by the next higher Party committees.

Local Party committees at the county level and upwards and Party committees in the army units at the regimental level and upwards elect their standing committees, secretaries and deputy secretaries.

## Chapter V

# Primary Organizations Of the Party

**Article 18** Party branches, general Party branches or primary Party committees should be set up in factories, mines and other enterprises, people's communes, offices, schools, shops, neighbourhoods, companies of the People's Liberation Army and other primary units in accordance with the need of the revolutionary struggle and the size of their Party membership, subject to approval by the next higher Party committees.

Committees of Party branches should be elected annually, committees of general Party branches and primary Party committees should be elected every two years. Under

special circumstances, the election may take place before its due date or be postponed, subject to approval by the next higher Party committees.

**Article 19** The primary organizations of the Party should play the role of a fighting bastion. Their main tasks are:

(1) To lead Party members and people outside the Party in studying Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought conscientiously, educate them in the ideological and political line and in the Party's fine tradition and give them basic knowledge about the Party;

(2) To lead and unite the broad masses of the people in adhering to the socialist road, in criticizing capitalism and revisionism, in correctly distinguishing and handling the contradictions among the people and those between ourselves and the enemy and in waging a resolute struggle against the class enemy;

(3) To propagate and carry out the line, policies and decisions of the Party, and fulfil every task assigned by the Party and the state;

(4) To maintain close ties with the masses, constantly listen to their opinions and demands and faithfully report these to higher Party organizations and be concerned about their political, economic and cultural life;

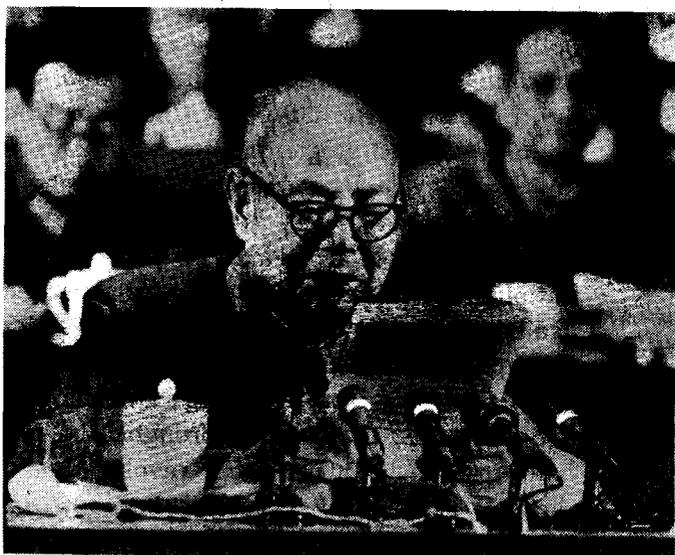
(5) To promote inner-Party democracy, practise criticism and self-criticism, expose and get rid of shortcomings and mistakes in work, and wage struggles against violations of the law and breaches of discipline, against corruption and waste, and against bureaucracy and all other undesirable tendencies; and

(6) To admit new Party members, enforce Party discipline, and consolidate the Party organizations, getting rid of the stale and taking in the fresh, so as to purify the Party's ranks and constantly enhance the Party's fighting power.

# Report on the Revision of the Party Constitution

(Delivered at the 11th National Congress of the Communist Party of China on August 13 and adopted on August 18, 1977)

**Yeh Chien-ying**



Comrades,

As entrusted by the Central Committee of the Party, I will now make the report on the revision of the Party Constitution.

The 11th National Congress of the Party presided over by our wise leader Chairman Hua Kuo-feng is convened in circumstances in which our great leader and teacher Chairman Mao Tsetung has passed away and our Party has won the great victory

of smashing the anti-Party "gang of four," Wang Hung-wen, Chang Chun-chiao, Chiang Ching and Yao Wen-yuan. It will go down in the history of our Party as a congress of tremendous significance and far-reaching influence. In his political report to the congress, Chairman Hua, holding high the great banner of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, has penetratingly elucidated the great theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat put forward by Chairman Mao, comprehensively summed up the basic experience in the 11th struggle between the two lines in the Party,

profoundly analysed the domestic and the international situation and explicitly set forth our Party's fighting tasks for some time to come. His political report will certainly inspire the whole Party, the whole army and our people of all nationalities to fulfil Chairman Mao's behests and continue to advance triumphantly along Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line.

Comrade Hua Kuo-feng was chosen by Chairman Mao himself as his successor. In

January 1976, upon the proposal of Chairman Mao and its adoption by the Political Bureau of the Central Committee, Comrade Hua Kuo-feng took charge of the day-to-day work of the Central Committee and became Acting Premier of the State Council. In April of the same year, again upon Chairman Mao's proposal and its adoption by the Political Bureau, he was made First Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee and Premier of the State Council, and was thus charged with the heavy responsibility of leading the Party and the state. The institution of the first vice-chairman of the Party Central Committee had no precedent in the history of our Party. It was a decision of major strategic importance made by Chairman Mao to counter the conspiratorial activities of the "gang of four" to usurp Party and state power, a decision bearing vitally on the future and destiny of our Party and our country. Chairman Mao wrote in his own hand for Comrade Hua Kuo-feng, "With you in charge, I'm at ease"; this showed his boundless trust in him. Comrade Hua Kuo-feng has consistently held high the great banner of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and steadfastly followed Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. He has had long experience in leading the work at the local level and also has experience in leading the work at the national level; he is in close touch with the masses, prudent and steady, wise and resolute, and good at destroying the old and establishing the new; he possesses the ability required to give all-round leadership to political, economic, military and cultural work. When the destiny of our Party and our revolution was at stake at the peak of the conspiracy of the "gang of four" to usurp supreme power in the Party and state, Comrade Hua Kuo-feng, carrying out Chairman Mao's behest with a proletarian revolutionary's boldness and vision, took decisive action, led the whole Party in smashing the "gang of four" at one

blow, spared our Party and our country a major split and retrogression and thus saved the revolution and the Party. It was at this extraordinary moment that the Political Bureau of the Central Committee, in accordance with the arrangement made by Chairman Mao during his lifetime, unanimously adopted the resolution to make Comrade Hua Kuo-feng Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and Chairman of its Military Commission. This resolution was warmly supported by the whole Party, the whole army and the people of all nationalities and unanimously supported and endorsed by the Third Plenary Session of the Tenth Central Committee. The victory in the 11th struggle between the two lines won by our Party under the leadership of Chairman Hua has a tremendous significance both for China and for the world. Holding high the great banner of Chairman Mao, the Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua has made the strategic decision to grasp the key link of class struggle and bring about great order across the land, led the whole Party, the whole army and the people of all nationalities in deepening the great struggle against the "gang of four" and taken a series of important measures to overcome the difficulties arising from the gang's interference and sabotage; it has thus brought about a new upsurge in our socialist revolution and socialist construction. As has been proved in practice, the line of the Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua is entirely correct politically and organizationally. Chairman Hua is worthy of being called Chairman Mao's good student and successor, the wise leader of our Party and people and the brilliant supreme commander of our army. Chairman Hua can certainly continue to carry forward our proletarian revolutionary cause pioneered by Chairman Mao and lead our Party, our army and the people of all nationalities triumphantly into the 21st century. Hereafter, if within the country there are

capitalist-roads in power plotting to usurp the leadership of the Party and state, we will mobilize the whole nation to practise great democracy and topple them by launching a Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution under the leadership of the Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua. If imperialism or social-imperialism starts an armed aggression against our country, we will mobilize the whole nation to defeat the aggressors by waging a people's war under the command of the Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua. Rallying closely round the Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua, the whole Party, the whole army and the people of all nationalities will definitely be able to continue the revolution and defeat all enemies at home and abroad, overcome all difficulties and make China a great and powerful modern socialist country.

Comrades, the revision of the Party Constitution is a prominent item on the agenda of our congress. Thanks to Chairman Mao's leadership, the line of the Tenth Congress was correct politically and organizationally. The "gang of four" totally opposed the line of the Tenth Congress and sabotaged Party building in their vain attempt to transform our Party in the image of the bourgeoisie. Their reactionary scheme has met with abject failure. The Central Committee holds that, in accordance with Chairman Mao's teachings on Party building and with the fresh experience of the Party's 11th struggle between the two lines, we should make necessary revisions in the Party Constitution adopted by the Tenth Congress. The draft of the revised Constitution of the Communist Party of China now submitted to the congress for discussion was basically approved by the Third Plenary Session of the Tenth Central Committee. In the process of revision, opinions were widely sought within the Party, from the leadership to the rank and file in central departments, localities and army units. Here I shall explain the follow-

ing points concerning the draft of the revised Party Constitution.

## I. Holding High and Defending The Great Banner of Chairman Mao

The draft of the revised Party Constitution records the monumental contributions of our great leader and teacher Chairman Mao in the General Programme which includes the sentence, "The banner of Chairman Mao is the great banner guiding our Party to victory through united struggle." This reflects the common wish of the whole Party, the whole army and the people of all nationalities.

Chairman Mao was the great founder of the Chinese Communist Party, the Chinese People's Liberation Army and the People's Republic of China. Through 28 years of revolutionary struggles and wars, he led the whole Party, the whole army and the people of all nationalities in overthrowing the reactionary rule of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism, winning complete victory in the new-democratic revolution and founding the People's Republic of China, a state of the dictatorship of the proletariat. He then went on to lead us, through fierce and complex struggles between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and through the unparalleled Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, in scoring tremendous victories in the socialist revolution and construction and transforming China from a poor, backward semi-colonial and semi-feudal country into a socialist state with the beginnings of prosperity. Having summed up the experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat, international as well as domestic and negative as well as positive, Chairman Mao, with the courage and vision of a proletarian revolutionary, personally initiated and led the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution

and boldly aroused the masses openly to expose and repudiate Party persons in power taking the capitalist road. This political revolution spelt the doom of the three bourgeois headquarters of Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and the Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao "gang of four," disseminated Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought on an unprecedented scale, very much heightened the consciousness of the cadres and the masses concerning class struggle, the two-line struggle and the continued revolution, consolidated and strengthened the dictatorship of the proletariat and promoted China's socialist cause. This political revolution has shattered the fond dream of restoring capitalism in China entertained by imperialism and social-imperialism, prevented the tragedy of capitalist restoration in the Soviet Union from being repeated in our country, and provided fresh experience for the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat; it has thus immensely inspired Marxists and revolutionary people the world over.

Chairman Mao was the greatest Marxist-Leninist of our time. Integrating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the revolution, Chairman Mao inherited, defended and developed Marxism-Leninism in the realms of philosophy, political economy and scientific socialism in the course of struggles against imperialism and the domestic reactionary classes, against Right and "Left" opportunist lines within the Party and against modern revisionism with the Soviet revisionist renegade clique as its centre. His theory of the new-democratic revolution has blazed a new trail for the liberation of oppressed nations and people throughout the world. His theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat charts the true road for consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, preventing capitalist restoration and building socialism; this is his greatest contribution to Marxism in the period of the socialist revolution and construction.

Chairman Mao's monumental contributions will stand for ever in the annals of the Chinese people's revolution and the revolution of the people of the world. The banner of Chairman Mao is a banner of revolution, a banner of victory. To hold high and defend Chairman Mao's banner is vital not only to the success of the revolutionary cause in China but also to the common destiny of the people of the world. The draft of the revised Party Constitution clearly stipulates: "The whole Party must always hold high and resolutely defend the great banner of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and ensure that our Party's cause will continue to advance triumphantly along the Marxist line."

## II. The Character and the Guiding Ideology of The Party

Chairman Mao tremendously enriched and developed the Marxist-Leninist theory on Party building. He had a systematic set of teachings on the character, the guiding ideology, the organizational principle and the style of work of the Party. It is because he nurtured our Party with these Marxist-Leninist teachings on Party building that our Party has grown and become a great, glorious and correct Party.

In accordance with Chairman Mao's teachings on Party building, the draft includes a revised and extended version of the paragraph on the character of the Party in the Party Constitution adopted by the Tenth Congress. The General Programme in the draft states in explicit terms, "The Communist Party of China is the political party of the proletariat, the highest form of its class organization. It is a vigorous vanguard organization composed of the advanced elements of the proletariat, which leads the proletariat and the revolutionary masses in their fight against the class enemy."

The "gang of four" did their utmost to alter our Party's character as the vanguard of the proletariat in order to achieve their objective of substituting the gang for the Party through usurpation and restoring capitalism. Everywhere they recruited renegades, enemy agents, alien class elements, degenerates, new bourgeois elements, gangsters and bad elements of all kinds who seriously disrupted public order, gave the appellation of "advanced element" to these reactionaries who were bent on creating trouble for the proletariat, drew them into the Party and sent them forth to usurp leadership far and wide. When the "gang of four" and their cohorts set up a clamour for "replacing the Party with mass organizations" and "kicking aside Party committees to make revolution," their intention was precisely to replace our Party with their gang. Had their scheme wholly succeeded, our Party would have completely changed political colour and become a bourgeois fascist party, and our country would have been thrown into complete disunity and utter chaos and pushed back on to the semi-colonial and semi-feudal road.

Only with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought as its guiding ideology and theoretical basis can our Party maintain its character as the vanguard of the proletariat. The "gang of four" vainly tried to confuse our Party in its basic ideology. Flaunting the flag of Marxism, they went in for revisionism on a big scale, spread idealism far and wide and feverishly pushed metaphysics. In view of this, the following passage is added to the paragraph on the guiding ideology in the General Programme: "The Party persists in combating revisionism, and dogmatism and empiricism. The Party upholds dialectical materialism and historical materialism as its world outlook and opposes the idealist and metaphysical world outlook."

The "gang of four" serve as an excellent teacher by negative example and have given

us a very good lesson by creating confusion on the character of the Party and its role of leadership. This negative example has made us keenly aware of the necessity of always bearing in mind Chairman Mao's teaching: "Our Party is the political party of the proletariat, the vanguard force of the proletariat, and the fighting force armed with Marxism-Leninism." We must likewise bear firmly in mind another teaching of his. "Of the seven sectors — industry, agriculture, commerce, culture and education, the army, the government and the Party — it is the Party that exercises overall leadership." We must do a good job of building up the Party ideologically and organizationally, further strengthen the Party's leadership and give play to its role as the vanguard. We must also do a good job of strengthening and building up the revolutionary committees at all levels and revolutionary mass organizations such as trade unions, the Communist Youth League, poor and lower-middle peasant associations and women's federations so as to enable them the better to play their respective roles under the Party's leadership.

### **III. The Basic Programme of the Party for the Entire Historical Period of Socialism and Its Basic Tasks**

The draft contains a revised version of the paragraph on the Party's basic programme in the Party Constitution adopted by the Tenth Congress. It stipulates, "The basic programme of the Communist Party of China for the entire historical period of socialism is to persist in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, eliminate the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes step by step and bring about the triumph of socialism over capitalism. The ultimate aim of the Party is the realization of communism."

The dictatorship of the landlord class and the comprador-bourgeoisie was overthrown and the dictatorship of the proletariat established in our country a long time ago under the leadership of Chairman Mao, and ours is already a socialist society. However, in our society the overthrown bourgeoisie and other overthrown exploiting classes still exist and new bourgeois elements will emerge; besides, it will require sustained efforts to remould the petty bourgeoisie. In order thoroughly to eradicate the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes, thoroughly to settle the question of which will win, socialism or capitalism, and to create the conditions for the gradual transition to communist society, we must persist in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat throughout the historical period of socialism. It is in this spirit that the Party's basic programme for the entire historical period of socialism is written in the draft of the revised Party Constitution.

In 1963 Chairman Mao pointed out, "It is impossible for a socialist country to enter communist society while imperialism still exists." In 1966 he added, "It will still be uncertain in what year communism will be realized even when imperialism has been totally overthrown and the whole world has become socialist. Because the bourgeoisie, although overthrown, won't be dead. It will try to corrode the Communist Party in every way." We are thus told that society will remain socialist for a period of time after imperialism and social-imperialism are totally overthrown. In other words, classes, class contradictions and class struggle, the struggle between the socialist and capitalist roads and the danger of capitalist restoration exist throughout the historical period of socialism although imperialism and social-imperialism will have been overthrown before the end of this period. In the light of this brilliant thought of Chairman Mao's a change is made in the relevant paragraph of the General Programme in the Party Constitution adopted

by the Tenth Congress and is included in the draft of the revised Party Constitution.

The draft contains a revised version of the paragraph on domestic tasks in the Party Constitution adopted by the Tenth Congress with important additions such as "The Communist Party of China adheres to its basic line for the entire historical period of socialism. It must correctly distinguish and handle the contradictions among the people and those between ourselves and the enemy, and consolidate and strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat," and "The Party must lead the people of all nationalities in making China a powerful socialist country with a modern agriculture, industry, national defence and science and technology by the end of the century."

#### IV. The Basic Principles of the "Three Do's and Three Don'ts"

In the General Programme of the draft greater prominence is given to the question of upholding the basic principles of the "three do's and three don'ts" than in the Party Constitution adopted by the Tenth Congress.

"Practise Marxism, and not revisionism; unite, and don't split; be open and above-board, and don't intrigue and conspire" — these three basic principles put forward by Chairman Mao represent a significant development in his theory on Party building. They constitute a scientific summing-up of the experience of the major struggles between the two lines in our Party for the last 50 years, epitomize the basic content of these struggles and penetratingly expose the salient political features of all opportunists and revisionists. Chairman Mao time and again used these three basic principles to warn the "gang of four," expose them for what they were and pinpoint the essence of their problem. The gang refused to repent and obstinately persisted in practising revisionism, creating splits and carrying on intrigues and con-

spiracies in a futile attempt to usurp supreme power in the Party and state. The fact that we have won victory in the 11th struggle between the two lines eloquently proves that the basic principles of the "three do's and three don'ts" are a sharp weapon for identifying and defeating the capitalist-roaders in the Party. The whole Party and people must adhere to these three basic principles and keep a tenacious grip on this weapon.

Chairman Mao said, "Going against the tide is a Marxist-Leninist principle." Purposely creating confusion, the "gang of four" perverted this revolutionary principle and obliterated its class content. They exploited the slogan "Go against the tide" to whip up an anti-Party and anti-socialist adverse current for their criminal purpose of subverting the dictatorship of the proletariat and restoring capitalism. In face of this reactionary current whipped up by the "gang of four," many of our Party members and revolutionary cadres put the public interests above everything else and held fast to the Party's principles and, with indomitable courage, dared to struggle and dared to win, demonstrating the revolutionary boldness in daring to go against the tide advocated by Chairman Mao, which we must earnestly emulate and bring into full play.

By going against the tide Chairman Mao meant going against the adverse tide of revisionism, splittism and conspiracy. In this spirit the draft contains a revised version of the provision on going against the tide in the Party Constitution adopted by the Tenth



Delegates to the 11th Party Congress warmly endorse Chairman Hua's and Vice-Chairman Yeh's reports.

Congress, stating explicitly, "They [all Party comrades] must have the revolutionary boldness in daring to go against any tide that runs counter to these three basic principles." The revolutionary boldness in daring to go against the tide demands that, no matter what the circumstances, we dare to adhere to the Marxist principles and withstand and repulse the evil winds and violent waves invoked by the revisionists. It demands that we constantly strengthen unity in the Party and overcome any tendency to engage in factional and splittist activities in the Party. It demands that we thoroughly expose and defeat all plotters and conspirators. Being open and aboveboard is a manifestation of the proletarian Party spirit whereas intriguing and conspiring necessarily means the betrayal of Marxism, the disruption of Party unity and the sabotage of the revolutionary cause of the proletariat. All Party comrades should wield this sharp weapon of the "three do's and three don'ts," distinguish between correct and erroneous tides, give free rein to the revolutionary boldness in daring to go against the tide and strive for the comprehensive and

correct implementation of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line.

## V. Democratic Centralism in The Party

Experience in the 11th struggle between the two lines has further borne out the extreme importance of the Party's democratic centralism. Consequently, additions are made to the General Programme of the draft and necessary provisions added to other relevant articles.

Our Party is organized on the principle of democratic centralism which means centralism on the basis of democracy and democracy under centralized guidance. The "gang of four" deliberately trampled on the organizational principle of our Party and carried on many anti-Party factional and splittist activities. They undermined both democracy and centralism. They were arbitrary and tyrannical, they lorded it over others, did not scruple to slap political labels on those who held opinions differing from theirs and wilfully attack them, thus gravely damaging inner-Party democracy. They attacked the Party's organizational principle and Party discipline as "the old rut" and "restrictions and fetters" which ought to be discarded, and they advocated anarchism, clamouring that "the correct orientation is to direct the spearhead upwards against the leadership," thus seriously undermining the Party's centralized leadership and its solidarity and unity. While deepening the exposure and criticism of the counter-revolutionary crimes which the "gang of four" perpetrated in their attempt to split and crush our Party, we must earnestly educate the whole Party in democratic centralism so as to put democratic centralism on a sounder basis.

Chairman Mao stressed, "In the present great struggle, the Chinese Communist Party demands that all its leading bodies and all its members and cadres should give the fullest expression to their initiative, which alone can ensure victory. This initiative must be demonstrated concretely in the ability of the leading bodies, the cadres and the Party rank and file to work creatively, in their readiness to assume responsibility, in the exuberant vigour they show in their work, in their courage and ability to raise questions, voice opinions and criticize defects, and in the comradely supervision that is maintained over the leading bodies and the leading cadres. Otherwise, 'initiative' will be an empty thing. But the exercise of such initiative depends on the spread of democracy in Party life. It cannot be brought into play if there is not enough democracy in Party life."

How can democracy be promoted to the full? This demands that we should really apply within the Party and among the people the following principles advocated by Chairman Mao: "Say all you know and say it without reserve," "Blame not the speaker but be warned by his words," and "Correct mistakes if you have committed them and guard against them if you have not," and that we should let the masses say what is on their minds, even if they should abuse us. It is entirely wrong to forbid the masses to speak out, to be afraid of differing opinions or to muzzle criticism. This demands that we should settle controversial issues among the people by the democratic method, that is, by the method of discussion, criticism, persuasion and education and not by the method of coercion or repression. This demands that we should handle the relations among comrades by the method of starting from the desire for unity, distinguishing between right and wrong through criticism or struggle and

arriving at a new unity, and not by "waging a ruthless struggle and dealing merciless blows." This demands that among members of Party committees we should earnestly apply the principle of combining collective leadership with individual responsibility under a division of labour, and that we should rely on the political experience and wisdom of the collective and prevent and overcome the bad tendencies towards one-man rule or timidity in shouldering individual responsibility. So long as we thoroughly promote democracy, we shall be able to release the initiative of the masses both inside and outside the Party, and we shall be able to unite the masses of the people who make up over 95 per cent of our total population. If this is done, we can do our work better and better and overcome the difficulties we encounter more quickly and our cause will advance far more smoothly.

We must realize fully the importance of promoting democracy. Any act that impairs the Party's democratic life and violates the democratic rights of Party members runs counter to democratic centralism, and Party discipline prohibits it. The draft explicitly stipulates that Party members have the right to criticize Party organizations and working personnel in leading posts at all levels and make proposals to them and also the right to bypass the immediate leadership and present their appeals and complaints to higher levels, up to and including the Central Committee and the Chairman of the Central Committee. It stipulates that if a Party member holds different views with regard to the decisions or directives of the Party organizations, he or she is allowed to reserve these views and has the right to bring up the matter for discussion at Party meetings and the right to bypass the immediate leadership and report to higher levels, up to and including the Central Committee and the Chairman of the Central Committee. It is absolutely imper-

missible for anyone to suppress criticism or to retaliate. Those guilty of doing so should be investigated and punished. It is precisely for the purpose of safeguarding the democratic rights of Party members and promoting proletarian democracy to the full that the above provisions are made.

Of course, in the absence of centralized guidance democracy will lose the correct orientation and go astray. In this sense, to impair centralism is to impair democracy. Due to the influence of the "gang of four," there really are people in our Party who are addicted to bourgeois factionalism and have a liking for indiscipline and for anarchy and who prefer to remain free from constraint by the Party organization and the leadership. They don't understand that no factional organization or activity is permissible in the Communist Party and that a Communist must never take part in but must oppose any factional organization or activity which splits the Party, and that the Communist Party must have not only democracy, but also and still more so, centralism; they don't understand that democracy inside the Party is intended to strengthen discipline and enhance its fighting power rather than to weaken discipline and reduce its fighting power; and they don't understand that the proletarian party's iron discipline is one of the basic conditions for defeating the bourgeoisie and achieving victory in the revolution. Chairman Mao said, "**Discipline is the guarantee for the implementation of the line. Without discipline, it is impossible for the Party to lead the masses and the army in conducting a victorious struggle.**" Since our Party has to lead the people of all nationalities in conducting the socialist revolution and construction in a country with a population of 800 million and in constantly consolidating and strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat, how can it manage

without an iron discipline? Lenin said, "Whoever weakens ever so little the iron discipline of the party of the proletariat (especially during the time of its dictatorship), actually aids the bourgeoisie against the proletariat."

It is imperative to strengthen Party discipline in order to ensure our Party's unity of action. In the chapter on Organizational System of the Party, the draft stresses, "The whole Party must observe democratic centralist discipline: The individual is subordinate to the organization, the minority is subordinate to the majority, the lower level is subordinate to the higher level, and the entire Party is subordinate to the Central Committee." A Communist must never take a liberalist attitude towards the resolutions of Party organizations and the decisions of the leadership, carrying out what is to his liking and refusing to carry out what is not, and must never overtly agree but covertly oppose, feigning compliance while acting differently. Chairman Mao indicated long ago, "One requirement of Party discipline is that the minority should submit to the majority. If the view of the minority has been rejected, it must support the decision passed by the majority. If necessary, it can bring up the matter for reconsideration at the next meeting, but apart from that it must not act against the decision in any way." We must strengthen education in discipline throughout the Party. After the Second Plenary Session of the Ninth Central Committee Chairman Mao urged us time and again to sing the song *The Three Main Rules of Discipline and the Eight Points for Attention* and repeatedly stressed, "Educate the soldiers, the cadres, the masses, the Party members and the people in the Three Main Rules of Discipline and the Eight Points for Attention." When we obey orders in all our actions and march in step we will win victory.

All Party members, especially the Party's leading cadres at all levels, must consciously observe Party discipline.

To safeguard the principle of the Party's democratic centralism and Party discipline and to correct and prevent all acts that may jeopardize the relations between the Party and the masses, it is further stipulated in the draft that the Central Committee of the Party, local Party committees at the county level and upwards and Party committees in the army units at the regimental level and upwards should set up commissions for inspecting discipline. These commissions, at all levels, are to be elected by the Party committees at the respective levels and function under their leadership. Their task is to strengthen Party members' education on discipline, be responsible for checking on the observance of discipline by Party members and Party cadres, and struggle against all breaches of Party discipline and handle appeals and accusations by Party members as well as accusations by non-Party people against Party members.

Chairman Mao said, "Our aim is to create a political situation in which we have both centralism and democracy, both discipline and freedom, both unity of will and personal ease of mind and liveliness, and thus to promote our socialist revolution and socialist construction, make it easier to overcome difficulties, build a modern industry and modern agriculture more rapidly and make our Party and state more secure and better able to weather storm and stress." So long as we earnestly practise democratic centralism, give full scope to democracy and exercise centralism on the basis of extensive democracy, we can certainly create the political situation Chairman Mao spoke of. We can do so not only throughout the Party, but also throughout the army and among the people of all nationalities.

## VI. The Line of the Party On Cadres

In the General Programme of the draft additions are made concerning the line on cadres. The line on cadres serves the political line; "Cadres are a decisive factor, once the political line is determined." What then is the line of our Party on cadres? Chairman Mao said, "Throughout our national history there have been two sharply contrasting lines on the subject of the use of cadres, one being to 'appoint people on their merit,' and the other to 'appoint people by favouritism.' The former is the honest and the latter the dishonest way. The criterion the Communist Party should apply in its cadres policy is whether or not a cadre is resolute in carrying out the Party line, keeps to Party discipline, has close ties with the masses, has the ability to find his bearings independently, and is active, hard-working and unselfish. This is what 'appointing people on their merit' means." In the history of our Party, the struggle between Chairman Mao's proletarian line on cadres and the bourgeois line on cadres has been very fierce. In recruiting deserters and renegades and ganging up for private interests, the "gang of four" have gone far beyond the chieftains of all earlier opportunist lines. They hate all the old and middle-aged cadres who have been through the test of revolutionary struggles and are loyal to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, and they likewise hate all young cadres who adhere to principles and fight against revisionism. They pushed a counter-revolutionary revisionist line on cadres, going to any length in promoting their lackeys to important posts and buying over cadres or fostering trusted followers by the despicable methods of the stick and the carrot, by pressure and by promotions and promises. The history of the struggle between the two lines in our Party has

proved time and again that the bourgeois line on cadres, which is "appointing people by favouritism," is a poison that disintegrates and destroys the Party, while only by carrying out the proletarian line on cadres, namely, "appointing people on their merit," can we enable our Party to be united and to flourish.

Chairman Mao said, "Successors in the revolutionary cause of the proletariat come forward in mass struggles and are tempered in the great storms of revolution. It is essential to test and judge cadres and choose and train successors in the long course of mass struggle." The draft provides that the Party "must train and bring up in mass struggles millions of successors in the revolutionary cause of the proletariat in accordance with the five requirements put forward by Chairman Mao." We must promote outstanding people who have come to the fore in the Cultural Revolution and the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment and have measured up to the five requirements for revolutionary successors and put them into the leading bodies at all levels according to the principle of combining the old, the middle-aged and the young. Old and new cadres should learn from and help each other to make up for each other's deficiencies. The old cadres should give enthusiastic help and support to the new cadres and take the training of successors in the revolutionary cause of the proletariat as one of their major responsibilities.

Chairman Mao said, "In the final analysis, leadership involves two main responsibilities: to work out ideas, and to use cadres well." Leading comrades at all levels, particularly the chief leading comrades, must be good at using cadres. They should have the wisdom to know others as well as to know themselves. Any comrade has his weak

points as well as his strong ones. Leading comrades should act in accordance with dialectics, adopting a one-divides-into-two attitude towards themselves and towards other people. A "wise man" is one who bears the overall situation in mind, puts the general interest above all and grasps the major issues. Of course a "wise man" cannot be free from shortcomings either, and one-dividing-into-two applies to him as well. A leader must be good at giving play to other people's strong points in order to make up for his own shortcomings, and at the same time he must help others to overcome their shortcomings; this is what is meant by knowing your subordinates and making good use of them.

The attitude to adopt towards comrades who have erred is an important aspect of our policy on cadres. As we all know, Chairman Mao was always opposed to "finishing off" an erring comrade "at one blow." He said, **"The correct attitude towards them should be to adopt a policy of 'learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones and curing the sickness to save the patient,' help them correct their mistakes and allow them to go on taking part in the revolution."** Chairman Mao always stressed that we must first observe a comrade who has erred and then give him help, in order to clarify his thinking and unite with him. This should apply to all comrades, whether old, middle-aged or young. The "gang of four," on some kind of pretext or false charge that they had made this or that mistake, excluded and tried to overthrow all those who refused to go along with them in their evil deeds. They indulged in ruthless struggle and merciless blows in order to crush the ranks of our cadres and our Party. We must follow Chairman Mao's teachings and unite and work together with over 95 per cent of the cadres and with all revolutionary comrades, including those who

have committed errors but are willing to mend their ways.

## **VII. Keeping to and Carrying Forward the Party's Fine Tradition and Fine Style Of Work**

In the General Programme of the draft a paragraph is added: "The whole Party must keep to and carry forward its fine tradition of following the mass line and seeking truth from facts, keep to and carry forward the style of work characterized by integration of theory with practice, close ties with the masses and criticism and self-criticism, the style of modesty, prudence and freedom from arrogance and impetuosity, and the style of plain living and hard struggle; and the whole Party must prevent Party members, especially leading Party cadres, from exploiting their position to seek privileges, and wage a resolute struggle against bourgeois ideology and the bourgeois style of work." Corresponding additions are made in the chapters on Membership and Primary Organizations of the Party.

Our Party's fine tradition and fine style were developed in the protracted revolutionary struggle and have long been rooted among the masses of Party members and cadres. They are the hallmark distinguishing us Communists from any other political parties. In recent years, the "gang of four" have gravely undermined our Party's tradition and style of work, and particularly our fine tradition of following the mass line and seeking truth from facts. Because of their influence, unwholesome tendencies have developed in varying degrees among some of our Party members and cadres. We should be acutely aware of this state of affairs.

During the democratic revolution Chairman Mao issued a series of important directives on the Party's style of work. On the eve of nationwide victory, he opportunely pointed out that in victory special attention must be paid to guarding against attacks made by the bourgeoisie with "sugar-coated bullets." He added, **"The comrades must be helped to remain modest, prudent and free from arrogance and rashness in their style of work. The comrades must be helped to preserve the style of plain living and hard work."** From the nationwide liberation right up to and through the Cultural Revolution Chairman Mao stressed this point repeatedly. This was necessary because our Party was a party in power and such a position might easily turn the heads of many comrades. One notable means of the bourgeoisie in its struggle against the proletariat under the dictatorship of the proletariat is the use of its ideology and style of work to corrode our Party. Referring to the dangerous tendency among some cadres to alienate themselves from the masses, refuse to share weal and woe with them, scramble for fame and fortune and work solely for personal gain, Chairman Mao sharply warned: **"We must watch out lest we foster the bureaucratic style of work and grow into an aristocratic stratum divorced from the people."** Again, in view of the fact that some of our cadres in the Party were divorced from reality, had ceased to make progress, become arrogant and conceited and feared criticism and self-criticism, Chairman Mao added, **"A Communist must acquire the Marxist dialectical concept of one dividing into two with regard to achievements and shortcomings, truth and falsehood."** **"To any comrade who rejects the dialectical and analytical method of Marxism and doesn't analyse modestly and conscientiously his own locality, his own unit and himself and also other localities, other units and other people, we must give comradely**

**advice and criticism, so as to bring about a change in this undesirable state of affairs. We must make a practice of learning the good experience, good style and good methods from other departments, provinces, municipalities, districts and units."**

All Party comrades, and particularly leading cadres at all levels, must bear Chairman Mao's teachings firmly in mind, revolutionize their thinking and greatly improve their style of work through the criticism of the "gang of four" and through Party consolidation and rectification. The most important task at present is to keep to the fine tradition of following the mass line and seeking truth from facts and to carry them forward. We must maintain the closest ties with the masses, never for a moment divorce ourselves from them, listen attentively to their voice, consult with them when matters arise and really have faith in and rely on them; we must take Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought as our guide and step up investigation and study, achieve the unity of theory and practice, seek truth from facts, be honest, speak and act honestly, be modest and prudent and guard against any boastfulness and conceit. To keep to and carry forward our Party's fine tradition and fine style and combat the bourgeois ideology and style — this is a signal aspect of Party building under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

## **VIII. Requirements for Party Members and Primary Party Organizations**

On the basis of the Party Constitution adopted by the Tenth Congress some additions and changes are made in the draft with regard to the requirements for Party members and the tasks of primary Party organizations.

As the ruling party, our Party exercises leadership over every sphere of life in our country. Party members, and especially Party cadres who are in leading posts at all levels in the Party, the government and the army, are shouldering heavy responsibilities. Therefore, the Party must set strict demands on its members, particularly those in positions of leadership. Of the more than 35 million members of our Party, nearly half have joined the Party since the Cultural Revolution and over 7 million have joined since the Tenth Congress. Hence, new Party members make up a substantial proportion of the total membership. The overwhelming majority of Party members, both old and new, are good or fairly good. But it must be realized that there is the serious problem of impurity in ideology, organization and style of work among Party members as a result of the rather extensive confusion created by the "gang of four" who in recent years vitiated the Party's line, undermined the Party's organizational principle and set their own standards for Party membership. Chairman Mao once said, "There are many Party members who have joined the Communist Party organizationally but have not yet joined the Party wholly or at all ideologically. Those who have not joined the Party ideologically still carry a great deal of the muck of the exploiting classes in their heads, and have no idea at all of what proletarian ideology, or communism, or the Party is." There are definitely quite a few such Party members. Except for the bad types who have sneaked into the Party and must be cleared out, those who have not yet joined the Party ideologically must be given further education. Even good and fairly good Party members face the task of enhancing their political consciousness with the development of the revolutionary situation. Generally speaking, many new Party members lack basic knowledge about the Party and an adequate understanding of the Party's fine

tradition and of its Constitution and discipline, so that it is absolutely necessary to educate them in these respects. It is in the light of this situation that the provisions on requirements for Party members are revised.

The draft makes eight demands on Party members. These demands are based on the five requirements set by Chairman Mao for revolutionary successors and on his consistent teachings as to how to be a Communist. It is of obvious advantage to stipulate the demands on Party members more specifically so as to facilitate their fulfilment by the members and supervision and examination by Party organizations.

The draft has a provision on the probationary period for Party members. Without exception, no probationary member may become a full member until after the prescribed period of one year. This provision is made so as the better to educate, observe and understand Party members and ensure their political quality. In recent years the "gang of four" set their own standards for Party membership and practised "crash admittance," and as a result some political speculators and bad types have sneaked into the Party. Hence, such a provision is necessary.

Primary Party organizations are in the forefront of the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment and are nearest to the masses outside the Party. It is incumbent on primary Party organizations to give Party members constant ideological and political education so that they may play an exemplary vanguard role. It is also incumbent on primary Party organizations to fulfil the tasks of grasping revolution and promoting production and other work and preparedness against war. In order to accomplish their criminal plot to usurp power in the Party and state, the "gang

of four" opposed deep-going education in the Party's basic line among the masses both inside and outside the Party and opposed the consolidation of primary Party organizations, slandering such work as "directing the spearhead of attack downwards" and "the big bourgeois criticizing the petty bourgeois." In the struggle against the "gang of four," quite a number of primary Party organizations resisted their sinister wind and rebuffed their interference, thus fulfilling the role of a fighting bastion. Drawing on the experience of the Party organizations of Taching, Tachai, the Hard-Bone Sixth Company and other advanced units, the draft includes more specific and explicit provisions on the tasks of primary Party organizations designed to facilitate their being carried out. We must strengthen the building of primary Party organizations so that they may become fighting bastions of our Party leading the masses inside and outside the Party in carrying on the socialist revolution and construction, consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and waging struggles against the class enemy.

In a word, the requirements for Party members and primary Party organizations prescribed in the draft are all aimed at raising the political quality of the Party membership, purifying the Party organizations, strengthening the Party's relations with the masses and increasing its fighting power.

Comrades! The draft of the revised Party Constitution, holding high the great banner of Chairman Mao, fully embodies his teachings on Party building and the theory and line of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, and reflects the fruits of victory in the great struggle to smash the "gang of four." The new Party Constitution to be adopted by this congress will be an important weapon for strength-

ening our Party building ideologically and organizationally. In accordance with the provisions of the new Party Constitution, we must make our Party stronger and more vigorous so that it may most effectively play its role in leading the socialist revolution and construction. Party organizations at all levels and all Party members must conscientiously study the Party Constitution, abide by it strictly, implement it resolutely, and fight against any words and deeds running counter to it.

Our Party and our country are now at an important point in history when we are carrying forward the revolutionary cause pioneered by our predecessors and forging ahead into the future. The great victory we have won in smashing the "gang of four" marks the successful conclusion of the first Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in our country and the start of a new period in China's socialist revolution and construction. The struggle between the two classes, the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, the struggle between the two roads, socialist and capitalist, and the struggle between the two lines, Marxist and revisionist, will continue for a long time. Political revolutions in the nature of the Cultural Revolution will be carried out many times in the future. The tasks that face us in the socialist revolution and construction are great and most arduous. Under the leadership of the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua, the whole Party, the whole army and the people of all nationalities must unite as one and strive to perform the eight fighting tasks involved in grasping the key link of class struggle and bringing about great order across the land which have been put before the 11th National Congress of the Party, make China a powerful and modern socialist country by the end of the century and carry through to the victorious end our proletarian revolutionary cause pioneered by Chairman Mao.

# Closing Address at the 11th National Congress of the Communist Party of China

(August 18, 1977)

**Teng Hsiao-ping**



Comrades,

Presided over by our wise leader Comrade Hua Kuo-feng and correctly led by the presidium headed by Chairman Hua, our congress has successfully accomplished its momentous tasks through the common efforts of all the delegates. The congress has unanimously adopted Chairman Hua's political report, unanimously adopted the new Party Constitution and Vice-Chairman Yeh Chien-ying's report on the revision of the

Party Constitution, and elected the new Central Committee.

Our congress has been a congress adhering to Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, a congress upholding the principles of practising Marxism, uniting and being open and aboveboard. It has truly put the principle of democratic centralism into practice and given full expression to democracy; the atmosphere has been lively and the delegates have enjoyed ease of mind. Ours has indeed been a congress of unity, a congress of victory.

Carrying out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line correctly and comprehensively and reviving and carrying forward our Party's fine tradition and fine style of work, the congress will go down in the glorious history of our Party as a congress that has ushered in a new period in the development of our socialist revolution and socialist construction.

We must revive and carry forward the mass line, the fine tradition and style which Chairman Mao fostered in our Party. We must truly have faith in the masses and rely

on them, listen to the voice of the people, have their well-being at heart and never for a moment divorce ourselves from them. We have such a wonderful people and such wonderful Party members and cadres. They are industrious, brave and high in political consciousness, take a deep interest in state affairs and have boundless faith in our Party. This is the surest guarantee that our Party will surmount every difficulty and achieve great new victories in every sphere of endeavour.

We must revive and carry forward the practice of seeking truth from facts, the fine tradition and style which Chairman Mao fostered in our Party. The minimum requirement for a Communist is to be an honest person, honest in word and honest in deed. Deed and word must match and theory and practice must be closely integrated. We must reject flashiness without substance and every sort of boasting. There must be less empty talk and more hard work. We must be steadfast and dedicated.

We must revive and carry forward the practice of criticism and self-criticism, the fine tradition and style which Chairman Mao fostered in our Party. Within the Party and within the ranks of the people, we should conscientiously apply the principle, "Say all you know and say it without reserve" and "Blame not the speaker but be warned by his words," as well as the principle of unity — criticism — unity.

We must revive and carry forward the fine tradition and style of modesty and prudence, freedom from arrogance and im-

petuosity, and plain living and hard struggle, which Chairman Mao fostered in our Party. We must wholeheartedly serve the Chinese people and the people of the world.

We must revive and carry forward the practice of democratic centralism, the fine tradition and style which Chairman Mao fostered in our Party. We must strive for a political situation in the whole Party, the whole army and the whole country, in which there are both centralism and democracy, both discipline and freedom, both unity of will and personal ease of mind and liveliness.

The smashing of the "gang of four" has changed the face of the whole Party and the whole nation. We have scored tremendous victories. But class struggle will remain protracted and the revolutionary cause knows no end. We must carry the great struggle against the anti-Party "gang of four" through to the finish. We must grasp revolution, promote production and other work and preparedness against war, and we must exert ourselves and make good the serious losses and the time wasted as a result of sabotage by the "gang of four." We must face reality, for there are many prob-



Delegates discussing documents of the congress.

lems to be tackled and many difficulties to be surmounted. We are convinced that so long as we truly have faith in the masses and rely on them, we can surmount these difficulties one by one and win victory after victory.

The whole Party, the whole army and the people of all nationalities must hold high and defend the great banner of Chairman Mao, carry out his behests, rally more closely round the Central Committee headed by Comrade Hua Kuo-feng and persist in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. We must mobilize all positive factors inside and outside the Party and at home and abroad and strive to imple-

ment the strategic decision, "grasp the key link of class struggle and bring about great order across the land," consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat, make China a great, powerful and modern socialist country by the end of the century and render a greater contribution to humanity.

Our cause is just.

Our line is correct.

Our goal must be attained.

Our goal can unquestionably be attained.

I hereby declare that the 11th National Congress of the Communist Party of China has come to a successful conclusion.

## The Nation Celebrates 11th Party Congress

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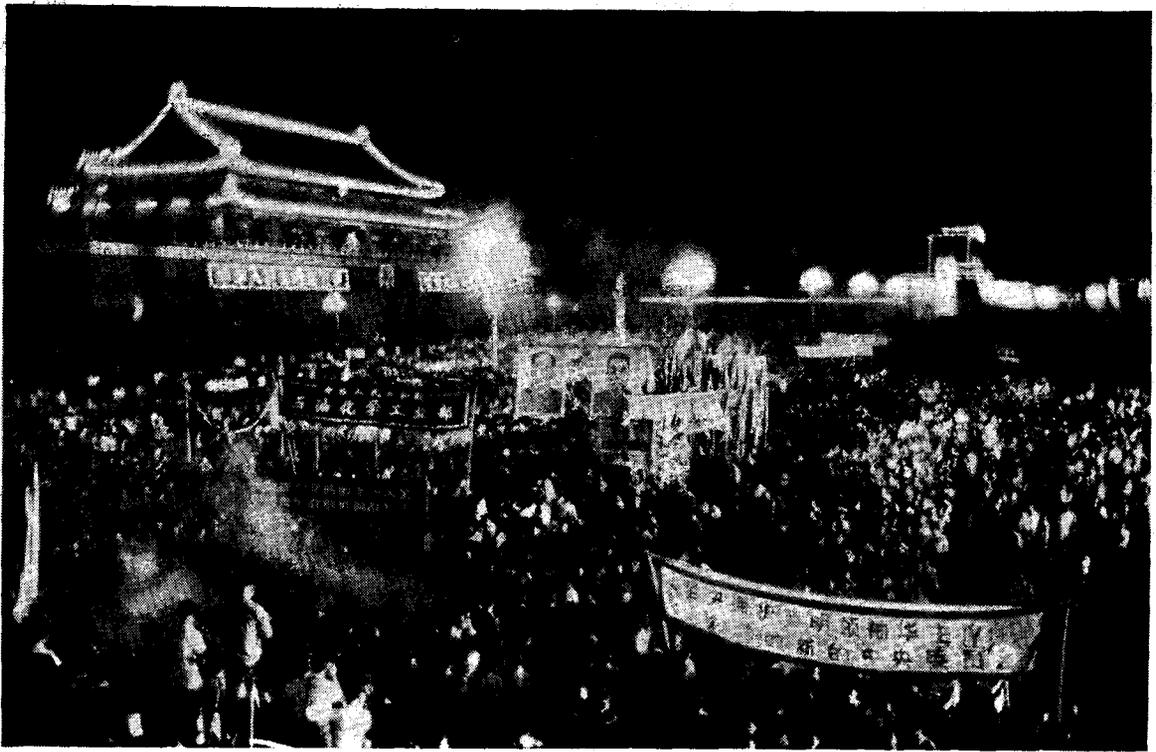
**N**EWs of the successful convocation of the 11th National Congress of the Communist Party of China and the First Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee was greeted with immense joy throughout the nation. Celebration meetings and parades took place from August 20 to 22 in the cities of Peking, Shanghai and Tientsin and the capitals of 26 provinces and autonomous regions. Similar activities were also held by the various general departments and units of the People's Liberation Army.

A festive mood prevailed everywhere — in the cities and the countryside, in the mines and barracks, and in the offices and schools. The people hailed the convocation of the congress, voiced their firm support for the new Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua, and expressed their determination to fulfil the eight fighting tasks put forward by Chairman Hua in his political report for grasping the key link of class struggle and bringing about great order across the land and build China into a powerful modern socialist country.

On the evening of August 20, as soon as the happy news was broadcast, people in Peking turned out in their hundreds of thousands, carrying the portraits of Chairman Mao and Chairman Hua, waving flags and bouquets, beating drums and gongs and setting off fire-crackers, and marched to the brightly lit Tien An Men Square in celebration of the occasion.

P.L.A. literary and art workers performed on the main streets, praising Chairman Hua, the Party Central Committee and the success of the 11th Party Congress. Workers of the Peking No. 2 Thermal Power Plant which was under construction rushed back to their posts after taking part in the parade. They said: We must speed up the construction of the plant as part of our contribution to the building of our socialist motherland.

In Shanghai, people put up slogans on the walls along the streets celebrating the 11th Party Congress immediately after they heard the news of its convocation. Ships lying at anchor in the Whangpoo River sounded sirens



Celebrations in Tien An Men Square on the evening of August 20.

in celebration. An endless stream of paraders passed through the streets. Among them were workers of the Shanghai Shaped Steel Tubing Plant, a Taching-type enterprise. They carried charts showing their achievements in production. Despite the sweltering summer heat, workers of the plant had successfully trial-produced 67 new products in less than a month.

Armed men and civilians in Tientsin, the biggest port city in north China, took to the streets as soon as they heard the news. The several hundred cadres who were attending a meeting called by the city on rural work pledged they would lead the masses in working hard in accordance with the guideline of the congress and build up Tachai-type counties in their respective areas at an early date. Professors of Nankai University also participated in the parade. They all pledged to make new contributions to scientific research and to the revolution in education.

Workers and staff members of the Taching Oilfield, the red banner on China's industrial front, have been conscientiously studying the

documents of the congress over the past few days. They pointed out that the 11th Party Congress marked the beginning of a new period of development in China's socialist revolution and construction. They expressed the determination to continue to hold high the banner of Chairman Mao and, under the leadership of the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua, continue the revolution and make more contributions to the socialist revolution and construction.

Tachai Brigade, the pace-setter on China's agricultural front, was hit by a severe windstorm on August 11 and the crops there were seriously damaged. The Tachai people, however, were not cowed. They greeted the convocation of the congress by heroically combating this natural adversity and working hard to wrest a good harvest this autumn. When news that the congress had been held reached their brigade on the evening of August 20, they had already scored a great victory in conquering the natural disaster.

When the happy tidings of the congress reached the camp of the Hard-Boned 6th Com-

pany stationed on the coast of the East China Sea, cheers mingled with the sound of drums and gongs and firecrackers, and signal flares lit up the sky. The fighters said happily: Our company commander Chang Chien-kuo attended the congress and our former political instructor Mei Sung-lin was elected Alternate Member of the 11th Central Committee. The commanders and fighters were determined to respond to the call of the congress and speed up the revolutionization and modernization of the company.

The National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference on August 21 called a meeting attended by patriotic personages in Peking to celebrate the convocation of the congress. More than 300 Taiwan compatriots in Peking celebrated the occasion on August 22.

In Hongkong and Macao, patriotic compatriots of all circles also took part in various kinds of celebration activities.

## Three-World Thesis Provides a Correct Orientation for World Proletariat's Struggle

— Excerpts from an article in Japanese magazine  
"Theory and Practice"

Yasuo Harada's article in the Japanese magazine "Theory and Practice" (issue No. 9) points out that Chairman Mao Tsetung's thesis differentiating the three worlds is a great strategic concept providing a correct orientation for the struggle of the proletariat, the oppressed people and nations all over the world. Following are excerpts from the article. — Ed.

COMRADE Mao Tsetung's thesis of the three worlds conforms to the basic views of Leninism. It is the consistent stand, viewpoint and method of Leninism to define the changes in the relations among the enemy, friends and ourselves on a world scale as the international situation changes. In the light of the concrete analysis of the disposition of political forces and their changes in the era of imperialism, Lenin worked out the strategy and tactics for the proletarian revolution and led the proletarian world revolution. This Leninist thought and theory is embodied in Lenin's immortal work *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*. It was in accordance with this concept that Lenin differentiated the three types of political forces in the

world after World War I (see *The Second Congress of the Communist International*).

In keeping with Leninist theory, Comrade Mao Tsetung scientifically analysed the international situation after World War II and clearly pointed out the disposition of political forces, in which sandwiched between U.S. imperialism on the one hand and the socialist camp on the other were the Asian, African and Latin American countries, the European countries, Japan and other capitalist countries. And according to the strategic principle of the theory of the "intermediate zone," he called for the formation of the broadest united front against U.S. imperialism. Later, Comrade Mao Tsetung, in line with the great changes in the international situation, put forward the thesis dividing the contemporary world into three worlds: The two superpowers — the United States and the Soviet Union — make up the first world; the Asian, African, Latin American and other developing countries make up the third world; and such industrially developed capitalist countries between the two as Japan and those in Europe make up the second world. This differentiation theory is a

concrete application of Leninism today. Such a method of division is a theoretical weapon for the proletariat in leading the world revolution. It tells us that the international proletariat must unite with the oppressed people and oppressed nations, win over the second world, unite with all the forces that can be united with and form the broadest united front to oppose imperialism and colonialism, especially the hegemonism of the two superpowers — the United States and the Soviet Union. By closely combining this strategic principle with the revolutionary struggle in their respective countries, the proletariat and Marxist-Leninist Parties of all countries can correctly develop the revolutionary struggle in their countries, successfully fulfil their common international task and develop the world revolution. The strategic principle of Comrade Mao Tsetung is a powerful ideological and theoretical weapon for the world proletariat, the oppressed people and nations, and the Marxist-Leninist Parties the world over in their struggle, and has encouraged the people throughout the world.

If the proletariat fails to define who is the principal enemy, who is the basic ally and who is the friendly force according to the disposition of the international political forces, it cannot wage an effective struggle against imperialism in the world arena. The proletariat should change its tactics in accordance with changes in the situation and in the disposition of political forces to struggle effectively against the enemy.

The modern revisionists' theoretical basis for opposing the strategic principle of differentiating the three worlds is the renegade Kautsky's nonsense of "superimperialism." Renegade Kautsky denied the law of the uneven development of capitalism, and covered up the sharp life-and-death contradictions among the imperialists and the fierce antagonism and struggle among them. These people hold that collaboration is the only essential characteristic of the imperialists, and the imperialist world is described as a monolithic bloc. However, the reality is that the imperialist world has split and the antagonism and struggle among the imperialists, based on changes in the balance of forces, are growing sharper. There is a disparity in the balance of forces between the two superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union, on the one hand and the developed industrial countries in the second world on the

other, and they are enveloped in sharp antagonism, although the economic base of all of them is monopoly capital.

The two superpowers, the Soviet Union and the United States, are the biggest international exploiters in the present era, the biggest powers representing contemporary imperialism and the most ferocious forces of aggression. The two are stretching their claws to all parts of the world and contending fiercely for world hegemony. Today, only these two countries have the strength to unleash a world war. They are in fact augmenting the danger of a world war. The new-emerging Soviet social-imperialists in particular are more openly expanding their spheres of influence and have become the most dangerous provoker of a new world war.

The two superpowers want to exercise hegemonism not only over the third world but also over the developed industrial countries of the second world. In fact, the developed industrial countries in Europe have become the major targets of their contention. Of late, the Soviet social-imperialists are intensifying their threats, oppression and hegemonic expansion against Japan. This also reflects the international situation today. The two superpowers threaten the developed industrial countries of the second world whose strength is no match for theirs and they want to bring the second world under their control. Nevertheless, the developed countries of the second world oppose this hegemonic drive of the superpowers and make efforts to free themselves from superpower control. The struggle between the superpowers trying to gain control and the second world endeavouring to resist the control is becoming ever more bitter. While oppressing and exploiting the third world, the developed industrial countries of the second world oppose the hegemonism of the two superpowers. This is the most salient feature of the differences between them and the superpowers. We, therefore, should not place the superpowers on a par with the developed industrial countries of the second world and regard them as a political force of the same nature, but should stress their differences according to actual conditions. It is in conformity with realities to classify the superpowers as the first world and the developed industrial countries as the second world.

To oppose differentiation between the superpowers and the developed countries of the second world and the concept of singling out among the imperialists in the world today the most vicious enemy which should be the target of concentrated attack is actually absolving the two superpowers, the Soviet Union and the United States which have become the sources of a new world war today, from their crimes.

Marxism-Leninism consistently stresses the importance of making use of contradictions among the imperialists for the revolution.

At a time when Russia, which was extremely backward, confronted the mighty allied powers which controlled the whole globe, Lenin made use of the contradictions between Germany and the other imperialist powers to win the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution. When the newborn Soviet state was faced with Japanese imperialist armed aggression in the Far East, Lenin made use of the contradictions between the United States and Japan to get the imperialist powers to struggle among themselves and so safeguard the Soviet state and defeat the enemy. During World War II, Stalin made use of the contradictions between the Japanese-German-Italian imperialist Axis and the U.S.-British-French imperialist bloc to form an anti-fascist international united front and win the victory of the great anti-fascist war.

In the course of leading the Chinese revolution, Comrade Mao Tsetung, making use of the contradictions among the imperialist powers committing aggression against China and the contradictions within the Chinese ruling classes, proved the truth that a small, weak revolutionary political power can survive by taking advantage of the enemy's contradictions, and through extremely complex, protracted and arduous struggle he developed the revolutionary forces, which steadily grew from small to big, and guided the Chinese revolution to victory. Comrade Mao Tsetung closely and correctly combined the international anti-fascist front with the anti-Japanese united front in China. These events are powerful proof that the brilliant victories won by these great revolutionary teachers could not have been achieved without making use of the contradictions within the enemy camp. Lenin pointed out: "To

refuse . . . to utilize the conflict of interests (even though temporary) among one's enemies, to refuse to temporize and compromise with possible (even though temporary, unstable, vacillating and conditional) allies — is not this ridiculous in the extreme?" (*"Left-Wing" Communism, an Infantile Disorder.*)

The strategic principle of the three worlds put forth by Comrade Mao Tsetung is also based on the concept of taking into due consideration the contradictions among the imperialists and making use of them. Only from this Marxist-Leninist perspective can one understand Comrade Mao Tsetung's strategic principle. In line with this strategic principle, the world proletariat should rely on its unity with the oppressed people and nations of the world, its unity with the third world. Furthermore, it must make use of the contradictions between the first world and the second world so as to win over the second world and isolate to the maximum the first world of the two superpowers, the Soviet Union and the United States, and concentrate its attacks on these two powers.

Labelling as capitulation the Marxist-Leninist concept of making use of the contradictions among imperialist countries to the advantage of the revolution is a slander which resembles Trotsky's attacks on Lenin when the latter concluded the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk with German imperialism by making use of the contradictions among imperialist countries. This proves that such abuse is hurled from enemy trenches. Who is it that opposes Marxism-Leninism, the world proletarian revolution and proletarian internationalism? Who is it that makes apologies for imperialism and social-imperialism and yields to them? The answer is obvious.

To advocate making no distinction between the major enemy and the minor one, but to make enemies one after another, expand the enemy camp and scatter the fire of attack — this weakens the attack on the enemy. Such a tactic can only delight the enemy, help the enemy weaken the revolutionary forces and lead the revolution to failure.

The proletariat and the Marxist-Leninist Parties throughout the world firmly uphold the three-world strategic principle put forth by Comrade Mao Tsetung.

# Towards Great Order

by Our Correspondents Tien San-sung and Chao Yi-ou

When the "gang of four" was still on the loose, its interference and sabotage did great harm to Fukien, Chekiang and Kiangsi. Our correspondents who went down to the three provinces and visited some of the more badly affected places report that the situation there has rapidly taken a turn for the better through unfolding the struggle to expose and criticize the gang. They spoke to many people and heard first-hand accounts of how the gang and its local hatchetmen had perpetrated countless evil in the name of revolution. Following is the first instalment of their series of reports.

**B**EFORE the "gang of four" was ferreted out last October, railway traffic on some sections of the nation's trunk lines at one period was not functioning smoothly and a backlog of freight was piled up. Passenger trains were often late and, in some cases, chaos reigned on the trains themselves. The situation began to change after the national conference on railway work last February, and has quickly returned to normal. In some aspects there have been vast improvements.

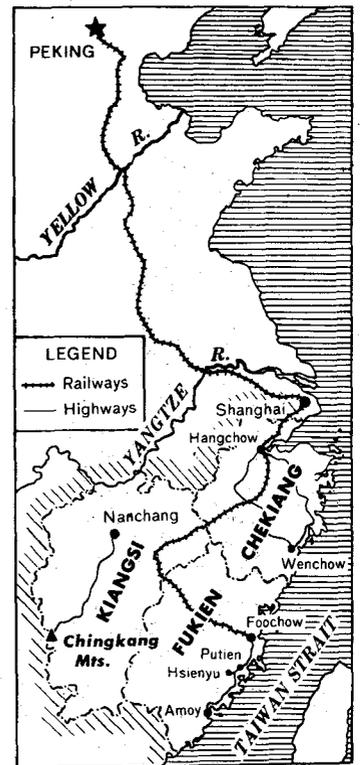
## On the Peking-Foochow Express

We left Peking for Fukien's provincial capital Foochow on the No. 45 through express. The attendants, friendly, thoughtful and ready to help, did their best to look after the comfort of passengers, particularly the elderly, the women and children. They worked hard, sweeping and wiping down the interior several times a day to keep all the coaches clean and tidy inside and outside. Passengers' face towels, jackets, caps and bags and the luggage racks overhead were kept in order. All this, plus other services, made travelling almost a joy.

This "serve-the-people" spirit was a well-known, much-appreciated hallmark of pas-

senger trains after the country's liberation. But in recent years, agents of the "gang of four" in the railway administration dismissed this as "trivial," and even claimed that these services for the passengers were manifestations of "servility"! The handful of shirkers and trouble-makers, however, were lauded as "revolutionary rebels" and "champions daring to go against the tide." This caused a lot of confusion in people's minds. Rational rules and regulations necessary to smooth, efficient railway management were tossed aside. The standard of service plummeted; the volume of complaints rose. The railway workers themselves were unhappy.

"Do everything we can for our passengers!" This is the watchword today on board the trains. It was raised by the attendants themselves and is being translated into action. On our train, we were witnesses to a "red flag coach" contest, in which attendants of every coach vied with each other to provide better service and keep their coach clean and tidy. Members on the panel of judges included passengers, who went from coach to coach canvassing opinion. Emulation drives like this are helping to maintain and improve service on the trains.



Improved passenger service is, of course, one small facet of the campaign to bring about great order on China's railway lines. Today all lines are functioning smoothly and efficiently. The number of freight waggons loaded per month, set by the national conference earlier this year, has long been surpassed and a new national record has been set up.

### **Stability and Unity**

We also made a 3,000-kilometre motor trip in the three provinces. All the cities and villages we passed by gave us the impression of stability and unity, a situation called for by Chairman Mao at the end of 1974. Unity and stability were what the people wanted, but as late as last year, it seemed they would never be attained.

From Foochow to Amoy we drove down a highway paralleling the sea coast, through Putien, Hsienyu, Chinchiang and other counties where armed clashes were almost daily occurrences when the "four pests" — Wang Hung-wen, Chang Chun-chiao, Chiang Ching and Yao Wen-yuan — plagued the nation. The chief trouble-maker was the "people's militia command" — the so-called second armed force organized by the "gang of four" to destroy social order, disrupt production and suppress whoever dared to go against them. In some places, when things were at their worst, there were even fortified positions complete with electrified barbed-wire fences. Shooting was frequently heard. After the downfall of the "gang of four" last October, all fortified positions were dismantled and armed conflicts stopped. The gang's so-called "people's militia command" was disbanded. In a few places, vestiges of fortified positions can still be seen. The masses were once divided through the machination and incitement of the "gang of four" and their henchmen behind the scenes. When the gang was exposed, those who had been taken in quickly closed ranks and turned on their common enemy — the "gang of four."

A network of highways in the three provinces links up cities with the countryside. In some sections, the road was in bad shape, further evidence of the gang's destructive activity which made it impossible for many depart-

ments to function normally. As our car went along, we came across group after group of road repair workers resurfacing and widening the road. A great deal obviously needs fixing up in those places where once the evil influence of the gang held sway most strongly. Re-establishment of the Party's centralized leadership has already brought social stability and the people are in fine fettle. Work in every field of endeavour is going on normally and making rapid progress.

Our car took a lot of punishment and it finally broke down at a place 60 kilometres from the nearest county seat. Our worries ended when a jeep came up from behind. Its driver and two passengers immediately got out to lend a hand. Seeing that the repair job would take a while and the hurry we were in, they gave us a lift to the county seat. It was long after office hours when we got to the reception centre of the county Party committee, but the comrade on duty very considerately found us another car and promised to send someone out to have our car repaired. Later, our driver told us that peasants from a nearby village had gone to see what they could do to help and had spent the night keeping him company. A local comrade observed: "If this had happened last year, you'd be in a real fix. No one in those chaotic days would care to help strangers. Many Party and administrative organs harassed by the 'gang of four' couldn't have done anything either. Send you a car? Not likely!" Today, order has been restored in the numerous departments we had contacts with on our trip. We found they often worked late into the night, and were ready to help whenever help was needed.

### **Go All Out and Work at Fast Tempo**

"Make up the loss caused by the 'gang of four.'" This was on the lips of everyone, in factories and villages we visited on our way. Commune members were striving to get the first good harvest of the year. Wenchow Prefecture in Chekiang which we visited was one of the places most affected by the gang's ruinous activities and agricultural production there last year did very badly. Recently, it brought in a good

harvest of wheat, beans, potato and rapeseed. In Wenchow, the local people said to us: "Things will improve in Wenchow now that the 'gang of four' has been smashed." Improvements have come, and much faster than expected.

In the countryside, the movement to learn from Tachai is in full swing. Large numbers of cadres have been sent down by the Party and administrative organs at various levels to the countryside to take part in farm work and lead the commune members in unfolding the movement. In Wenchow Prefecture, nearly 10,000 cadres have gone to the countryside for this purpose.

On the industrial front there is the movement to learn from Taching. In Hsienyu County, Fukien, we visited a big modern sugar refinery which contributes a quarter of the province's total annual sugar output. Inside the entrance was a chart on the wall with precise figures comparing its technical attainments with those of sugar refineries in other parts of the country and figures it had to reach in order to catch up and overtake other refineries. The spirit of "learning from the advanced and catching them up" was quite apparent among its workers. In Nanchang, Kiangsi Province, as we were being shown the workshops of the Kiangsi Tractor Plant, we suddenly heard cymbals and drums sounding at the main gate announcing the arrival of representatives from another factory. They came to challenge this plant to a friendly emulation drive. Production in this tractor plant had been completely paralysed for more than six months before last October, but in late March this year it was already sending out proposals to industrial and transport enterprises throughout the province for emulation drives. It was this mass emulation drive which has been pushing Kiangsi Province's total industrial output value up month after month.

It is the same throughout Chekiang Province, where region vies with region in friendly emulation. For instance, the challenge from the city of Wenchow to Hangchow, the provincial capital, was promptly accepted and



In Wenchow Prefecture: Rich rape harvest in sight.

the two cities are now intensely emulating each other. The Hangchow Iron and Steel Plant, a battered victim of the "gang of four," was originally estimated to take a year to get back into production, but carried along by the surging tide of learning from Taching, its impatient workers cried, "Conditions for rapidly restoring production can be created and difficulties can be surmounted!" And they set to work. By early May, production there was back to normal, six months sooner than expected.

### **Grasp the Key Link of Class Struggle and Bring About Great Order Across the Land**

Chairman Hua pointed out last December: With the downfall of the "gang of four," "we will certainly be able, in the course of the acute struggle between the two classes, to achieve **stability and unity** in our country, consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and bring about great order across the land. This accords with the general trend of events and the aspirations of the people; it is a strategic decision taken by our Party Central Committee in conformity with the fundamental interests and common wishes of the people throughout the country." (*Speech at the Second National Conference on Learning From Tachai in Agriculture.*) In our visits to places which had suffered most from the gang's criminal activities, we could see how genuine was the people's support for this strategic decision. A great political revolution of exposing and criticizing the "gang of four" in a thoroughgoing

way is surging ahead. The gang and the handful of its sworn followers are engulfed in the vast sea of people's war. In cities and villages, in government offices and schools, in the P.L.A. units and in residential quarters, people held meetings to criticize the gang. We saw wall newspapers and big-character posters everywhere.

Chairman Mao pointed out: "Class struggle is the key link." The key link today is exposure and criticism of the "gang of four." With this key link firmly grasped, work in other fields will bowl along. The No. 2 Rolling Mill of the Hangchow Iron and Steel Plant affords a good illustration. A few faithful followers of the "gang of four" had done a lot of evil things. Before these thugs in the mill were criticized, the irate workers, unable to give vent to their pent-up hatred, worked in a desultory fashion and production failed to go up. Later, when the mill leadership got them to start criticizing the "gang of four" in connection with the realities in their mill, the masses' enthusiasm soared. They held meetings in the evenings after work and production spiralled upward. Today production plans have been overfulfilled.

After some months of struggle, the handful of the gang's trusted followers and henchmen in the three provinces of Fukien, Chekiang and Kiangsi has been dug out one by one. Their

bourgeois factional setup is crumbling. Both cadres and the masses today are breathing freely once again, free from the mental shackles imposed by the "gang of four." For a thorough criticism of the gang's counter-revolutionary revisionist line and a clean sweep of its pernicious effects and influence in the various fields, the people must be armed ideologically, which is why there is now a burgeoning movement to study works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and Volume V of the *Selected Works of Mao Tsetung*.

Where there is oppression, there is resistance. The greater the oppression, the stronger is the resistance. In our month-long itinerary, we heard people from all walks of life who had suffered pour out grievances against the "gang of four" and we saw how they rejoice at the victory won by our Party in its 11th struggle between the two lines. It was tremendously moving to see for ourselves the enthusiasm for revolution and production the people showed after the four evils were put down. The strategic decision, "grasp the key link of class struggle and bring about great order across the land," is yielding initial results in all the three provinces and it can be predicted with certainty that great success will be achieved within three years as is expected by Chairman Hua and the Party Central Committee.



At a Fukien village: Commune members' big-character posters criticizing the "gang of four."