

THE
ELEVENTH
NATIONAL
CONGRESS
OF THE
COMMUNIST
PARTY
OF CHINA
(DOCUMENTS)

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Our wise leader Chairman Hua Kuo-feng.



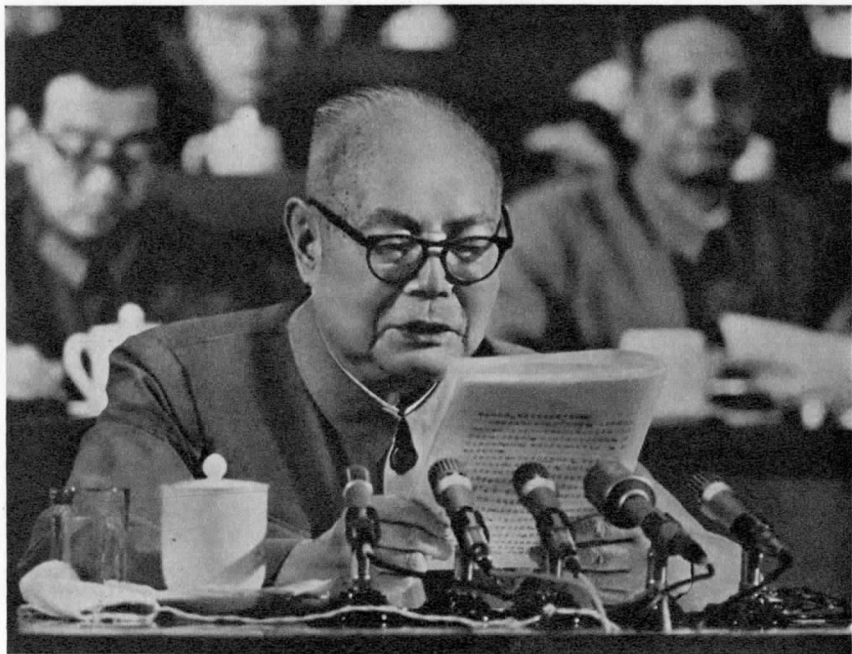
The Eleventh National Congress of the Communist Party of China in session.



Chairman Hua Kuo-feng and Vice-Chairmen Yeh Chien-ying, Teng Hsiao-ping, Li Hsien-nien and Wang Tung-hsing mount the rostrum amidst the prolonged and thunderous applause of the delegates, who rose to their feet.



Chairman Hua delivers the political report to the congress on behalf of the Party Central Committee.



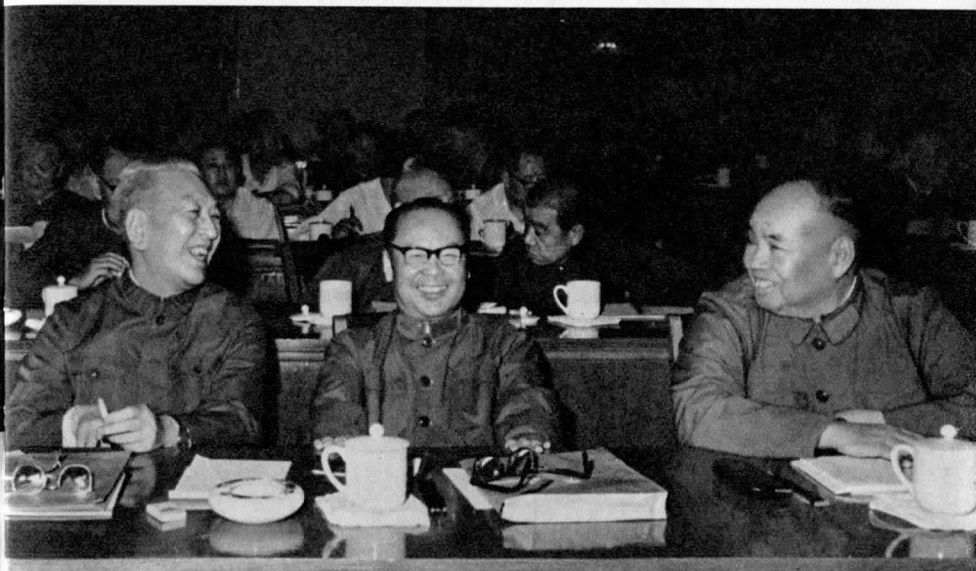
Vice-Chairman Yeh Chien-ying delivers the report on the revision of the Party Constitution to the congress on behalf of the Party Central Committee.



Vice-Chairman Teng Hsiao-ping gives the closing address at the Eleventh National Congress of the Communist Party of China.



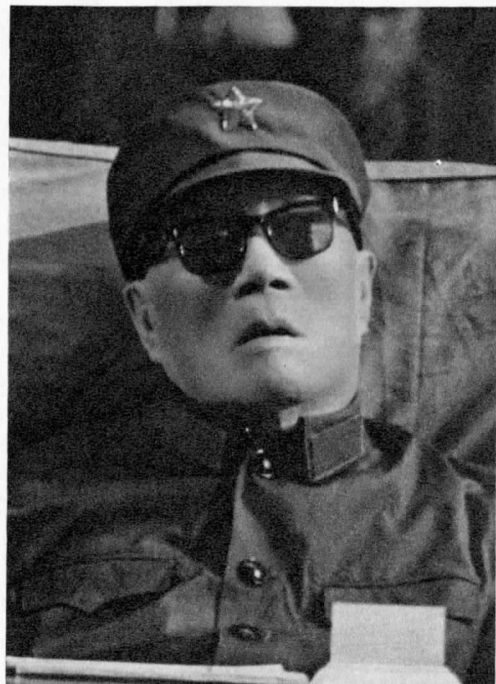
Chairman Hua Kuo-feng and Vice-Chairmen Yeh Chien-ying, Teng Hsiao-ping, Li Hsien-nien and Wang Tung-hsing vote in the election of the Party's Eleventh Central Committee.



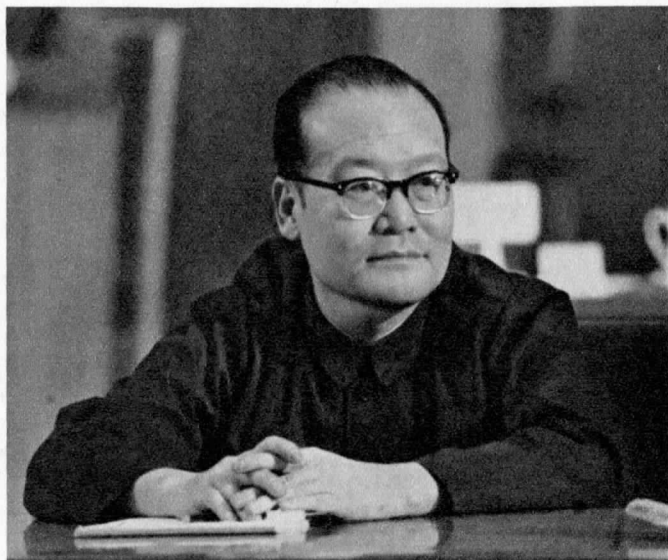
Members of the Political Bureau Wei Kuo-ching (centre), Hsu Shih-yu (right) and Keng Piao (left).



Members of the Political Bureau
Ulanfu (*right*) and Fang Yi (*left*).



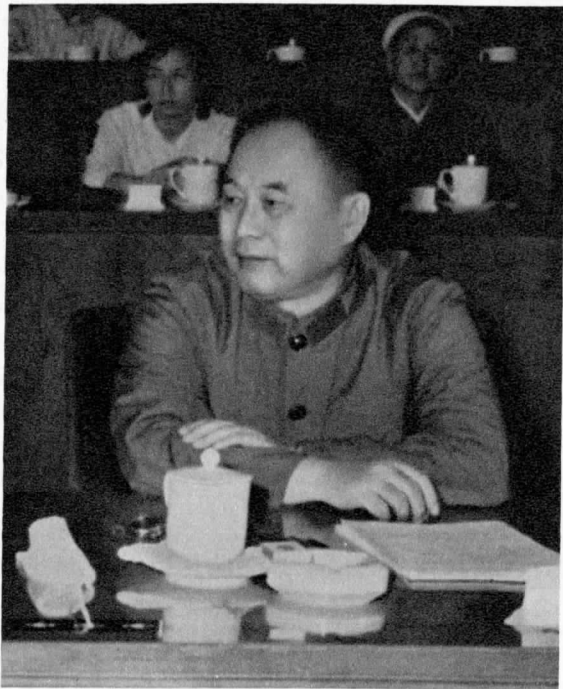
Member of the Political
Bureau Liu Po-cheng.



Member of the Political
Bureau Chi Teng-kuei.



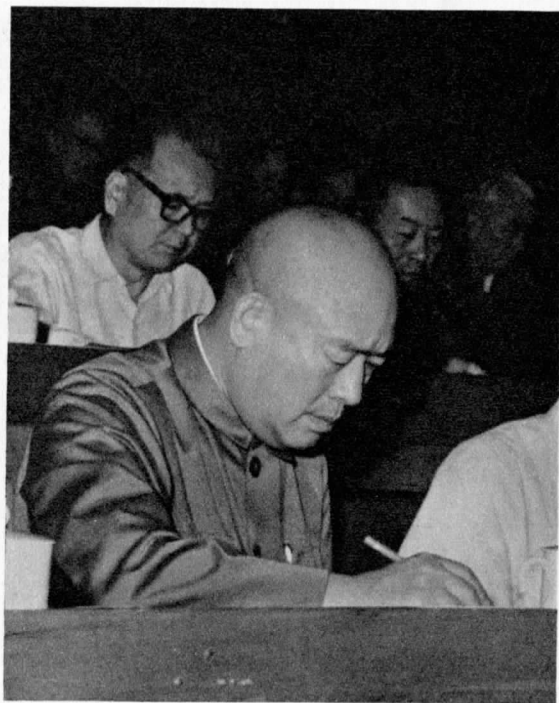
Member of the Political Bureau Su Chen-hua
(right) and Alternate Member Saifudin (left).



Member of the Political
Bureau Li Teh-sheng.



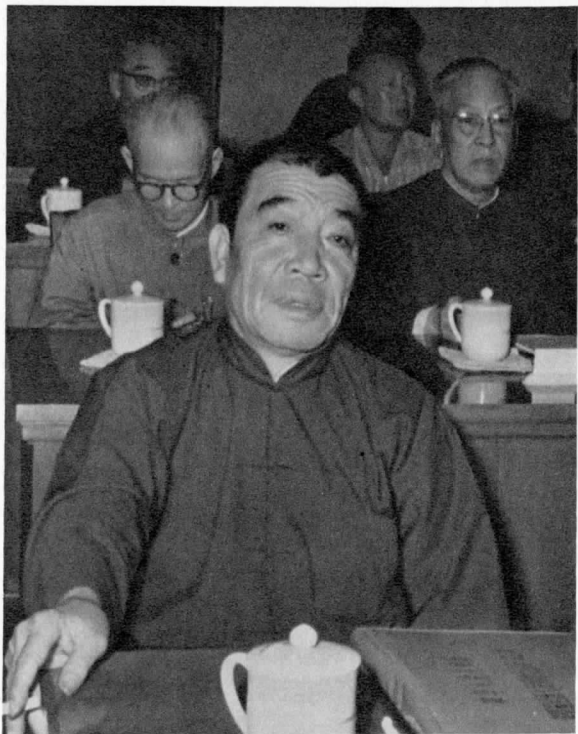
Members of the Political Bureau Wu
Teh (*right*) and Chen Hsi-lien (*left*).



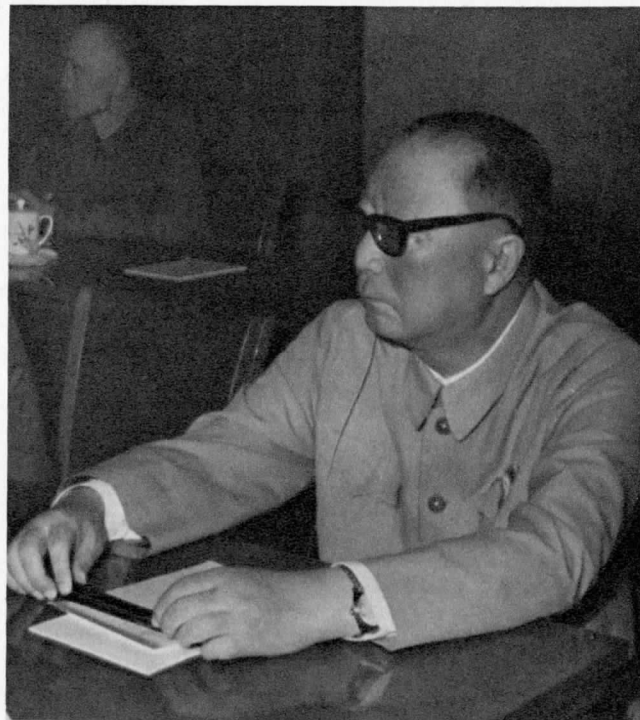
Member of the Political
Bureau Yu Chiu-li.



Member of the Political
Bureau Chang Ting-fa.



Member of the Political
Bureau Chen Yung-kuei.



Member of the Political
Bureau Nieh Jung-chen.



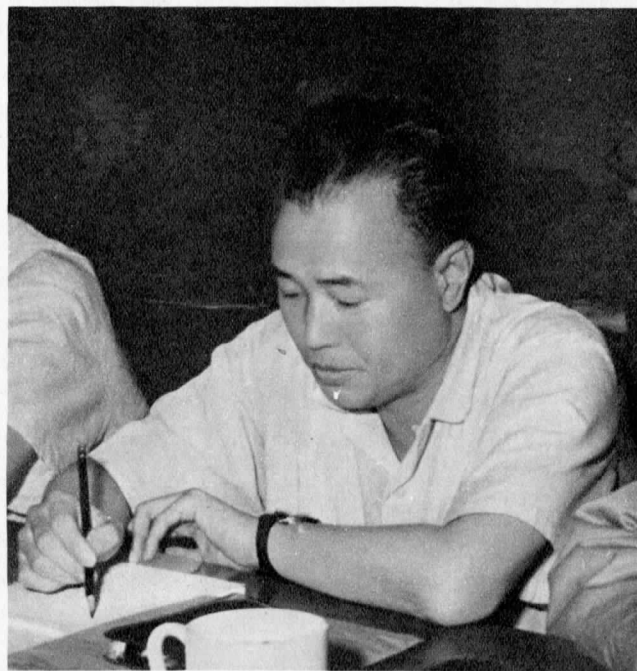
Members of the Political Bureau Ni Chih-fu
(right) and Hsu Hsiang-chien (left).



Member of the Political
Bureau Peng Chung.



Alternate Member of the Political Bureau Chen Mu-hua.



Alternate Member of the Political Bureau Chao Tzu-yang.



At the First Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee of the Communist Party of China.

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HUA KUO-FENG

POLITICAL REPORT
TO THE ELEVENTH NATIONAL
CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY
OF CHINA

(Delivered on August 12 and Adopted
on August 18, 1977)

Comrades,

The Eleventh National Congress of the Communist Party of China is now declared open.

First, I propose that we all rise in silent tribute:

To the memory of Chairman Mao Tsetung, the founder of our Party, our army and our People's Republic, and the great leader and teacher of the proletariat and the people of all nationalities in our country, who passed away last year;

To the memory of our esteemed and beloved Premier Chou En-lai and Chairman Chu Teh of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, great proletarian revolutionary sons of the Chinese people and Chairman Mao's long-tested, close comrades-in-arms, who passed away last year;

To the memory of Comrade Kang Sheng, Comrade Tung Pi-wu, Comrade Li Fu-chun, Comrade Chen Yi and Comrade Ho Lung, proletarian revolutionaries who rendered outstanding service to the revolutionary cause of the Chinese people and

who passed away during the years preceding and following the Tenth Congress; and

To the memory of Members of the Central Committee and all other comrades who made important contributions to the Party and the revolution and who passed away during the same period.

Comrades! It is almost a year since our great leader and teacher Chairman Mao departed from us. For more than half a century, while waging sharp and complex struggles of line against Right and "Left" opportunism within the Party, Chairman Mao led our Party, our army and the people of all nationalities in our country to complete victory in the new-democratic revolution through hard-fought revolutionary wars against imperialism, the landlord class and the comprador-bourgeoisie, and then to our great victories in the socialist revolution and socialist construction through repeated and fierce trials of strength between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and through the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. Chairman Mao founded and nurtured the great, glorious and correct Chinese Communist Party, created and tempered the heroic People's Liberation Army and founded and built the socialist New China with its proletarian dictatorship. The history

of the Chinese revolution over more than half a century demonstrates that all our victories have been due to the leadership of Chairman Mao and the guidance of his revolutionary line. The banner of Chairman Mao is the banner of victory of the Chinese people's revolution.

In the contemporary international communist movement, Chairman Mao, with the revolutionary dauntlessness of a thoroughgoing materialist, launched the great struggle against modern revisionism with the Soviet revisionist renegade clique as its centre. He thus gave an impetus to the vigorous development of the revolutionary cause of the world proletariat and the cause of the people of all countries in their struggle against imperialism and hegemonism. Consequently he won the respect and love of genuine Marxist-Leninists and revolutionary people the world over. The banner of Mao Tsetung Thought is likewise the banner of victory of the revolution of the people of the world.

Chairman Mao was the greatest Marxist of our time. Integrating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution and the world revolution, he inherited, defended and developed Marxism-Leninism in the realms of philosophy, political economy and scien-

tific socialism. In the period of socialism, Chairman Mao's greatest contribution to Marxism was his systematic theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Mao Tsetung Thought has been and is the Chinese people's beacon light in the new-democratic revolution and in the socialist revolution and socialist construction; it is a powerful ideological weapon for the people of the world in their fight against imperialism, social-imperialism and all reactionaries; it is a powerful ideological weapon for Communists in their fight against revisionism, against dogmatism and empiricism. Mao Tsetung Thought is a new acquisition enriching the treasure-house of Marxist-Leninist theory and is Chairman Mao's most precious legacy to our era.

Chairman Mao's monumental contributions to the theory and practice of revolution, made for the benefit of the Chinese people and the proletariat and revolutionary people of the world, are immortal.

We must hold high the great banner of Chairman Mao and resolutely defend it. This is the sacred duty of the whole Party, the whole army and the people of all nationalities in our country, the political basis on which we fight in unity and

continue the revolution, and the guarantee for the triumphant advance of our socialist cause and the revolutionary cause of the international proletariat. Not only must we take up this duty ourselves, we must teach the coming generations to do so. We must cherish the great banner of Chairman Mao as our precious heritage and hand it on from generation to generation. Let the glory of the great banner of Chairman Mao illuminate the ages to come!

Comrades! Our present congress is convened ahead of time in circumstances in which our Party has lost our great leader and teacher Chairman Mao and a big victory has been won in the struggle to smash the anti-Party clique of Wang Hung-wen, Chang Chun-chiao, Chiang Ching and Yao Wen-yuan. The Third Plenary Session of the Tenth Central Committee in July this year was a meeting of unity, a meeting of victory. It adopted four resolutions which are of signal importance in the annals of our Party, consolidated and expanded our great victory in smashing the "gang of four" and made full preparations politically, ideologically and organizationally for convening the present congress.

We are now at an important juncture of history. Our present congress is charged with a

historic task. It is to hold high the great banner of Chairman Mao and carry out his behests, sum up the experience of our struggle against the Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao "gang of four," adhere to the Party's basic line, persevere in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, bring into play all positive factors inside and outside the Party and at home and abroad, unite with all the forces that can be united, and strive to implement the strategic decision, "grasp the key link of class struggle and bring about great order across the land," and make China a great, powerful and modern socialist country before the end of this century.

THE ELEVENTH STRUGGLE BETWEEN THE TWO LINES IN OUR PARTY

The struggle between our Party and the Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao anti-Party "gang of four" is the eleventh major struggle between the two lines in our Party's history. It is a life-and-death struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, and on its outcome hinges the future and destiny of our Party and country. The tremen-

dous victory won in this two-line struggle should be ascribed to our great leader Chairman Mao, to the greatness of Mao Tsetung Thought, to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and to our great Party, army and people.

Four years ago, our great leader Chairman Mao presided over the Tenth National Congress of our Party. The line of the Tenth Congress has been correct both politically and organizationally. Early in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the "gang of four" were already colluding with the Lin Piao anti-Party clique to undermine it. After the Tenth Congress, the "gang of four" pushed an ultra-Right counter-revolutionary revisionist line opposed to that of the congress. They are a counter-revolutionary cabal. They went in for revisionism, splittism and conspiracy in diametrical opposition to the basic principles — **"Practise Marxism, and not revisionism; unite, and don't split; be open and aboveboard, and don't intrigue and conspire."** They exploited every political movement launched by Chairman Mao to do something different, vainly hoping to divert the course of each movement and plunge the Party, the army and the country into chaos. They used all sorts of underhand methods to oppose Chairman Mao, the Central Committee

headed by him and his revolutionary line, in their attempt to usurp supreme power in the Party and state, turn the Marxist Communist Party of China into a revisionist party, turn our dictatorship of the proletariat into a fascist dictatorship by the bourgeoisie and reduce socialist China to its former status as a semi-colonial and semi-feudal country.

Our wise and great Chairman Mao became aware of the anti-Party activities of the "gang of four" long ago. He sternly criticized and admonished them on many occasions and took it upon himself to lead the Party in repeated struggles against them.

In January 1974, behind Chairman Mao's back and without prior discussion in the Political Bureau, the "gang of four" smuggled the criticism of "entering by the back door" into the campaign to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius. They let off three arrows at the same time in a surprise attack aimed at wrecking Chairman Mao's strategic plan for that campaign. Chairman Mao gave the "gang of four" a timely reprimand, saying, "**Metaphysics is rampant,**" and he signed a document for distribution throughout the Party in order to correct their error. Defying this reprimand, the "gang of four" did not criticize Lin Piao, only pretended to criticize Con-

fucius and ran wild in criticizing "the Duke of Chou," "the big Confucian of our time" and "Confucius' present-day disciples." And they were busy trying to "kindle a prairie fire" in our army. In all this their spearhead was directed at Premier Chou En-lai, Vice-Chairman Yeh Chien-ying and many other leading comrades in the Party, the government and the army at the central and local levels.

On July 17, 1974, at a meeting of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee, Chairman Mao sharply criticized Chiang Ching, saying, "**Stop running those two factories, one the iron and steel factory and the other the hat factory. Stop slapping big hats on others at will.**" "It is hard for you to mend your ways." In criticizing the "Shanghai gang" Chairman Mao said, "**She (meaning Chiang Ching) can be counted one of the Shanghai gang! You'd better be careful. Don't you turn into a small faction of four.**" Time and again he made it clear, "**She doesn't speak for me, she speaks only for herself.**" "**In a word, she represents herself.**" In this way, Chairman Mao brought into the open the sectarian anti-Party activities of Wang Hung-wen, Chang Chun-chiao, Chiang Ching and Yao Wen-yuan and gave them a harsh warning in the pres-

ence of all the comrades of the Political Bureau then in Peking (except those unable to attend because of illness).

However, the "gang of four" were not in the least repentant. Prior to the Second Plenary Session of the Tenth Central Committee and the Fourth National People's Congress, they stepped up their factional activities in order to usurp Party power and plotted to set up their own cabinet and seize state power. After intense and furtive scheming and without the knowledge of the Political Bureau, they sent Wang Hung-wen to Changsha on October 17, 1974 to make false charges to Chairman Mao against Premier Chou and other leading comrades of the Central Committee, for which he was given a summary dressing-down by the Chairman. Their first ruse having failed, they tried another. Chiang Ching took the field and wrote to Chairman Mao. On November 12, he made the following comment on her letter: **"Don't flaunt yourself in public. Don't write instructions on documents. Don't take it upon yourself to organize the cabinet (as the boss behind the scenes). You've already got too many complaints against you. Unite with the majority. See that you act accordingly."** But Chiang Ching turned a deaf ear to this admonition and had the

audacity to ask others to forward her proposal to Chairman Mao that Wang Hung-wen be made Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress. Chairman Mao went straight to the heart of the matter when he pointed out, **"Chiang Ching has wild ambitions. She actually wants Wang Hung-wen to be Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress and herself to be Party Chairman."** On December 23, Chairman Mao again pointed out, **"Chiang Ching has wild ambitions, hasn't she? My view is she has."** On the 24th, Chairman Mao rebuked them once more, **"Don't carry on factional activities. Those who do will take a tumble."** Chairman Mao also criticized Wang Hung-wen to his face: **"Stop carrying on with your gang of four."** Chairman Mao decided that Premier Chou should be responsible for the arrangement of personnel for the Fourth National People's Congress and the State Council. He also proposed that Comrade Teng Hsiao-ping be Vice-Chairman of the Party Central Committee, Vice-Premier of the State Council, Vice-Chairman of the Military Commission of the Central Committee and concurrently Chief of the General Staff and later entrusted him with the responsibility of presiding over the day-to-day work

of the Central Committee during Premier Chou's grave illness. And so the plot of the "gang of four" to organize their own cabinet and seize state power was thwarted.

The "gang of four" were not reconciled to their defeat. In March and April 1975, going against Chairman Mao's significant directive concerning the study of the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat and against his teaching that revisionism is the main danger at present, they raised a din about empiricism being the main current danger, in an effort to label veteran cadres as "empiricists" and strike at Premier Chou and other leading comrades of the Central Committee. Chang Chun-chiao brazenly advocated making the fight against empiricism the "key link." Chiang Ching advertised empiricism as the "arch enemy at present" wherever she went. Yao Wen-yuan published an article flagrantly distorting Chairman Mao's directive and spreading the rumour that in the past ten years or so Chairman Mao had reiterated that "empiricism is the main danger." He smuggled something about criticizing empiricism into a plan for propaganda work, hoping to secure Chairman Mao's approval by this subterfuge. Chairman Mao saw through the scheme. On April 23, he wrote an im-

portant comment on this plan, criticizing the mistake of the "gang of four." He pointed out, **"It seems the formulation should mention opposition to revisionism, including opposition to empiricism and to dogmatism, both being revisions of Marxism-Leninism. Don't mention one and omit the other."** And he added, **"Not many people in our Party really understand Marxism-Leninism. Some think they do, but in fact they know very little. They consider themselves always in the right and are only too ready to lecture others. This is in itself a manifestation of lack of knowledge of Marxism-Leninism."**

On May 3, 1975, at a meeting of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee, Chairman Mao once again criticized the "gang of four" for their sectarian anti-Party activities. He gave them a strong warning: **"Practise Marxism-Leninism, and not revisionism; unite, and don't split; be open and aboveboard, and don't intrigue and conspire. Don't function as a gang of four. Stop doing that any more. Why do you keep on doing so? Why don't you unite with the more than 200 Members of the Central Committee of the Party? A few banding together is no good, never any good."** As revisionism, splittism and conspiracy were the

quintessence of the “gang of four,” Chairman Mao repeatedly stressed the principles of the “three do’s and three don’ts.” He excoriated them, saying that they **“don’t believe in the three principles, nor do they listen to me. They have forgotten the three principles which were stressed at the Ninth and Tenth Congresses. I suggest all present discuss these principles again.”** Chairman Mao explicitly instructed the Political Bureau to discuss this matter and emphasized that the question of the “gang of four” **“should be settled in the second half of the year, if not in the first. If not this year, then next. Or if not next year, the year after.”** This clearly indicates that Chairman Mao was determined to settle the question of the “gang of four.”

In accordance with Chairman Mao’s instructions the Political Bureau, with Comrade Teng Hsiao-ping in charge, severely criticized the “gang of four.” Both earlier and later, the Political Bureau issued a number of documents with Chairman Mao’s approval to counter interference and sabotage by the “gang of four,” strengthen the Party’s leadership in all branches of work and implement Chairman Mao’s revolutionary line.

In July 1975, Chairman Mao made two significant statements about the readjustment of the

Party’s policy on literature and art. On the 25th he wrote an important comment on *Pioneers*, a good film depicting the revolutionary spirit of the Taching oil workers. As the “gang of four” were against the slogan **“In industry, learn from Taching,”** they cooked up ten charges and tried to kill *Pioneers* with one blow. Chairman Mao wrote on a letter from the screen-writer of *Pioneers*, **“There is nothing seriously wrong with this film. I suggest that it be approved for release. We shouldn’t demand perfection. And to bring as many as ten charges against it is really going too far. This hampers the readjustment of the Party’s policy on literature and art.”** Chairman Mao’s instruction was a sharp denunciation of the “gang of four” for undermining this policy.

After having been severely criticized by Chairman Mao on many occasions, the “gang of four” kept constantly on the lookout for new openings, biding their time for a counterattack. In August 1975 Chairman Mao commented penetratingly on the novel *Water Margin*. Thinking this gave them an opportunity, the “gang of four” maliciously distorted his comments and launched a vicious propaganda drive to smear the Chairman and split the Central Committee. At the First National Con-

ference on Learning From Tachai in Agriculture, convened in September, the agenda approved by Chairman Mao was about the whole nation learning from Tachai and about the need to build Tachai-type counties across the country. However, right there in Tachai Chiang Ching ranted at length that in *Water Margin* "the crucial point is that Sung Chiang makes Chao Kai a figurehead," attacking Premier Chou and Comrade Teng Hsiao-ping by innuendo. What was more, she came out with a preposterous demand that her taped talk be relayed and the text printed and distributed at the conference. When informed of this, Chairman Mao was infuriated, dismissing her talk as "**Shit. Wide of the mark.**" His unequivocal instructions were: "**Don't distribute the text, don't play the recording, don't print the text.**" Thus was the arrogance of the reactionary "gang of four" deflated.

Prior to the death of our esteemed and beloved Premier Chou and in the days following it, the "gang of four" ran amuck again. They made unbridled attacks on Premier Chou and suppressed and persecuted vast numbers of cadres and people who mourned him. Defying Chairman Mao's instructions and going their own way, they attacked Comrade Teng Hsiao-ping and brought false charges

against him. Their cohorts in Shanghai put up wall posters demanding that Chang Chun-chiao be made Premier. Wang Hung-wen had a speech secretly prepared which he planned to deliver upon taking charge of the work of the Central Committee. Our Chairman Mao was most emphatic and resolute. He just wouldn't brook any of the "gang of four" assuming the premiership or taking charge of the day-to-day work of the Central Committee. On January 21 and 28, 1976, upon the personal proposal of Chairman Mao and its adoption by the Political Bureau of the Central Committee, decisions were made on the arrangement of personnel concerning the acting premiership of the State Council and responsibility for the day-to-day work of the Central Committee. On February 2, Chairman Mao signed and issued a Central Committee document concerning the decision on the choice of the Acting Premier of the State Council. On April 7, again upon the personal proposal of Chairman Mao and its adoption by the Political Bureau, a decision was made on the choice of the First Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee and Premier of the State Council. Never before in the history of our Party had the Central Committee set up the post of First Vice-Chairman. This was a

major strategic decision of Chairman Mao's which ensured that the Party and state leadership would not fall into the hands of the "gang of four" even when he was critically ill or after he passed away. All these important directives and wise decisions of Chairman Mao's were telling blows at the plot of the "gang of four" to usurp Party and state power; they laid the groundwork for our subsequent settlement of the question of the "gang of four."

These appointments decided upon by Chairman Mao aroused the bitter hatred of the "gang of four," as was conclusively proved by the "Thoughts on February 3, 1976," furtively churned out by Chang Chun-chiao. Thwarted at every turn, they hit back ten times more vehemently and a hundred times more vengefully and stepped up their machinations to usurp Party and state power in defiance of the directives by Chairman Mao and the Central Committee. In their press propaganda and talks, they openly championed a counter-revolutionary political programme which equated veteran cadres with "democrats" and "democrats" with "capitalist-roaders," frantically whipped up counter-revolutionary demagogy in their attempt to mould public opinion and muster their forces to

knock down large numbers of leading comrades, both central and local, who adhere to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line.

Chairman Mao foresaw that the "gang of four" would create disturbances after his death. At the beginning of 1975, in castigating Chiang Ching he said, **"After I die, she will make trouble."** In 1976, as Chairman Mao's illness worsened, the "gang of four" did become more unscrupulous in their anti-Party activities. However, in consideration of Chairman Mao's health and with the overall interest in mind, comrades of the Political Bureau, while adhering to principle, exercised restraint. When Chairman Mao passed away, the "gang of four" thought their opportunity had come and were impatient to take action and usurp supreme power in the Party and state. On September 11, without the knowledge or authorization of the Central Committee, they notified the provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions that they should report to them and get their instructions on major questions. This was a futile attempt to sever the ties between the Central Committee and the localities and take over the authority to issue orders to the whole country. Through overt campaigning and covert manoeuvring, they urged people to write letters to

Chiang Ching pledging allegiance and imploring her to take over supreme power. Wang Hung-wen clandestinely had his "official photograph" taken, to be used on his ascent to power. They were busy everywhere, fabricating rumours and fanning up evil winds and sinister fires to incite opposition to the Central Committee, and making preparations for the "grand festival" in celebration of their usurpation of power. In early October, Chang Chun-chiao wrote in a memo that there should be "suppression of counter-revolutionaries" and "executions." In Shanghai they hurriedly distributed quantities of arms and ammunition in their plot for an armed rebellion. Still more sinister was their forgery, "act upon the principles laid down," which they claimed to be Chairman Mao's "death-bed injunction." They had this phrase published as an insertion in an editorial in the Party newspaper, and then gave it wide publicity in the press, but they refused to publicize Chairman Mao's principles of the "three do's and three don'ts." When the Central Committee nailed down their forgery on October 2, they went so far as to publish an anti-Party article on October 4, "Forever Act Upon the Principles Laid Down by Chairman Mao," in which they said: "Tampering with the principles laid

down by Chairman Mao means betrayal of Marxism, betrayal of socialism and betrayal of the great theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat." They threatened: "Any revisionist leader who dares to tamper with the principles laid down by Chairman Mao will definitely come to no good end." Thus they openly issued a counter-revolutionary mobilization order to overthrow the Central Committee. As anticipated, they were really out to create disturbances and stage a coup. It was at this most critical moment that the Political Bureau took decisive action, smashed with one stroke the plot of the "gang of four" to usurp Party and state power, and so fulfilled Chairman Mao's unfulfilled wish to settle the question of the "gang of four."

The causes that led the "gang of four" to plot the usurpation of supreme power in the Party and state in the fond hope of reversing the course of history and restoring capitalism in China are deep-rooted in their class origin and past records. Chang Chun-chiao has been a Kuomintang secret agent, Chiang Ching is a renegade, Yao Wen-yuan an alien class element, and Wang Hung-wen a new bourgeois element. The "gang of four" are a sinister clique formed of old and new counter-revolution-

aries who sneaked into our Party. They are typical representatives within our Party of landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries and bad elements as well as of the old and new bourgeoisie, and they embody the desire of class enemies at home and abroad to restore capitalism in China. Their reactionary class nature determines the ultra-Right essence of their counter-revolutionary revisionist line and underlies all their criminal activities. The material that furnishes evidence first of the crimes of the "gang of four" in plotting to usurp supreme power in the Party and state and second of their counter-revolutionary past has been distributed throughout the Party, army and nation. This material fully demonstrates with conclusive and irrefutable evidence that the contradiction between our Party and the "gang of four" is a contradiction between the people and the enemy. The struggle against the gang is a continuation of the prolonged struggle waged by the Chinese Communist Party and the revolutionary masses under its leadership against the Kuomintang reactionaries, a continuation of the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, a continuation of the struggle between Marxism and revisionism.

In accordance with the demand of the whole Party, the whole army and the people of all nationalities, and in conformity with the provisions of the Party Constitution, the Third Plenary Session of the Tenth Central Committee unanimously adopted the resolution to expel Wang Hung-wen, Chang Chun-chiao, Chiang Ching and Yao Wen-yuan from the Party for ever, strip them of all their posts inside and outside the Party, and thoroughly settle accounts with their counter-revolutionary crimes against the Party and the people.

Comrades! The "gang of four" debased Marxist philosophy, political economy and scientific socialism comprehensively. They are a clique of counter-revolutionary conspirators cloaking themselves with Marxist theories. Lenin said, "**The dialectics of history are such that the theoretical victory of Marxism obliged its enemies to disguise themselves as Marxists.**" Thanks to the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, Chairman Mao's great theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat has taken firmer root among the masses and become the glorious banner guiding our people in their hundreds of millions in the struggle for victory. That is why the "gang of four" made special efforts to deck themselves

out as champions of this theory and while flaunting it as their banner, they set out to pervert it to serve their counter-revolutionary political scheme for the usurpation of Party and state power, subversion of the dictatorship of the proletariat and restoration of capitalism. As far as ideology and theory are concerned, the eleventh struggle between the two lines in our Party has unfolded around the question of whether to uphold or to vitiate the theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is a salient feature of this struggle.

As we all know, Chairman Mao's great theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat occupies an especially prominent place in the history of the development of Marxism. Lenin's greatest contribution to the theory of the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat is that he revealed the law of development of imperialism, the last stage of capitalism, and created the great theory that victory in the proletarian revolution could be won and socialism built in the country forming the weakest link in the imperialist front. In the same field, Chairman Mao's greatest contribution is that he summed up the historical experience of the dic-

tatorship of the proletariat since Lenin, inherited, defended and developed the teachings of Marx and Lenin, revealed the law of development of socialist society, created the great systematic theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, and clearly charted the true road to consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, preventing capitalist restoration and building socialism for the countries in which the proletarian revolution has triumphed. It is the most important achievement of Marxism in our time.

In this theory Chairman Mao applies the dialectical materialist law of the unity of opposites to the study and analysis of socialist society and points out that socialist society covers a historical period of considerable length and that 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. Therefore, in this historical period, it is imperative for the proletariat to persist in its struggle against the bourgeoisie and in its dictatorship over the latter and it is imperative to persist in continuing the revolution under this dic-

tatorship. Hence, this theory explodes such revisionist fallacies as the "dying out of class struggle," a "party of the whole people" and a "state of the whole people."

In this theory Chairman Mao applies to socialist society the Marxist thesis that the contradictions between the relations of production and the productive forces and between the superstructure and the economic base are the basic contradictions in society and points out that in socialist society there is correspondence as well as contradiction between the relations of production and the productive forces, between the superstructure and the economic base. In so far as the relations of production do not correspond with the productive forces and the superstructure does not correspond with the economic base, the development of the productive forces is hindered. Therefore, it is necessary to carry on the revolution in the realm of the superstructure and consolidate and strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat in this realm, which includes all branches of culture, so that the superstructure will correspond better with the socialist economic base. It is necessary to carry on the revolution in the realm of the relations of production and to consolidate and develop socialist

public ownership and other aspects of the socialist relations of production, so that they will correspond better with the expanding productive forces. It is necessary to introduce technical innovations, carry out the technical revolution and speedily develop the productive forces so as to provide the socialist system with a growing material base and promote change and development in the relations of production and the superstructure. Only by doing all this can we consolidate and strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat, steadily propel the socialist cause forward, and finally reach communist society in which all classes are abolished.

Chairman Mao made a scientific analysis of the classes in Chinese society following the basic completion of the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production and put forward the thesis that the contradictions among the people and those between ourselves and the enemy in socialist society must be correctly distinguished and handled. Speaking of the socialist revolution Chairman Mao said: **"What classes are involved in this struggle? [It] is a struggle waged by the proletariat at the head of the working people against the bourgeoisie."** The working class must

closely unite with and rely on its most dependable allies — the poor and the lower-middle peasants, unite with and rely on the revolutionary intellectuals, and also win over and unite with the majority of the upper-petty bourgeoisie and of the bourgeois intellectuals, those among the national bourgeoisie who are willing to accept socialist transformation, and other patriotic democrats, so as to **enforce dictatorship over the reactionary classes and elements and all those who resist socialist transformation and oppose socialist construction.** People who favour socialism account for 90 per cent of the total population of the country, while those who do not favour or who oppose it make up 10 per cent, of whom 8 out of 10 may be won over through our efforts, and so the diehards bitterly opposed to socialism make up only 2 per cent. The series of masterly articles by Chairman Mao in 1957 laid the scientific basis for this class analysis. With the deepening of the socialist revolution Chairman Mao continued to enrich and develop this class analysis. He further stressed the necessity of uniting with more than 95 per cent of the cadres and the masses and advanced a comprehensive theory concerning the struggle against Party persons in power taking the capitalist road.

Chairman Mao's class analysis of socialist society has systematically solved such theoretical questions as the nature, the motive forces and the targets of the continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The "gang of four" completely corrupted Chairman Mao's great theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and the Party's basic line for the entire historical period of socialism. In particular they perverted Chairman Mao's teaching on the question of capitalist-roaders within the Party, thus creating much confusion. The most concentrated manifestation of this distortion is the counter-revolutionary political programme they dished up equating veteran cadres with "democrats" and "democrats" with "capitalist-roaders." Now let us see what Chairman Mao actually said on the question of capitalist-roaders within the Party, how the "gang of four" distorted and doctored what he said and how in so doing they tried to push their counter-revolutionary political programme and weave their plot to usurp Party and state power.

Chairman Mao's thesis on capitalist-roaders within the Party is based on a penetrating analysis of the class struggle in socialist society and the

special characteristics of that struggle. The principal contradiction in socialist society is that between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, between the socialist road and the capitalist road. It is bound to be reflected inside the ruling Communist Party, hence the emergence of Party persons in power taking the capitalist road. Although the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production has in the main been completed and the proletariat has won gigantic victories on the political and ideological fronts in its struggle against the bourgeoisie, the old bourgeoisie is still around, the vast petty bourgeoisie constantly breeds capitalist forces, and new bourgeois elements keep on emerging. The old and new bourgeoisie constitutes a considerable force in society in terms of their capacity for manoeuvre and the influence they wield. They will invariably seek out agents in the Communist Party, pinning their hopes for capitalist restoration on the capitalist-roaders within the Party. Chairman Mao pointed out that the main aim of the socialist education movement and the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is to **“strike at those Party persons in power taking the capitalist road.”** He further stated, **“You are making the socialist revolution, and yet don’t know**

where the bourgeoisie is. Right inside the Communist Party — those in power taking the capitalist road.” This scientific thesis of Chairman Mao’s was evolved and developed step by step by summing up the experience of Stalin’s struggle against Trotsky, Zinoviev and Bukharin, the lessons drawn from Khrushchov’s and Brezhnev’s restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union and the experience in our own Party’s struggle against capitalist-roaders. The struggles which smashed the three bourgeois headquarters in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution clearly testify to the fact that it is the absolutely unrepentant capitalist-roaders in the Party such as Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao, and the “gang of four” — Wang Hung-wen, Chang Chun-chiao, Chiang Ching and Yao Wen-yuan — who pose the chief danger of capitalist restoration.

While stressing the necessity of struggle against the capitalist-roaders, Chairman Mao explicitly pointed out that they were only a handful among the cadres in our Party. As early as 1967, he said, **“The overwhelming majority of our cadres are good and only a tiny minority are not. True, those Party persons in power taking the capitalist road are our target, but they are a mere handful. Except for those who defected, turned renegade, or**

surrendered to the enemy, the overwhelming majority of our cadres have surely done good things in the last dozen years or so, or in the last few decades. We must unite with the majority of the cadres.”

Applying his thesis on differentiating between the two types of contradictions to the struggle against capitalist-roaders, Chairman Mao stated: **“Of those who have made the mistake of taking the capitalist road, only a few are absolutely unrepentant, while the majority can correct their mistake through education. Don’t regard anyone as a bad person the moment he is called a ‘capitalist-roader.’”** This is a development in the socialist period of his teachings concerning inner-Party struggle. The actual struggles which have unfolded within the Party since the founding of the People’s Republic show that capitalist-roaders originate from two categories of people: one, the renegades, enemy agents, counter-revolutionaries, alien class elements, degenerates, new bourgeois elements and other class enemies who have sneaked into the Party; two, Party members who failed to remould their bourgeois world outlook and therefore disapprove of or even oppose the socialist revolution, including those who still remain at the stage of the

democratic revolution ideologically. For people of the second category who have committed the error of taking the capitalist road there are two possibilities: one, they may make amends; two, they may not. Only a few are absolutely unrepentant and with them it is a case of contradiction between ourselves and the enemy. The majority are willing and able to correct their mistake, and the case is one of contradiction among the people. Towards these comrades we must apply the principle of **learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones and curing the sickness to save the patient.**

In the struggle against the Lin Piao anti-Party clique, Chairman Mao summed up experience in the inner-Party struggle between the two lines and put forward the three basic principles — **“Practise Marxism, and not revisionism; unite, and don’t split; be open and aboveboard, and don’t intrigue and conspire”** — thus further pointing up the essential criteria for identifying capitalist-roaders in the Party. He reiterated them in the struggle against the “gang of four.” Adhering to these criteria, we will be able to guide the numerous cadres and the masses in accurately identifying capitalist-roaders in the complicated struggle between the two lines, unite with more than 95 per cent of the

masses and cadres, including those comrades who have made the mistake of taking the capitalist road but are willing to correct it, completely isolate absolutely unrepentant capitalist-roaders like Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and the "gang of four," and concentrate our attack on them.

It is on the question of who are our enemies and who are our friends, a question of the first importance for continuing the revolution, that the "gang of four" altogether reversed the relationship of the people to the enemy in the historical period of socialism by appropriating for their own ends the revolutionary slogan of opposing capitalist-roaders and by tampering with Chairman Mao's comprehensive thesis on the question of capitalist-roaders inside the Party. In pursuit of their counter-revolutionary purpose of usurping Party and state power they attempted to overthrow all those leading cadres, whether old, middle-aged or young, at various levels in the Party, government and army, who have upheld the three basic principles, observed the instructions of Chairman Mao and the Central Committee and refused to follow them or to become their retainers. They labelled these veteran or middle-aged cadres "capitalist-roaders" and these young ones "capitulationists." They directed

the spearhead of their attack at the veteran revolutionary cadres holding key positions of leadership at various levels. They went for the veteran cadres both in their so-called "criticism of the big Confucian in the Party" during the campaign to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius and in their so-called "opposition to empiricism" during the movement to study the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Later they put forward the counter-revolutionary political programme which equated veteran cadres with "democrats" and "democrats" with "capitalist-roaders," maligning these veteran cadres as having formed "a bourgeois class" inside the Party. This was a vicious attack on our Party's veteran cadres and a shameless vilification of our Party's character and history.

The Chinese Communist Party founded and nurtured by Chairman Mao is the political party of the proletariat. His proletarian revolutionary line predominates in our Party. The great majority of our Party cadres support and implement this line. Chairman Mao pointed out long ago, "**The handful of Party persons in power taking the capitalist road are the representatives of the bourgeoisie within the Party.**" When he said that the bourgeoisie was right inside the Communist Party, Chairman Mao

was referring to the capitalist-roaders within the Party, and in no way did he mean there was a bourgeois class inside our Party. So long as supreme Party and state power rests with a leading core that adheres to the Marxist-Leninist line, the capitalist-roaders cannot possibly grow into a bourgeois class inside the Party because they are a mere handful and, what is more, they are being constantly exposed and weeded out. Only when the capitalist-roaders succeed in usurping supreme Party and state power, as they have done in the Soviet Union, is a bureaucrat monopoly capitalist class formed and the Party turned into a bourgeois party. It was to prevent the capitalist-roaders from usurping supreme Party and state power and turning our Party into a bourgeois party, and likewise to educate the leading cadres at all levels to keep firmly to the socialist road and guard against the error of taking the capitalist road, that Chairman Mao instructed our Party to fight against capitalist-roaders. Our Party's successive victories over absolutely unrepentant capitalist-roaders like Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and the "gang of four" furnish convincing proof that representatives of the bourgeoisie in its ranks will invariably meet with defeat and that our Party deserves to be called a proletarian political

party which has stood prolonged tests and attained political maturity.

Under the leadership of our Party, the Chinese revolution went through the democratic revolution and developed into the socialist revolution. Our democratic revolution was a new-democratic revolution led by the proletariat. The state established after victory in the new-democratic revolution was a People's Republic under the dictatorship of the proletariat. The revolution we have been engaged in since the founding of the People's Republic is a socialist revolution. The overwhelming majority of our veteran cadres joined the revolution with the lofty ideal of realizing communism. True, many of them had bourgeois and petty-bourgeois democratic ideas when they were admitted into the Party, but, under the Party's leadership and through education in Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, they were gradually tempered through long participation in revolutionary wars and struggles and became vanguard proletarian fighters already in the period of the democratic revolution. Although some veteran cadres were not quite prepared mentally when the time came for the socialist revolution, by and large the overwhelming majority have

followed Chairman Mao in continuing the revolution and, through study and tempering in practice, have become the mainstay of our socialist revolution and socialist construction. There are indeed certain people who were bourgeois democrats in the democratic revolution and who have turned into capitalist-roaders in the socialist revolution, but they are a tiny minority. The overwhelming majority of the veteran cadres in our Party are certainly not bourgeois democrats, they are proletarian revolutionaries.

The "gang of four" were talking nonsense when they alleged that all those who took part in the democratic revolution were "bourgeois democrats," that "it is an inexorable objective law that democrats will become capitalist-roaders" and that the capitalist-roaders in our Party are not a mere handful but a vast multitude, not a small number but "a bourgeois class inside the Party." Moreover, they stigmatized the overwhelming majority of veteran cadres in the P.L.A. as "capitalist-roaders in the army" forming "a bourgeois class inside the army." By the logic of their counter-revolutionary allegations, wouldn't it follow that our democratic revolution was an old democratic revolution led by bourgeois democrats

and that the state we have established is a bourgeois republic? Wouldn't it follow that since the founding of the People's Republic we have not been carrying on socialist revolution at all but have been taking the capitalist road under the leadership of bourgeois democrats? Wouldn't it follow that our army is a bourgeois army and that from the very beginning our Party was a party of bourgeois democrats and has now become a bourgeois party like the Soviet revisionist party? This is the height of absurdity theoretically and extremely reactionary politically. Most certainly these charges were made not to oppose capitalist-roaders but altogether to negate the proletarian character of our Party, our army and our state, the predominance of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line in all three, and the whole history of our revolution over the past half-century or so, in which Chairman Mao led our Party, our army and our people in arduous struggle for the realization of socialism and communism in China. These charges are out-and-out ultra-Right rubbish hostile to the Communist Party, the people and the revolution!

Moreover, the "gang of four" distorted Chairman Mao's instructions and, waving the revolu-

tionary banner of "restricting bourgeois right," they went all out for counter-revolution. Just as they took past participation in the democratic revolution and present leading positions as the political criteria for defining a "capitalist-roader," they absurdly took higher rank and higher wages as the economic criteria. In order to provide a so-called economic argument for their preposterous fabrication that there was "a bourgeois class" inside the Party and army, they deliberately confounded the differences in distribution between the leading cadres of the Party, the government and the army on the one hand and the broad masses on the other with class exploitation. This is reversing right and wrong and calling black white. This whole bag of tricks is nothing but a component part of their counter-revolutionary political programme equating veteran cadres with "democrats" and "democrats" with "capitalist-roaders."

In order to push through this counter-revolutionary programme, the "gang of four" set in motion the media under their control and agitated for rounding up at all levels those they called "democrats" and "capitalist-roaders." Serving as shock troops of the "gang of four" in their attempts

to usurp Party and state power, the group which they had handpicked from two universities in Peking to write "critiques" and the writing group of the erstwhile Shanghai municipal Party committee produced a spate of reactionary articles to advertise this programme. Literature and art as manipulated by the gang viciously attacked the Party leadership and traduced its image on the pretext of portraying "capitalist-roaders," becoming literature and art given over completely to conspiracy. History as manipulated by the gang abounded in the arbitrary falsification of facts, purposely sang the praises of "empresses" and condemned "prime ministers," "the acting prime minister" and "the big Confucian of our time," becoming history given over to innuendo in the service of the gang. Education as manipulated by the gang plumped for what they called "the sole specialization, specialization in fighting the capitalist-roaders," a move calculated to delude young people into serving as their hatchet men. What is more, under the guise of "opposing the theory of the all-importance of the productive forces," they stigmatized the leading cadres who have persisted in grasping revolution and promoting production as "capitalist-roaders." Under this guise they smear-

ed vast numbers of cadres and the worker and peasant masses who have kept to their posts, exerted themselves in production and worked hard for socialism, saying that they were “putting feathers in the caps of the capitalist-roaders,” and they instigated the stoppage of work and production and sabotaged our economy. They even attempted to spearhead the organs of dictatorship against the Party, clamouring that those they called “democrats” and “capitalist-roaders” should be “suppressed” and “shot.” They openly called for the abolition of our Party and its substitution by their “mass organizations.” On the pretext of “opposing capitalist-roaders,” they went in for intrigues and splittism and opposed the Party and army in a futile attempt to plunge the whole country into chaos.

The counter-revolutionary political purpose of the “gang of four” became obvious when they dished up so much nonsense and perpetrated so many crimes on the question of “capitalist-roaders.” They brazenly spread the views that “the present target of revolution is the democrats, who subsisted on chaff in the old society, were wounded in the War of Resistance Against Japan, fought in the War of Liberation and crossed the Yalu River in the war

to resist U.S. aggression and aid Korea” and that those due to be overthrown now are “the capitalist-roaders who scaled the snow-topped mountains and traversed the marshlands or who wear P.L.A. collar-tabs and cap-badges” and “the capitalist-roaders who are hard-working and honest and who are neither renegades nor enemy agents, neither embezzlers nor degenerates.” All this has thoroughly exposed the gang for what they are — a bunch of old and new counter-revolutionaries filled with inveterate hatred for our Party, our army and our revolution. They spoke the minds of all the reactionary classes overthrown by our Party in the democratic and socialist revolutions, who were thirsting for revenge and restoration. They wanted to settle scores not only with the socialist revolution but with the democratic revolution as well. They were a veritable “landlords’ restitution corps.” Our Party has a contingent of old, middle-aged and young cadres steeled in struggles from the time the Party was founded all the way to and through the Cultural Revolution and it has a tested proletarian army. The two constituted an insurmountable obstacle to the gang’s usurpation of Party and state power. In trying to overthrow these Party and army cadres, the “gang of four”

meant to destroy our Party, our army and the dictatorship of the proletariat and to institute instead their own feudal, bourgeois and revisionist hotchpotch of a "new heavenly state," by effecting what Chang Chun-chiao referred to as "a change of dynasty" and "replacing the old talisman of the New Year with a new." And this goes to the heart of all their nonsense on the question of "capitalist-roaders."

Totally negating Chairman Mao's scientific analysis of the classes in our society in the period of socialism, the "gang of four" dished up an absurd theory about "the new changes in class relations in the socialist period." By "the new changes" they meant that veteran cadres had turned into "capitalist-roaders" and veteran workers into "people with vested interests," young workers were "even worse," poor and lower-middle peasants "lagged behind ideologically" in the socialist revolution, and intellectuals were "the stinking ninth category" [coming after the eight categories of class enemies, namely, the landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements, Rightists, renegades, enemy agents and unrepentant capitalist-roaders — *Tr.*]. On the other hand, the "advanced elements" they relied on were the landlords, rich peasants,

counter-revolutionaries, bad elements, ghosts and monsters, and such political careerists, renegades, new-born counter-revolutionaries, gangsters and smash-and-grabbers as Ma Tien-shui, Yu Hui-yung, Chih Chun, Chang Tieh-sheng, Weng Sen-ho and Chen Ah-ta. In this way they completely reversed the relationship of the people to the enemy in the historical period of socialism and ranged themselves against all the people of China.

Whoever antagonizes the people is bound to be overthrown by the people. If the superstructure protects the old relations of production and undermines the new and if it hinders the growth of the productive forces, the people will rise and pull it down. This is an objective law borne out by the entire history of mankind. Together with their bourgeois factional setup the hotchpotch of theory, line, policy, ideology and press propaganda of the "gang of four" formed a most decadent and reactionary superstructure. For a time they were really on the rampage. However, the superstructure they erected stood in sharp antagonism to the dictatorship of the proletariat and to the socialist economic base and the expanding productive forces. The working people didn't like it, nor did the oxen and the machines, because the

working people who used them didn't like it at all. It was therefore only natural that the people should have risen and overthrown the gang and consigned them to oblivion. Historically their doom was inexorable.

Comrades! The smashing of the "gang of four" is a victory for our Party, for the proletariat and for the people. This great victory has not been won easily. Like Lin Piao, the "gang of four" are counter-revolutionary double-dealers. Over the years, they concealed their past records and, using the sleaziest counter-revolutionary double-faced tactics, wormed their way into the core of Party leadership and plotted to usurp Party and state power, causing grievous harm to the Party and the people. This fact brings into bold relief the very grave danger posed by counter-revolutionary double-dealers. Chairman Mao's serious illness and death and the position and power held by the "gang of four" were special circumstances that further heightened the complexity and difficulty of the latest struggle between the two lines. Yet, no matter how slyly the "gang of four" disguised themselves and how deeply they burrowed, our Party finally succeeded in unearthing them and dumped them on the garbage heap of history. This big vic-

tory has saved our Party from a major split, our country from a major blood-letting premeditated by the gang, our people from a major calamity and our revolution from a major reversal. It has further strengthened and consolidated China as a revolutionary base area for the world. This is of immediate and far-reaching historic significance to the revolution in China and in the world. It eloquently demonstrates once more that our Party, our army and our people deserve to be called a Party personally founded and nurtured by Chairman Mao, an army created and cultivated by him and a people armed with Mao Tsetung Thought.

Smashing the "gang of four" is yet another signal victory achieved in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. Chairman Mao pointed out: **"The current Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is absolutely necessary and most timely for consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, preventing capitalist restoration and building socialism."** In the light of the historical lesson of capitalist restoration in the Soviet Union and the real danger of such a restoration in China, Chairman Mao, with unmatched revolutionary courage and vision, personally launched and led the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution which has no precedent in the his-

tory of the dictatorship of the proletariat. In the course of this momentous political revolution, our Party won the ninth, tenth and eleventh major struggles of line and demolished the three bourgeois headquarters of Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and the "gang of four." Through repeated battles our Party wrested from their hands that portion of power they had usurped. As a result, the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country is more consolidated than ever and the way is open to applying Chairman Mao's revolutionary line correctly and in its entirety. In this revolution our Party has gained rich experience in how to rely directly on the people in their hundreds of millions in order to vanquish the capitalist-roaders in the Party. Vast numbers of cadres and the people, tested and tempered in trying circumstances, have immensely enhanced their consciousness of class struggle and the struggle between the two lines, and raised their ability to judge between right and wrong politically and spot political swindlers. The most vivid proof is the awareness and judgment they have shown in the arduous and complicated struggle against the "gang of four." Through this political revolution Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought has been disseminated, and in this great field of practice

Chairman Mao's great theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat has been enriched and developed and been grasped more profoundly by the numerous cadres and the masses. China's Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution provides the international communist movement with fresh experience in combating and guarding against revisionism, consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and preventing capitalist restoration. It makes the world proletariat much more confident of victory in their struggle for socialism and communism. Beyond any doubt, it will go down in the history of the dictatorship of the proletariat as a momentous innovation which will shine with increasing splendour with the passage of time.

At the beginning of the Cultural Revolution Chairman Mao said, "**Great disorder across the land leads to great order.**" After the Tenth Congress, he pointed out more than once, "**Eight years have passed since the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution started. It is preferable to have stability now. The whole Party and the whole army should get united.**" "**It's better to have stability and unity.**" But the "gang of four" tried their hardest to cause damage and disruption. Now that the gang has

been overthrown, we are able to achieve stability and unity and attain great order across the land in compliance with Chairman Mao's instructions. Thus, the smashing of the "gang of four" marks the triumphant conclusion of our first Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, which lasted eleven years.

Stability and unity do not mean writing off class struggle. The victorious conclusion of the first Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution certainly does not mean the end of class struggle or of the continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Throughout the historical period of socialism the struggle between the two classes, the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, and between the two roads, socialism and capitalism, continues to exist. This struggle will be protracted and tortuous and at times even very sharp. Political revolutions in the nature of the Cultural Revolution will take place many times in the future. We must follow Chairman Mao's teachings and continue the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat to the end, gradually eliminate the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes, bring about the triumph of socialism over capitalism and eventually realize our ultimate goal — communism.

THE SITUATION AND OUR TASKS

Comrades!

The victorious conclusion of the first Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution has ushered in a new period of development in our country's socialist revolution and socialist construction. At this critical moment, the Central Committee of the Party has made the strategic decision to grasp the key link of class struggle and run the country well, that is, to achieve stability and unity, strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat and consolidate and expand the achievements of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in the midst of acute conflict between the two classes and between the two roads, so as to bring about great order throughout the country.

The gist of this decision is to hold high and defend the great banner of Chairman Mao, to carry the big struggle to expose and criticize the "gang of four" through to the end by fully mobilizing the masses and uniting with all forces that can be united, to eliminate the pernicious influence of the gang's counter-revolutionary revisionist line, consolidate and expand our successes in the eleventh struggle between the two lines, and comprehen-

sively and correctly implement Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line in political, economic, military, cultural and foreign affairs. The whole Party, the whole army and the people of all nationalities should unite as one and make concerted efforts to carry out the Central Committee's strategic decision, striving for some initial successes this year and marked success within three years. If this is done, a solid foundation will be laid for making China a powerful and modern socialist country, the task which it is the historical mission of the Chinese working class and the Chinese people to accomplish in the rest of this century.

Comrades, since its Tenth Congress, our Party has firmly adhered to the line, principle and policy laid down by Chairman Mao personally in the field of foreign affairs and has further contributed to the development of the international situation in a direction favourable to the people of China and the world. Our country enjoys ever-growing international prestige and we have friends all over the world.

The international situation today is very good, it is very good, not just good or fairly good. In the last few years, the revolutionary struggle of the

international proletariat, the liberation struggles of the oppressed people and nations and the revolutionary mass movements in many countries have been forging ahead. More countries have cast off the shackles of colonialism, driven out foreign aggressors and won independence and liberation. The international united front against aggression, interference, subversion, control and bullying by the superpowers is broadening. Both the hegemonic powers, the Soviet Union and the United States, are beset with difficulties and crises and are having a harder and harder time. This is particularly true of Soviet social-imperialism. In the last few years, it has further betrayed its aggressive and expansionist features by sabotaging the wars of Arab countries and the Palestinian people against Israeli aggression, employing mercenary troops to intervene in Angola and invade Zaire, plotting to subvert the government of the Sudan, interfering in the internal affairs of many countries, sowing dissension among third world countries and undermining their unity. It has suffered one telling blow after another. As facts have shown, the main trend in the international situation is that countries want independence, nations want liberation and the people want revolution, and this no force can ever stem.

At the same time as the factors for revolution are growing, so obviously are the factors for war. In recent years Chairman Mao repeatedly reminded people of this fact. At the beginning of last year, he pointed out: **“The United States wants to protect its interests in the world and the Soviet Union wants to expand; this can in no way be changed. In the era in which classes exist, war is an interval between one peace and another. War is a continuation of politics, that is to say, a continuation of peace. Peace itself is politics.”** Both superpowers strive to dominate the world, and they contend with each other everywhere, causing much turbulence in the world. Their continued contention will lead to a conflagration someday. They preach “detente” everywhere, but the more they preach it, the less the detente. They clamour for “disarmament,” but the greater their clamour, the greater their armament. They talk about “peace” every day, but actually they are preparing for war all the time. The people of the world hope for peace, and the Chinese people too hope for a peaceful international environment. It is not the people of China or of any other country but the superpowers that want war. This is determined by their imperialist nature and is therefore independent of man’s

will. Imperialism means aggression, imperialism means war. As Chairman Mao taught us, so long as the social system in the imperialist and social-imperialist countries remains unchanged, war is inevitable — either a war between them or a revolution by the people, and there cannot be any lasting peace.

The Soviet Union and the United States are the source of a new world war, and Soviet social-imperialism in particular presents the greater danger. The current strategic situation in their contention is that Soviet social-imperialism is on the offensive and U.S. imperialism on the defensive. While waving the banners of “socialism,” “support for national liberation” and “peace and co-operation,” the Soviet revisionists are working overtime to push their global “offensive strategy.” They want to pocket all Europe, Asia and Africa. Soviet-U.S. contention extends to every corner of the world, but its focus is still Europe. The Soviet Union has massed its troops in Eastern Europe and at the same time accelerated its plunder of strategic resources and its scramble for strategic bases in Africa and the Middle East in an attempt to encircle Europe from the flanks by seizing the Persian Gulf in the east, thrusting round the Cape of

Good Hope in the south and blocking the main navigation routes of the Atlantic Ocean in the west. There is a trend towards appeasement among those people in the West who cherish the illusion that peace can be maintained through compromises and concessions, and some even want to follow in Chamberlain's footsteps and try to divert the peril of the new tsars towards the East in order to preserve themselves at the expense of others. In so doing they will merely abet the expansionist ambitions of the Soviet revisionists and hasten the outbreak of war, thus lifting a rock only to drop it on their own feet.

Chairman Mao taught us two points concerning world war: **"First, we are against it; second, we are not afraid of it."** Soviet revisionism and U.S. imperialism are both paper tigers, there is nothing terrifying about them. With all its wild ambitions, in essence Soviet social-imperialism is weak. Engaging in aggression and expansion everywhere and setting itself against the people of all countries, it serves as a good teacher by negative example. So long as the people of all countries heighten their vigilance, close their ranks, get prepared and wage unrelenting struggles, 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 are revolutionary optimists and have full confidence in the future of the world.

Chairman Mao's thesis differentiating the three worlds which he set forth in 1974 is of profound and far-reaching significance. Applying the method of class analysis, he studied the changes in the development of the basic contradictions in the contemporary world, the division and realignment of the different political forces and the political and economic status of each country in the international context, and in consequence arrived at this scientific conclusion regarding the present-day strategic situation in the world. The two hegemonic powers, the Soviet Union and the United States, are the biggest international exploiters and oppressors of today and the common enemies of the people of the world. The third world countries suffer the worst oppression and hence put up the strongest resistance; they are the main force combating imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism. The second world countries have a dual character; on the one hand they oppress, exploit and control the third world countries, and on the other they are controlled, threatened and bullied by both hegemonic powers in varying degrees. Chairman

Mao's thesis differentiating the three worlds gives a correct orientation to the present international struggle and clearly defines the main revolutionary forces, the chief enemies, and the middle forces that can be won over and united, enabling the international proletariat to unite with all the forces that can be united to form the broadest possible united front in class struggles against the chief enemies on the world arena. This strategic formulation conforms to the strategic requirements of the contemporary struggles of the international proletariat and the oppressed people and nations of the world and also of the struggle for the triumph of socialism and communism. It is the correct strategic and tactical formulation for the world proletariat in the present era and its class line in its international struggle. Practice in the last few years has proved that this thesis of Chairman Mao's is entirely correct. With the passage of time, it will demonstrate its effectiveness even more powerfully.

Historical experience has repeatedly shown that victory in a revolution depends chiefly on the people's own strength, but at the same time it is necessary to win over as many allies as possible. Lenin said: **"The more powerful enemy can be**

vanquished only by exerting the utmost effort, and most thoroughly, carefully, attentively and skilfully making use *without fail* of every, even the smallest, 'rift' among the enemies, of every antagonism of interest among the bourgeoisie of the various countries and among the various groups or types of bourgeoisie within the various countries, and also by taking advantage of every, even the smallest, opportunity of gaining a mass ally, even though this ally be temporary, vacillating, unstable, unreliable and conditional. Those who fail to understand this, fail to understand even a particle of Marxism, or of scientific, modern socialism in general." Both theoretically and practically, this Marxist principle is of enormous and immediate significance to the present-day struggle of the people of all countries against hegemonism.

Chairman Mao consistently taught us that the people who have triumphed in their own revolution should help those still struggling for liberation. **We support the Communist Parties of all countries but not revisionism.** Being Communists, we of course support the revolutionary struggles of the Communist Parties of all countries. At the same time, we have all along maintained that all Communist Parties are independent and make their own

decisions. It is up to the Communist Party in each country to integrate the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of that country's revolution and lead its own people to victory. Revolution cannot be exported. We have never interfered in the internal affairs of other countries. Our Party maintains relations with many Communist Parties. But relations between Parties and relations between states are two different things.

China is a developing socialist country belonging to the third world. We stand firmly with the developing countries of Asia, Africa, Latin America and other regions and staunchly support their just struggle to win and defend national independence, safeguard state sovereignty and develop the national economy.

We support the second world countries, such as the European countries and Japan, in their struggle against control, threat and bullying by the superpowers. We support their efforts to get united in the course of this struggle.

China and the United States differ in social system and ideology and there are fundamental differences between them. The Sino-U.S. Shanghai Communiqué issued in 1972 constitutes the basis

for the relations between the two countries at present. It states that neither should seek hegemony and that each is opposed to efforts by any other country or group of countries to establish such hegemony. The relations between the two countries will continue to improve provided the principles laid down in the communiqué are carried out in earnest. In accordance with the spirit of the communiqué, if the relations between the two countries are to be normalized, the United States must sever its so-called diplomatic relations with the Chiang clique, withdraw all its armed forces and military installations from Taiwan and the Taiwan Straits area and abrogate its so-called "mutual defence treaty" with the Chiang clique. Taiwan Province is China's sacred territory. We are determined to liberate Taiwan. When and how is entirely China's internal affair, which brooks no foreign interference whatsoever.

The Soviet leading clique has betrayed Marxism-Leninism. Restoring capitalism and enforcing a fascist dictatorship at home and pushing hegemonism and perpetrating aggression and expansion abroad, it has brought about the degeneration of the Soviet Union, which has become a social-imperialist country. Our debates with the clique on

matters of principle will go on for a long time. We will, of course, continue to wage a tit-for-tat struggle against its hegemonism. At the same time, we have always held that China and the Soviet Union should maintain normal state relations on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. The Soviet leading clique has not shown one iota of good faith about improving the state relations between the two countries. Not only has this clique made it impossible to achieve anything in the negotiations on the Sino-Soviet boundary question, which have been dragging on for eight years now, it has also whipped up one anti-China wave after another to extricate itself from its dilemmas at home and abroad and divert attention by making a feint to the east in order to attack in the west. It has been trying by hook or by crook to force us to change the Marxist-Leninist line laid down by Chairman Mao. This is pure daydreaming. It is the Soviet leading clique and nobody else that has led Sino-Soviet state relations "up a blind alley." If it really has any desire to improve the state relations between the two countries, this clique should prove it by concrete deeds.

The whole Party, army and people must bear in mind Chairman Mao's teaching, "**Dig tunnels**

deep, store grain everywhere, and never seek hegemony," maintain high vigilance and make all preparations against the launching of a new world war by imperialism and social-imperialism. **We will not attack unless we are attacked; if we are attacked, we will certainly counter-attack.** We must be ready at all times to wipe out any enemy that dares to invade us. We will never seek hegemony or strive to be a superpower. In our international relations we should **get rid of great-nation chauvinism resolutely, thoroughly, wholly and completely.**

We should hold high the great banner of Chairman Mao, adhere to proletarian internationalism and continue to carry out his revolutionary line in foreign affairs. We should enhance our unity with the socialist countries and with the proletariat and the oppressed people and nations throughout the world, enhance our unity with the countries of the third world, unite with all countries subjected to aggression, subversion, interference, control and bullying by imperialism and social-imperialism and form the broadest united front against the hegemonism of the two superpowers, the Soviet Union and the United States. We should establish and develop our relations with other countries on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence.

We should strengthen our unity with all genuine Marxist-Leninist Parties and organizations and carry through to the end the struggle against modern revisionism with the Soviet revisionist renegade clique as its centre.

Comrades! The present domestic situation is very good. The basic indicator is the great victory scored by our Party in the eleventh struggle between the two lines.

In this immense, sharp and intense struggle against the "gang of four," the masses have been mobilized on a very broad scale and yet in a very orderly way and the movement has developed very swiftly and yet very soundly; this fully shows that the struggle accords with the wishes of the Party, the army and the people. In line with the plans of the Central Committee, in the last ten months the whole Party, the whole army and the people of all nationalities have concentrated on exposing and condemning the conspiracy of the "gang of four" to usurp Party and state power and their criminal history, exposed and repudiated their counter-revolutionary revisionist line, seized back that portion of power they had usurped, investigated the individuals involved in their conspiracy and the incidents connected with it, and struck at the old and

new bourgeois elements and counter-revolutionaries they backed, abetted and sheltered. As a result of ten months of fierce struggle the morale of the proletariat has been greatly enhanced, the arrogance of the bourgeoisie punctured, and the Party's leadership and the dictatorship of the proletariat strengthened. Another profound change has taken place in the balance of class forces in China, a change favourable to the proletariat and unfavourable to the bourgeoisie.

The revolution has given an impetus to production. Through our efforts in the few months following the overthrow of the "gang of four," we have changed the situation in which production was stagnating or even falling as a result of the gang's serious interference and sabotage. Beginning from March this year industrial production, the volume of transport, state purchases and sales of commodities and state revenues have all gone up, setting new records by successively exceeding the previous peaks for the corresponding periods. Industrial production has quickly recovered in a number of areas which were tightly controlled by the "gang of four" or seriously afflicted by their sabotage for a long time. The gross value of industrial output for June surpassed the highest monthly level of the

past. Although agricultural production was affected by an unusually harsh drought and other natural adversities, losses have been considerably reduced and a fairly good harvest of summer grain gathered in many areas thanks to the efforts of the commune members. The numerous cadres and the masses are determined to go all out and fully employ their talents in the great struggle to build our socialist motherland. The mass movements to learn from Taching in industry and from Tachai in agriculture are surging ahead on an unprecedented scale. A socialist revolutionary campaign to emulate, learn from, catch up with, help and surpass each other is unfolding not only within and between enterprises but also between departments and between provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions. A new leap forward is taking shape in the national economy.

The mass struggle to expose and criticize the "gang of four" is deepening in all spheres of culture, and efforts are being made to gradually overcome the havoc wrought by the gang and to push forward the revolution on the scientific and technological front, in education, in literature and art, and in public health.

In short, the situation is very good and popular feeling favours order. All the changes and develop-

ments in the situation at home over the last ten months fully testify to the fact that the great class struggle to expose and criticize the "gang of four" is the fundamental motive force now propelling our cause forward and that the strategic decision adopted by the Central Committee, namely, to grasp the key link of class struggle and bring about great order across the land, is entirely correct and most timely.

The eight "must's" for attaining great order across the land which I put forward on behalf of the Central Committee at its working conference in March this year have won the warm approval of the whole Party, the whole army and the people of all nationalities. The Central Committee holds that these eight points constitute the main fighting tasks for our Party now and for some time to come as we grasp the key link of class struggle and run the country well.

First. We must carry the great struggle to expose and criticize the "gang of four" through to the end.

This struggle is now the pivot of the struggle between the two classes and the two roads and will be so for some time to come. Grasping it means

grasping the key link. We must follow up the struggle to expose and condemn the conspiracy of the "gang of four" to usurp Party and state power and their criminal counter-revolutionary history by intensifying our mobilization of the masses and vigorously waging a people's war to thoroughly expose and criticize the ultra-Right essence of the gang's counter-revolutionary revisionist line in all its manifestations. Not only must we settle accounts with the gang in the sphere of political and organizational line, we must also conduct criticism on the theoretical plane of philosophy, political economy and scientific socialism, so as to eradicate their pernicious influence in every field.

Investigation of the individuals involved and the incidents connected with the conspiracy of the "gang of four" to usurp Party and state power is an integral part of the struggle to expose and criticize the gang and must be carried through by fully mobilizing the masses. In a few areas and departments the leadership still lags behind the masses, a situation which must be speedily changed. At the same time, greater attention should be paid to the Party's policies as the movement develops in depth. In places where the masses have been fully aroused and the struggle is already at high

tide, it is all the more necessary for the leading bodies at all levels to keep a cool head, always bear in mind that **policy and tactics are the life of the Party**, and strictly distinguish contradictions among the people from contradictions between ourselves and the enemy and handle both correctly, so as to **help more people by educating them and narrow the target of attack**. By the bourgeois factional setup of the "gang of four" and its followers, we mean the gang itself and those backbone elements who participated in their counter-revolutionary conspiratorial activities to usurp Party and state power. Among those involved in such activities in one way or another, only a handful belongs to the factional setup. In screening them, we must pay the utmost attention to doing the following: strictly distinguish between those who said or did something wrong under the gang's influence and those who took part in their conspiratorial activities; strictly distinguish between those who, though implicated in some of these activities, made political mistakes as a result of being used and the backbone elements who were privy to the gang's conspiracy; and even among the backbone elements, strictly distinguish between those who, after being briefed by the Central Committee in October 1976, have

expressed their willingness to repent and make amends, exposed the gang's crimes and broken with them, and the diehards who continue to put up an obstinate fight. We must not brush aside all those who have erred but who can be won over, but should strive to help them change their stand through education. Only in this way can we unite more than 95 per cent of the cadres and the masses, isolate to the maximum the "gang of four" and the handful of their sworn followers who are guilty of serious crimes and unwilling to repent, and concentrate our blows on them. Furthermore, we must be sure to deal relentless blows to those landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists who hate socialism and who, backed and abetted by the "gang of four" and their cohorts, have committed grave crimes involving class retaliation and thus incurred the people's fierce indignation. The screening should go on without let-up under the unified leadership of the Party committees, and, in the light of their specific conditions, the provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions and the departments under the central authorities should endeavour to have this work basically completed by stages and in groups this year or a little later.

To make a thorough and systematic criticism of the counter-revolutionary revisionist line of the "gang of four" and of their reactionary world outlook and to eliminate their pernicious influence are long-term and more arduous tasks. The confusion the gang created in ideology, theory and political line and their corrosive influence on our ranks must not be underestimated. It is imperative to conduct widespread and intensive education in class struggle and the struggle between the two lines by making full use of the "gang of four" as a teacher by negative example. It is imperative to guide the numerous cadres and the masses to use Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought as their weapon and, in close connection with the realities on the various fronts, to rectify one by one all those points the gang turned upside down with regard to questions of right and wrong in line, ideology and theory. Chairman Mao taught us: **"We should do well in summing up experience in our work in industry, agriculture, commerce and culture and education, and within the army, the government and the Party, and work out a complete set of principles, policies and measures so that our work in these seven fields will progress along the correct path."** We must rely on the working class, the poor

and lower-middle peasants and the revolutionary cadres and intellectuals, sum up experience on all fronts, strengthen and develop new socialist things, work out specific principles, policies and measures, comprehensively and correctly implement Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, and carry out the task of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat in every grass-roots unit.

Second. We must do a good job of Party consolidation and rectification and strengthen Party building.

In grasping the key link of class struggle and running the country well, we must first of all run the Party well. In line with Chairman Mao's theory on Party building and the basic principles of the "three do's and three don'ts" advanced by him, we must conscientiously try to solve the problem of the impurities in ideology, organization and style of work caused by the sabotage of the "gang of four." This is the central task in successfully consolidating and building our Party.

Ours is a great, glorious and correct Party. It can stand any test, however severe, and the overwhelming majority of its members and cadres are

either good or fairly good. But we should also realize that the misdeeds of the "gang of four" have seriously corroded the Party as an organism and the minds of members, gravely undermined its unity and discipline and its relations with the masses, and done grievous harm to its fine style of work, and especially to its tradition of following the mass line and seeking truth from facts. In the course of Party consolidation and rectification, we must thoroughly criticize the "gang of four" and their handful of diehards for their outrageous crimes which were designed to undermine and disintegrate the Party and usurp the Party leadership, and we must combat the evil bourgeois wind they stirred up. Once the key link of class struggle is grasped, Party consolidation and rectification will have a correct orientation.

In the final analysis, the question of Party building under the dictatorship of the proletariat is one of making sustained efforts to arm the entire membership with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, and particularly with Chairman Mao's great theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. In December 1970, Chairman Mao pointed out: **"In my opinion, all the 274 members of the Central Committee and**

the thousand or so senior and middle-ranking cadres at their posts should conscientiously read and study according to their differing levels and get a good grasp of Marxism. Only thus can they stand up to political swindlers like Wang Ming, Liu Shao-chi and Chen Po-ta." We must follow Chairman Mao's teaching, strive to further reform our study throughout the Party and to take a big step forward in building up our Party ideologically and theoretically within a few years.

We must diligently study works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and by Chairman Mao and have a comprehensive and accurate grasp of Mao Tsetung Thought as a system. While continuing to do well in our study of the first four volumes of the *Selected Works of Mao Tsetung*, we must now concentrate on Volume V. We must study dialectical materialism and historical materialism and combat idealism and metaphysics. In our style of study we must promote the integration of theory with practice and seeking truth from facts and encourage the practice of going among the masses for investigation and study. We must earnestly endeavour to organize research into Party history and to study and sum up our Party's historical experience, and especially that in the ninth, tenth and

eleventh struggles between the two lines. In addition, we must see to it that the Party School under the Central Committee and those at the lower levels are well run, and in various ways we must give full play to the militant role of the theoretical contingents of workers, peasants and soldiers as well as of professionals, and strive to build a powerful army of Marxist theorists. I hope that following this congress there will be an all-Party competition in the study of Chairman Mao's great theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, a competition which will show who has really learnt something and who has learnt more and learnt better. With a higher level of understanding of Marxism-Leninism as the prerequisite, comrades throughout the Party and cadres at all levels must acquire professional or technical skills and become both red and expert. It is all the more necessary for leading cadres at all levels to strive harder and become experts well versed in both political and vocational work.

To enhance our proletarian Party spirit, to strengthen the Party concept and to promote the Party's centralized and unified leadership — these are the major issues for the successful consolidation and building of our Party. We must unswervingly

overcome and correct such erroneous tendencies as the negation of proletarian Party spirit and Party discipline and indulgence in bourgeois factionalism, sectarianism and anarchism, all of which ensued from “gang of four” interference and sabotage. No factional activities will be allowed within the Party’s ranks. The Party should have a good grip on Party work and the treatment of its cadres. Admission into the Party must conform to the provisions of the Party Constitution and the promotion of cadres must conform to Chairman Mao’s five requirements for successors, and we must make it our practice to avoid exclusiveness. We must strengthen the building of our Party, purify its ranks and **solidly unite all the forces of our Party on democratic centralist principles of organization and discipline**, so as to make it as strong as steel both ideologically and organizationally.

To make a success of Party building ideologically and organizationally, it is necessary to rectify our style of work and broaden and deepen re-education in its fine tradition among the entire membership. Nurtured by Chairman Mao, our Party has created a complete set of principles constituting a fine proletarian style of work. Most essential among these are the mass line and seeking truth

from facts. Chairman Mao always urged us to have full faith in the masses, rely on them and heed their voice, and he consistently advocated a realistic and scientific attitude and honesty in everything we do. The “gang of four” have certainly fouled up the atmosphere in our Party. Such bourgeois styles of work as alienation from the masses, recourse to deception, trimming and political speculation have developed in our Party, and we must steadfastly correct and overcome them. So long as we have full faith in the masses, seek truth from facts and restore and carry forward the fine tradition and style of work personally initiated and fostered by Chairman Mao, our Party will be able further to strengthen its ties with the masses and its fighting ability.

The Party must invigorate its leadership over trade unions, the Communist Youth League, women’s federations and other mass organizations and must effectively overhaul and build them up and give a free rein to their due role.

After this congress, a movement for Party consolidation and rectification will gradually unfold throughout the country in co-ordination with the great struggle to expose and criticize the “gang of four.” It will be another profoundly significant

Marxist education movement in the history of our Party. Our Party organizations at all levels will then be better able to play their vanguard role in leading the proletariat and the revolutionary masses in the fight against the class enemy.

Third. We must do a good job of consolidating and building up our Party's leading bodies at all levels.

A key issue in Party consolidation and rectification and in the stepping up of Party building is the consolidation and building of the Party's leading bodies at all levels. In accordance with the five requirements for successors and the principle of the three-in-one combination of the old, the middle-aged and the young set forth by Chairman Mao and through checkups, we must gradually build up the leading bodies at all levels; we can thus make them leading bodies which are able to implement Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line correctly and completely and firmly carry out the decisions and directives of the Party Central Committee, are able to persist in collective productive labour, maintain close ties with the masses, restrict bourgeois right of their own accord and

fight in unity, and are compact and competent and enjoy prestige among the masses.

The "gang of four" recruited deserters and renegades and banded them together for selfish purposes, and this has led to a grave impurity in the composition of some leading bodies. It is absolutely necessary to shake up such leading bodies and screen them organizationally. However, for most leading bodies the problem is mainly one of making them stronger ideologically. We must wage a struggle inside the Party to oppose non-proletarian ideologies with the proletarian ideology and eliminate the pernicious influence of the "gang of four" with the aim of **raising political consciousness and improving the art of leadership**. Emphasis should be laid on education. In ideological struggle we must conscientiously follow Chairman Mao's principle of starting from the desire for unity and arriving at a new unity through criticism and self-criticism.

To strengthen and build up our leading bodies, we must pay attention to the three-in-one combination of the old, the middle-aged and the young. Veteran cadres must ardently help the young and middle-aged cadres and support them in their work. Unless the numerous young and middle-aged cadres

work in concert and co-operation with the old cadres, our Party's cause will stop halfway. Mistakes by old as well as new cadres are hardly avoidable. **It doesn't matter if one makes mistakes. It is our Party's practice that whoever commits an error should make a self-criticism and be given a chance to make amends.** Learn from past mistakes to avoid future ones and cure the sickness to save the patient — this is the consistent policy of our Party towards cadres who have erred. It applies to both the old and the new cadres. Veteran cadres on their part should set an example to young cadres by taking the initiative in rectifying their style of work and should pass on their experience and help and guide the young cadres so that Chairman Mao's theory on the Party and the Party's style of work he initiated can be handed down without fail.

Chairman Mao earnestly enjoined us: **"There are several hundred thousand cadres at the level of the county Party committee and above who hold the destiny of the country in their hands. If they fail to do a good job, alienate themselves from the masses and do not live plainly and work hard, the workers, peasants and students will have good reason to disapprove of them. We must watch out lest we foster the bureaucratic style of work and grow**

into an aristocratic stratum divorced from the people." Members of the leading bodies at all levels, and above all the high-ranking cadres, must conscientiously bear in mind this teaching of Chairman Mao's.

Fourth. We must grasp revolution, promote production and push the national economy forward.

Class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment are the three great revolutionary movements for building a mighty socialist country. Developing the socialist economy is a basic task of the dictatorship of the proletariat. To speed up the development of the productive forces while adhering to the socialist orientation answers the need for reinforcing the material base of the dictatorship of the proletariat and vanquishing the capitalist forces. It answers the need for enhancing our national defence capabilities and getting prepared against aggression by imperialism or social-imperialism. It answers the need for improving the material and cultural life of the people step by step, and, in the long run, also for gradually eliminating the distinctions between town and country, between

industry and agriculture, and between physical and mental labour and creating the material conditions for the transition to communist society. The productive forces are the most revolutionary factor. In the final analysis, the expansion of the productive forces demands the continuation of the revolution in the realms of the superstructure and the relations of production under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Changes in the superstructure and the relations of production will, in turn, open the way to the development of the productive forces.

The change in our country's economic situation since the smashing of the "gang of four" proves conclusively that tremendous power can be generated once we grasp the major class struggle to expose and criticize the gang and grasp the revolutionary mass movements to learn from Taching in industry and from Tachai in agriculture. We must combine this struggle and these movements more closely, conduct them in a more deep-going way, build our country independently and with the initiative in our own hands, through self-reliance, hard struggle, diligence and thrift, be prepared against war and natural disasters, do everything for the people and **push the national economy forward**. We should work hard for several years and, in pur-

suance of the original plan, turn one-third of our country's enterprises into Taching-type enterprises and one-third of our counties into Tachai-type counties in the period of the Fifth Five-Year Plan, in accordance with the respective requirements set down. If we succeed, our socialist system will be substantially consolidated and our socialist economy will flourish.

To safeguard socialist public ownership and smash the attacks of urban and rural capitalist forces involves intense struggle. With the support and connivance of the "gang of four," capitalism has been rampant in recent years in a number of places and units, inside and outside which the old and new bourgeois elements in town and country worked hand in glove to mount fierce attacks that were injurious in varying degrees to certain economic enterprises owned by the whole people or the collective and caused degeneration in a few of them. It is necessary to arouse the masses boldly and energetically to deal relentless blows at the appropriate time to embezzlers, speculators and all those engaged in illegal capitalist activities, and put a stop to every action that undermines the state plan. While striking at the activities of the class enemies aiming at restoration, we must also solve

the problem of capitalist tendencies within the ranks of the people. The struggle to safeguard socialist ownership will go on for a long time. In the realm of the relations of production this is an important task in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

To push the national economy forward, we must conscientiously carry out the general line of **going all out, aiming high and achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results in building socialism** and the complete set of policies known as walking on two legs, and we must bring the country's entire economy into the orbit of planned, proportionate and high-speed socialist development, **take agriculture as the foundation and industry as the leading factor**, and achieve coordinated growth and an all-round leap forward in agriculture, light industry, heavy industry and the other sectors. The overthrow of the "gang of four" has fired the numerous cadres and the masses with enthusiasm for work, and the point now is how to really enhance this enthusiasm and make the best use of it in an organized way. It is imperative to streamline administrative structures, cut down the number of non-productive personnel and transfer them to the front line of production.

We should encourage genuine enthusiasm, not sham enthusiasm. We must combine zeal in work and the scientific approach in which truth is sought from facts. What are our standards in aiming high? They are Taching and Tachai. Aiming high means going in for revolution and construction in the Taching and Tachai ways and achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results. We must build an independent and fairly comprehensive industrial and economic system in our country by 1980. By then farming must be basically mechanized, considerable increases in production must be made in agriculture, forestry, animal husbandry, side-line production and fishery, and the collective economy of the people's communes must be further consolidated and developed. In the field of industry, we should make a success of light industry and at the same time try hard to speed up the development of the basic industries by concentrating our forces on several all-out campaigns, so as to create the conditions for further expansion during the Sixth Five-Year Plan.

Scientific research ought to anticipate economic construction, but it now lags behind owing to grave sabotage by the "gang of four." This question has a vital bearing on socialist construction as

a whole and must be tackled in earnest. The Central Committee has decided to convene a national conference on scientific work at the appropriate time. We shall exchange experience there, work out plans and commend the pace-setters, especially those scientists and technicians as well as workers, peasants and soldiers who have inventions and innovations to their credit, so as to give full scope to the revolutionary enthusiasm of all the cadres and the masses on the scientific and technological front and spur them on in their march towards the modernization of science and technology.

In building socialism Chairman Mao consistently stressed the major principle that, given the strengthening of unified central leadership, it is necessary to develop the initiative of both the central and the local authorities. This principle must be persistently applied. Similarly all the provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions should pay attention to giving scope to the initiative of the prefectures, counties, districts and people's communes.

Among the masses the communist attitude towards labour should be energetically encouraged through ideological education, while in economic policy the socialist principle of "from each according to his ability, to each according to his

work" should be upheld and collective welfare gradually expanded. The livelihood of the people should be improved step by step on the basis of increased production. The life of the Chinese people is far better than before liberation, but the standard of living is still low. Our leading comrades at all levels should at all times have the well-being of the masses at heart, and **brave wind and frost and defy fatigue to study the problems of everyday life and production among the people diligently and earnestly, night and day.** Our people are very reasonable and they are aware that only by building the country through hard struggle, diligence and thrift and increasing production as fast as possible can there be steady improvement in everyone's livelihood.

Fifth. We must make a success of the revolution in cultural and educational spheres and strive to develop socialist culture and education.

In the course of two significant conversations in July 1975 Chairman Mao made a number of pungent remarks. He pointed out: "**Model operas alone are not enough. What is worse, one comes under fire for the slightest fault. No longer are a**

hundred flowers blossoming. Others are not allowed to offer any opinion, that's no good." "People are afraid to write articles or produce plays. There is nothing in the way of novels and poetry." He added: "There should be some readjustments in the Party's policy on literature and art, and the performing arts should gradually enlarge their repertoires in a year or in two or three years." "Enliven the atmosphere in a year or two, and if it takes three, four or even five years, that will be all right too." These directives of Chairman Mao's were stern denunciations of the bourgeois cultural autocracy practised by the "gang of four" and at the same time showed the ardent hopes he held for all the workers in the cultural and academic fields. All Communists and other revolutionary comrades on the socialist cultural front should bestir themselves, aim high and go all out. Following Chairman Mao's behest, they should make a real success of the revolution in all cultural spheres, keep to the orientation of serving proletarian politics and the workers, peasants and soldiers, strive to create a rich variety of works of literature and art that are politically revolutionary in content and artistically as fine as possible in form, and redouble their endeavours in creative academic research under

the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, so as to bring about an upsurge in the building of our socialist culture.

For socialist culture to prosper, we must conscientiously carry out the policies of **"letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend,"** of **"making the past serve the present and things foreign serve China,"** and of **"weeding through the old to bring forth the new."** To counter the interference and sabotage of the "gang of four," Chairman Mao repeatedly emphasized these policies in the last few years and personally called for their implementation in all cultural spheres. Already in 1973 and 1974, he gave several notable instructions concerning the publication of learned journals and the re-evaluation of our cultural heritage. In 1975 in particular, he not only issued the wise and celebrated directives on the film *Pioneers* and the study of the novel *Water Margin* but also took a personal interest in what was going on in the writing of novels, plays and the making of films. He himself approved the proposal for research into Lu Hsun's works and their publication, the publication of literary and learned journals such as *Poetry* and *People's Literature* and performances to commemorate the people's com-

posers, Nieh Erh and Hsien Hsing-hai, commended and backed the film *Song of the Gardener* adapted from a Hunan opera, and so on. These wide-ranging directives of Chairman Mao's further clarified the course for a flourishing socialist culture.

The educational front was another crucial front on which our Party bitterly contended for supremacy with the "gang of four." To make China a great, powerful and modern socialist country in the last quarter of the 20th century, we urgently need to educate and train a great many people who are both red and expert. To this end we must first tackle education and really ensure the success of the proletarian educational revolution. The "gang of four" went directly counter to Chairman Mao's educational policy and caused heavy damage to socialist education. They spread the view that it was "better to have workers without culture" and pursued the policy of making the working masses ignorant. We must expose their crimes and criticize them in order to give effect to Chairman Mao's educational policy, according to which **"Education must serve proletarian politics and be combined with productive labour"** and must **"enable everyone who receives an education to develop morally, intellectually and physically and become a worker**

with both socialist consciousness and culture." We must take effective measures to expand education at all levels and of all types, quicken its development and improve its quality in order to match the all-round development of our economy and of science and technology and meet the needs of the socialist revolution and socialist construction. It should be realized that it is an immense and glorious task to establish a proletarian educational system that adequately expresses Chairman Mao's proletarian educational line, suits our conditions and corresponds with the socialist economic base. All Communists and other revolutionary comrades on the educational front must be devoted to the Party's educational cause and work hard to establish this new educational system.

Despite the serious interference and disruption of Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and the "gang of four" in the spheres of culture and education and science and technology since the founding of the People's Republic, the mass of educational, scientific and technical, cultural and medical workers exerting themselves at their posts by the light of Mao Tsetung Thought have done their share for the people and made big contributions to the cause of socialism.

To build socialism, the working class must have its own army of technical cadres and of professors, teachers, scientists, journalists, writers, artists and Marxist theorists. It must be a vast army; a small number of people will not suffice. Some of China's present-day intellectuals came from the old society, but the larger part have been trained in the new. The overwhelming majority are willing to work hard for socialism and are indeed doing so. They make up an invaluable force. Taken all in all, intellectuals who are more or less familiar with Marxism and take a resolute stand, the stand of the proletariat, are a minority. However, the great majority, having been tempered in many political movements, and in particular the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, have made progress in varying degrees in transforming their bourgeois world outlook into the proletarian world outlook, the process of gradually acquiring and consolidating the latter. Those who oppose socialism are very few in number. Totally negating the signal achievements of our Party in training and remoulding intellectuals since the founding of the People's Republic, the "gang of four" repressed and stifled the revolutionary enthusiasm of the mass of intellectuals. While recruiting a handful of reaction-

ary scribes to work for them, they regarded the mass of intellectuals as fit only for subjection to dictatorship and stigmatized them as the "stinking ninth category." To counter all this, Chairman Mao issued several major directives in 1975. He indicated: **"In educational, scientific, literary and artistic, journalistic and medical circles in which intellectuals are concentrated, there are some people who are good and who have learnt some Marxism-Leninism."** **"The 'ninth category' mustn't quit."** He also said: **"Do away with the mistaken metaphysical notions that 'gold must be pure' and that 'man must be perfect.'"** Further: **"Apply to writers the principle of learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones and curing the sickness to save the patient. As long as they are not hidden counter-revolutionaries guilty of serious crimes, give them help."** Citing Dühring, whom Engels criticized, as an example, Chairman Mao made this sharp remark: **"The University of Berlin sacked Dühring, which made Engels unhappy. Polemics is polemics. Why the sack? Dühring lived to be over eighty but enjoyed no reputation. Be careful in meting out punishment. It's a sign of weak nerves to sack and imprison people at will."** We must observe Chairman Mao's instructions and faithfully carry out the

Party's policy of uniting with, educating and remoulding intellectuals and harnessing their enthusiasm for socialist construction. As long as they love our country, the People's Republic of China, we must unite with them and give them the chance to put their abilities to good use. At the same time, we must intensify our efforts to educate them and eagerly help and encourage them to remould their world outlook in the three great revolutionary movements, to persist in integrating themselves with workers and peasants, to acquire proletarian qualities step by step and to become both red and expert. We educate and remould intellectuals out of concern for them and in order the better to draw upon their enthusiasm. To attach due importance to their role is precisely the focal point in the correct policy concerning intellectuals which Chairman Mao formulated for our Party. It is a task of strategic importance for our Party to build up a vast army of working-class intellectuals. The Party committees of the provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions and the ministries and commissions under the central authorities must each work out a plan, lose no time in putting it into effect and strive for the fulfilment of this strategic task.

Sixth. We must strengthen the people's state apparatus.

The current task facing the People's Liberation Army is to grasp the key link of class struggle and run the army well, that is, to deepen the campaign to expose and criticize the "gang of four," push army building and preparations against war and take further steps to revolutionize and modernize the army.

The "gang of four" were radically opposed to Chairman Mao's military line and his principles governing army building. They vainly tried to undermine the Party's absolute leadership over the army and impair the system under which our armed forces are integrated to comprise the field armies, the regional forces and the militia, and they blocked the enforcement of the resolution adopted at the enlarged meeting of the Military Commission in 1975. Their misdeeds were many. Their machinations which were designed to oppose and disrupt the army and usurp authority in it were rebuffed by the commanders and fighters of the People's Liberation Army. To grasp the key link of class struggle and run the army well, we must take Chairman Mao's military thinking and military line as our lodestar and press on with the

exposure and criticism of the “gang of four,” linking it closely with the actual conditions in the army units, and further implement Chairman Mao’s instruction, **“To grasp army work means precisely taking up the study of the Party line, checking unhealthy tendencies, overcoming the mountain-stronghold mentality and factionalism and stressing unity.”** In recent days, the whole army has been conducting a profound education on ideological and political line. Ten questions concerning the two lines, the truth of which was turned upside down by the “gang of four,” are under discussion. The whole army is striving to carry forward the spirit embodied in the resolution adopted at the Kutien Meeting [December, 1929 — *Tr.*] and the fine tradition of political work in the army. It has launched an extensive movement to learn from the model soldier Lei Feng and the Hard-Bone Sixth Company. This has spurred training for war-preparedness and brought about a lively revolutionary atmosphere in the army. We must work harder to bring the revolutionization of the army to a new level.

We are confronted with threats and aggression by imperialism, and especially by social-imperialism. The Soviet revisionists are bent on subjugat-

ing our country and we must be prepared against war. We must follow Chairman Mao’s military thinking and military line and try harder to implement his instruction: **“We will have not only a powerful army but also a powerful air force and a powerful navy.”** We must unswervingly follow Chairman Mao’s theory of people’s war. Whether the enemy starts a war sooner or later, a major war or a minor one, a conventional war or a nuclear one, our army must without fail rely on the magic weapon of people’s war, and be ready at all times to deal a crushing blow to any enemy that dares to invade our country. The “gang of four” viciously labelled the modernization of our national defence forces as an application of the “purely military viewpoint” and of the “theory that weapons decide everything.” This was nothing but an absurd attempt to undermine the modernization of our army and render it backward and vulnerable in the face of an enemy armed to the teeth. We must unmask the “gang of four” and condemn their crime of obstructing our preparations against war. We must stiffen our war-preparedness in every way. In particular, we must do as Chairman Mao taught us, **“Rigorous training and strict demands — only thus can we fight well.”** We must intensify military

training and become invincible against any enemy in combat. We must run military schools of all types and levels well and redouble our efforts to train military and political leading cadres of all grades and technical personnel. At the same time, we must do our utmost to strengthen research in science and technology and increase armament production for our national defence, so that the army's equipment will attain a new level.

Militia work is most important. In accordance with the system under which our armed forces are integrated to comprise the field armies, the regional forces and the militia, we must strengthen the building up of the militia and see to it that the work is **carried through organizationally, politically and militarily** in order to contribute to the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The whole Party, the whole army and the whole nation must diligently make effective preparations against wars of aggression and for the liberation of Taiwan.

We must strengthen our public security work and the socialist legal system. We must thoroughly liquidate the poisonous influence of the absurdities spread by the "gang of four," which reversed the relationship of the people to the enemy. We must

draw a clear distinction between the people and the enemy and direct the spearhead of our dictatorship against the reactionary classes, the reactionaries and the counter-revolutionaries, including the landlords, rich peasants, reactionary capitalists and all traitors. As for thieves, swindlers, murderers, arsonists, criminal gangs, smash-and-grabbers and all other scoundrels who seriously disrupt public order in our socialist society, they too must be subjected to dictatorship. We must strike surely, accurately and relentlessly at the handful of class enemies, with the stress on accuracy, and protect the people's interests and the socialist system.

Seventh. We must promote democracy and strengthen democratic centralism.

Within the ranks of the people, we cannot do without freedom, nor can we do without discipline; we cannot do without democracy, nor can we do without centralism. The unity of democracy and centralism, of freedom and discipline, constitutes our democratic centralism. Without democratic centralism, the dictatorship of the proletariat cannot be consolidated.

Give full play to democracy among the people and within the Party, let people speak out and make

criticisms — that is what Chairman Mao consistently taught us. On November 21, 1973 he wrote this comment on a letter from an ordinary citizen, which criticized Chiang Ching, **“Have this letter printed and distributed among all the comrades in the Political Bureau. Some of its opinions are good. Let people make criticisms.”** A little later, in remarks directed at the arbitrariness and arrogance of the “gang of four,” he caustically observed, **“Certain comrades make it their job to criticize other people. They won’t allow others to criticize them at all. They resent criticism, as though their ancestral graves were being profaned! They are quick to brand others as elements hostile to the Party, socialism and Mao Tsetung Thought or as members of the counter-revolutionary May 16th Organization.”** In violation of Chairman Mao’s instructions, the “gang of four” wilfully trod upon democracy among the people and within the Party, wielding a big stick and slapping on political labels right and left, lording it over the Party and trampling on the people. At the same time, they stirred up anarchism, advocated “kicking aside the Party committees in order to make revolution” and alleged that “the correct orientation is to direct the spearhead upwards against the leadership,” that “all rules and regula-

tions must be smashed,” and that “the greater the disturbances, the better.” They undermined both proletarian democracy and proletarian centralism. In exposing and repudiating the “gang of four,” we must give full play to democracy among the people and within the Party and strengthen democratic centralism.

To strengthen democratic centralism, we must use Chairman Mao’s teachings to educate our comrades and help them to understand what democratic life means and what the relationship between democracy and centralism should be. We must genuinely promote democratic inner-Party life, and conscientiously implement what Chairman Mao constantly advocated: **“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.”** On the other hand, we must guard against ultra-democracy or licence which destroys discipline. The purpose of promoting democracy under the dictatorship of the proletariat is to fight more effectively against our class enemies, correctly handle the contradictions among the people, strengthen the Party’s leading role, and consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat, all in order to

serve the socialist economic base. It is by no means to weaken, much less to undermine, the Party's leading role and the dictatorship of the proletariat, or to weaken, much less to undermine, the socialist economic base.

To strengthen democratic centralism, we must firmly oppose any acts in violation of our organization and discipline and we must reaffirm the discipline of the Party, namely: (1) The individual is subordinate to the organization; (2) the minority is subordinate to the majority; (3) the lower level is subordinate to the higher level; and (4) the entire Party is subordinate to the Central Committee. We must educate the soldiers, the cadres and the masses, educate Party members and the people in the Three Main Rules of Discipline and the Eight Points for Attention.

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." Applying Mao Tsetung Thought, we must achieve a common understanding throughout the Party and the army and among the people of all nationalities, strengthen democratic centralism and bring about the political situation Chairman Mao envisaged.

Eighth. We must implement the policy of overall consideration and all-round arrangement.

The policy of overall consideration and all-round arrangement is the consistent policy of our Party. **What kind of policy is this? It is one of mobilizing all positive forces to build socialism. It is a strategic policy.**

In order to implement it, we must get rid of the destructive effects of the interference and sabotage of the "gang of four" in every sphere and correctly carry out in their entirety the proletarian policies formulated by Chairman Mao for the Party. Whatever the problem — whether it concerns the cadres, intellectuals, educated urban youth working in the countryside and mountain areas, the minority nationalities, the united front, or anything else — we must always proceed from the standpoint of overall consideration and make proper arrangements. Our Party as a whole, and the leading

cadres at all levels in particular, must have a good grasp of Chairman Mao's concept of overall consideration and do a better job of putting it into effect.

Cadres are invaluable assets to our Party. In the work of screening the cadres some problems have been left unsettled, and they should be handled judiciously, promptly and properly. Those who are able to work but have not been given jobs should be suitably assigned as soon as possible. The aged and the infirm who are no longer fit to work should be properly provided for. In a few cases where verdicts are needed, they should be given without delay. All slanders and false charges levelled at anyone by the "gang of four" should be repudiated and cancelled. On the other hand, our comrades, and especially those who have been screened, must take a correct attitude towards the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, towards the masses and towards themselves.

Our educated young people are like the sun at eight or nine in the morning, and they have the added advantage of schooling. We should train them to be a fresh force for building a powerful and modern socialist country. **"It is most necessary for young people with education to go to the coun-**

tryside to be re-educated by the poor and lower-middle peasants." This directive of Chairman Mao's must be steadfastly carried out. Problems arising from its actual implementation must be effectively tackled in accordance with the principle of **basing solutions on overall consideration.**

It is most important to do a good job with regard to the minority nationalities and in border regions. Our help to the minority nationalities should be active and sincere. We should conscientiously train minority cadres imbued with communist consciousness, and make a real success of the socialist revolution and socialist construction in the minority nationality areas. We should conduct constant and extensive education in our proletarian nationality policy, with the emphasis on opposing Han chauvinism while at the same time opposing local-nationality chauvinism, so as to foster good relations between the minority nationalities and the Han nationality and strengthen and develop the ties of unity among all the nationalities.

Chairman Mao taught us: **"We should unite with everyone provided he truly makes a clear distinction between the people and the enemy and serves the people."** We must adhere to this policy and develop the united front led by the working

class and based on the worker-peasant alliance, a united front which embraces patriotic democratic parties, patriotic personages, compatriots in Taiwan, Hong Kong and Macao, and our countrymen overseas.

These are the eight tasks our Party must perform at present and for some time to come in grasping the key link of class struggle and bringing about great order across the land. They are glorious but arduous fighting tasks. We must do an immense amount of hard work to fulfil them in their entirety. The Central Committee has decided that the Fifth National People's Congress shall be convened at an appropriate time. This will be another major event in our people's political life. Doubtless, it will further consolidate and develop the excellent situation in China, consolidate and expand our great victory in smashing the Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao "gang of four," and encourage the people of all nationalities to accomplish all these fighting tasks successfully. The Fifth National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference will go into session simultaneously with the National People's Congress. We must earnestly exert ourselves to mobilize all positive factors inside and outside the Party, strengthen the great unity of the

whole Party, the whole army and the people of all nationalities in the common struggle to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and build up our great socialist motherland.

Comrades!

As we review the experience in the eleventh struggle between the two lines and look at the prospects at home and abroad, our confidence in winning greater victories is multiplied a hundredfold. Our Party and our country are both full of promise. As Chairman Mao put it: **"Such is our optimism. It is based on scientific grounds. Provided that we know more about Marxism-Leninism and the natural sciences, in short, more about the laws of the objective world, and make fewer mistakes of a subjectivist kind, we are sure to attain our goals in revolution and construction."** Our Party's history, a history distinguished by its complete victory in the democratic revolution and its great victories in the socialist revolution, is a history in which the whole Party under Chairman Mao's leadership has come to know more and more about the laws of the development of the objective world and has accordingly formulated and carried out its line and policies. We can be sure that our Party will become

politically more mature, ideologically more unified and organizationally more secure as a result of the present congress, of the great struggle to expose and repudiate the "gang of four" and of the all-Party rectification movement. Our country will march forward victoriously in giant strides in its socialist revolution and socialist construction.

Of course, the road is tortuous and revolution always advances in waves. We should at all times act in accordance with dialectics. In times of difficulty we must see the bright future and not bend or swerve; in times of victory we must not lose sight of the difficulties ahead and must guard against conceit and impetuosity. We are fully confident that under the leadership of the Central Committee, the Chinese people will surmount all conceivable difficulties and work miracles; they will do so, holding high the great banner of Chairman Mao, carrying out his behests, adhering to the line of the Eleventh Congress, grasping the key link of class struggle and bringing about great order across the land, continuing the revolution and fighting in unity. The whole world will see that in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese people, armed with Marxism-

Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, are not only good at defeating their class enemies at home and abroad and safeguarding the dictatorship of the proletariat, but are also good at building a great powerful socialist country with modern agriculture, modern industry, modern national defence and modern science and technology, and will thus make a greater contribution to humanity.

Long live invincible Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought!

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

RESOLUTION OF
THE ELEVENTH NATIONAL CONGRESS
OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA
ON THE POLITICAL REPORT

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

The Eleventh National Congress of the Communist Party of China hereby unanimously adopts the political report delivered by Chairman Hua Kuo-feng on behalf of the Central Committee.

The congress considers that in his political report Chairman Hua, holding high the great banner of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, has comprehensively summed up the basic experience in the eleventh struggle between the two lines in the Party, accurately expounded Chairman Mao's great theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, profoundly analysed the international and domestic situation and explicitly set forth the tasks for the present and for some time to come. It considers that the report is a militant programme guiding our Party, our army and our people in the struggle for new victories in socialist revolution and socialist construction.

The congress warmly hails the great victory in the eleventh struggle between the two lines which our Party has won by smashing the anti-Party clique of Wang Hung-wen, Chang Chun-

chiao, Chiang Ching and Yao Wen-yuan. The congress fully approves the measures taken by the Central Committee headed by Comrade Hua Kuo-feng to smash the "gang of four" and approves the Resolution on the Anti-Party Clique of Wang Hung-wen, Chang Chun-chiao, Chiang Ching and Yao Wen-yuan adopted by the Third Plenary Session of the Tenth Central Committee.

The congress points out that the successful conclusion of the first Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is ushering in a new period in the development of our socialist revolution and socialist construction. It unanimously approves the strategic decision, "grasp the key link of class struggle and bring about great order across the land," as set forth by the Central Committee in accordance with Chairman Mao's behests, and the eight fighting tasks for the implementation of that decision. It also unanimously approves the principles and policies formulated by the Central Committee in accordance with Chairman Mao's line for our work in foreign affairs.

The congress calls on the whole Party, the whole army and the people of all nationalities to hold high the great banner of Chairman Mao, unite as one under the leadership of the Central Com-

mittee headed by Chairman Hua, persist in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, carry the great struggle to expose and criticize the "gang of four" through to the end, eliminate the poisonous influence of their counter-revolutionary revisionist line, comprehensively and correctly implement Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line in the political, economic, military, and cultural spheres as well as in foreign affairs, mobilize all positive factors inside and outside the Party and at home and abroad, and strive to fulfil all the fighting tasks set by the Eleventh National Congress of the Party and make our country a great, powerful and modern socialist country by the end of the century, so as to render a greater contribution to humanity.

CONSTITUTION
OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY
OF CHINA

(Adopted by the Eleventh 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 ma-

terialism 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 intellec-

tuals 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 op-

pressed 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 their 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 pre-

vent 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 continue 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 eighteen 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 whole-heartedly 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 fulfil 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.

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.

CHAPTER II

ORGANIZATIONAL SYSTEM OF THE PARTY

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 asso-

ciations 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.

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.

YEH CHIEN-YING

REPORT ON THE REVISION OF
THE CONSTITUTION OF THE PARTY
TO THE ELEVENTH NATIONAL
CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST
PARTY OF CHINA

(Delivered on August 13 and Adopted
on August 18, 1977)

Comrades,

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

The Eleventh 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 eleventh 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 retrogres-

sion 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 eleventh 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-roaders 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 peo-

ple 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 eleventh 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 following 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 twenty-eight 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 spelled 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 aboveboard, 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 fifty 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 conspiracies in a futile attempt to usurp supreme power in the Party and state. The fact that we have won victory in the eleventh 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 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 above-board 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 eleventh 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 impermissible 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 nation-wide 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 nation-wide 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 nota-

ble 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 it 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 strengthening 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 Eleventh 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.

TENG HSIAO-PING

CLOSING ADDRESS
AT THE ELEVENTH NATIONAL
CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST
PARTY OF CHINA

(August 18, 1977)

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 impetuosity, 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.

Since the smashing of the "gang of four," the whole Party and the whole nation have taken on a new complexion. 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 and 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 problems 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 posi-

tive factors inside and outside the Party and at home and abroad and strive to implement 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 Eleventh National Congress of the Communist Party of China has come to a successful conclusion.

PRESS COMMUNIQUE OF
THE ELEVENTH NATIONAL CONGRESS
OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY
OF CHINA

(August 18, 1977)

The Eleventh National Congress of the Communist Party of China was held solemnly in Peking from August 12 to 18, 1977.

Our wise leader Chairman Hua Kuo-feng presided over the congress.

This congress took place after the passing away of our great leader and teacher Chairman Mao Tsetung and after our Party's great victory in smashing the anti-Party "gang of four" of Wang Hung-wen, Chang Chun-chiao, Chiang Ching and Yao Wen-yuan. It was a congress that held high the great banner of Chairman Mao and adhered to his proletarian revolutionary line, a congress that upheld Marxism and unity and the principle of being open and aboveboard. It was a congress of unity, a congress of victory.

A preparatory meeting was held on August 11. It elected a congress presidium composed of 223 delegates. Comrade Hua Kuo-feng was elected Chairman of the presidium and Comrades Yeh Chien-ying, Teng Hsiao-ping, Li Hsien-nien and Wang Tung-hsing were elected Vice-Chairmen.

Comrade Wang Tung-hsing was concurrently the Secretary-General of the presidium. The preparatory meeting unanimously adopted a three-item agenda for the congress as proposed by the Third Plenary Session of the Tenth Central Committee, namely, 1) the political report of the Central Committee; 2) the revision of the Constitution of the Communist Party of China and the report on the revision of the Constitution; and 3) the election of the Central Committee. The meeting unanimously approved the report of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee delivered by Comrade Wang Tung-hsing on the examination of the credentials of the delegates to the Eleventh National Congress of the Communist Party of China. The report confirmed the validity of the credentials of all the delegates.

A total of 1,510 delegates attended the congress, representing the more than 35 million Party members. They were formally elected to the congress by the Party organizations in different areas and units which, strictly implementing the Party's principle of democratic centralism and earnestly following the mass line, had held repeated deliberations and consultations and sought opinions extensively from Party members and the masses outside

the Party. Among the delegates were outstanding Party members, old, middle-aged and young, tested in different periods from the founding of our Party through the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. Many of the delegates were model workers and advanced workers from different fronts, combat heroes and pace-setters in learning from Taching in industry or from Tachai in agriculture. Delegates from among the workers, peasants, soldiers and other working people accounted for 72.4 per cent, revolutionary intellectuals for 6.7 per cent and revolutionary cadres for 20.9 per cent of the total number of delegates. Women Party members made up 19 per cent, minority nationality Party members 9.3 per cent and middle-aged and young Party members 73.8 per cent. Party members who hail from Taiwan Province also elected delegates to the congress.

At 3:30 on the afternoon of August 12, the congress formally opened in the Great Hall of the People. When our wise leader Chairman Hua Kuo-feng and Vice-Chairmen Yeh Chien-ying, Teng Hsiao-ping, Li Hsien-nien and Wang Tung-hsing mounted the rostrum all the delegates rose to their feet and gave them a prolonged and thunderous ovation.

Chairman Hua Kuo-feng declared the congress open. The band played *The East Is Red*.

Chairman Hua delivered the political report to the congress on behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China. He first proposed that all the comrades present rise in silent tribute to the memory of Chairman Mao Tsetung, the founder of our Party, our army and our People's Republic and the great leader and teacher of the proletariat and the people of all nationalities in our country; to the memory of our esteemed and beloved Premier Chou En-lai and Chairman Chu Teh of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, great proletarian revolutionary sons of the Chinese people and Chairman Mao's long-tested, close comrades-in-arms who passed away last year; to the memory of Comrade Kang Sheng, Comrade Tung Pi-wu, Comrade Li Fu-chun, Comrade Chen Yi and Comrade Ho Lung, proletarian revolutionaries who rendered outstanding service to the revolutionary cause of the Chinese people and who passed away in the years preceding and following the Tenth Congress; and to the memory of Members of the Central Committee and all other comrades who made important contributions to the

Party and the revolution and who passed away during the same period.

In his report Chairman Hua says that our present congress is charged with a historic task. It is to hold high the great banner of Chairman Mao and carry out his behests, sum up the experience of our struggle against the Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao "gang of four," adhere to the Party's basic line, persevere in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, bring into play all positive factors inside and outside the Party and at home and abroad, unite with all the forces that can be united, strive to implement the strategic decision, "grasp the key link of class struggle and bring about great order across the land," and make China a great, powerful and modern socialist country by the end of this century.

Chairman Hua points out that all the victories won in the Chinese revolution over more than half a century have been due to the leadership of Chairman Mao and the guidance of his revolutionary line. The banner of Chairman Mao is the banner of victory of the Chinese people's revolution. Chairman Mao inherited, defended and developed Marxism-Leninism. He was the greatest Marxist of our time. Mao Tsetung Thought is a new ac-

quisition enriching the treasure-house of Marxist-Leninist theory and is Chairman Mao's most precious legacy to our era. The banner of Mao Tsetung Thought is likewise the banner of victory of the revolution of the people of the world. Chairman Mao's monumental contributions to the theory and practice of revolution, made for the benefit of the Chinese people and the proletariat and revolutionary people of the world, are immortal. We must hold high the great banner of Chairman Mao and resolutely defend it, and we must cherish it as our precious heritage and hand it on from generation to generation. This is the sacred duty of the whole Party, the whole army and the people of all nationalities in our country, the political basis on which we fight in unity and continue the revolution, and the guarantee for the triumphant advance of our socialist cause and the revolutionary cause of the international proletariat.

In summing up the eleventh struggle between the two lines in our Party, Chairman Hua points out that our wise and great Chairman Mao became aware of the anti-Party activities of the "gang of four" long ago and that he sternly criticized and admonished them on many occasions and took it upon himself to lead the Party in repeated strug-

gles against them. He says that the important directives and wise decisions by Chairman Mao laid the groundwork for our subsequent settlement of the question of the "gang of four." The tremendous victory won in the eleventh struggle between the two lines in our Party should be ascribed to our great leader Chairman Mao, to the greatness of Mao Tsetung Thought, to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and to our great Party, army and people.

In his report Chairman Hua accurately expounds Chairman Mao's great theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. He says that Chairman Mao inherited, defended and developed the teachings of Marx and Lenin and that he established the great systematic theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. He says that this great theory has clearly charted the true road to consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, preventing capitalist restoration and building socialism for the countries in which the proletarian revolution has triumphed. It is Chairman Mao's greatest contribution to the theory of the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat, and

it occupies an especially prominent place in the history of the development of Marxism.

Chairman Hua points out that as far as ideology and theory are concerned, the eleventh struggle between the two lines in our Party has unfolded around the question of whether to uphold or to vitiate the theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is a salient feature of this struggle. The "gang of four" completely perverted Chairman Mao's great theory and the Party's basic line for the entire historical period of socialism and Chairman Mao's comprehensive thesis on the question of capitalist-roaders inside the Party. They dished up a counter-revolutionary political programme which equated veteran cadres with "democrats," and "democrats" with "capitalist-roaders." They slanderously alleged that there was "a bourgeois class" inside the Party and the army and altogether reversed the relationship of the people to the enemy in the historical period of socialism. They vainly attempted to overthrow a large number of revolutionary leading cadres in the Party, the government and the army, hoping to destroy our Party and our army, overthrow the dictatorship of the proletariat and restore capitalism. Armed with the weapon of Mao

Tsetung Thought, Chairman Hua makes a penetrating criticism of the counter-revolutionary political programme of the "gang of four." He states that so long as supreme Party and state power rests with a leading core that adheres to the Marxist-Leninist line, the capitalist-roaders cannot possibly grow into a bourgeois class inside the Party because they are a mere handful and, what is more, they are being constantly exposed and weeded out. The overwhelming majority of the veteran cadres in the Party are certainly not bourgeois democrats, they are proletarian revolutionaries. The basic principles of the "three do's and three don'ts" put forward by Chairman Mao point out the essential criteria for identifying capitalist-roaders in the Party. Adhering to these criteria, we will be able to guide the cadres and the masses in accurately identifying and completely isolating absolutely unrepentant capitalist-roaders like Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and the "gang of four," and concentrate our attack on them.

Chairman Hua says that smashing the anti-Party "gang of four" is yet another signal victory achieved in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. He stresses the tremendous achievements and historic significance of the Great Proletarian

Cultural Revolution and points out that the Cultural Revolution will go down in the history of the dictatorship of the proletariat as a momentous innovation. Now that the gang has been overthrown, we are able to achieve stability and unity and attain great order across the land in compliance with Chairman Mao's instructions. Thus, the smashing of the "gang of four" marks the triumphant conclusion of our first Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, which lasted eleven years. But this certainly does not mean the end of class struggle or the end of the continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. He calls on us to follow Chairman Mao's teachings and carry the continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat through to the end.

Chairman Hua analyses the present excellent international situation in his report and points out that while the factors for revolution are growing, so obviously are the factors for war. The two powers, the Soviet Union and the United States, are the source of a new world war, and Soviet social-imperialism in particular presents the greater danger. The people of all countries must heighten their vigilance, close their ranks and wage unrelenting struggles. He says that we should hold

high the great banner of Chairman Mao, adhere to proletarian internationalism and continue to carry out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in foreign affairs. We should enhance our unity with the socialist countries, with the proletariat and the oppressed people and nations throughout the world, enhance our unity with the countries of the third world, unite with all countries subjected to aggression, subversion, interference, control and bullying by imperialism and social-imperialism and form the broadest united front against the hegemonism of the two superpowers, the Soviet Union and the United States. We should establish and develop our relations with other countries on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. We should strengthen our unity with all genuine Marxist-Leninist Parties and organizations the world over and carry through to the end the struggle against modern revisionism with the Soviet revisionist renegade clique as its centre.

Chairman Hua makes an incisive exposition of Chairman Mao's thesis differentiating the three worlds. He says that this thesis sets forth the correct orientation for the present struggle in the international arena and clearly defines the main revolutionary forces, the chief enemies, and the

middle forces that can be won over and united, thus enabling the international proletariat to unite with all the forces that can be united to form the broadest united front in class struggles against the chief enemies in the world arena. It is the correct strategic and tactical formulation for the international proletariat in the present era and constitutes the class line in its international struggles.

Chairman Hua points out that the successful conclusion of the first Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution has ushered in a new period of development in China's socialist revolution and socialist construction. The situation is excellent and popular feeling favours order. A new leap forward is shaping up in the national economy, spurred on by the great class struggle to expose and criticize the "gang of four." The revolution on the scientific and technological front and in education, literature and art, and health work is forging ahead.

Chairman Hua points out: The gist of the Central Committee's strategic decision to grasp the key link of class struggle and bring about great order across the land is to hold high and defend the great banner of Chairman Mao, carry the tremendous struggle to expose and criticize the "gang of four" through to the end by fully mobiliz-

ing the masses and uniting with all the forces that can be united, eliminate the pernicious influence of the gang's counter-revolutionary revisionist line, consolidate and expand our successes in the eleventh struggle between the two lines, and comprehensively and correctly implement Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line in political, economic, military, cultural and foreign affairs.

In the report, Chairman Hua further explains the Party's eight main fighting tasks for the present and for some time to come as dictated by the decision to grasp the key link of class struggle and bring about great order across the land. These eight points are: We must carry the great struggle to expose and criticize the "gang of four" through to the end; we must do a good job of Party consolidation and rectification and strengthen Party building; we must do a good job of consolidating and building up our Party's leading bodies at all levels; we must grasp revolution, promote production and push the national economy forward; we must make a success of the revolution in cultural and educational spheres and strive to develop socialist culture and education; we must strengthen the people's state apparatus; we must promote democracy and strengthen democratic centralism;

and we must implement the policy of overall consideration and all-round arrangement so as to mobilize all positive forces to build socialism. Chairman Hua says that we must further arouse the masses and vigorously wage a people's war to thoroughly expose and criticize the ultra-Right essence of the gang's counter-revolutionary revisionist line and all its manifestations. Investigation into the individuals involved in and the incidents connected with the conspiracy of the "gang of four" to usurp Party and state power is an important part of the struggle and must be carried out by fully mobilizing the masses. At the same time, as the movement develops in depth, we must pay greater attention to the Party's policies, unite more than 95 per cent of the cadres and the masses, isolate to the maximum the "gang of four" and the handful of their sworn followers who are guilty of serious crimes and are unwilling to repent, and concentrate our blows on them.

Chairman Hua declares that the Central Committee has decided that the Fifth National People's Congress will be convened at an appropriate time, and the Fifth National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference will go into session with the National People's Congress

simultaneously. We must earnestly exert ourselves to mobilize all positive factors inside and outside the Party, strengthen the great unity of the whole Party, the whole army and the people of all our nationalities in the common struggle to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and build up our great socialist motherland.

Chairman Hua's political report, which lasted four hours, was punctuated by thunderous applause.

At 3:30 on the afternoon of August 13 the congress held its second plenary session. Amid warm applause Vice-Chairman Yeh Chien-ying delivered the report on the revision of the Constitution of the Party on behalf of the Central Committee.

Vice-Chairman Yeh first points out that Comrade Hua Kuo-feng was chosen by Chairman Mao himself as his successor. 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.

Vice-Chairman Yeh points out that the "gang of four" sabotaged Party building in their vain attempt to transform our Party in the image of the bourgeoisie. In accordance with Chairman Mao's teachings on Party building and with the fresh experience of the eleventh struggle between the two lines, we should make necessary revisions in the Party Constitution adopted at the Tenth Congress.

Vice-Chairman Yeh gives valuable explanations on the following eight points concerning the draft of the revised Party Constitution: holding high and defending the great banner of Chairman Mao; the character and the guiding ideology of the Party; the basic programme of the Party in the entire historical period of socialism and its basic tasks; the basic principles of the "three do's and three don'ts"; democratic centralism in the Party; the line of the Party on cadres; keeping to and carrying forward the Party's fine tradition and fine style of work; and requirements for Party members and primary Party organizations.

As Vice-Chairman Yeh points out, the new Party Constitution stresses that 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. The Constitution emphasizes that the Party persists in combating revisionism, and dogmatism and empiricism, and that it upholds dialectical materialism and historical materialism as its world outlook and opposes the idealist and metaphysical world outlook. The Constitution gives prominence to the question of adhering to the basic principles of the "three do's and three don'ts" and stresses the need for revolutionary boldness in daring to go against any tide that runs counter to these three basic principles. It points to the extreme importance of democratic centralism, stipulating that democracy should be given full scope, that it is absolutely impermissible for anyone to suppress criticism or to retaliate, and that those guilty of doing so should be investigated and punished. It emphasizes that the Party must have not only democracy, but also and still more so, centralism, and that it is imperative to strengthen Party discipline. To safeguard the principle and discipline

of democratic centralism, the new Party Constitution stipulates that commissions for inspecting discipline are to be set up. It also stipulates 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 and form leading bodies at all levels according to the principle of combining the old, the middle-aged and the young. The Constitution stresses the need to keep to and carry forward the fine tradition of following the mass line and seeking truth from facts. It provides that all probationary members without exception may become full members only after a probationary period of one year, so as to ensure their political quality.

Vice-Chairman Yeh points out that 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 at this congress, he says, will be an important weapon for strengthening our Party building ideo-

logically and organizationally. Party organizations at all levels and all Party members must study the Party Constitution conscientiously, abide by it strictly, implement it resolutely, and fight against any words and deeds running counter to it.

The reports delivered by Chairman Hua and Vice-Chairman Yeh and the draft of the revised Party Constitution were conscientiously and warmly discussed by the congress. The delegates were in a happy mood and they spoke freely. The congress proceeded in an atmosphere of liveliness and vigour. It gave full expression to our Party's fine tradition and fine style of work and to its unity and vitality.

In the course of the discussions the delegates warmly praised the monumental contributions of our great leader and teacher Chairman Mao and praised our wise leader Chairman Hua for his great service in leading our Party in smashing the "gang of four," thus saving our Party and country. The congress considers that in his political report Chairman Hua, holding high the great banner of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, comprehensively summed up the basic experience in the eleventh struggle between the two lines in the Party, accurately expounded Chairman Mao's great

theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, profoundly analysed the international and domestic situation and explicitly set forth the tasks for the present and for some time to come. It is a militant programme which guides our Party, army and people to win new victories in the socialist revolution and construction.

Speaking of what had happened on various fronts, the delegates indignantly laid bare and criticized the heinous crimes of the "gang of four" against the Communist Party, the people and the revolution. The congress warmly hailed the great victory our Party scored in the eleventh struggle between the two lines by smashing the Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao anti-Party clique. The congress fully approved the measures taken by the Party Central Committee headed by Comrade Hua Kuo-feng to smash the "gang of four" and the Resolution on the Anti-Party Clique of Wang Hung-wen, Chang Chun-chiao, Chiang Ching and Yao Wen-yuan, adopted at the Third Plenary Session of the Tenth Central Committee. It pledged to carry the struggle to expose and criticize the "gang of four" through to the end.

The delegates discussed the international and domestic situation and pointed out that the Party's great victory in the eleventh struggle between the two lines is the basic indicator of the excellent situation in our country. The mass movements to learn from Taching in industry and from Tachai in agriculture are surging ahead vigorously on an unprecedented scale. A socialist revolutionary campaign to emulate, learn from, catch up with, help and in turn surpass each other is unfolding everywhere. Good news keeps pouring in that new records have been set on the industrial and agricultural fronts. The congress expressed the determination that under the leadership of the Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua, we must advance from victory to victory, grasp revolution and promote production and other work and preparedness against war, and achieve outstanding successes to offset the losses caused by the interference and sabotage of the "gang of four," so as to render a bigger contribution to making China a powerful modern socialist country.

At 3:00 on the afternoon of August 18, the congress held its third plenary session. After full consultation and discussion, the delegates elected the Eleventh Central Committee of the Communist

Party of China by secret ballot. The congress unanimously adopted a resolution on the political report and the new Constitution of the Communist Party of China and the report on the revision of the Party Constitution. When Comrade Teng Hsiao-ping, the Executive Chairman of the congress, announced the election of our wise leader Comrade Hua Kuo-feng to the Central Committee, the hall resounded with a prolonged and stormy ovation. Altogether 201 Members and 132 Alternate Members of the Central Committee were elected.

Vice-Chairman Teng Hsiao-ping gave the closing address amid warm applause. He says that 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.

Vice-Chairman Teng says that we must revive and carry forward the fine tradition and style of work which Chairman Mao fostered in our Party — following the mass line, seeking truth from facts,

conducting criticism and self-criticism, being modest and prudent and free from arrogance and impetuosity, keeping to plain living and hard struggle and practising democratic centralism. 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.

Vice-Chairman Teng points out that since the smashing of the "gang of four" the whole Party and the whole nation have taken on a new complexion. We have scored tremendous victories, but there are still many problems 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.

Vice-Chairman Teng calls on the whole Party, the whole army and the people of all our nationalities to 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; to mobilize all positive factors inside and

outside the Party and at home and abroad and strive to implement 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.

To the stirring strains of *The Internationale*, the Eleventh National Congress of the Communist Party of China drew to a triumphant close.

LIST OF THE MEMBERS OF THE PRESIDUM
OF THE ELEVENTH NATIONAL CONGRESS
OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA

(223 Members)

Chairman: Hua Kuo-feng.

Vice-Chairmen: Yeh Chien-ying, Teng Hsiao-ping,
Li Hsien-nien, Wang Tung-hsing.

Secretary-General: Wang Tung-hsing (con-
currently).

*(The following are listed in the order of
the number of strokes in their surnames.)*

Ting Ke-tse, Ting Kuo-yu, Yu Sang, Yu Hung-
liang, Wan Ta, Wan Li, Ma Li, Ma Hui, Ma Hsing-
yuan, Ma Chin-hua (f.), Ma Jung-li (f.), Tien Pao,
Wang Ping, Wang Kun (f.), Wang Cheng, Wang
Meng, Wang Chien, Wang Chen, Wang Yi-ping,
Wang Pi-cheng, Wang Kuang-yu, Wang Hsiu-

hsiu (f.), Wang Yeh-chiu, Wang Mao-chuan, Wang Lin-ho, Wang Chin-yu, Wang Shou-tao, Wang En-mao, Wang Chao-chu, Wei Kuo-ching, Yu Tai-chung, Mao Chih-yung, Obul Islam, Ulanfu, Fang Yi, Teng Ying-chao (f.), Kung Yuan, Kung Shih-chuan, Kung Hsien-wu, Kung Chao-nien, Pasang (f.), Yeh Fei, Lu Chung-yang, Pai Ju-ping, Pai Tung-tsai, Feng Hsuan, Ismayil Aymat, Hsing Yen-tzu (f.), Lu Yu-lan (f.), Lu Cheng-tsao, Lu Tsun-chieh (f.), Chiao Hsiao-kuang, Chu Kuang-ya, Chu Mu-chih, Wu Hsiu-chuan, Jen Jung, Jen Chung-yi, Jen Ssu-chung, Liu Wei, Liu Chen, Liu Tzu-hou, Liu Kuang-tao, Liu Hsing-yuan, Liu Po-cheng, Liu Chien-hsun, Liu Chun-chiao, Liu Hsi-chang, Chiang Hua, Chiang Li-yin, Chiang Yung-hui, Chiang Wei-ching, Chih Pi-ching, An Ping-sheng, Kuan Tse-hai, Kuan Hsiao-hung (f.), Hsu Shih-yu, Hsu Chia-tun, Juan Po-sheng, Chi Teng-kuei, Tu Yi-teh, Yang Yung, Yang Cheng-wu, Yang Yi-chen, Yang Teh-chih, Yang Hsiang-chin (f.), Su Ching, Su Chen-hua, Su Yi-jan, Li Ping (f.), Li Chiang, Li Tzu-yuan, Li Ching-chuan, Li Shui-ching, Li Shih-chun, Li Jen-chih, Li Chih-min, Li Chi-teh, Li Chang-an, Li Wei-kang (f.), Li Pao-hua, Li Jui-shan, Li Teh-sheng, Hsiao Hua, Hsiao Ke, Hsiao Ching-kuang, Wu Teh, Wu Huo-

chin, Wu Chuan-ching, Wu Leng-hsi, Wu Kuei-hsien (f.), Wu Mei-ying (f.), Ho Kuang-chien, Yu Chiu-li, Ku Mu, Hsihoupa, Wang Feng, Wang Ming-chang, Sung Ping, Sung Shih-lun, Chang Tsai-chien, Chang Yu-hua, Chang Ping-hua, Chang Li-hsien, Chang Ting-fa, Chang Ching-fu, Chang Ping-hsi, Chang Kuei-chin, Chang Ai-ping, Chang Chih-hsiu, Chang Fu-heng, Chang Ting-cheng, Chang Yao-tzu, Chen Yun, Chen Pi-hsien, Chen Yung-lin, Chen Yung-kuei, Chen Wei-ta, Chen Chi-han, Chen Kuo-tung, Chen Hsi-lien, Chen Fu-han, Chen Mu-hua (f.), Chen Pu-ju, Lin Hu-chia, Lin Li-ming, Lin Li-yun (f.), Lo Ching-chang, Lo Jui-ching, Chin Ming-han, Chou Tzu-chien, Chou Chun-lin, Chou Chien-jen, Chou Pei-yuan, Paojihletai (f.), Ko Hsun (f.), Hu Yao-pang, Hao Chien-hsiu (f.), Chao Chih-chien, Chao Tsang-pi, Chao Hsin-chu, Chao Tzu-yang, Tuan Chun-yi, Jao Hsing-li, Lou Feng-ying (f.), Yao Yi-lin, Chin Chi-wei, Keng Piao, Keng Chi-chang, Nieh Jung-chen, Janabil, Chien Chih-kuang, Chien Cheng-ying (f.), Chien Hsueh-sen, Tieh Ying, Ni Chih-fu, Hsu Hsiang-chien, Hsu Yin-sheng, Kuo Feng-lien (f.), Kuo Yu-feng, Kuo Mo-jo, Kuo Yao-ching, Tang Ke, Chi Peng-fei, Huang Hua, Huang Chen, Huang Ou-tung, Huang Chih-chen, Tsao Li-huai,

Tsao Yi-ou (f.), Kang Shih-en, Kang Ke-ching (f.), Lu Tien-chi, Liang Pi-yeh, Han Ying, Han Hsien-chu, Peng Chung, Peng Shao-hui, Chiang Pao-ti (f.), Chin Ying-chi, Su Yu, Chu Chiang, Chiao Lin-yi, Lu Ta-tung, Tseng Shao-shan, Tseng Ssu-yu, Hsieh Hsueh-kung, Tsai Chang (f.), Tsai Hsiao, Liao Han-sheng, Liao Chih-kao, Liao Cheng-chih, Saifudin, Tan Chi-lung, Tan Chen-lin, Fan Teh-ling, Pan Shih-hsing, Huo Shih-lien, Tai Kuang-chien.

LIST OF THE 333 MEMBERS AND ALTERNATE
MEMBERS OF THE ELEVENTH CENTRAL
COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST
PARTY OF CHINA

THE 201 MEMBERS OF THE
CENTRAL COMMITTEE

Hua Kuo-feng,

*(The following are listed in the order of
the number of strokes in their surnames.)*

Ting Ke-tse, Ting Kuo-yu, Yu Sang, Yu Ming-tao,
Yu Hung-liang, Wan Ta, Wan Li, Ma Li, Ma Hui,
Ma Wen-jui, Ma Hsing-yuan, Tien Pao, Wang
Ping, Wang Cheng, Wang Meng, Wang Chien,
Wang Chen, Wang Yi-ping, Wang Shih-tai, Wang
Pi-cheng, Wang Kuang-yu, Wang Hsiu-hsiu (f.),
Wang Mao-chuan, Wang Lin-ho, Wang Kuo-fan,
Wang Shou-tao, Wang En-mao, Wang Chao-chu,
Wei Kuo-ching, Yu Tai-chung, Mao Chih-yung,

Ulanfu, Fang Yi, Teng Hsiao-ping, Teng Ying-chao (f.), Kung Yuan, Kung Shih-chuan, Kung Chao-nien, Pasang (f.), Yeh Fei, Yeh Chien-ying, Pai Ju-ping, Pai Tung-tsai, Feng Hsuan, Ismayil Aymat, Hsing Yen-tzu (f.), Lu Yu-lan (fi.), Lu Cheng-tsao, Chiao Hsiao-kuang, Chu Kuang-ya, Chu Mu-chih, Wu Hsiu-chuan, Jen Jung, Jen Chung-yi, Jen Ssu-chung, Liu Wei, Liu Chen, Liu Tzu-hou, Liu Kuang-tao, Liu Hsing-yuan, Liu Po-cheng, Liu Chien-hsun, Liu Chun-chiao, Liu Hsi-chang, Chiang Hua, Chiang Li-yin, Chiang Yung-hui, Chiang Wei-ching, Chih Pi-ching, An Ping-sheng, Hsu Shih-yu, Hsu Chia-tun, Juan Po-sheng, Chi Teng-kuei, Tu Yi-teh, Yang Yung, Yang Cheng-wu, Yang Yi-chen, Yang Teh-chih, Yang Ching-jen, Su Ching, Su Chen-hua, Su Yi-jan, Li Ta, Li Chiang, Li Tzu-yuan, Li Ching-chuan, Li Shui-ching, Li Shih-chun, Li Hsien-nien, Li Jen-chih, Li Chih-min, Li Chi-ming, Li Pao-hua, Li Jui-shan, Li Teh-sheng, Hsiao Hua, Hsiao Ke, Hsiao Ching-kuang, Wu Teh, Wu Chuan-ching, Wu Kuei-hsien (f.), Yu Chiu-li, Ku Mu, Hsihoupa, Wang Feng, Wang Tung-hsing, Wang Ming-chang, Sung Ping, Sung Shih-lun, Chang Tsai-chien, Chang Yu-hua, Chang Ping-hua, Chang Li-hsien, Chang Ting-fa, Chang Ching-fu, Chang Ai-ping,

Chang Chih-hsiu, Chang Fu-kuei, Chang Fu-heng, Chang Ting-cheng, Chen Yun, Chen Pi-hsien, Chen Yung-kuei, Chen Wei-ta, Chen Chi-han, Chen Kuo-tung, Chen Hsi-lien, Chen Fu-han, Chen Mu-hua (f.), Chen Pu-ju, Lin Hu-chia, Lin Li-ming, Lin Li-yun (f.), Lo Ching-chang, Lo Jui-ching, Chou Chun-lin, Chou Chien-jen, Paojihletai (f.), Tsung Hsi-yun, Hu Li-chiao, Hu Yao-pang, Hao Chien-hsiu (f.), Chao Chih-chien, Chao Tsang-pi, Chao Hsin-chu, Chao Tzu-yang, Tuan Chun-yi, Jao Hsing-li, Yao Yi-lin, Ho Cheng, Chin Chi-wei, Keng Piao, Keng Chi-chang, Nieh Feng-chih, Nieh Jung-chen, Chien Chih-kuang, Chien Cheng-ying (f.), Tieh Ying, Ni Chih-fu, Hsu Hsiang-chien, Kuo Yu-feng, Kuo Mo-jo, Tang Ke, Chi Peng-fei, Huang Hua, Huang Chen, Huang Ou-tung, Huang Chih-chen, Tsao Li-huai, Tsao Yi-ou (f.), Kang Shih-en, Kang Ke-ching (f.), Lu Tien-chi, Liang Pi-yeh, Han Ying, Han Hsien-chu, Peng Chung, Peng Shao-hui, Chin Ying-chi, Su Yu, Cheng Tzu-hua, Chu Chiang, Chiao Lin-yi, Lu Ta-tung, Tseng Shao-shan, Tseng Ssu-yu, Hsieh Hsueh-kung, Tsai Chang (f.), Tsai Hsiao, Liao Han-sheng, Liao Chih-kao, Liao Cheng-chih, Saifudin, Tan Chih-lung, Tan Chen-lin, Fan Teh-ling, Hsueh Chin-ta, Huo Shih-lien, Tai Kuang-chien.

THE 132 ALTERNATE MEMBERS OF
THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE

Ting Chang-hua (f.), Chilin Wandan, Pu Ku-hsiang, Ma Ming, Ma Chin-hua (f.), Ma Ssu-chung, Wang Liu-sheng, Wang Fu-chih, Wang Chun-shao, Wang Shang-jung, Wang Chin-shan, Wang Chin-yu, Wang Chin-ling (f.), Rigdzin Wanggyal, Mao Hsin-hsien (f.), Wen Hsiang-lan (f.), Teng Hua, Li Jih-nai, Tso Chung-yi, Lu Chung-yang, Shen Mao-kung, Jan Kuei-ying (f.), Feng Chan-wu, Feng Pin-teh, Ruzi Turdi, Lu Ho, Lu Tsun-chieh (f.), Lu Hsu-kuo, Chu Shao-ching, Hsiang Chung-hua, Jen Chih-pin, Liu Hsi-yao, Liu Chih-chien, Liu Ming-hui, Liu Chung-kuei, Liu Chen-hua, Liu Wei-ming, Liu Tao-sheng, Liu Jui-ching, Chiang Hsieh-yuan, Kuan Tse-hai, Hsu Piao-chun, Sun Hsueh-mei (f.), Chi Ying-lin, Tu Ping, Tu Hsueh-jan, Yang Ta-yi, Yang Yung-liang, Yang Chun-sheng, Yang Fu-chen (f.), Li Hua-min, Li Chiao-yun (f.), Li Cheng-fang, Li Shou-lin, Li Chien-chen (f.), Li Chang-an, Li Hsueh-chih, Li Tsu-ken, Li Chi-liang, Li Yao-wen, Hsiao Han, Hsiao Wang-tung, Wu Chung, Wu Huo-chin, Wu Hsiang-pi, Wu Ke-hua, Wu Leng-hsi, Wu Chin-chuan, Tsen Kuo-jung, Tsou Chia-hua, Sung

Ching-yu, Shen Chu-yun (f.), Chang Chen, Chang Ling-pin, Chang Huai-lien, Chang Lin-chih, Chang Chi-hui, Chang Chih-ti, Chang Yao-tzu, Lu Chin-lung, Chen Jen-fu, Chen Yu-pao, Chen Yung-lin, Chen Hsien-jui, Chen Tso-lin, Chen Ai-o (f.), Chin Ming-han, Chou Tzu-chien, Chou Ah-ching, Cheng San-sheng, Liu Chih-chiang, Hu Sung, Hu Liang-tsai, Hu Chin-ti (f.), Chao Hsing-yuan, Chao Hsueh-chuan, Chao Wu-cheng, Chung Fu-hsiang, Ho Chin-nien, Yuan Pao-hua, Janabil, Ragde, Ku Hsiu-lien (f.), Chien Hsueh-sen, Hsu Chih, Hsu Li-ching, Kuo Feng-lien (f.), Kuo Yao-ching, Kao Hou-liang, Tang Liang, Tang Ke-pi (f.), Tang Wen-sheng (f.), Mei Sung-lin, Huang Tso-chen, Huang Jung-hai, Huang Hsin-ting, Tsao Ssu-ming, Pan Mei-ying (f.), Kang Lin, Wei Feng-ying (f.), Chiang Pao-ti (f.), Cheng Yi-tai, Hsieh Cheng-jung, Tsai Feng-lan (f.), Tan Wen-chen (f.), Tan Shan-ho, Li Yuan, Pan Shih-hsing, Hsueh Chin-lien (f.), Chi Kuei-hsin, Tai Su-li, Wei Hsing-cheng.

PRESS COMMUNIQUE OF
THE FIRST PLENARY SESSION OF
THE ELEVENTH CENTRAL COMMITTEE
OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY
OF CHINA

(August 19, 1977)

The Eleventh Central Committee of the Communist Party of China held its First Plenary Session on August 19.

The central organs were elected at the session. The results of the election are as follows:

Chairman of the Central Committee:

Hua Kuo-feng.

Vice-Chairmen of the Central Committee:

Yeh Chien-ying, Teng Hsiao-ping, Li Hsien-nien, Wang Tung-hsing.

Members of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee:

Hua Kuo-feng,

*(The following are listed in the order of
the number of strokes in their surnames.)*

Wei Kuo-ching, Ulanfu, Fang Yi, Teng Hsiao-ping, Yeh Chien-ying, Liu Po-cheng, Hsu Shih-yu, Chi Teng-kuei, Su Chen-hua, Li Hsien-nien, Li Teh-

sheng, Wu Teh, Yu Chiu-li, Wang Tung-hsing,
Chang Ting-fa, Chen Yung-kuei, Chen Hsi-lien,
Keng Piao, Nieh Jung-chen, Ni Chih-fu, Hsu
Hsiang-chien, Peng Chung.

Alternate Members of the Political Bureau of
the Central Committee:

*(The following are listed in the order of
the number of strokes in their surnames.)*

Chen Mu-hua (f.), Chao Tzu-yang, Saifudin.

Members of the Standing Committee of the
Political Bureau of the Central Committee:

Hua Kuo-feng, Yeh Chien-ying, Teng Hsiao-ping,
Li Hsien-nien, Wang Tung-hsing.

